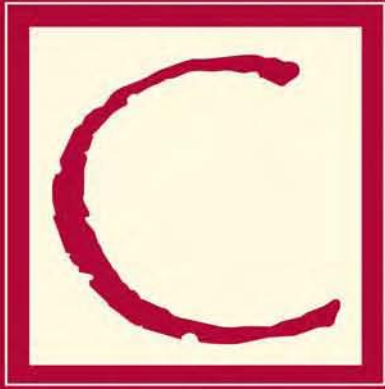


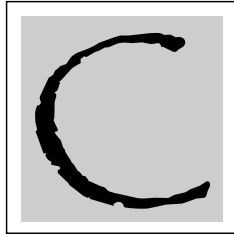


VOLUME 1
A-F

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

CHRISTIAN
THEOLOGY

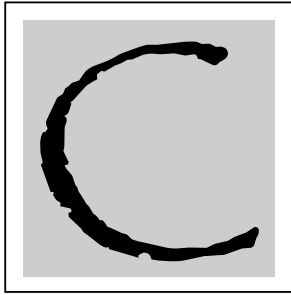
JEAN-YVES LACOSTE
EDITOR



VOLUME 1

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

CHRISTIAN
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A - F

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Foreword

A reader about to venture into a thick reference work (especially one dealing with theology) has the right to ask for additional mercy from its editor: that is, that the editor specifies the aim and use of the work. A few glosses about the title will answer this request. First and foremost, this is an encyclopedia of theology, meaning, in a restrictive sense that is also a precise sense, the massive amount of discourse and doctrines that Christianity has assembled about God and its experience of God. There are other discourses on God, and theology was often the first to champion their rationality. By selecting one term to refer to one practice (historically circumscribed) of the logos and one call (historically circumscribed) in the name of God, we do not pretend to deny the existence or the rationality of other practices or calls—we are only offering to make use of *theological* to name the fruits of a kind of covenant between the Greek logos and the Christian restructuring of the Jewish experience. When the philosopher discusses God, it rarely appears that his interest is theological, in the fixed sense of the term. Because Judaism was able to tie in the richest things it had to say without pillaging the theoretical legacy of classical antiquity, it is also unlikely that *theological* needs to be applied to its doctrines. Likewise, because the Islamic Kalam itself follows some rather original structuration rules, it is inadequate to baptize it “Islamic theology,” unless one accepts a certain vagueness. As for the rigorous comparative study of all the discourses in which the signifier *God* (whether its intervention be that of name, concept, or other) appears, it is still in its infancy.

Second, this is an encyclopedia, by which we mean an academic tool serving knowledge. It is one thing to produce knowledge and another to transmit it. Thus, we will not expect from this collegiate effort, which the present foreword concludes, that it was a work of creation. In the organized disorder presided over by the alphabetical order of the entries, its ambition was modest: to provide readers with a starting point for the main theological objects. Events, doctrines, contributors, theories and metatheories, over five hundred objects are to be found within the pages of this encyclopedia. The reader who wants to browse through the pages following a question will always find stand-alone entries and the point about the question. The reader who prefers long explorations can rely on the navigational tools provided to learn, one entry after another, for example, about Biblical theology in general or about medieval theology or about Lutheran theology or more. For want of a consensus among scholars, which cannot be found anywhere, this work is expected to keep the promises inherent to its scientific genre: legibility, intellectual honesty, and historical precision.

Last, this intends to be a critical work, which doesn’t bound its fate to some deconstructing temerity but rather emphasizes the native condition of any academic endeavor at the service of truth. The first task of critical reasoning is to criticize itself. Although it was critical of the objects it inherited from tradition, the reason of the Enlightenment was less critical of itself, its powers, duties, and agents. One demand remains, which we owe and of which we should not be afraid: we will expect from the “critical” history of the doctrines or from the “critical” presentation of the theological traditions that they wanted to identify their own objects so that they appear as they are, in all their diachronic or synchronic complexity, sometimes in all indecision. Theology concerns itself mostly with phenomena that never demand intellection without also demanding adhesion, and the historical work of discernment that

the encyclopedia undertook will not deprive anybody of the necessity to forge a personal opinion. One never believes, however, without knowing slightly. If one wants to forge a straight opinion, then it is best to know critically rather than precritically.

The editor has one pleasant remaining task: that of giving thanks. Firstly, he wishes to thank the 250 contributors, from about one hundred institutions and representing about fifteen nationalities. They made this encyclopedia and accepted the many constraints imposed by such an exercise. All graciously complied with the editorial goal of global cohesiveness, and their good will allowed the work to be more than a collection of stand-alone entries. All used their own voice, however, and this allows the work to let its authors speak with the accents peculiar to their cultural and scientific traditions.

Secondly, the editor wishes to thank all colleagues and friends who, flying to the rescue at the last minute, helped fill gaps, update bibliographies, refine translations, and verify thousands of references. I thus burn the incense of my gratitude to Daniel Bourgeois, Rémi Brague, Michel Cagin, Olivier de Champris, Michel Corbin, Michel Gitton, Jérôme de Gramont, Yves-Jean Harder, Max Huot de Longchamp, Goulven Madec, Thaddée Matura, Cyrille Michon, Bruno Neveu, Jacqueline de Proyard, and Daniel de Reynal. The members of the editorial board know how dear their collaboration was to me as well as the pleasure I had working with them. It is fair that the reader should know about them, too. My thanks turn superlative for Marie-Béatrice Mesnet, who bore the final responsibility of the French manuscript, from disks to proofs, including the organization of the bibliographies, cross-references, and abbreviations: I fear to think what we would have published without her help. As for Jacqueline Champris, she allowed for this work to be published while its editor was alive, or that its editor would not die in the process: each reader will judge its merit.

Our first French edition owed its index to Georges Leblanc, and we kindly remember Edith Migo providing us with secretarial help early on. The logistical support from François de Vorges and Didier Le Riche greatly eased the work of the editorial board. Françoise Muckensturm and Renza Arrighi also provided their biblical knowledge. The published work bore the mark of their labors.

Some members of the editorial board and the like spent more time than others in compiling the second French edition: my hat off thus to Paul Beauchamp, Olivier Boulnois, Vincent Carraud, Irène Fernandez, Marie-Béatrice Mesnet, Oliver O'Donovan, and Françoise Vinel as well as to the knowledgeable and devoted editor of the encyclopedia. As with the first, the second edition also had many benefactors who wrote entries in a few days, suggested useful amendments, and published encouraging notices. I cannot name them all, but I do want to name Cyrille Michon, Hervé Barreau, Rémi Brague, Claude Bressolette, Yves Delorme, Henri de L'Épervier, Bernard de Guibert, Dominique Le Tourneau, Roger Pouivet, Émile Poulat, Michel Sales, Yves Tourenne, and Claude Villemot. The first French edition was honored by the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, which awarded it the Chanoine Delpuech Prize. As for Tabatha, finally, she knows what we owe her: a lot.

Jean-Yves Lacoste

Introduction

The *Dictionnaire critique de théologie* was first published in French in 1998. When in 1999 work began on an anglophone presentation, the U.S. publishers had at their disposal the French additions and modifications to the original text undertaken with a view to its second edition. The present work is a translation of the second edition of the French original.

Users of the *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology*, whether chiefly interested in consulting it for specific information or in browsing more widely, may well wish to begin with the index. The French editorial committee and the editorial director have achieved the not inconsiderable feat of containing very nearly all the material falling within the ambit of a critical work of theology, as those terms are defined in the foreword, within some five hundred entries.

Theology remains the rationally structured discussion of the Christianized experience of Hebrew monotheism, as it was originally elaborated with the help of Greek philosophical categories and considerations familiar to the early Christian Greek-speaking world and subsequently developed during two millennia of Christian thought.

This has meant paying little more than passing attention to other important aspects of Christian life as it developed. Its liturgies, its widely diverging spiritualities, its administrative hierarchy, and its noncore teaching even about important moral and social issues occurring in response to the often political constraints that arose in the course of history are not central to its theology as here understood. Attention is concentrated on such matters as Trinitarian theology, Christology, the Incarnation, the Redemption, revelation, ecclesiology, and the understanding of the workings of the divine plan for humanity. The definition also excludes formal consideration of eastern religions and even of Islam, immensely powerful in its own right and also the vehicle for carrying the thought of Aristotle, heavily contaminated by Neoplatonism, to the Christian scholastic theologians of the High Middle Ages.

Philosophy itself, as an intellectual discipline, does not fall within the ambit of the reference function of the *Encyclopedia*, but its exclusion poses more difficult problems. As the editor of the French original, Jean-Yves Lacoste, points out in his own entry on philosophy, it is still possible in the twentieth century with Barth or Heidegger to conduct philosophical discussion without reference to any theological position. In fact, however, the possibility of the autonomous conduct of philosophical investigation, although it is not discussed in the *Encyclopedia*, looks today increasingly fragile.

Christian theology as a discipline, particularly on account of the Greco-Roman legacy still woven into it, is much more difficult to insulate from its philosophical substructure. In many of its entries, the *Encyclopedia*, having expounded the theology with which they are concerned, concludes them with philosophical considerations. Philosophically speaking, Christian theology has for centuries relied on a *philosophia perennis*, drawing its categories and premises largely from Aristotelian and Platonist traditions.

Certain aspects of that traditional substructure, notably its anthropology, its epistemology, and its ontology, are no longer generally considered useful and at least in non-English-speaking Europe have been replaced by a newer tradition. In the *Encyclopedia*, no attempt has been made to diminish the reliance on philosophical reflections developed from the mainstream European, mostly German-language tradition as it has emerged from Kant and

the German idealists and subsequently been developed by Hegel, Husserl, and Heidegger, and from more recent variations of an essentially phenomenological approach to the subject such as appear also in the work of some modern theologians like Karl Rahner.

The content of the work, as indicated in the foreword, is laid out alphabetically, and anglophone readers will have no difficulty finding the keyword for many of the most important themes, events, people, and topics discussed. There is an elaborate system of cross-referencing, but, as the relative length of the entries and the bibliographies makes clear, a format of relatively long entries and essays, still within the scope of what is known as a *dictionnaire* in French, has been chosen rather than that of a high number of short entries generally denoted by the word *dictionary* in English.

Some of the new entries, like that for Moses, fill lacunae in the original text, and very few important topics will be found to have been altogether neglected, although to locate the several treatments of such themes as transsubstantiation or of theologians as important as Melancthon, it is necessary to refer first to the index. It is even possible that certain readers will feel that occasionally, like the original eighteenth-century French *Encyclopédie*, this *Encyclopedia* advances views or developments that it purports merely to transmit or that it gives an acceptably ecumenical doctrinal spin to the historical record by omitting to dwell on or even to note some of the harsher reactions perceivable in the decrees of the council of Trent or of Vatican I or in the decisions of the Pontifical Biblical Commission. Theologians of the last fifty years are not unreasonably accorded a prominence that implies a value judgment about their work, which is inevitably less certain to endure than judgments made about theologians from centuries earlier than the twentieth whose historical contribution to the development of today's theology cannot be challenged.

It will not be difficult for users to identify the corporate viewpoint of the editorial committee of the *Encyclopedia*. It is, however, as the third paragraph of the foreword makes clear, important to preserve the work's intellectual integrity. That means identifying and acknowledging what its point of view is, especially on account of the probability that here and there the more speculative essays may seem to be urging Catholic theology to develop in a particular direction and the further probability that any such direction will be one with which the original French readership may feel more at ease than theologians brought up in some of the traditions at present current in different degrees in the various anglophone regions of the globe.

The university level that determines the amount and type of information contained in the *Encyclopedia* requires its content to be not only historically accurate, deep enough for university-level reflection, and well enough written to be readily intelligible but also useful in a university context, that is, one in which reasonably ample library resources are available. Users wishing to follow up references to patristic works, the scholastics, or modern books and articles will often require the bibliographic resources normally found only in theological colleges or in large, general academic institutions.

Because the *Encyclopedia* is intended also to serve outside a formal university context as an initial guide to the state of theological discussion on all major topics covered by its definition of theology, the references to reviews, editions, and relatively small-circulation journals are included simply for the convenience of those who wish to pursue further research. Further investigation into most of the topics covered is likely to require access to good editions of the Fathers of the Church and, where there are any, of the scholastics, as well as to more recent theologians from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The entries are written with a view to being easily intelligible even where there is no immediate access to the cited sources.

Some topics, like the Dead Sea Scrolls, have primarily been discussed only in languages other than English and chiefly in specialist journals. In such instances, the *Encyclopedia* attempts primarily to do service as a handbook or guide to the present state of discussion, giving only pointers in its references to places or sources where the discussion has been further developed or on which advocates of different views have relied. In all cases, and in spite of its inevitable point of view, the *Encyclopedia* attempts an objective exposition of the facts and arguments, without bias, prejudice, or any viewpoint that could be interpreted as sectarian.

The *Encyclopedia* does not aspire to be historical in that it does not undertake to cover the history of the theology of the topics that it includes except incidentally, in order to explain and contextualize them, and except insofar as the sources for contemporary theological views are necessarily grounded in the historic sources of the Christian revelation. The method adopted is, however, critical. At every point it goes out of its way to confront doctrines and views with the sources and traditions on which they rely, and it is relentless in its pursuit of theological truth as warranted by the sources and the historical facts. This criticism is not destructive of anything but falsehood, although when applied as rigorously as it is here to the legitimacy of some of the emphases of medieval theology, it produces results that are likely to surprise many brought up on a precritical tradition. The critical account of the tradition reveals, for instance, that the notion of an individual judgment at the moment of death appeared only relatively late in eastern theology and shows that the virginity of Mary has a less strong scriptural basis than is often assumed.

Without a doubt, the critical expertise of the theologians on whom the editorial committee has drawn for the entries is where this work's serious theological interest primarily lies. Whatever services may be rendered by the utility of its reference function, the most significant achievement of the entries in the work consists overwhelmingly in the critical acumen applied by its authors to their subject matter, invariably through a rigorous treatment of the sources and tradition underlying the historical and contemporary theological discussion of all theology's major issues. To this critical treatment of the tradition is often appended a more speculative section, as in the entry on being, pointing to tasks remaining to be accomplished and to directions in which theological discussion appears to be moving.

The critical method used is essentially based on a balanced appraisal of the theological sources that time, tradition, and individual religious spiritualities, such as those developed within the great religious orders or outside them by popular devotion, have inevitably tended to obscure. By confronting patterns of Christian religious belief and behavior with the sources of the Christian revelation and with the major developments in theological tradition, the *Encyclopedia* no doubt implicitly calls for a reevaluation of some views and attitudes that may at different periods have been too uncritically, and perhaps wrongly, assumed to have been dictated by fundamental theological dogma. The critical function of the *Encyclopedia* lies not in criticizing them but in confronting them with a more authentic understanding of the Christian revelation, leaving it to individuals to mold the moral and religious commitments that best both fulfil their own spiritual needs and accord with the revelation. Insofar as the *Encyclopedia* fulfils the task it has taken on itself, it must promote a pluralism of religious attitudes, both moral and devotional, capable of fulfilling the individual hunger for spiritual nourishment on the basis of a critical understanding of genuine theological truth.

It is difficult to think of any earlier attempt to produce a comprehensive critical theological handbook in the sense in which the *Encyclopedia* defines theology. There are no doubt historical reasons why this should be so, and the appearance of the *Encyclopedia* marks an important stage in the diminution of sectarian slants on theological discussion as well as a hope that a point has been reached when all those whose experience is enhanced by a spirituality situated within the Judeo-Christian religious tradition can look forward to agreeing on the theology that lies at its center. The *Encyclopedia*, in giving, however succinctly, a fully critical account of that tradition, is a product of progress already made as well as a pointer to what questions still urgently await their resolution and an indicator of the most promising paths to be followed. It summarizes the present state of theological discussion without dwelling on what has recently been achieved or laying down firm paths for the future. It may well constitute a milestone in the progress toward a truly critical theology and therefore also toward promoting a religious awareness and providing the basis for an intelligently reflective religious commitment without laying down new orthodoxies. Its task is to present the critical summary of Judeo-Christian theology necessary to further the personal and corporate attitudes of those who seek to live by the norms it promotes.

Anthony Levi

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Inerrancy	Liturgy
Infallibility	Local Church
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Secularization	Trinity
Sensus Fidei	Tritheism
Servant of YHWH	Truth
Sheol	Truths, Hierarchy of
	Tübingen, Schools of

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Work
Works
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Abbreviations

A. Usual Abbreviations

a.	articulus	gr.	Greek
ACFEB	Association catholique française pour l'étude de la Bible	GS	Gesammelte Schriften
adv.	adversus	GW	Gesammelte Werke
anath.	anathema	hb, hebr.	Hebrew
anon.	anonymous	hom.	homily
Apos. Const.	Apostolic Constitution	l.	<i>liber</i>
ap.	<i>apud</i> (according to)	lat.	latin
ARCIC	Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission	lect.	<i>lectio</i>
arg.	argumentum	MA	Middle Ages
art.	article	ms.	manuscript
BHK	Biblia Hebraica, ed. Kittel	mss	manuscripts
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia	n.	note/ <i>numerus</i>
bibl.	includes a bibliography	NT	New Testament
c.	circa	O.P.	Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
CADIR	Centre pour l'analyse du discours religieux, Lyon	O.S.B.	Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
can.	canon	OC	Œuvres complètes; Complete Works
CEPOA	Centre d'étude du Proche-Orient ancien, Louvain	Op.	<i>Opera</i> (Works)
ch(ap).	chapter	OT	Old Testament
COE	Conseil œcuménique des Églises (see WWC)	par.	parallel passages (in synoptic gospels)
col.	column	Ps.-	Pseudo-
coll.	collection	q.	quaestio
comm.	<i>Commentum</i> , commentary	qla	quaestiuncula
concl.	conclusio	quod.	quodlibet
d.	distinctio	quod sic	videtur quod sic
Decr.	Decretal	resp.	responsio, solutio
diss.	dissertatio	sess.	session
dub.	dubium	SIDC	Société internationale de droit canonique
ed.	edidit, editio	S.J.	<i>Societatis Jesu</i> (Jesuits)
ed.	editor	<i>Sq</i>	<i>sequen(te)s</i> , and following
ep.	epistula(e), letters	SW	Sämtliche Werke
f	next verse (biblical citations)	syr.	syriac
ff	two following verses (biblical citations)	tract.	tractatus
FS	Festschrift	v.	verse
GA	Gesamtausgabe	Vulg.	Vulgate, Latin version latine of the Bible, by Jerome
		vv.	verses
		WWC	World Council of Churches
		WW	Werke
		Ia Iiae	Thomas Aquina, Summa Theologiae,

Abbreviations

	<i>prima secundae</i> , first part of the second part
Ila Iiae	<i>Ibid.</i> , <i>secunda secundae</i> , second part of the second part
LXX	Septuagint, Greek version of the Hebrew Bible

B. Biblical Texts

The Hebrew and Greek transcription of biblical texts come from the *Concordance de la Traduction œcuménique de la Bible*.

Biblical References

Colon(:) between chapter and verse. For example, Dt 24:17 refers to Deuteronomy, chapter 24:verse 17.

Hyphen: indicates the verses. For example, Dt 24:17–22 (from v. 17 to 22).

The letter *f* next to a verse refers to this verse and the following one. For example, Dt 24:17f (chapter 24:verses 17 and 18).

The letters *ff* refers to the verse and the following two. For example, Dt 24:17ff (chapter 24:verses 17, 18, and 19).

Acts	Acts of the Apostles
Am	Amos
Bar	Baruch
1 Chr	1 Chronicles
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
Col	Colossians
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
Dn	Daniel
Dt	Deuteronomy
Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Eph	Ephesians
Est	Esther
Ex	Exodus
Ez	Ezekiel
Ezr	Ezra
Gal	Galatians
Gn	Genesis
Hb	Habakkuk
Heb	Hebrews
Hg	Haggai
Hos	Hosea
Is	Isaiah
Jas	James
Jb	Job
Jdt	Judith
Jer	Jeremiah
Jgs	Judges

Jl	Joel
Jn	John
Jon	Jonah
Jos	Joshua
1 Jn	1 John
2 Jn	2 John
3 Jn	3 John
Jude	Jude
1 Kgs	1 Kings
2 Kgs	2 Kings
Lam	Lamentations
Lk	Luke
Lv	Leviticus
1 Macc	1 Maccabees
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
Mal	Malachi
Mi	Micah
Mk	Mark
Mt	Matthew
Na	Nahum
Neh	Nehemiah
Nm	Numbers
Ob	Obadiah
Phil	Philippians
Phlm	Philemon
Prv	Proverbs
Ps	Psalms
1 Pt	1 Peter
2 Pt	2 Peter
Rev	Revelation
Rom	Romans
Ru	Ruth
Sg	Song of Songs
Sir	Sirach
1 Sm	1 Samuel
2 Sm	2 Samuel
Tb	Tobit
1 Thes	1 Thessalonians
2 Thes	2 Thessalonians
Ti	Titus
1 Tm	1 Timothy
2 Tm	2 Timothy
Wis	Wisdom
Zep	Zephaniah

C. Writings from Ancient Judaism

a) Qumran Writings

11QT	The Temple Scroll
1QH	Hodayot, Hymns
1Qisa	Great Isaiah Scroll (Is 1–66)
1Qisb	Qumran Scroll of Isaiah
1QM	Serekh ha-Milhamah, The War Rule

1QpHab	Pesher on Habakkuk (Commentary)
1QS	Serek ha-Yachad, the Rule of the Community
1Qsa	The Rule of the Congregation
4QapMess	Messianic Apocrypha (= 4Q521)
4QDeutero-Ez	Deutero-Ezekiel (= 4Q385)
4Qenastr	Astronomical fragment from the Book of Enoch
4Qflor	Pesharim, 4Qflorilegium (= 4Q174)
4QMMT	Miqsat ma'ase ha-torah (= 4Q394–399)
4Qps-Danc	Pseudo-Daniel, ms c (= 4Q245)
4QtestQah	Testament of Qahat
4QtgJob	Targum de Job
4QviscAmrf	Visions of Amram
CD	Cairo Damascus Document

(The numeral preceding the letter “Q” indicates the Grotto number)

b) Other Writings

Ant	Antiquitates judaicae (Flavius Josephus)
Ap	Contra Apionem (Id.)
2 Ba	Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
Bell	De bello judaico (Flavius Josephus)
3 Esd/4 Esd	3rd/4th book of Esdras
Hen	Henoch
Lib Ant	Biblical Antiquities (Pseudo-Philo)
Or Sib	Sibylline Oracles
Ps Sal	Psalms of Solomon
T	Targum
TB	Talmud of Babylon
TJ	Talmud of Jerusalem
Test	Testament
Test XII	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
Test Zab	Testament of Zebulon
Vita	Vita Josephi (Flavius Josephus)

D. Documents from the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council

AA	<i>Apostolicam Actuositatem</i> , decree on the apostolate of the laity, November 18, 1965
AG	<i>Ad Gentes</i> , decree on the mission activity of the Church, December 7, 1965
CD	<i>Christus Dominus</i> , decree concerning the pastoral office of bishops in the Church, October 28, 1965
DH	<i>Dignitatis Humanae</i> , declaration on religious freedom, December 7, 1965
DV	<i>Dei Verbum</i> , dogmatic constitution on divine revelation, November 18, 1965
GE	<i>Gravissimum Educationis</i> , declaration on Christian education, October 28, 1965

GS	<i>Gaudium et Spes</i> , pastoral constitution on the Church in the modern world, December 7, 1965
IM	<i>Inter Mirifica</i> , decree on the media of social communication, December 4, 1963
LG	<i>Lumen Gentium</i> , dogmatic constitution on the Church, November 21, 1964
NA	<i>Nostra Aetate</i> , declaration on the relation of the Church to non-Christian religions, October 28, 1965
OE	<i>Orientalium Ecclesiarum</i> , decree on the Catholic Churches of the Eastern rite, November 21, 1964
OT	<i>Optatam Totius</i> , decree on priestly training, October 28, 1965
PC	<i>Perfectae Caritatis</i> , decree on the adaptation and renewal of religious life, October 28, 1965
PO	<i>Presbyterorum Ordinis</i> , decree on the ministry and life of priests, December 7, 1965
SC	<i>Sacrosanctum Concilium</i> , constitution on the sacred liturgy, December 4, 1963
UR	<i>Unitatis Redintegratio</i> , decree on ecumenism, November 21, 1964

E. Editions, Collections, and Classic Works

The journal and collections abbreviations are from *Abkürzungsverzeichnis* from the *TRE* (rev. ed. 1994).

AA	Kant, Akademie Ausgabe
AAS	Acta apostolicae sedis, <i>Vatican City</i> , 1909 (ASS, 1865–1908)
AAWLM	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Mainz
AAWLM.G	—Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, 1950–
ABAW	Abhandlungen der (k.) bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München
ABAW. PH	—Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, NS, 1929–
ABAW. PPH	—Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, 1909–1928
ABC	Archivum bibliographicum carmelitanum, Rome, 1956–1982
ABG	<i>Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte</i> , Bonn, 1955–
ACan	<i>L'Année canonique</i> , Paris, 1952–
ACar	Analecta Cartusiana, Berlin, etc., 1970–1988; NS, 1989–
ACHS	American Church History Series, New York, 1893–1897
Aci	<i>Analecta Cisterciensa</i> , Rome, 1965–

Abbreviations

<i>ACO</i>	<i>Acta conciliorum œcumenicorum</i> , Berlin, 1914–	<i>ASCOV</i>	<i>Acta synodalia sacrosancti Concilii Œcumenici Vaticani II</i> , Vatican City, 1970–1983
<i>Adv. Haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus Haereses</i> (Against Heresies)	<i>ASEs</i>	<i>Annali di storia dell'esegesi</i> , Bologna, 1984–
<i>AF</i>	<i>Archivio di filosofia</i> , Rome, 1931–	<i>ASI</i>	<i>Archivio storico italiano</i> , Florence, 1852–
<i>AFH</i>	<i>Archivum Franciscanum historicum</i> , Florence, 1908–	<i>ASOC</i>	<i>Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis</i> , Rome, 1945–1964 (= <i>ACi</i> , 1965–)
<i>AFP</i>	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i> , Rome, 1930–	<i>ASS</i>	<i>Acta sanctae sedis</i> , Rome, 1865–1908
<i>AGJU</i>	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums, Leiden, 8, 1970–15, 1978	<i>ASSR</i>	<i>Archives de sciences sociales des religions</i> , Paris, 1973–
<i>AGPh</i>	<i>Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie und Soziologie</i> , Berlin, 1888–	<i>A-T</i>	Descartes, <i>Œuvres</i> (Works), eds. C. Adam and P. Tannery
<i>AHC</i>	<i>Annuario historiae conciliorum</i> , Amsterdam, etc., 1969–	<i>ATA</i>	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen, Munich, 1908–1940
<i>AHDL</i>	<i>Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age</i> , Paris, 1926/1927–	<i>Ath</i>	<i>L'année théologique</i> , Paris, 1940–1951
<i>AHP</i>	<i>Archivum historiae pontificiae</i> , Rome, 1963–	<i>AthA</i>	<i>Année théologique augustinienne</i> , Paris, 1951–1954 (= <i>REAug</i> , 1955–)
<i>AISP</i>	<i>Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà</i> , Rome, 1951–	<i>AThANT</i>	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Zurich, 1944–
<i>AkuG</i>	<i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i> , Berlin, 1903–	<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustinianum</i> , Rome, 1961–
<i>ALKGMA</i>	Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, Berlin, etc., 1885–1900	<i>Aug(L)</i>	<i>Augustiniana</i> , Louvain, 1951–
<i>Aloi.</i>	Aloisiana, Naples, 1960–	<i>AUGL</i>	<i>Augustinus-Lexicon</i> , edited by C. Mayer, Basel, etc., 1986–
<i>ALW</i>	<i>Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft</i> , Ratisbonne, 1950–	<i>AugM</i>	<i>Augustinus Magister</i> , Année théologique. Supplement, 3 vols., Paris: Études augustinienes, 1954–1955
<i>AmA</i>	<i>American Anthropologist</i> , Menasha, Wis., 1888–1898; NS, 1899–	<i>BAug</i>	Bibliothèque augustinienne, Paris, 1936–
<i>AnBib</i>	Analecta biblica, Rome, 1952–	<i>BBB</i>	Bonner biblische Beiträge, Bonn, 1950–
<i>AncBD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , New York: Doubleday, 1992	<i>BBKL</i>	Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon, edited by F. W. Bautz, Hamm, 1970–
<i>AnCl</i>	<i>Antiquité classique</i> , Bruxelles, 1932–	<i>BCG</i>	Buchreihe der Cusanus-Gesellschaft, Münster, 1964–
<i>Ang.</i>	<i>Angelicum</i> , Rome, 1925–	<i>BCNH</i>	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Quebec.
<i>AnGr</i>	Analecta Gregoriana, Rome, 1930–	<i>BCPE</i>	<i>Bulletin du Centre protestant d'études</i> , Geneva, 1949–
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang des römischen Welt</i> , Berlin, 1972–	<i>BEAT</i>	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums, Frankfurt, 1984–
<i>Anton.</i>	<i>Antonianum</i> , Rome, 1926–	<i>BEL.S</i>	Bibliotheca (Ephemerides Liturgicae), Subsidia, Rome 1975–
<i>AphC</i>	<i>Annales de philosophie chrétienne</i> , Paris, 1830–1913	<i>BEM</i>	COE, Foi et Constitution, <i>Baptême, eucharistie, ministère. Convergence de la foi</i> (Lima, January 1982), Paris, 1982
<i>Apol.</i>	Luther, <i>Apologia confessionis Augustanae</i> (Apology of the Augsburg Confession)		
<i>Aquinas</i>	<i>Aquinas. Revista internazionale de filosofia</i> , Rome, 1958–		
<i>ARMo</i>	<i>L'actualité religieuse dans le monde</i> , Paris, 1983–		
<i>ArPh</i>	<i>Archives de philosophie</i> , Paris, 1923–		
<i>AsbTJ</i>	<i>The Asbury Theological Journal</i> , Wilmore, Ky, 1986–		

BETHL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium, Louvain, 1947–	BSFP	<i>Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie</i> , Paris, 1901–
BevTh	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, Munich, 1940–	BSGR	<i>Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche</i> , edited by A. and C.L. Hahn, Breslau, 1842; reprinted 1962, Hildesheim
BGLRK	Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der reformierten Kirche, Neukirchen, 1937–	BSHPF	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'histoire du protestantisme français</i> . Paris, 1852–
BGPhMA	Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie (1928) und Theologie des Mittelalters, Münster, 1891–	BSKORK	<i>Bekenntnisschriften und Kirchenordnungen der nach Gottes Wort reformierten Kirche</i> , edited by W. Niesel, Zollikon, etc., 1937–1938; 2nd ed., 1938 (etc.) (CCFR, Geneva, 1986)
BHK	Biblia Hebraica, ed. R. Kittel. Stuttgart, 1905/1906; 16th ed., 1973	BSLK	<i>Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche</i> , Göttingen, 1930; 10th ed., 1986; 11th ed., 1992 (FEL, Paris-Geneva, 1991)
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, Stuttgart, 1969–1975; 2nd ed., 1984	BSS	<i>Bulletin de Saint-Sulpice</i> . Revue internationale de la Compagnie des prêtres de Saint-Sulpice, Paris, 1975–
BHSA	<i>Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne</i> . Clermont-Ferrand, 1881–	BSSV	<i>Bollettino della Società di studi Valdesi</i> , Torre Pellice, 1934–
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, Tübingen, 1929–	BSt	Biblische Studien. Neukirchen, 1951–
Bib	<i>Biblica</i> . Commentarii periodici ad rem biblicam scientifice investigandam, Rome, 1920–	BT.B	Bibliothèque de théologie. 3rd ser. Théologie biblique, Paris, 1954–
BICP	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut catholique de Paris</i> , Paris, 2nd ser., 1910–	BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i> , New York, 1971–
Bidi	Bibliotheca dissidentium, Baden-Baden, 1980–	BTB(F)	—French ed.
BIHBR	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome</i> , Rome, etc., 1919–	BThom	<i>Bulletin thomiste</i> , Étiolles, etc., 1924–1965
Bijdr	<i>Bijdragen</i> . Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie, Nimègue, etc., 1953–	BThW	<i>Bibeltheologisches Wörterbuch</i> , Graz, etc., 1–2, 19673 (Eng. Ed. EBT)
BIRHT	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes</i> , Paris, 1964–1968 (= RHT, 1971–)	BTt	Bible de tous les temps, Paris, 8 vol., 1984–1989
BJ	<i>La Bible de Jérusalem</i> (Jerusalem Bible)	BullFr	<i>Bullarium Franciscanum</i> , Rome, etc., 1929–1949
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> , Manchester, 1903–	BWANT	Beiträge zum Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, Stuttgart, 1926 (= BWAT, 1908–1926)
BLE	<i>Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique</i> , Toulouse, 1899–	BWAT	<i>Beiträge zum Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament</i> , Stuttgart, 1908–1926
BN	Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1897 (General catalog of printed works from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris)	Byz	<i>Byzantion</i> , Bruxelles, 1924–
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i> . Beiträge zur exegetischen Diskussion, Bamberg, 1976–	BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i> , Paderborn, etc., 1903–1938; NF 1957–
BPhM	<i>Bulletin de philosophie médiévale</i> , Louvain, 1964–	BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin, 1896–
Br	Pascal, Blaise. <i>Pensées</i> . Brunschvig.	BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin, etc., 1923–
BS	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i> , London, 1843 (= BSTR, Andover, Mass.; 1844–1851 = BSABR; 1851–1863 = BS, Dallas, etc. 1864–)	BZRGG	Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, Leyden, 1953–
		CA	<i>Confession of Augsburg</i>

Abbreviations

CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, Berlin, 1883	ChPR	<i>Chroniques de Port-Royal</i> , Paris, 1950–
CAR	Cahiers de l'actualité religieuse, Tournai, 1954–1969 [Continued after 1969 as <i>Cahiers pour croire aujourd'hui</i>]	CIC	<i>Codex iuris canonici</i> , Rome, 1917 and Rome, 1983
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament, Neuchatel, 1963	CIC(B).C	<i>Corpus iuris civilis</i> , ed. P. Krueger, T. Mommsen, Berlin, -2. <i>Codex Iustinianus</i> , 1874–1877; 2nd ed., 1880, etc.
<i>Cath (M)</i>	<i>Catholica. Jahrbuch für Kontroverstheologie</i> , Munster, etc. 1932–39, 1952/53–	CIC(L)	<i>Corpus iuris canonici</i> , ed. E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1837–1839; Graz, 1955 (reprint)
<i>Cath</i>	<i>Catholicisme. Hier, aujourd'hui, demain</i> , Paris, 1948–	CILL	Cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique de Louvain, Louvain, 1972–
CBFV	Cahiers bibliques de <i>Foi et Vie</i> , Paris, 1936–	Cîteaux	<i>Cîteaux: commentarii cistercienses</i> , Westmalle, 1959–
CBiPA	Cahiers de Biblia Patristica, Strasbourg, 1987–	Cîteaux, SD	— <i>Studia et documenta</i> , 1971–
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> , Washington, DC, 1939–	COD	<i>Conciliorum oecumenicorum Decreta</i> , eds. Albergio and Jedin, Bologna, 3rd ed., 1973 (DCO, 1994)
CCEO	<i>Codex Canonum ecclesiarum orientalium</i> . Rome, 1990	Com(F)	<i>Communio. Revue catholique internationale</i> , Paris, 1975/76–
CCFR	Confessions et catéchismes de la foi reformée, ed., Oliver Fatio, Geneva, 1986 (<i>BSKORK</i> , Zollikon)	Com(US)	<i>Communio. International Catholic Review</i> , Spokane, Wash., 1974–
CCG	Codices Chrysostomi Graeci, Paris, 1968–	Con	<i>Contemporain</i> , Paris, 1866–
CChr	Corpus Christianorum, Turnhout	Conc(D)	<i>Concilium. Internationale Zeitschrift für Theologie</i> , Einsiedeln, 1965–
CChr.CM	—Continuatio mediaevalis, 1966	Conc(F)	<i>Concilium. Revue internationale de théologie</i> , Paris, 1965–
CChr.SA	—Series Apocryphorum, 1983–	Conc(US)	<i>Concilium. Theology in the Age of Renewal</i> , New York, 1965–
CChr.SG	—Series Graeca, 1977	ConscLib	<i>Conscience et Liberté</i> , Paris, 1971–
CChr.SL	—Series Latina, 1953	Corp IC	see <i>CIL (L)</i>
CCist	<i>Collectanea Cisterciensia</i> , Westmalle, Forges, etc. 1934–	CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum, Turnhout, 1974– (= CChr.SG)
CCMéd	<i>Cahiers de civilisation médiévale. X^e–XII^e siècles</i> , Poitiers, 1958–	CPIUI	<i>Communio. Pontificium Institutum Utriusque Juris</i> , Rome, 1957–
CDTor	<i>Collationes Diocesis Tornacensis</i> , Tournai, 1853–	CPPJ	Cahiers de philosophie politique et juridique, Caen, 1982–
CEC	<i>Catéchisme de l'Eglise catholique (Catechism of the Catholic Church)</i> , Paris, 1992 (Typical Latin text, Vatican City, 1992; rev. ed., 1997).	CR	Corpus reformatorum, Berlin, 1834–
CEv	Cahiers évangile, Paris, 1972–	CRB	Cahiers de la <i>Revue Biblique</i> , Paris, etc., 1964–
CFan	Cahiers de Fangeaux, Fanjeaux, etc., 1966–	CrSt	<i>Cristianesimo nella storia</i> , Bologna, 1980–
CFi	Cogitatio fidei, Paris, 1961	CR.Th.Ph	<i>Cahiers de la Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i> , Geneva, 1977–
CFr	Collectanea franciscana, Rome, etc., 1931–	CSCO	Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium, Rome, etc., 1903–
CG	<i>Summa Contra Gentiles</i>	CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna, 1866–
CGG	<i>Christlicher Glaube in moderner Gesellschaft</i> , Fribourg, 1981–1984	CT	<i>Concilium Tridentinum. Diarium, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio</i> , Fribourg, 1901–1981
CHFMA	Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age, Paris, 1923–	CTh	Cahiers théologiques, Neuchâtel, etc., 27, 1949– (= CthAP, 1923–1949)
ChGimG	see CGG	CTh.HS	— <i>Hors série</i> , 1945– (Special edition)
ChH	<i>Church History</i> , Chicago: American Society of Church History, 1932–		

<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i> , Grand Rapids, Mich, 1966–		crétariat de la Conférence des évêques de France, Paris, 1965–
<i>CUFr</i>	Collection des Universités de France (Les Belle Lettres), Paris, 1920–	<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1941–
<i>DA</i>	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i> , Marburg, etc., 1937–	<i>DOPol</i>	<i>Dictionnaire des oeuvres politiques</i> , Paris, 1986
<i>DACL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , Paris, 1924–53	<i>DPAC</i>	<i>Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane</i> , edited by A. di Berardino, Casale Monferrato, 1–3, 1983–1988 (French trans. <i>DECA</i>)
<i>DAFC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi catholique</i> , Paris, 1889; 4th ed., 1909–1931	<i>DPhP</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de philosophie politique</i> , eds. Ph. Raynaud and St. Rials, Paris, 1997
<i>DB</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i> , Paris, 1895–1928	<i>DR</i>	<i>Downside Review</i> , Bath, 1880–
<i>DBS</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément</i> , Paris, 1928–	<i>DS</i>	<i>Enchiridion Symbolorum</i> , eds. H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, Freiburg, 36th ed., 1976
<i>DBW</i>	<i>Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Werke</i> , ed. E. Bethge et al., Munich, 1986–	<i>DSp</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique</i> , Paris, 1932–1995
<i>DC</i>	<i>Documentation Catholique</i> , Paris: 1919–	<i>DT</i>	<i>Divus Thomas. Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie</i> , Fribourg, 1914–1953
<i>DCO</i>	<i>Conciliorum oecumenicorum Decreta; Les Conciles Oecuméniques</i> , II, 1 and 2. <i>Les Décrets</i> . ed. Albergio, Paris, 1994 (trans. of <i>COD</i>)	<i>DT(P)</i>	<i>Divus Thomas. Commentarium de philosophia et theologia</i> , Plaisance, 1880–
<i>DCTh</i>	<i>Dictionnaire critique de théologie</i> . ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste, Paris, 1998; 2nd revised ed., 1999	<i>DTF</i>	<i>Dizionario di Teologia Fondamentale</i> , eds. R. Latourelle et R. Fisichella, Assisi, 1990. (<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Fondamentale</i> , Paris, 1992)
<i>DDC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de droit canonique</i> , Paris, 1924–1965	<i>DThC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i> , Paris, 1–15, 1903–1950 + tables 1–3, 1951–1972
<i>DEB</i>	<i>Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible</i> , Turnhout, 2 vols., 1956–1987	Dumeige	<i>La Foi Catholique</i> , G. Dumeige, Paris, 1975
<i>DECA</i>	<i>Dictionnaire encyclopédique du christianisme ancien</i> . ed. A. di Bernardino, Paris, 2 vols., 1990. (Trans. of <i>DPAC</i>)	<i>DViv</i>	<i>Dieu Vivant</i> , Paris, 1945–1955
<i>DEPhM</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'éthique et de philosophie morale</i> , edited by M. Canto Sperber, Paris, 1996	<i>EAug</i>	<i>Études augustinienes</i> , Paris, 1954– (Studies on Augustine)
<i>DH</i>	<i>Enchiridion Symbolorum</i> . Eds. H. Denzinger and P. Hunerman, Fribourg, 37th ed., 1991	<i>EBT</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology</i> , London, 1970, etc. (Eng. ed. of <i>BThW</i>)
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> . Paris, 1912–	<i>ECQ</i>	<i>Eastern Churches Quarterly</i> , Ramsgate, 1936–1964 (= <i>OiC</i> , 1965–)
<i>DHOP</i>	<i>Dissertationes historicae</i> . Institutum historicum FF. Praedicatorum, Rome, etc., 1931–	<i>ECR</i>	<i>Eastern Churches Review</i> , Oxford, 1966–1978
<i>DJD</i>	<i>Discoveries in the Judean Desert</i> , Oxford, 1955–	<i>EdF</i>	<i>Erträge der Forschung</i> , Darmstadt, 1970–
<i>DK</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , eds. H. Diels and W. Kranz, Berlin, 1903; 13th ed., 1972 (= <i>FVS</i>)	<i>EE</i>	<i>Estudios ecclesiásticos</i> , Madrid, 1922–
<i>DMA</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Middle Ages</i> , ed. R. Strayer, New York, 1982–	<i>EeT</i>	<i>Église et théologie</i> , Paris, 1958–1962 (= <i>BFLTP</i> , 1934–1958)
<i>DoC</i>	<i>Doctor Communis</i> , Rome, 1948–	<i>EETS</i>	Early English Text Society, London, 1864–
<i>Doc.-épisc.</i>	<i>Documents-épiscopat</i> , Bulletin du se-	<i>EFV</i>	<i>Enchiridion fontium valdensium</i> , Torre Pelice, 1958

Abbreviations

<i>EI(F)</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> , French ed, Leyden. 1913–1936; new ed. 1954–	<i>ETR</i>	<i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i> , Montpellier, 1926–
<i>EJ</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> , Jerusalem 1–16, 1971; 17, 1982–	<i>EU</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Universalis</i> , Paris, 1968–1986, 1985–1988
<i>EKK</i>	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Neukirchen, 1975–	<i>EvTh</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i> , Munich, 1934–1938; NS, 1946/1947–
<i>EKL</i>	<i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon</i> , Göttingen, 1956–1961; 2nd ed., 1961–1962; 3rd ed., 1986–1997	<i>EWNT</i>	<i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> , Stuttgart, etc., 1–3, 1980–1983
<i>EN</i>	<i>Ethica nicomachea</i> Aristotle	<i>FEL</i>	La foi des Églises luthériennes: confessions et catéchismes, eds. A. Birmele and M. Lienhard, Paris-Geneva, 1991 (BSLK Göttingen)
<i>En. Ps.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i> , Augustine	<i>FOP</i>	Faith and Order Paper(s), World Council of Churches, Geneva, NS, 1949–
<i>EnchB</i>	<i>Enchiridion Biblicum</i> , Rome, 1927; 4th ed., 1961	<i>FKTh</i>	<i>Forum katholische Theologie</i> , Aschaffenburg, 1985–
<i>EnchP</i>	<i>Enchiridion patristicum</i> , M. J. Rouët de Journel, Fribourg, 1911; 25th ed., 1981	<i>FRLANT</i>	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Göttingen, 1903–
<i>EncProt</i>	<i>Encyclopédie du Protestantisme</i> , edited by P. Gisel, Paris-Geneva, 1995	<i>FrSA</i>	<i>Franciscan Studies Annual</i> , St. Bonaventure, NY, 1963– (= <i>FrS</i> , 1924–1962)
<i>EncRel(E)</i>	<i>The Encyclopedia of Religion</i> , edited by M. Eliade, New York, 1–16, 1987	<i>FS</i>	Franziskanische Studien, Münster, etc., 1914–
<i>EncRel(I)</i>	<i>Enciclopedia delle religioni</i> , edited by M. Gozzini, Florence, 1970–1976	<i>FS.B</i>	—Beiheft, 1915–
<i>Enn.</i>	<i>Enneads</i> , Plotinus	<i>FSÖTh</i>	Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie, Göttingen, 1962–
<i>EO</i>	<i>Ecclesia orans</i> . Periodica de scientiis liturgicis, Rome, 1984–	<i>FThSt</i>	Freiburger theologische Studien, Fribourg, 1910–
<i>EOr</i>	<i>Échos d'Orient</i> , Bucharest, 1897/1898–1942/1943 (= <i>EtByz</i> , 1943–1946; <i>REByz</i> , 1946–)	<i>FTS</i>	Frankfurter theologische Studien, Frankfurt, 1969–
<i>Eos</i>	<i>Eos</i> . Commentarii societatis philologiae Polonorum, Wroclaw, etc., 1894–	<i>FV</i>	<i>Foi et Vie</i> , Paris, 1898–
<i>Eph</i>	<i>Études philosophiques</i> , Paris, 1927–	<i>FVS</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , eds. H. Diels and W. Kranz, Berlin, 1903; 13th ed., 1972 (= <i>DK</i>)
<i>EPRO</i>	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain</i> , Leyden, 1961–	<i>FZPhTh</i>	<i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i> , Freiburg (Switzerland), 1954–
<i>ER</i>	<i>Ecumenical Review</i> , Lausanne, 1948–	<i>GCFI</i>	<i>Giornale critico della filosofia italiana</i> , Florence, etc., 1920–
<i>ErIs</i>	<i>Eretz Israel</i> , Jerusalem, 1951–	<i>GCS</i>	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Berlin, 1897–
<i>EstB</i>	<i>Estudios biblicos</i> , Madrid, 1929–	<i>GNO</i>	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i> , ed. Werner Jaeger, Berlin then Leiden (= Jaeger), 1921
<i>EstL</i>	<i>Evangelisches Staatslexikon</i> , Stuttgart, 3rd ed., 1987	<i>GOTR</i>	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i> , Brookline (Mass.), 1954–
<i>EstLul</i>	<i>Estudios lulianos</i> , Palma de Mallorca, 1957–	<i>Gr</i>	<i>Gregorianum</i> , Rome, 1920–
<i>EtB</i>	<i>Études bibliques</i> , Paris, 1903–	<i>GRBS</i>	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, Mass., 1958–
<i>EtCarm</i>	<i>Études carmélitaines</i> , Paris, 1911–1964		
<i>Eth. à Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica nicomachea</i> , Aristotle (Éthique à Nicomaque; Nichomachean Ethics)		
<i>Éthique</i>	<i>Éthique. La vie en question</i> , Paris, 1991–1996 (22 issues)		
<i>EthL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i> , Louvain, etc., 1924–		
<i>EtMar</i>	<i>Études mariales</i> , Paris, 1947–		

<i>Grundfr. syst. Th.</i>	<i>Grundfragen systematischer Theologie</i> , W. Pannenberg, Göttingen, 1967, vol 2, 1980	<i>HTTL</i>	<i>Herders theologisches Taschenlexikon</i> , edited by K. Rahner, 8 vol., Fribourg, 1972–1973
GS	Germanische Studien, Berlin, etc., 1919–	<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> , Cincinnati, Ohio, 1924–
<i>GuV</i>	<i>Glauben und Verstehen, Gesammelte Aufsätze</i> , R. Bultmann, 4 vol., Tübingen, 1933–1965	<i>HWP</i>	<i>Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie</i> , Basel-Stuttgart, 1971–
GVEDL	Die geltenden Verfassungsgesetze der evangelisch-deutschen Landeskirchen, edited by Emil Friedberg, Fribourg, 1885 and suppl. 1–4, 1888–1904	<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i> , Munich, etc., 1859–
<i>HadSt</i>	<i>Haddock Studies</i> , Moulinsart, 1953–	<i>IDB</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> , New York, 1/4, 1962 + suppl., 1976
<i>Hahn</i>	see <i>BSCR</i>	<i>IkaZ</i>	<i>Internationale katholische Zeitschrift Communio</i> , Frankfurt, 1972–
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i> , Pittsburgh, Pa, 1979–	<i>IKZ</i>	<i>Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift. Revue Internationale ecclésiastique. International Church Review</i> , Berne, 1911–
<i>HCO</i>	<i>Histoire des conciles œcuméniques</i> , ed. G. Dumeige, Paris, 1962–	<i>In Sent. Inst.</i>	<i>Commentary on the Sentences Institutes of the Christian Religion</i> , Calvin
<i>HDG</i>	<i>Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte</i> , edited by M. Schmaus, A. Grillmeier, et al., Fribourg, etc., 1951–	<i>Irén</i>	<i>Irénikon</i> , Chèvotogne, etc., 1926–
<i>HDThG</i>	<i>Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte</i> , edited by C. Andresen, Göttingen, 1982–1984	<i>Ist</i>	<i>Istina</i> , Boulogne-sur-Seine, etc., 1954–
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> . Eusebius	<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i> , Boston, Mass., etc., 1967–
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i> , Wiesbaden, 1866–1944, 1952–	<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> , Münster, 1958–
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i> , Oxford then London, 1960–	<i>JAC.E</i>	— <i>Ergänzungsband</i> , 1964–
<i>HFTh</i>	<i>Handbuch der Fundamentaltheologie</i> , edited by W. Kern et al., 4 vol., Fribourg, 1985–1988	<i>Jaeger</i>	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i> , ed. W. Jaeger, Berlin then Leyden (= <i>GNO</i>), 1921–
<i>Hier. eccl.</i>	<i>Hiérarchie ecclésiastique (Ecclesiastica hierarchia)</i>	<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> , Philadelphia, Pa., 1890–
<i>HistDog</i>	<i>Histoire des dogmes</i> , Paris, 1953–1971 (unfinished trans. by <i>HDG</i>)	<i>JCSW</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für christliche Sozialwissenschaften</i> , Münster, 1968–
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft</i> , Munich, etc., 1880–	<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> , London, etc., 1950–
<i>HKG(J)</i>	<i>Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte</i> , edited by H. Jedin, Fribourg, etc., 1962–1979	<i>JES</i>	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i> , Philadelphia, etc., 1964–
<i>HMO</i>	<i>Handbook of Metaphysics and Ontology</i> , eds. H. Burkhardt and B. Smith, Munich-Philadelphia-Vienna, 1991	<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i> , New York, etc., 1940–
<i>HST</i>	<i>Handbuch systematischer Theologie</i> , Gütersloh, 1979–	<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i> , London, 1948–
<i>HThK</i>	Herders theologisches Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Fribourg, 1953–	<i>JLW</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft</i> , Münster, 1921–1941
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1908–	<i>JÖBG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i> , Vienna, etc., 1951–1968 (= <i>JÖB</i> , 1969–)
<i>HThS</i>	Harvard Theological Studies, Cambridge, Mass., 1916–	<i>JRE</i>	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i> , Waterloo, Ont., etc., 1973–
		<i>JSNTSS</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i> , Supplement series, Sheffield, 1980–

Abbreviations

<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i> , Sheffield, 1976–	<i>LouvSt</i>	<i>Louvain Studies</i> , Louvain, 1966/1967–
<i>JSOT.S</i>	—Supplements Series, 1976–	<i>LR</i>	<i>Lutherische Rundschau</i> , Stuttgart, etc., 1951–1977
<i>JSPE.S</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i> . Supplement series, Sheffield, 1987–	<i>LSEO</i>	<i>Libri symbolici Ecclesiae orientalis</i> , ed. E. J. Kimmel, Iéna, 1843; 2nd ed., 1850
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> , Oxford, etc., 1899–1949; NS, 1950–	<i>LThK</i>	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> , Fribourg-Basel-Vienna, 1930–1938; 2nd ed., 1957–1967; 3rd ed., 1993
<i>KD</i>	<i>Die Kirchliche dogmatik</i> , K. Barth, Zollikon-Zurich, vol. I to IV, 1932–1967 + Index, 1970 (<i>Dogmatique</i> , 26 vol., Geneva, 1953–1974, + Index, 1980)	<i>LTP</i>	<i>Laval théologique et philosophique</i> , Quebec, 1944/1945–
<i>KiKonf</i>	Kirche und Konfession, Göttingen, 1962–	<i>LuJ</i>	<i>Luther-Jahrbuch</i> , Leipzig, etc., 1919–
<i>Kirch</i>	<i>Enchiridion fontium historiae ecclesiasticae</i> , ed. C. Kirch, Fribourg, 1910; 6th ed., 1947	<i>LV(L)</i>	<i>Lumière et vie</i> , Lyon, 1951–
<i>KKD</i>	<i>Kleine Katholische Dogmatik</i> , edited by J. Auer and J. Ratzinger, Ratisbonne, 1978–1988	<i>LWF.R</i>	<i>Lutheran World Federation Report</i> , 1978–
<i>KJ</i>	<i>Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland</i> , Gütersloh, 1900– (= <i>ThJb</i> , 1873–1899)	<i>Mansi</i>	<i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , edited by J. D. Mansi, Florence, 1759–1827; Paris-Leipzig, 1901–1927
<i>KL</i>	<i>Kirchenlexikon oder Encyclopädie der katholischen Theologie und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften</i> , edited by H. J. Wetzer and B. Welte, Fribourg, 1847–1860; 2nd ed., 1882–1903	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Marianum. Ephemerides Mariologiae</i> , Rome, 1939–
<i>Kotter</i>	<i>Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskus</i> , ed. B. Kotter, Berlin, 1969–	<i>Maria</i>	<i>Maria. Études sur la Sainte Vierge</i> , edited by H. du Manoir, 8 vol., Paris, 1949–1971
<i>KrV</i>	<i>Kritik der reinen Vernunft</i> , Kant	<i>MCS</i>	<i>Monumenta christiana selecta</i> , Tournai, etc., 1954–
<i>KSA</i>	<i>Kritische Studienausgabe</i> , Nietzsche; edited by Colli and Montinari, ed. minor	<i>MD</i>	<i>La Maison-Dieu. Revue de pastorale liturgique</i> , Paris, 1945–
<i>KuD</i>	<i>Kerygma und Dogma</i> , Göttingen, 1955–	<i>MDom</i>	<i>Memorie Domenicane</i> , Florence, etc., NS, 1970–
<i>Lat</i>	Lateranum, Rome, NS, 1935–	<i>MethH</i>	<i>Methodist History</i> , Lake Junaluska, NC, 1962–
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library, London, 1912–	<i>MF</i>	<i>Miscellanea francescana</i> , Rome, etc., 1936– (= <i>MFS</i> , 1886–1935)
<i>LeDiv</i>	Lectio divina, Paris, 1946–	<i>MFEO</i>	<i>Monumenta fidei Ecclesiae orientalis</i> , ed. H. J. C. Weissenborn, Iéna, 1850
<i>Leit</i>	<i>Leiturgia. Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes</i> , Kassel, 1952–1970	<i>MFCG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft</i> , Mainz, 1961–
<i>Liddell-Scott</i>	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , Liddell-Scott-Jones, Oxford	<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab a. C. 500 usque ad a. 1500</i> , Hanover, etc.
<i>LJ</i>	<i>Liturgisches Jahrbuch</i> , Münster, 1951–	<i>MGH.Conc</i>	—Concilia, 1893–
<i>LNPh</i>	<i>Les notions philosophiques</i> , edited by S. Aurox, vol. II of the <i>Encyclopédie philosophique universelle</i> , edited by A. Jacob, Paris, 2 vol., 1990	<i>MGH.Ep</i>	—Epistolae, 1887–
<i>LO</i>	<i>Lex orandi</i> , Paris, 1944–	<i>MGH.L</i>	—Leges, 1835–1889
		<i>MHP</i>	<i>Miscellanea historiae pontificae</i> , Rome, 1939–
		<i>MHSJ</i>	<i>Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu</i> , Rome, etc., 1894–
		<i>MiHiEc</i>	<i>Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae</i> , Congrès... de Louvain, 1960–
		<i>ML.T</i>	<i>Museum Lessianum</i> . Theological section, Bruxelles, 1922–

MM	Miscellanea mediaevalia, Berlin, etc., 1962–		1957; 2nd ed., 1974 (F.L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone); 3rd ed. rev. and augm., 1997 (by E. A. Livingstone)
MS	<i>Mediaeval Studies</i> , Toronto, 1939–	OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>
MSR	<i>Mélanges de science religieuse</i> , Lille, 1944–	OGE	<i>Ons geestelijk erf</i> , Anvers, etc., 1927–
MSSNTS	Monograph Series. Society for New Testament Studies, Cambridge, 1965–	OiC	<i>One in Christ</i> , London, 1965–
MThZ	<i>Münchener theologische Zeitschrift</i> , Munich, etc., 1950–1984	OR	<i>L'Osservatore romano</i> , Vatican City, 1849–
MySal	<i>Mysterium Salutis</i> , Grundriß heilsgeschichtlicher Dogmatik, vol. I to V, edited by J. Feiner and M. Löhrer, Einsiedeln, etc., 1965–1976 + supplements, 1981, etc. (<i>Dogmatique de l'histoire du salut</i> , vol. I–III/2 and IV/1 (p. 457–599), 14 vol., 1969–1975)	ÖR	<i>Ökumenische Rundschau</i> , Stuttgart, 1952–
NBL	<i>Neues Bibel-Lexikon</i> , Zurich, 1991	Or	<i>Orientalia</i> , Rome, 1920–
NCE	<i>New Catholic Encyclopaedia</i> , New York, 1967–1979	OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus</i> , Rome, 1901–
NHThG	<i>Neues Handbuch Theologischer Grundbegriffe</i> , edited by P. Eicher, 2nd ed. augm., Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1991	OrChrA	see OCA
Not	<i>Notitiae. Commentarii ad nuntia et studia de re liturgica</i> , Vatican City, 1975–	OrChrP	see OCP
NRTh	<i>Nouvelle revue théologique</i> , Louvain, 1869–1940; 1945–	OS	Ostkirchliche Studien, Würzburg, 1952–
NSchol	<i>New Scholasticism</i> , Washington D.C., 1927–	OstKSt	<i>Ostkirchliche Studien</i> , Würzburg, 1952–
NStB	Neukirchener Studienbücher, Neukirchen, 1962–	ÖTh	Ökumenische Theologie, Zurich, etc., 1978–
NT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i> , Leyden, 1956–	OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien, Leyden, etc., 1942–
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, Münster, 1908–	Par.	Paradosis. Études de littérature et de théologie ancienne, Fribourg (Switzerland), 1947–
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i> , Cambridge, 1954–	PAS	<i>Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society</i> , London, 1887; NS, 1900/1901–
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies, Leyden, 1960–	PatSor	Patristica Sorbonensia, Paris, 1957–
Numen	<i>Numen. International Review for the History of Religions</i> , Leyden, 1954–	PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1857–1866
NV	<i>Nova et vetera</i> , Geneva, 1926–	PGL	<i>Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. G. W. H. Lampe, Oxford, 1961–1968
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis, Fribourg (Switzerland), 1973–	Ph	<i>Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum</i> , Wiesbaden, etc., 1846–
OCA	<i>Orientalia christiana analecta</i> , Rome, 1935–	Phil.	<i>Philosophy</i> , London, 1916–
OCP	<i>Orientalia christiana periodica</i> , Rome, 1935–	PhJ	<i>Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft</i> , Fulda, etc., 1888–
Oec.	<i>Öcumenica. Jahrbuch für ökumenische Forschung</i> , Gütersloh, etc., 1966–1971/1972	PiLi	Pietas liturgica. Studia, St. Ottilien, 1983–
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , edited by F.L. Cross, London,	PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1841–1864
		PLS	Patrologiae Latinae supplementum, Paris, 1958–1970
		PO	Patrologia Orientalis, Paris, etc., 1907–
		POC	<i>Proche-Orient chrétien</i> , Jerusalem, 1951–
		PosLuth	<i>Positions luthériennes</i> , Paris, 1953–
		PoTh	Point théologique, Institut catholique de Paris, 1971–
		PPR	<i>Philosophy and Phenomenological Research</i> , Buffalo, NY, 1940/1941–
		PRMCL	<i>Periodica de re morali, canonica, liturgica</i> , Rome, 1907–

Abbreviations

<i>PuN</i>	<i>Pietismus und Neuzeit</i> , Göttingen, 1974–	<i>RevBib</i>	<i>Revista biblica</i> , Buenos Aires, 1939–
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien, Berlin, 1964–	<i>RevPhil</i>	<i>Revue de philosophie</i> , Paris, 1900–1940
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae, Fribourg–Basel–Vienna, 1958–	<i>RevSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i> , Strasbourg, 1921–
<i>QFRG</i>	<i>Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationgeschichte</i> , Gütersloh 1921–, includes <i>QGT</i>	<i>RFNS</i>	<i>Rivista di filosofia neoscolastica</i> , Milan, 1909–
<i>QGT</i>	<i>Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer</i> , Gütersloh 1951–	<i>RGG</i>	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , Tübingen, 1909–1913; 2nd ed., 1927–1932; 3rd ed., 1956–1965
<i>QRT</i>	<i>Quaker religious Thought</i> , New Haven, Conn., 1959–	<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue historique</i> , Paris, 1876–
<i>Qschr</i>	<i>Quartalschrift</i> , Milwaukee, Wis., 1947–	<i>RHDF</i>	<i>Revue historique de droit français et étranger</i> , Paris, 1855–1869; 1922–
<i>QuLi</i>	<i>Questions liturgiques</i> , Louvain, 1910–	<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i> , Louvain, 1900–
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Stuttgart, 1950–	<i>RHEF</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire de l'Église de France</i> , Paris, 1910–
<i>RAM</i>	<i>Revue d'ascétique et de mystique</i> , Toulouse, 1920–1971	<i>RHMo</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire moderne</i> , Paris, 1926–1940 (= 1899–1914, 1954–, <i>RHMC</i>)
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i> , Paris, 1892–1894; NS, 1915–	<i>RHMC</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine</i> , Paris, 1899–1914, 1954– (= 1926–1940, <i>RHMo</i>)
<i>RBen</i>	<i>Revue bénédictine de critique, d'histoire et de littérature religieuses</i> , Maredsous, 1890–	<i>RHPPhR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i> , Strasbourg, etc., 1921–
<i>RDC</i>	<i>Revue de droit canonique</i> , Strasbourg, 1951–	<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i> , Paris, 1880
RDCCIF	Recherches et débats du Centre catholique des intellectuels français, Paris, 1948–1952; NS, 1952–1980	<i>RHSp</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité</i> , Paris, 1972–1977
<i>RdQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i> , Paris, 1958–	<i>RHT</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire des textes</i> , Paris, 1971– (= <i>BIRHT</i>)
<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i> , Gotha, 3rd ed., 1896–1913	<i>RICP</i>	<i>Revue de l'Institut catholique de Paris</i> , Paris, 1896–1910 (= <i>BICP</i> , 1910–)
<i>REAug</i>	<i>Revue des études augustinienes</i> , Paris, 1955– (= <i>AThA</i> , 1951–1954)	<i>RIPh</i>	<i>Revue Internationale de Philosophie</i> , Bruxelles, 1938–
<i>REByz</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i> , Paris, 1946–	<i>RITh</i>	<i>Revue internationale de théologie</i> , Berne, 1893–1910
<i>RECA</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , edited by A. Pauly, Stuttgart, 1839–1852	<i>RivBib</i>	<i>Rivista biblica</i> , Rome, 1953–
<i>RechAug</i>	<i>Recherches augustinienes</i> , Paris, 1958–	<i>RLT</i>	<i>Rassegna di letteratura tomistica</i> , Naples, 1966–
RechBib	Recherches bibliques, Bruges, etc., 1954–	<i>RMAL</i>	<i>Revue du Moyen Age latin</i> , Paris, etc., 1945–
<i>RecL</i>	<i>Revue ecclésiastique de Liège</i> , Liège, 1905–1967	<i>RMM</i>	<i>Revue de métaphysique et de morale</i> , Paris, 1893–
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i> , Paris, 1888–	<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i> , Paris, 1896–1936
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des études latines</i> , Paris, 1923–	<i>RPFE</i>	<i>Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'étranger</i> , Paris, 1876–
<i>RelSt</i>	<i>Religious Studies</i> , London, etc., 1965/1966–	<i>RPL</i>	<i>Revue philosophique de Louvain</i> , Louvain, etc., 1946–
<i>RET</i>	<i>Revista española de teología</i> , Madrid, 1940–	<i>RSF</i>	<i>Rivista di storia della filosofia</i> , Rome, 1946; NS, 1984–

<i>RSHum</i>	<i>Revue des sciences humaines</i> , Lille, NS, 45, 1947–	SESJ	Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran julkaisu. Helsinki, 1966–
<i>RSLR</i>	<i>Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa</i> , Florence, 1965–	SHCSR	<i>Spicilegium historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris</i> . Rome, 1953–
<i>RSPhTh</i>	<i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i> , Paris, 1907–	SHCT	Studies in the History of Christian Thought. Leyden, 1966–
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i> , Paris, 1910–	<i>SJP</i>	<i>Salzburger Jahrbuch für Philosophie und Psychologie</i> , Salzburg, 1957–
<i>RThAM</i>	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale</i> , Louvain, 1929–	<i>SJTh</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i> . Edinburgh, 1948–
<i>RThom</i>	<i>Revue thomiste</i> , Bruges, etc., Toulouse, 1893–	SKG	Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft. Halle
<i>RThPh</i>	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i> , Lausanne, 1868–1911; 3rd ser., 1951–	SKG.G	—Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, 1924–1944
<i>RTL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i> , Louvain, 1970–	<i>SM (D)</i>	<i>Sacramentum Mundi. Theologisches Lexikon für die Praxis</i> . ed. K. Rahner. Fribourg, 1967–1969
<i>RTLu</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Lugano</i> , Facoltà di teologia di Lugano, 1996–	<i>SM (E)</i>	<i>Sacramentum Mundi. An Encyclopedia of Theology</i> . New York, 1968–1970
<i>Sal</i>	<i>Salesianum</i> , Turin, 1939	SO	Symbolae Osloenses. Oslo, 1923–
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände, Stuttgart, 1988–	<i>Sob</i>	<i>Sobornost</i> . London, 1979–
SBi	Sources Bibliques, Paris, 1963–	Sommervogel	Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, new edition by C. Sommervogel, Bruxelles, 1890–1930; 3rd ed., 1960–1963
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, Stuttgart, 1965–		
SC	Sources Chrétiennes, Paris, 1941–	SOr	Sources orientales. Paris, 1959–
<i>ScC</i>	<i>Scuola Cattolica</i> , Milan, 1873, 6th ser., 1923–	SPAMP	Studien zur Problemgeschichte der antiken und mittelalterlichen Philosophie, Leyden, 1966–
SCA	Studies in Christian Antiquity, Washington, D.C., 1941–	SpOr	Spiritualité orientale, Bégrolles-en-Mauges, 1966–
<i>SCE</i>	<i>Studies in Christian Ethics</i> , Edinburgh, 1988–	SSL	Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, Louvain, 1922–
<i>ScEc</i>	<i>Sciences ecclésiastiques: Revue philosophique et théologique</i> , Bruges, 1948–1967 (= <i>ScEs</i> , 1968–)	<i>SST</i>	<i>Studies in Sacred Theology</i> . Washington, D.C., 1895–1947; 2nd ser. 1947–
<i>ScEs</i>	<i>Science et esprit</i> , Bruges, 1968–	<i>ST</i>	<i>Summa Theologica</i> , Thomas Aquinas
SCH(L)	Studies in Church History, London, 1964–	StA	<i>Werke in Auswahl</i> (Studien Ausgabe), P. Melancthon, edited by R. Stupperich, Gütersloh, 1951–1955
<i>Schol.</i>	<i>Scholastik. Vierteljahresschrift für Theologie und Philosophie</i> . Fribourg, 1926–1965 (= <i>ThPh</i> , 1966–)	StAns	Studia Anselmiana. Rome, 1933–
<i>Schr.zur Th.</i>	<i>Schriften zur Theologie</i> , K. Rahner. Einsiedeln-Zürich-Cologne, 1954–1983	StANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament. Munich, 1960–1975
<i>SE</i>	<i>Sacris erudiri</i> , Steenbrugge, etc., 1948–	<i>StCan</i>	<i>Studia Canonica</i> , Ottawa, 1967–
<i>SecCent</i>	<i>The Second Century</i> . Abilene, Tex., 1981	StEv	Studia Evangelica, Berlin, 1959–1982 (= TU 73, etc.)
<i>SémBib</i>	<i>Sémiotique et Bible</i> , Lyon, 1975–	<i>StGen</i>	<i>Studium Generale</i> , Berlin, 1947–1971
<i>Semeia</i>	<i>Semeia. An Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism</i> . Atlanta, Ga, 1974–	STGMA	Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, Leyden, 1950–
SemSup	<i>Semeia Supplements</i> . Philadelphia, Pa., etc., 1975–	<i>StMed</i>	<i>Studi medievali</i> , Turin, etc.; NS, 1960–
<i>Sent.</i>	<i>Sententiarum Libri IV</i> , Peter Lombard	<i>StMiss</i>	<i>Studia missionalia</i> . Rome, 1943
		<i>StMor</i>	<i>Studia moralia</i> , Rome, 1963–

Abbreviations

STMP	<i>Studia theologiae moralis et pastoralis</i> , Salzburg, 1956–	ThR	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i> . Tübingen, 1897–1917; NF 1929–
StPatr	<i>Studia patristica</i> , Berlin, 1957–	ThSt(B)	<i>Theologische Studien</i> , edited by K. Barth <i>et al.</i> , Zurich, 1938–
StPh	<i>Studia philosophica</i> , Basel, 1946–	ThTo	<i>Theology Today</i> . Princeton, N.J., etc., 1944/1945–
STPIMS	<i>Studies and texts</i> , Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 1955–	ThW	<i>Theologische Wissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart, etc., 1972–
Strom.	<i>Stromata</i> , Clement of Alexandria	ThWA	<i>Theorie Werkausgabe</i> , Hegel, Frankfurt, 1970, 20 vols.
StSS	<i>Studia scholastico-scotistica</i> . Rome, 1968–	ThWAT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> , edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, Stuttgart, etc., 1973–
StT	<i>Studi e testi</i> , Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, 1900–	ThWNT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> , edited by G. Kittel, Stuttgart, 1933–1979
StTom	<i>Studi tomistici</i> , Vatican City, 1974–	ThZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i> , Basel, 1945–
StZ	<i>Stimmen der Zeit</i> , Fribourg, 1914–	TKTG	<i>Texte zur Kirchen und Theologiegeschichte</i> , Gütersloh, 1966–
SVF	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> , ed. J. von Arnim, Stuttgart. 3 vol. + index, 1903–1924, etc.	TOB	<i>Traduction oecuménique de la Bible</i>
SVTQ	<i>St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly</i> , New York, 1969–	TPh	<i>Tijdschrift voor filosofie</i> , Louvain, 1939–1961 (= <i>Tfil</i> , 1962–)
Symb. Ath.	<i>Symbol of Athanasius</i>	Tr	<i>Traditio</i> . Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion, New York, etc., 1943–
TAPhS	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> , Philadelphia, Pa, 1769–1809; NS, 1818–	TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> , edited by G. Krause and G. Müller, Berlin, 1976–
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964–1977 (trans. of <i>ThWNT</i>)	Trin	<i>De Trinitate</i> , Augustine
TEH	<i>Theologische Existenz heute</i> , edited by K. Barth <i>et al.</i> , Munich, 1933–1941; NS, 1946–	TS	<i>Theological Studies</i> , Woodstock, Md., etc., 1940–
TFil	<i>Tijdschrift voor filosofie</i> . Louvain, 1962– (= <i>TPh</i> , 1939–1961)	TSTP	<i>Tübinger Studien zur Theologie und Philosophie</i> , Mainz, 1991–
THAT	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> , ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, Munich, 1971–1976	TTh	<i>Tijdschrift voor theologie</i> , Nimègue, 1961–
Theos. H.	<i>Theosophical History</i> . A Quarterly Journal of Research, London, 1985–1989; Fullerton, Calif., 1990–	TThQ	<i>Tübinger theologische Quartalschrift</i> , Stuttgart, 1960–1968 (= <i>ThQ</i>)
ThGl	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i> , Paderborn, 1909–	TThZ	<i>Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift</i> , Trier, 1947–
ThH	<i>Théologie historique</i> , Paris, 1963–	TTS	<i>Tübinger theologische Studien</i> , Mainz, 1973–1990
ThJb	<i>Theologisches Jahrbuch</i> , Gütersloh, 1873–1899 (= <i>KJ</i> , 1900–)	TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> , Berlin, 1882–
ThJb(L)	<i>Theologisches Jahrbuch</i> . Leipzig, 1957–	TuG	<i>Theologie und Gemeinde</i> , Munich, 1958–
ThLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i> , Leipzig, 1876–	UB	<i>Urban-Bücher</i> , Stuttgart, 1953–
Thom	<i>Thomist</i> , Washington, D.C., 1939–	UnSa	<i>Unam Sanctam</i> , Paris, 1937–
ThPh	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i> , Fribourg, 1966–	VC	<i>Verbum Caro. Revue théologique et ecclésiastique œcuménique</i> , Taizé, etc., 1947–1969
THPQ	<i>Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift</i> , Linz, 1848–	VerLex	<i>Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon</i> , Berlin, etc, 1933–1955; 2nd ed., 1978–
ThQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i> , Tübingen, etc., 1819– (1960–1968 = <i>TThQ</i>)		

<i>VetChr</i>	<i>Vetera Christianorum</i> , Bari, 1964–	<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des nachbiblischen Judentums</i> , Berlin, 1881–
<i>VieCon</i>	<i>Vie consacrée</i> , Bruxelles, 1966–	<i>ZDP</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie</i> , Berlin, etc., 1869–
<i>VigChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> , Amsterdam, 1947–	<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> , Wiesbaden, 1978–
<i>VS</i>	<i>Vie spirituelle</i> , Paris, 1946–	<i>ZevKR</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für evangelisches Kirchenrecht</i> , Tübingen, 1951–
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> , Leyden, 1951–	<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> , Stuttgart, 1877–
<i>VT.S</i>	—Suppl., 1953–	<i>ZKTh</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i> , Vienna, etc., 1877–
<i>VThB</i>	<i>Vocabulaire de théologie biblique</i> , edited by X. Léon-Dufour, Paris, 1962; 2nd ed., 1970	<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> , Berlin, etc., 1900–
<i>WA</i>	<i>Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> , Luther (Weimarer Ausgabe), 1883–	<i>ZSRG.K</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung</i> , Weimar, 1911–
<i>WA.B</i>	— <i>Briefwechsel</i> , 1930–	<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> , Bonn, 1967–
<i>WA.DB</i>	— <i>Deutsche Bibel</i> , 1906–	<i>ZThK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i> , Tübingen, 1891–
<i>WA.TR</i>	— <i>Tischreden</i> , 1912–		
<i>WBS</i>	Wiener byzantinistische Studien, Graz, etc., 1964–		
<i>WdF</i>	Wege der Forschung, Darmstadt, 1956–		
Weischedel	<i>Werkausgabe</i> , Kant, edited by W. Weischedel, Frankfurt, 1958–1964		
<i>WMANT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Neukirchen, 1960–		
<i>WSAMA.T</i>	Walberger Studien der Albertus-Magnus-Akademie, Mainz, Theologische Reihe, 1964–		
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Tübingen, 1950–		
<i>WuW</i>	<i>Wort und Wahrheit</i> , Vienna, etc., 1946–1973		

Frankfurt = Frankfurt am Main

Fribourg = Fribourg-en-Brigau

Fribourg-Paris = Fribourg (Switzerland)—Paris

A hyphenated date (1963–) means that the publishing is not complete or that the collection or journal is still ongoing.

A

Abelard, Peter

1079–1142

a) *Life.* Peter Abelard studied dialectics first with Roscelin de Compiègne, whose nominalism* led him to dispute the realism of William of Champeaux. After a short period of studies in theology* under Anselm of Laon, Abelard started teaching these two subjects at the cathedral school of Paris. Following the scandal of his affair with Heloise, he decided to become a monk at Saint-Denis (c. 1117). His teaching sought to lead toward theology through the study of secular authors. His first treatise on the Trinity* (*Theologia summi boni*, c. 1120) was condemned at the Council* of Soissons (1121). Between 1122 and 1127 he developed his concepts on the philosophical foundations of theology in an oratory dedicated by him to the Holy Trinity (it later became the Paraclete). In 1129, two years after becoming abbot of Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys, he asked Heloise to transform this oratory into a monastic community. He started teaching again in Paris at the beginning of the 1130s, in the midst of controversy. In 1139 William of Saint Thierry drew Bernard* of Clairvaux's attention to a number of opinions expressed by Abelard. William accused Abelard of assigning full omnipotence only to the Father*, and thus denying that Christ* had become incarnate to free humanity from the devil. Bernard of Clairvaux took up these accusations in his turn, sent a treatise to Pope Innocent II, and succeeded in having Abelard excommunicated at the Council of Sens (1140). This excommunication was canceled thanks to the intervention of Peter the Vener-

able, who welcomed Abelard at Cluny and had him correct the controversial writings, thus obtaining an end to Bernard of Clairvaux's attacks.

b) *Theological Contribution.* Abelard's main contribution to theology is the systematic analysis of the traditional doctrines from a philosophical point of view. For him, Father, Son, and Holy* Spirit are names that signify the divine attributes* of power, wisdom*, and goodness that pagan philosophers and Jewish prophets* also recognize in their own way. He criticizes Roscelin's argument that the divine Persons* must be separate realities in order to be different from each other. He is particularly concerned for the aptitude of divine names* to create the intelligence (*intellectus*) of what they designate, according to a theme studied in his *Dialectica* and his *Logica Ingredientibus* regarding words (*voces*) in general. It is with their own specific words that the pagan philosophers gave rise to an intelligence of divinity similar to that of the prophets. Abelard suggests that the relationship between Father and Son is analogous to that existing between power and wisdom (capacity to discern), or between genus and species. His Trinitarian theology is more interested in the economy of God* in the world, above all through the Holy Spirit, than in his eternal nature. In his *Christian Theology* (1122–27) he outlines ideas on the rationality of divine action; these ideas are subsequently developed in the *Introduction*

to *Theology* (*Theologia Scholarium*, started in the early 1130s). One of the most controversial theses was the idea that God cannot act any differently than he does.

On many points of his teaching, in questions regarding God, Christ, the sacraments*, or ethics*, Abelard starts from the *Sic et Non* (composed probably c. 1120–21); this list of patristic opinions, which are apparently contradictory, is preceded by a definition of his theological method. According to him it is essential always to make sure that one is not led into error by writings that are, after all, human and therefore fallible. Disagreements among the Fathers* should induce us to go all the deeper in the search for truth. In his *Dialogue* (generally dated 1140–42, but also perhaps 1125–27; Mews 1985), which is the debate of a philosopher with a Jew and a Christian about which road to take toward the Sovereign Good*, and on the nature of Good and Evil*, Abelard talks about the superiority of natural law* over written law and about the essential compatibility between the philosopher's ethical approach (*ethica*) and the Christian's theological approach (*divinitas*). But he does not give the Christian's answer regarding the road to follow in order to reach the Sovereign Good. It is only in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (c. 1135?) that Abelard develops the thesis that the redeeming action of Christ does not consist in freeing man from servitude to the devil, but in inspiring in him the true love* of God through the example of his life and his death. Abelard deals again with moral questions in his *Know Thyself* (*Scito teipsum*): sin* is no longer bad will, as in the *Dialogue* and the commentary on *Rm*, but it is the consent to bad will

through contempt of God. Abelard did not write a systematic treatise on all the questions raised in the *Sic et Non*, but his students kept notes of his *Sentences*, where he addresses faith* in God and in Christ, the sacraments, and charity as the root of all ethics.

- PL 178; *Petri Abaelardi Opera*, Ed. V. Cousin, 1849 (2nd Ed. 1859), G. Olms, Hildesheim, 1970.
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- Opera theologica I–II*, Ed. E. M. Buytaert, CChrCM 11–12.
- III*, Ed. E. M. Buytaert, C. J. Mews, CChrCM 13.
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- Peter Abelard's Ethics*, Ed. D. E. Luscombe, Oxford, 1971.
- Sic et Non*, Ed. B. Boyer, R. McKeon, Chicago-London, 1976, 1977.
- Des intellections*, Ed. P. Morin, Paris, 1994.
- ♦ J. Jolivet (1969), *Arts du langage et théologie chez Abélard*, Paris (New Ed. 1982).
- D. E. Luscombe (1969), *The School of Peter Abelard*, Cambridge.
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CONSTANT MEWS

See also Language; Theological; Philosophy; Reason; Salvation; Tritheism

Abortion

Scripture is silent about abortion. Along with infanticide, abortion is only obliquely related to the biblical prohibition of child sacrifice (Lv 18:21, 20:2–5; 2 Kgs 21:6) and the liability incurred by those who cause a miscarriage by brawling (Ex 21:22).

a) *Jewish Antecedents and Early Christian Doctrine*. The question first emerged as an issue when the Jews

confronted the Hellenistic world, where both abortion and infanticide were widespread. Jewish moralists of the Diaspora began to urge parents not to abort their unwanted children, or to leave them exposed. Thus Hecataeus of Abdera (300 B.C.) (in Diodorus Siculus 40, 3, 8) writes: "[Moses] required those who dwelt in the land to rear their children" (in contrast with the Greeks who exposed unwanted newborns). Somewhat

later, Pseudo-Phocylides takes up the theme (first century A.D.) (*Sentences* 184–85): “A woman should not destroy the unborn babe in her belly; nor after its birth throw it before the dogs and the vultures as a prey.” Even more emphatically, Flavius Josephus (first century A.D.) (*Contra Apionem* 2, 245, 4–5) writes: “The Law ordains that all offspring are to be brought up, and forbids women either to cause abortion or to do away with the fetus. A woman convicted of this is regarded as an infanticide, because she destroys a soul and diminishes the race” (see also Philo of Alexandria, *Hypothetica* 7, 7.) This conviction in Hellenistic Judaism also found expression in the Septuagint. Exodus 21:22 had imposed a fine on anyone who by misadventure caused a woman to miscarry. The Greek translation required that “if the child is formed,” the principle of “life for life” must be applied and the death penalty exacted.

Christianity eagerly renewed this antipathy toward abortion as part of its larger moral agenda. Christians had inherited from Israel the duty to offer communal protection to four categories of defenseless people: kinless widows and orphans, resident aliens, and the indigent poor. Christian writers quickly broadened this doctrine by extending protection to four further sets of people at risk. Beyond widowhood, the wife was now protected by Jesus’ rejection of divorce (Mt 5:31–32, 19:3–15; Mk 10:1–12; Lk 16:18). The ethos of solidarity that had treated the resident alien as a neighbor was extended by Jesus’ injunction to love the enemy (Rom 12:14–21; Mt 5:43–48; Lk 6:27–36). Special consideration for the pauper was now enlarged by a call to consider slaves and masters as brothers in the Lord (Philemon). And the protection for orphans took bolder form in a defense of children whose parents wanted to eliminate them: the unborn were now protected against abortion, and the newborn against infanticide.

Within a Roman rather than a Jewish cultural context, Christians came to adopt the concept of inviolability, and to apply this to the case of the abandoned child. The *Didache* (first to second century A.D.) offers the earliest Christian example: “You shall not . . . murder a child by abortion, kill a newborn.” “Killers of children, destroyers of God’s handiwork,” were walking the “way of death” (2,2–3; 5,2. See also *Ep. Barn.* 19,5; 20,2).

The apologists* followed suit. Minucius Felix accuses the Romans of butchery: “You expose your own children to birds and wild beasts, or at times smother and strangle them—a pitiful way to die . . . and there are women who swallow drugs to stifle in their womb the burgeoning human life—committing infanticide even before they give birth to their infant” (30,1–2).

Athenagoras of Athens denied the rumor that Christians committed acts of cannibalism and slew infants to obtain blood for their eucharistic rites: “In our view, those who have recourse to methods of abortion commit murder, and they are answerable to God for this. How then could we commit such murders ourselves? The same person cannot regard that which a woman carries in her womb as a living creature, and therefore as an object of value to God, and then proceed to slay this creature once it has come forth into the light of day.” Tertullian* in Rome assailed the Stoic* belief that one’s first breath marks the beginning of life. To prevent the birth of a child is simply a swifter way to murder (*de anima* 38,1). The Apocalypse of Peter (Eth. 8) prescribes eternal torments for mothers who have aborted. Clement of Alexandria* writes that “women who resort to some sort of abortion drug slay not only the embryo but, along with it, all human love [*philanthropia*]” (*Paidagogos* 96). By the end of the second century it was established doctrine that abortion and infanticide were especially perverse forms of homicide.

Throughout the Christian world of the fourth century there were calls for severe church penalties against abortion. The Councils of Elvira in Spain (c. 305) and Ancyra in Galatia (314), as well as Basil* the Great in Cappadocia, Epiphanius in Cyprus, Ambrose* in Lombardy, Chrysostom* in Constantinople, and Augustine (*De nupt. et con.* 1,17) in Africa all witness to a broad repudiation of abortion. In Chrysostom’s words, it was “worse than murder” (*Homiliae in Ep. Rom.* 24).

b) Developments in Discipline and Doctrine. Since antiquity had no knowledge of the female ovum, it was thought that reproduction followed solely from the planting of the male seed, which then germinated and grew. Augustine’s supposition (based on Aristotle’s biology), that the beginning of life came only after the embryo had developed to some degree, justified continued speculation that fetal life began sometime after intercourse. This theory had practical consequences. If the youngest unborn were not yet humans then the disciplinary penalties for early abortion might be justifiably more lenient. Some canonists, including Gratian (1160) (C.J.C. i 1121–22) and Innocent III (1216) (C.J.C. ii 81) began to reserve the charge of homicide for later abortion—that is, abortion procured after the “infusion” of the human soul. Others, such as Raymond of Penafort (†1275) (C.J.C. ii 794) dissented. Since abortion was a capital offense before the civil courts, where the rules of evidence were correspondingly rigorous, it was commonly pled in the ecclesiastical courts, where sworn testimony was accepted and where there was a quite different penitential discipline.

This development in church discipline influenced theologians, and the idea of delayed ensoulment was taken up by Peter Lombard (†1160) (4,31,11), Bonaventure* (†1274) (in lib. iv *Sent.* 31, dub.4) and Thomas* Aquinas (*Sent.* 3, 3, 1.5 a.2, ST 2a 2ae 64, 8, ad2). It was only a question of deciding whether abortion could be regarded as homicide in a formal sense, though it was believed that abortion at any time was seriously sinful in intent and effect. By the 17th century opinion had turned away from the Aristotelian theory of delayed ensoulment in favor of believing that the soul was present from the moment of conception. These were the terms of the discussion that was pursued by casuists, from the 17th to the 19th century.

c) *19th and 20th Centuries.* The existence of the female ovum was scientifically established in 1827, and by 1875 it had been proved that conception involves the joining of one gamete from each parent. This effectively quieted speculation about any later moment when the human fetus might undergo substantial change.

In the meantime another question arose: if an early pregnancy threatened inevitable death to both mother and non-viable child, would it be licit (perhaps dutiful) to save at least the mother by dismembering and removing her doomed child? The principle of double effect seemed unworkable, yet many theologians pursued an intuitive conviction that removing a child from the mother would be justified if it could not be saved and if her life could thus be spared. Others sympathized, but could not bring themselves to acquiesce in what seemed to be direct killing. When the question was formally proposed to the Vatican's Holy Office, the reply was hedged: it "could not safely be taught."

The Vatican then took the doctrinal initiative in abortion-related questions. In 1869 Pius IX removed an old restriction that withheld excommunication if the fetus were not yet "ensouled." In *Casti Connubii* (1930) he condemned all abortion and denied that any necessity could justify direct killing.

After World War II Japan adopted a population pol-

icy with abortion as a principal means of birth control. Throughout the Communist bloc, abortion was legalized, and indeed was often enforced when state population policy took an antinatal turn. In 1968 Planned Parenthood-World Federation reversed prior policy and approved of using abortion to curb population growth. Within 20 years, and despite various legal conditions, most industrial countries had adopted what was in effect abortion on demand.

Sympathy for feminism, as well as fears about population growth, led some Christian denominations to accept abortion as a moral and legal liberty rightfully due to women. The issue intensified when medical scientists began calling for tissues and organs obtained through abortion and infanticide to be used for research and transplantation.

Today, Catholics oppose abortion more than ever. In 1995 Pope John Paul II issued an encyclical letter entitled *Evangelium Vitae*, which speaks of a Christian "culture of life" facing a contemporary "culture of death."

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See also Casuistry; Church and State; Ethics, Medical; Ethics, Sexual; Family; Procreation; Soul-Heart-Body

Achard of Saint-Victor. *See Saint-Victor, School of*

Action

1. Definition

The theory of human action starts with a distinction between events and actions: an event happens, an action is done. Various theories have tried to reduce the actions of humans to mechanistic, biological, or divine causalities, but these reductive accounts do not explain the reality of choice and responsibility in our actions, things of which we are convinced and that are expressed in law*, theology*, and common language.

The critical element in a theory of action is whether the agent has a reason behind what he or she does, a purpose in mind when performing the action. The distinguishing feature of actions is that they are events performed by people for reasons. An act with the same physical description can be a different human act entirely by the various purposes that may be served. Cutting off a person's hand, for example, could be an instance of torture, or legitimate punishment* (as in certain Islamic countries), or saving life (where the limb is affected by gangrene).

2. Historical Conceptions

a) Aristotle and the Stoics. Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) made a lasting contribution to the theory of human action in his *Nicomachean Ethics*. He distinguishes actions that are freely chosen (voluntary) from actions that are made under compulsion, and describes the elements of actions as acting in accordance with a purpose (*telos*), using deliberation (*bouleusis*) to determine the means, and choice (*prohairesis*), which results in the actions. The choice leading to the act is produced by neither intellect (*nous*) nor desire (*orexis*) alone, but is a combination of both. Most subsequent theories are elaborations of this one, with a changing emphasis on the importance of the rational or affective elements of action.

Stoic thinkers tended to modify Aristotle in several respects. They were not averse to the deterministic implications of theories of universal law, and practical reasoning was often reduced to attitudes of obedience to laws. More attention was given to “impulse” and other irrational factors in actions.

b) Scriptures. Beginning with the story of Adam and Eve, the Bible* emphasizes liberty*, responsibility,

and obedience to God*. The importance of right intention* is illustrated by the story of Cain and Abel (Gn 4), and the need for wisdom* and prudence* in living according to God's will is a major theme of the Psalms* and Proverbs.

The teaching of Jesus deepens the connection between external actions and inner disposition. Many examples, including the parables of the two sons (Mt 21:28–32), the good and bad fruit (Mt 7:16–20), and the pearl of great price (Mt 13:45–46), illustrate these points about actions: neither good attitude without action, nor action without proper motivation, is sufficient; there should be complete harmony between inner attitude and external action; such harmony is based on love* of God and his kingdom*; and it presupposes complete change in mind and heart. The pictures of abiding in Christ (Jn 15:4–5), being conformed to the image of Christ (2 Cor 3:17–18), or walking in the Spirit (Gal 5:16–26) all describe the dependence of a Christian's actions on identification and union with Christ in mind and heart.

c) Patristic and Medieval Periods. Augustine (354–430) summarizes the Christian life by emphasizing knowledge of God's will informed by the Scriptures, and the ordering of love under love for God. Some Greek theologians retained an interest in the philosophical analysis of action, including Nemesis (late fourth century) and John of Damascus (eighth century). Thomas* Aquinas was able to make use of these enrichments in his combination of Aristotelian theory with an Augustinian view of the will, balancing cognitive and affective functions in action. This balance was upset by an emphasis on the will in later thinkers (John Duns* Scotus [c. 1266–1308] and William of Ockham [c. 1285–1347/49]), with these results: Will is responsible for choice and execution; reason* is restricted to deliberation; action is disconnected from the final end, and the importance of the moral virtues is minimized.

d) Modern Times. Distortions produced by voluntarism* affected the theology of the 16th and 17th centuries, even in the commentators on Saint Thomas, such as Cajetan (1469–1534) and the Salmanticenses. Actions came to be considered as discrete occasions of the

will's obedience or disobedience to conscience*, weakening the classical and biblical emphasis on moral wisdom and development of character*. In secular ethics, severed from obedience to God, action became even more atomistic, as in John Locke (1632–1704), lacking any connection to a final end, whether emphasis was put on the passions* (David Hume, 1711–76) or on rationality (Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz* [1646–1716] or Immanuel Kant* [1724–1804]).

In the early 20th century, two influences on the theory of action may be noted. First is the innovative approach of Blondel*, who explored the dynamic quality of the will as the tension between necessity and freedom. He also put the discussion of action in a very broad context of science, art, and social life, and considered action the basis for contemplating our relationship with the divine. Next, the work of Freud* contributed to an understanding of the several levels of motivation. Actions may have a superficial explanation in terms of avowed purpose, but they may also be an expression of underlying subconscious or unconscious attitudes.

e) Contemporaries. Dissatisfied with behaviorism and other reductionist approaches, thinkers such as Anscombe and Davidson see the limitations of theories emphasizing irrational factors and, along Aristotelian lines, affirm the importance of reason in action, with descriptions combining belief and desire. The “causal” theory associated with Davidson, for example, takes the view that the total action includes belief, desire, and the exterior action. The chief contribution here has been to show how “having a reason” can be part of the description of the cause of an action. Although some (see Hornsby 1980) have argued for a notion of “trying” as part of mental action, most have agreed with the causal theory, which is also simpler and is compatible with Aristotle and Aquinas.

A continuing point of debate is the extent of an action, whether it is limited to the immediate “physical” action or includes direct effects. In an example from Anscombe (1963), a man pumps water from a poisoned well to a house. If he knows about the poison, then the description of his action should include more than the ensemble of his movements; it should mention the fact that they involve attacking the inhabitants of the house. Goldman (1970) argues for the limited version of the action description, but Davidson, as well as D’Arcy and Anscombe, argue for a more comprehensive view, claiming that the more restricted view is only a partial and incomplete description (summary in Neuberger 1993). This question is important for moral theology, because the question of responsibility often hinges on the correct description of an action; this is

essential if deception and rationalizing are to be avoided.

3. Principles of Human Action

a) Motivation. All creatures act for an end: to fulfill a need or to reach a stage of completion. The dogma* of creation* allows us to place all these activities, originally without defect, under the plan and providence* of God. Human beings are self-acting because they can generate their own plans and have a wide range of purposes. Of course, people are often mistaken about real good and evil. Some actions, such as eating or talking with friends, are valuable in themselves and need no outside purpose to render them good or understandable; but often an action serves an end or purpose that may be remote from the action itself: undergoing painful surgery, for example, so that one’s health will be improved.

b) Mental Factors. Intellect and will (or, in biblical terms, mind and heart) are central to action. Intellect and will activate each other, and thus each expresses the unified attitudes, beliefs, and desires of a person*. Human freedom cannot be reduced to the will alone, since free choice is a function of both intellect and will.

c) Dispositions. Human action is not just a succession of occasional choices, but also expresses dispositions of the mind and emotions established in a person’s character. These dispositions (*habitus*) are acquired not mechanically but by patterns of thought and desire; by connection to goals and values, they become the foundation for virtues*.

d) Law and Grace. These are not interior principles of action, but exterior principles. Laws, both human and divine, direct action to the common good*, applying in situations where individual choices need to be harmonized, or where action is unclear. Grace* is the help given to the mind through the Holy* Spirit to enable the agent to see more clearly, and to be better attracted to genuine good.

4. Process of Action

Human action goes through stages of general desire, planning, deciding, and acting. In many accounts of Scholastic* theory, a multiplication of up to 12 stages can be found. However, when intellect and will are seen to be complementary, then it is possible to arrange the process of action in four steps: intention, deliberation, decision, and execution. Many actions are much simpler, and require little or no deliberation. In other cases, the decision is easy to reach, but the execution itself is difficult, and perhaps delayed or compromised. It

becomes clear that a person's attitudes and purposes need to be good; that the deliberation must be open and accurate; that decisions must be made with wisdom; and that actions are to be executed in the right way.

5. Moral Assessment of Actions

a) *End, Object, and Circumstances.* From the moral perspective, voluntary actions are either good or bad (with a narrow range of trivial or inadvertent actions) depending on their ends and means. Taking a nap is good or bad depending on the circumstances: resting, or trying to avoid an unpleasant task.

It is useful to distinguish between the object and the end of an act. The object, the *finis operis* (end of the action), is what gives the act its species or definition; it is the description that the agent would give when asked what he has proposed to do. The end is the further purpose of the action, relating to the interior act of the will of the agent, referred to as *finis operantis* (end of acting). Both are part of the intention. For example, handing someone money is a neutral or physical description, which becomes a moral act when given a description, such as paying a debt, offering a bribe, or presenting a gift to the poor. These specifications of action are still affected in turn by the larger purposes that the agent may have: to cultivate a certain reputation, to further his interests, or to fulfill the terms of a will. Even a good act, such as giving money to the poor, may serve questionable purposes, including the enhancement of pride or silencing a guilty conscience. The money will still help the poor, but as an action of the giver it is defective. Or, the donor may have the right intention, but he may not recognize obligations to family or other responsibilities that he has, and under the circumstances the action becomes bad. If there is a defect in the object, purpose, or circumstances, then the act is vitiated, for all must be correct.

b) *Consequences of Action.* Some effects are direct and must be considered part of the action, since they are part of the intention. Other effects are subsequent results of the action and should not determine the morality of the act itself. Unlike theories that assess the goodness of actions in terms of consequences (consequentialism, utilitarianism*), the Christian view understands the criteria of good and bad as necessarily present in the agent's moral reasoning in the light of God's law. The consequences, however, are not irrelevant; they must be considered in a correct estimate of an action, and they may intensify the goodness or badness of an act.

c) *Responsibility.* The theory of action is very important for the notion of responsibility, and our assess-

ment of praise and blame. The man pumping poisoned water cannot limit his responsibility to mere pumping if he knows that the result is likely to harm people in the house. But what of cases where the intention is for something good, but an accident or some other factor changes the expected outcome? To the extent that other factors should have been taken into account, the agent cannot excuse himself from his responsibility by saying that the outcome was not his intention. Thus, the scope of responsibility should be expanded from what is our will or intention to what is within our power. In taking a group of children on a hike, for example, one is not responsible for falling branches or sudden storms, but one is responsible for checking weather forecasts, having extra clothing or food for emergencies, and providing adequate supervision.

It must be pointed out that one cannot avoid responsibility by not acting, as is shown by the problem of negligence or omission. All negligence involves some failure to take due care; but sometimes this consists in a person's not taking care in the way he acts, sometimes in the way in which he prepares to act, and sometimes in not having thought at all. Having the correct desires and intentions is crucial, and shows why the virtues of prudence and charity are of prime importance for Christian action. Sometimes, the failure to act, or carelessness in execution, reveal a greater lack of charity than more obvious sins* do.

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See also Angels; Animals; Anthropology; Augustinianism; Cosmos; Creation; Death; Demons; Filiation; Myth; Pauline Theology; Sin, Original; Temptation; Woman

Adam

A. Biblical Theology

a) *Adam in Hebrew.* The Hebrew word *adam* has several meanings. 1) Used collectively, it means “humanity” (Gn 1:26–27). Ordinarily preceded by the article (*ha-*) in prose, but not in poetry, it signifies “human” as a complement to a substantive. 2) It is used to designate every individual member of the human race*, individualized or typical. 3) It is the proper name of the first man, and as such its first certain occurrence is in Genesis 5:1.

b) *First Creation Narrative.* *Ha-'adam* of Genesis 1:26–7 is a collective noun covering both sexes; it is literally “the adam,” but is usually translated as “man” or “humankind.” The words “God created *ha-'adam* in his own image” do not refer to a rational or spiritual essence, but rather to the power conferred on Adam over other creatures and, directly, over the animals*. According to W. H. Schmidt and, in particular, Wildberger, God manifests himself in Genesis 1 with the kingly qualities of power, wisdom*, and goodness, of which his “image” is the reflection. *Tselem* (clarified by the Babylonian *tsalmu*, applied to kings and to the priests of Marduk) implies the attributes of a viceroy of God.

c) *Second Creation Narrative.* Genesis 2:4–25, which is of a mythic type of narrative with a more ancient Yahwist source, is rich in subtle instruction. The creation* of *ha-'adam* out of the *'adamah* (soil) opens a drama of the fragility and dignity of man, the proximity of animal and God. Prohibition and sanction presuppose responsibility, albeit limited. Does the creation of the woman* out of the man transpose the myth* of a primeval androgyny? In any case, the woman is desired as a “helper,” and *kenegedo*, the term used to describe her as such, expresses a reciprocity that excludes an inferior status (Gn 2:18–20).

The story of the first couple* is presented as a tragic case of innocence exploited. The first parents are said to be *'arummim* (naked—here denoting vulnerability), and the serpent is said to be *'arum* (subtle). At first, therefore, man and woman are victims. According to Irenaeus* and other Fathers*, they are not yet adults. The principal responsibility is imputed to the serpent, and it is he who speaks of becoming “like God” (the

hubris of superhuman creatures is an ancient theme, see Gn 14:12–20 and Ez 28:1–19). The exegesis* that proceeds by decoding sexual allegories denies the importance of what is said and what is left unsaid, notably in the dialogue in Genesis 3:1–5. In fact, the word *sin** does not appear. The serpent is cursed, not the man. The soil is also cursed, in relation to human work*. Nothing obliges us to see the expulsion from paradise as a punishment, since Adam and Eve are thus preserved, to remain without end in the condition in which they have been placed. Death* is the sanction for disobedience, but the myth does not say that man was created immortal, although Genesis 6:3 could suggest that. A parabola or paradigm of human weakness and its consequences, Genesis 2 and 3 should serve as a mirror, calling each reader to a better understanding of himself (see the comments on 2 Bar, below). In fact, it may have been conceived in order to fulfill this function.

d) *Other Texts of the Old Testament and Ancient Judaism.* Another myth of the entry of evil* into the world—the Fall of the “Sons of God,” who have intercourse with women in Genesis 6:1–4—has been left to us in a truncated form. Genesis 6:3 leaves the evil tendency of man unexplained. The narrative sequence has gaps; 1 Enoch 6–8 (of which the ancient core dates from the third century B.C.) adds that the angels* gave instruction to men. This motif (as seen, e.g., in Ps 82) is undoubtedly anterior to Genesis 3 and 6. Genesis 3 transforms it in order to maintain human responsibility. Later, the writer of Wisdom of Solomon 2:24 replaced the serpent with “the jealousy of the devil.” Overall, Jewish and Christian tradition* have held that Adam was the direct addressee of the prohibition, and therefore had the principal responsibility. The misogynistic diatribe of Sirach 25:17–26 (see especially verse 24) has no doctrinal weight. According to 1 Timothy 2:14 it was “Adam who was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor.” Although this is without authority, harmful consequences have been derived from it.

At a later stage, Adam was exalted in Sirach 49:16: the collective Adam of Genesis 1:26–27 is thus assimilated to the father* of humanity in Genesis 2 (already

an individual in Gn 5:3, but not yet an individual in Gn 5:1–2), with the implications of kingly dignity that Philo Judaeus (c. 15 to 10–c. 45 to 50) recognizes. Tobit 8:6 evokes the sanctity of marriage* with the figures of Adam and Eve. The Wisdom of Solomon 10:1 has Wisdom intervening immediately after Adam's transgression: "she delivered him from his transgression, and gave him strength to rule all things"; he remains "the first-formed father of the world." Conversely, the negative role of Adam is accentuated, notably at the end of the first century of our era. First and foremost, this role is a *causal* one. According to (the extracanonical) 4 Ezra 3:7, evil has prevailed because of Adam, even though the law* was also present in his "evil heart" (4 Ezr 3:20–22). This pessimistic version of the doctrine of the two "inclinations," which occupies a position within Judaism analogous to that of original sin in Christianity, comes closest to Romans 5, which very likely predates it. This role can also be reduced to that of an *example*. When (the extracanonical) 2 Baruch (which is contemporaneous with 2 Ez) declares: "O Adam, what have you done to the whole of your posterity?" (2 Bar 48:42), the reference is to death and other evils (2 Bar 56:6), but each person is responsible for his own destiny. Put on guard by the story of the first transgression, "everyone is his own Adam" (2 Bar 54:15), this doctrine prefigures the opinions of Eastern theology, rather than Augustinian views.

e) *New Testament*. References to Adam are to be found mainly in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians and the Romans, in which several allusions are made, forming the basis of moral exhortations.

In Matthew 19:4 ff. and Mark 10:5–8 Jesus*, questioned about divorce, refers once to Genesis 1:27 ("male and female he created them") and to 2:24 ("they become one flesh"). The name of Adam does not appear in the Gospels, except at Luke 3:38, where the genealogy of Jesus is traced back to Adam and, through him, to God.

Paul (c. 10–c. 67) presents Adam and Christ* as two contrasting archetypes. Death, sin, and the deprivation of grace* have come through one of them; through the other, there is a reentry into grace, a "new creation," and the promise* of life. However, the grace received infinitely exceeds the evil caused. Paul has no interest in speculating about Adam. Living at the time when the typology was being developed, Paul did not need to explain his theology with a "Gnostic myth of a Redeemer" (gnosis*). In 1 Corinthians 15, the parallel between Adam and Christ (the "first" and "second" Adams) takes two forms. In 15:21, the first brings death, the second life. Later (15:45–49), the first is

made from dust by God, the other is a "man of heaven" (15:48) who has become a "life-giving spirit" (15:45) to the benefit of a renewed humanity. In Romans 5:12–21, Paul returns to the parallel between Adam and Christ, and the asymmetry between the consequences of their actions. This text is the principal scriptural source of the Christian theology of original sin and of justification*, but three centuries separated Augustine* (354–430) from Paul: his words must be read for themselves, while taking account of his rhetorical models. In Paul's eyes, Adam is certainly a historical figure in the same sense as Jesus is (Rom 5:14), but both continue to be conceived in a symbolic mode, as type and antitype. It is difficult to reach a conclusion about the type of causality attributed to Adam's act, because of the obscurity of *eph' ho pantes hemarton* (Rom 5:12), but in Romans 5:1–8, 39, the emphasis is placed on the *experience** of sin, as of Salvation*, which is incommensurably greater. Romans 5:12–21 sheds more light on sin than on Adam himself, thanks to the rabbinical formula of *qal ve-chômer* (a fortiori, or "much more shall," used four times in 5:9–21). In spite of everything, Paul takes a more somber view of Adam's act than his Jewish predecessors did.

References to Adam are not always definite. In Romans 7:7–13, Paul describes the first person's experience of moral distress. Is he speaking of Adam, of himself before his conversion*, or of himself after it? The problem seems to be insoluble. In Philippians 2:5–11, the obedience of Christ is celebrated as the inverse of a compelled act by a creature in revolt against God. Is this a reference to Adam, to Lucifer, as in Isaiah 14:12, or to the angels in 1 Enoch 5–6? The text, which is poetic, may have more than one interpretation.

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See also Angels; Animals; Anthropology; Augustinianism; Cosmos; Creation; Death; Demons; Filiation; Myth; Pauline Theology; Sin, Original; Temptation; Woman

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

a) Patristic and Medieval Theology. The figure of Adam took on an increasing importance over the course of the first Christian centuries. A growing number of apocryphal works dealt with him, or carried his name; rabbinical thought developed a whole mythic elaboration of his character; and there were many Gnostic myths* of a protological orientation. Within patristic theology*, Adam was above all the occasion for treatments of general anthropological themes; and when the primitive church* began to take an even greater interest in Adam himself, and in his creation*, this was chiefly out of a concern to define the true nature of humanity. Indeed, it was Adam before the Fall, with the gifts and qualities that he lost as a result of his transgression, that defined an ideal humanity, the condition that humanity would rediscover at the moment of resurrection*.

The Apostolic* Fathers and the apologists* make several references to Adam, but the first to study him seriously was Irenaeus* (c. 120 to 140–c. 200 to 203), in the course of his struggle against gnosis*. Like Theophilus of Antioch (late second century), Irenaeus represents Adam and Eve as children. However, by contrast to Theophilus, for whom Adam was neither mortal nor immortal, but capable of becoming one or the other depending on his attitude to God*, Irenaeus thinks that Adam was immortal in the beginning and became mortal because of his disobedience, his refusal to recognize God as Lord. Before the Fall, Adam had self-confidence (*parresia*) before God, and was endowed with liberty* and knowledge. His domination of the earth extended to the angels*, but it was not yet manifested because he was still a child. Adam and Eve were not yet old enough to have children, and were entirely unaware of concupiscence. Irenaeus attributes this fact as much to the breath that had given them life (a breath in direct relation with the Holy* Spirit), as to that "robe of sanctity" that Adam "wore from the Spirit" but lost because of his disobedience. Although they were allowed to stray "from the beginning" (*ab initio*), Adam and Eve were not annihilated, but were "recapitulated" in Christ*, the new Adam, and Mary*,

the new Eve, and their salvation* is evidence for the universal nature of the economy of salvation.

Other Greek Fathers* emphasize Adam's perfection before the Fall. Clement of Alexandria* (150–c. 211 to 215) also regards Adam and Eve as children, but after him this conception of them disappeared, and Saint Ephraem Syrus (c. 306–73) criticizes it as "pagan." Clement links the idea that Adam was a child to that of his development: Adam had certainly been created perfect, but that meant that he was perfectly capable of acquiring virtue* through the application of his free will, not that he already possessed a plenitude of virtue. This point of view is peculiar to Clement. John of Damascus (c. 675–c. 749) summarizes the teachings of the Fathers by writing that God created man innocent, righteous, free from all sadness and anxiety, and endowed with every virtue and goodness. Clement also has a personal conception of the action* of disobedience that constitutes the Fall: he sees in it a premature use of sexuality, even though, in itself, sexuality is natural to human beings. This specifically sexual notion of Adam's sin* is a rare one among the Fathers. It is true that some of the Greek Fathers seem to have believed that human sexuality was originally latent and was not experienced until after the Fall, for it had been created solely because of it. In general, however, the Fathers tend to conceive the Fall as an apostasy, an act of turning away from God, and, sometimes, in a more Platonic context (*see* Platonism*, Christian), as an act of turning toward the things of the body and the senses (e.g., *see* Gregory of Nyssa, PG 44; Maximus* the Confessor, PG 90). The idea that death* is a consequence of the Fall, and that Adam was therefore originally endowed with immortality, can be found in all the texts. According to Athanasius*, Adam, filled with grace from the beginning, had self-confidence before God and devoted himself to intellectual contemplation*. According to Cyril* of Alexandria and John of Damascus, Adam lived in the contemplation of God so far as his nature permitted him to do so. According to the homilies attributed to Macarius, the Holy Spirit was present with Adam in

paradise, instructing him and inspiring his behavior—but this did not remove from Adam either his “natural thoughts” or his desire to realize them. According to John of Damascus, grace was the original condition of humanity, and was given so that humanity could live in communion* with God. One finds everywhere the idea that Adam possessed knowledge and wisdom*, which is why he received the privilege to call the animals* (Gn 2:19–20), but no special attention was paid to the question of the “infused” nature of this knowledge (*see* Sir 17:6 f.). According to Cyril of Alexandria, however, Adam did not acquire this knowledge with the passage of time, as we do, but had it from the beginning. According to other Fathers, Adam knew of the existence of good* and evil* even before the Fall, but thereafter this knowledge became a matter of experience (e.g., John Chrysostom*).

For the most part, the earliest Latin authors, above all Tertullian*, limit themselves to reprising these views. It was the Pelagian controversy that led the West, and principally Augustine*, to undertake a more profound reflection upon Adam. According to Augustine, Adam was fully adult. He had direct experience* of God, who appeared to him and spoke with him, although this does not necessarily mean that he perceived God through his physical senses. In paradise, Adam and Eve experienced neither spiritual disturbance nor physical disorder, since, in the natural condition of humanity before the Fall, all the parts of the body and all the motions of the soul* were subject to the will, which was itself subject to God, so much so that even procreation* would have taken place by voluntary decision, in the tranquillity of the spirit, and not in a state of passionate excitation. This harmonious submission of the body to the soul was due to the divine grace that Adam enjoyed in paradise. When he lost it because of his disobedience, he became subject to the desires of the flesh*: since he had not wished to obey, it was just that his desires no longer obeyed him. The Second Council* of Orange (529) confirmed that Adam had been created in a state of grace (can. 19).

Scholasticism* offered a systematic theology of the original condition of Adam. According to Thomas* Aquinas, Adam was created in full maturity of spirit and body, ready to have children, and endowed with an infused knowledge, comprising both knowledge of natural things and knowledge of supernatural* purposes. Aquinas accepts that Adam did not ordinarily see God in his essence, even if, perhaps, he experienced this sort of ecstasy during the sleep into which God plunged him (Gn 2:21), but, according to Aquinas, Adam had a much greater knowledge* of God than we do. He also thinks that, if Adam had not sinned, he would not have known error. Peter Lombard

(c. 1100–1160) and Alexander of Hales (c. 1186–1245) distinguish between two types of grace: the assistance given at the moment of creation—which made man capable of avoiding evil and living without sin, but not of doing good—and sanctifying grace, which makes man capable of doing good, living spiritually, and attaining eternal life*. By contrast, according to Aquinas Adam possessed sanctifying grace from his creation, and this was associated, as it was in Augustine, with the harmonious submission of the body to the soul, of the inferior powers to reason*, and of reason to God, making Adam capable of meritorious acts. However, Aquinas does not identify sanctifying grace with original justice*: the first is the efficient cause of the second, not its formal constituent. In his original condition, Adam was not disturbed by any ungovernable passions*, and had all the virtues appropriate to his condition: he was therefore capable of committing only venial sins. The Council of Trent* affirmed that Adam possessed “sanctity and justice” before the Fall (fifth session, cans. 1 and 2), but did not raise the question of the moment when he received sanctifying grace: in this regard it followed in the mainstream of the councils, which were always more reserved than the theologians on the subject of Adam.

b) Modern and Contemporary Theology. While the general acceptance of the theory of evolution*, originally proposed by Darwin, has forced theologians to rethink much of the teaching concerning the creation and original state of man, the required change of perspective occurred earlier, in the 18th and early 19th centuries, when Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), for example, reworked the concept of the image of God in terms of destiny: that is, the image is not something that mankind once had and has since lost, but something toward which we are progressing. This idea of the gradual and historical “humanizing” of man was complemented by a renewed attention to biblical criticism, especially by J. G. Eichhorn (1752–1827), which began to see the creation narratives in terms of myth* or saga. These two developments, later combined with Darwinism, prompted Protestant* theologians from Friedrich Schleiermacher* to Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) to abandon the idea of an original perfect estate of Adam, which was subsequently lost by the Fall, and to propose, in their various ways, alternatives that equated human perfection with the destiny or goal that man still has to attain.

One of the most important and interesting attempts to reinstate the doctrine of the original state, by giving it a new form, is that of Kierkegaard*. This is elaborated not so much in terms of an original historical beginning, a “fantastic assumption” of theology, but as a

suprahistorical state. Kierkegaard wanted to explain the relation between the first sin and hereditary sin (*see* original sin*), and so needed to recall the figure of Adam, for to explain Adam's sin is to explain hereditary sin. This is due to the basic character of human existence: "man is an individual, and as such simultaneously himself and the whole race," so that the individual participates in the race and vice versa. As a state, this is the perfection of man. But it is also a contradiction, for the individual is not the race, and, as such, it is "the expression of a task." In the opening pages of *Sygdommen til døden* (1849; *The Sickness unto Death*), Kierkegaard describes how this task cannot be accomplished, and so produces despair. The "task" of reconciling the individual nature of man's self to his identity with the race of men results in the consciousness of a lost identity. The "original state" of man, together with the "Fall," thus becomes suprahistorical, but no less real.

With the leitmotiv of man "caught in contradiction," E. Brunner (1889–1966) develops Kierkegaard's thought as he also seeks to understand an original state based on an analysis of anxiety. Theology proposes to interpret man's dual experience of "grandeur" and "misery" as the conflict that sets man's origin against the contradiction (the Fall) opposed to this origin.

Brunner accepts the idea that there is "nothing left" of the traditional Christian picture of man's "origin." When he refers to the "origin state," he speaks of a man who has his original state in the thought, the will, and the creative action of God. The original state must thus be differentiated (yet not cut off) from man's empirical beginnings (individually, in the womb; as a race, in earliest "man"). It is only by this "origin" that we can understand the present state of man, who is living in opposition to it. Thus, for Brunner, the original state is not a historical or prehistorical period, but a "historic moment," that of the divinely created origin, which we know only in the conflict we experience with its opposite, that is, with sin.

In these and similar attempts, such as those of R. Niebuhr and H. Thielicke, to give a new sense to the concept of the original state, although man has in some sense lost his original identity or vocation, this is not explained in strictly historical terms, but is postulated as a suprahistorical presupposition explaining man's present existence. While these "existential" reinterpretations of the original state and Fall evade the problems raised by the theory of evolution*, doubts have been raised as to whether they offer a sustainable version of the traditional teaching. What, for instance, does recasting the term *origin*, from a historical beginning to the source of creation, imply for the figure of Adam? Furthermore, does not the concept of the "loss" of an original perfec-

tion imply the initial possession of that perfection, and, moreover, a chronological sequence of events?

Rather than elaborate such existential interpretations, modern Roman Catholic theology, on the other hand, has tended to attempt to establish a harmony between traditional theology and science (the sciences* of nature). While some theories of evolutionism, such as the multiple origin of the human race (monogenesis*/polygenesis), have been challenged as being incompatible with the teaching on original sin*, the basic framework of the traditional doctrine is maintained by pointing out that paleontology cannot disprove divine intervention in history. Thus, the direct creation by God of each human soul can be reaffirmed. Similarly, the special friendship between the first man and God need not be excluded on account of the supposedly primitive existence of the first man, while his special endowments can be interpreted as possibilities rather than realized perfections.

Abandoning both the existential interpretation and the program of demythologizing the Scriptures initiated by Rudolf Bultmann*, which considers the use of myth to reflect a mode of conception obsolete for the scientific thinking of modern man, and building on the work done in the field of comparative religion (especially by M. Éliade), contemporary theology has seen a return to viewing the Genesis accounts of the creation of Adam and his original state in terms of myth, or more precisely, as an etiological narrative. The location of myth in the primal age enables it to function as the basis for the present world order, as its legitimization rather than as a primitive explanation (understood by analogy to modern explanation). Moreover, an essential element in the structure of myth is its connection with the cult through which it is represented and reexperienced. However, the various elements of Babylonian mythology that supplied the imagery for the Genesis accounts, by being incorporated into the chronology of these accounts, lost the ability to be reenacted in a cult. There occurred what Pannenberg describes as a "historicization of myth." The mythical elements are used as images for the purpose of explanation: the desire of man and woman for each other, the pains of childbirth, the toil involved in our experience of work*, and, finally, death (Gn 2:23, 3:16–19). Mythical imagery is used to depict, by contrast with our present experience, a different and better mode of life, which man originally had and lost. More important, however, is the correspondence between the original state and the idea of an eschatological perfection. Within the Bible, the imagery used for paradise and Adam's original state is also used to describe the future age of the Messiah. But rather than being a simple return to the primal age, as the cyclical nature of myth

would demand, the original state is not simply repeated in the eschatological age, but is itself surpassed and brought to perfection. Thus, instead of viewing the Genesis account of Adam in terms of the historical origins of the human race, contemporary theology has inscribed its protology within eschatology*, so that Adam is again understood in terms of the Pauline* typology of Adam and Christ*.

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See also Anthropology; Creation; Death; Evolution; Monogenesis/Polygenesis; Sin, Original; Soul-Heart-Body; Woman

Adam of Saint-Victor. *See Saint-Victor, School of*

Adam of Wodeham. *See Nominalism*

Adoptionism

The word *adoptionism* originated in the eighth century, at the time of the Spanish controversy (*see below*); the meaning of this word was extended to characterize what may be considered more as a (permanent) temptation of theology* than a heresy*. It is the temptation of those whose conception of God cannot allow that, while yet remaining God, he might communicate himself to the extent of introducing a creature within the mystery* of divine generation. Christ*, therefore, whatever his dignity, remains a creature who has been

adopted and chosen. The interest inherent in the study of adoptionism can be found in identifying the reasons that led some Christians to yield to the above-mentioned temptation.

There are three important stages in the adoptionist temptation: ancient church*, Spanish crisis, and Scholastic controversy. In the early days of the church, which had to develop its own formulas of faith within milieus as various as the Judaist, the Hellenistic, and the Gnostic (gnosis*) ones, the trends were very complex.

In Judeo-Christianity of the ebionitic form, adoptionism is perhaps to be associated with a particularly high evaluation of Christian baptism*, which is considered to bestow filial adoption (*huiiothesia*) at the end of the symbolic fight against the forces of evil*. In this context, Christ appears as the man in whom such an adoption has materialized in an exemplary manner, making him the Messiah*, and in a certain sense the root of all baptismal sanctification to come. Such ideas are also found, though with no apparent liturgical influence, in the early forms of Hellenistic Christianity, from Theodotus “the Byzantine” to Theodotus “the Banker,” Artemon, and Paul of Samosata. Here the ideas are given a more intellectual support thanks to Greek logic, which leads to an emphasis on the disjunction between God and man based on the irreducibility of univocal concepts. However, as J. Wolinsky remarks, “reducing Christ to being only one man went much too directly against the faith of Christians for adoptionism to have had a profound impact on the history of doctrines” (Sesboüé [Ed.], *History of Dogmas* I, Paris, 1994).

The Spanish adoptionism of the end of the eighth century is associated with the Spanish tradition of fighting for Nicene orthodoxy* (Councils* of Toledo). In order to better establish the divine nature of the Son of God, whether against Arianism* or, inversely, against some residual forms of modalism*, Christ’s humanity and divinity are separated from one another. His humanity is thus considered to be “adopted.” Christ’s filiation* is considered natural as far as his divinity is concerned, but adoptive and the result of grace* as far as his humanity is concerned: *unigenitus in natura, primogenitus in adoptione et gratia* (PL 101, 1324). Adoptionism is here associated with the names of Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel. Its refutation (*propter unitatem personae, unus Dei Filius et idem hominis filius, perfectus Deus, perfectus homo*, *ibid.*, 1337) belongs to the body of dogmatic options of the Council of Frankfurt (794).

Scholastic adoptionism may have a more philosophical origin, being associated with the use of certain inadequately mastered logical categories that had been recently rediscovered in theological thinking. Schematically, Scholastic thinking in this area unfolds in the following way: 1) It is not possible to put “God” and “man” in an attributive relationship in such a way that formulas such as “God is man, man is God” are improper. 2) That being stated, since “God” is unquestionably substance and can be the subject of attribution, it is not possible to say that “man” designates substance; in technical terms, he is neither *persona* nor *aliquid*. 3) How then is it possible to speak of the union of God and man in Christ? This thought process is at the root of the three positions put forward by Peter

Lombard in the *Sentences* (I. III, d. 6–11), and the masters of early Scholasticism from Abelard fall within any of these three positions. First there is the theory of the *habitus*, which considers Christ’s humanity to be the “clothing” of his divinity. Second, the theory of the *assumptus* proposes that it is a man who is being assumed. Finally, there is the theory of subsistence. While this last theory heralds the thinking of high Scholasticism* on hypostatic* union, the first two favor a resurgence of the theme of adoption.

The early Scholastic masters in all likelihood lacked an in-depth analysis of the distinction between person* and nature, which might have allowed them to see clearly that, on the one hand, filiation always concerns the person and that, on the other hand, logical attributes have their own specific economy where Christ is concerned (communication of the idioms).

Can we say that modernity produces a revival of the adoptionist “temptation,” precisely on account of the crisis affecting our thinking on God? It does not appear to be so. Newton’s christological thinking, for instance, is consciously Arian. Spinoza’s and Lessing’s vision of Christ is that of the *Summus Philosophus*, perfect educator of humankind, outside of any Trinitarian vision of God (Trinity*), and thus of any perspective of incarnation*, even by adoption. The contemporary Scotist school, with which the names of Déodat de Basly and Léon Seiller are associated, takes up again the theme of the *assumptus homo*, but does not fall formally into adoptionism. Nowadays, the adoptionist temptation could well play into certain types of “humanistic Christology*” which are notable for the difficulty they have in expressing the divine aspect of Jesus Christ in proper and direct terms (that is, not only by allusion or imagery), perhaps precisely because such Christologies do not have at their disposal a language for speaking about God.

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See also Christ/Christology; Incarnation

Aelred of Rievaulx. *See* Bernard of Clairvaux

Agape

From the end of the apostolic era (Jude 12 and Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Smyrnians* 8:1), Christians had given the name *agape* to communal meals that were distinct from the Eucharist* and were accompanied by prayers*. The word *agape* was taken from the Greek word for charity, with its emphasis on the communal aspect.

New Testament narratives of the Eucharist show that a link originally existed between the celebration of the Eucharist and a fraternal meal (on the subject of the wine cup blessed after the meal, *see* 1 Cor 11:25 and Lk 22:20). But there is no further evidence of this link after the New Testament, except perhaps in the milk and honey that, according to the *Apostolic Tradition*, were offered to the newly baptized between the taking of the bread and the taking of the wine (Gy 1959). These were perhaps also offered on the evening of Maundy Thursday, though this particular hypothesis

has not been proved. In the time of transition between the apostolic era and the period that followed it, the brief text entitled the *Didache* (*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) mentions religious meals, though historians disagree about their nature.

Agape is frequently mentioned in writings of the second and third centuries, and it is described in the *Apostolic Tradition* (chap. 26). Thereafter, it seems to have gradually lost its importance.

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See also **Eucharist**

Agnosticism

1. Overview

Appearing late in French, being adopted from English (T. H. Huxley 1869), the word *agnosticism*, in the literal sense, denotes the thesis that God* is unknowable, a tenet that leads to a suspension of judgment as to his existence. In this respect, agnosticism is related to skepticism and attempts to establish a distinction be-

tween the dogmatic negation of the existence of God and a simple refusal to decide. The critical dimension characteristic of the agnostic suspension of judgment is, however, ambivalent. By placing God above the order of the knowable, it may simply be a way of recognizing his eminence. But by saying of God that he has no existence for thought, there is also a possibility of

denying him any kind of existence at all. Historically, it is the affinities between agnosticism and atheism* that have prevailed.

2. Philosophical Background

a) *Skepticism*. In ancient Pyrrhonism, skeptical doubt extends as far as knowledge of the gods, although Sextus Empiricus “asserts without dogmatism that the gods exist” (Hypotoposes III:2). This assertion is based on the simple anthropological fact of piety: it would be impossible for the divine not to exist. But the assertion defies demonstration, and we can form no concept of God (Hypotoposes III:3): “Similarly, since we are ignorant of the essence of God, we are incapable of knowing or conceiving of his attributes*” (Hypotoposes III:4).

In Hume’s *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, the critique of proofs by analogy* on which metaphysical theism (Deism*/Theism) is based leads to an agnosticism that seems compatible with fideism*.

b) *Rationalism*. Although Immanuel Kant* explicitly asserts the possibility of knowledge* of God based on analogy (*Prolegomena* §58), his critique of speculative proofs of the existence* of God, principally of the “ontological” proof, leads to the assertion that the Absolute is unknowable. The novelty of Kantianism in this regard is that it makes possible a new form of agnosticism, one that no longer depends on assuming a skeptical position toward knowledge in general, but is the corollary of an affirmation of scientific knowledge of the phenomenal world. If God is unknowable, this is because he is not an object, in the sense that modern natural science gives to the term. Once the determinism of the necessary laws of nature is accepted, God becomes an unnecessary hypothesis (Laplace).

3. Theological and Anthropological Aspects

Agnosticism cannot appeal to the *theos agnotos* of Paul (Acts 17:23), who is an “unknown god” of the Greeks and not an unknowable God. It was against agnosticism and other positions that the Second Vatican Council, relying on traditional affirmations (such as Rom 1:19–23), defined the possibility of a natural access by man to God. It insisted that whether it is ultimately joined to atheism or in solidarity with fideism, agnosticism is not only refuted by a God who reveals himself, it is also contrary to reason*, which needs no divine illumination to recognize the existence of a creator of all things.

Agnosticism may also call upon the theological argument that aims to establish the radical transcendence of the divine essence by denying the possibility of attributing to God the names that are suitable for created things. Indeed, for a discursive knowledge of God to be possible, it has to be shown that the use of divine names* derived from human language does not lead to complete ambiguity (see Thomas* Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles* I: chaps. 33–34 and 290–98). Thomas uses analogy as a solution.

The Catechism of the Catholic Church (1992) places agnosticism in the perspective of atheism and (in §2128) attributes to it a fundamental ambivalence: “Agnosticism can sometimes include a certain search for God, but it can equally express indifferentism, a flight from the ultimate question of existence, and a sluggish moral conscience. Agnosticism is all too often equivalent to practical atheism.”

Arising, at least in its modern form, in the context of the scientific objectification of reality, agnosticism might nevertheless, as a reaction against that context, maintain a resolutely positive meaning in both theological and anthropological terms. A product of nature, having become an object for the sciences* of nature, humankind may save its dignity only by presenting a dimension inaccessible to scientific knowledge. Unknowing then becomes the distinctive characteristic of religion and metaphysics, in an agnosticism that might refer to “learned ignorance” (Nicholas* of Cusa) or to Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus*. But it is really not certain that the limits of objective knowledge are the limits of the knowable, or that what we cannot speak about objectively we must pass over in silence.

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PHILIBERT SECRETAN

See also Atheism; Existence of God, Proofs of; Knowledge of God; Skepticism, Christian

Agony. *See* Passion

Alain of Lille. *See* Scholasticism

Albert the Great

1200–1280

The Dominican Albert the Great was the first Scholastic interpreter of the works of Aristotle and teacher of Thomas* Aquinas both in Paris and at the Köln *studium*. He defended the mendicant orders in response to attacks by secular leaders and was consecrated bishop* of Regensburg (Ratisbon). In 1277 he was behind a last-minute attempt to avoid the condemnation of the Aristotelian theses by Étienne Tempier (naturalism*). Albert left a body of theological works that was as impressive as his philosophical works. His biblical commentaries (on Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Baruch, Daniel, and the minor prophets*) stand beside sermons and systematic theological works: *Commentaires des sentences* by Pierre Lombard, *De Natura Boni*, *De Bono*, *Somme de Théologie* called “from Paris,” *Summa de Mirabili Scientia Dei*, called “from Köln” (SC), Commentaries on *Divine Names* (DN), and the *Mystic Theology* of Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite.

a) *Scientific Status of Theology*. A militant Aristotelian who acquired encyclopedic scientific knowledge, Albert played a large role in developing a theology conceived as a science, in the philosophical sense of that term. However, although Albert’s theology is modeled on the canons of Aristotelian science, it nevertheless cannot be reduced to the “natural” theology of philosophers. It is a practical science that con-

siders “truth” not as simple truth, but as the “supreme source of beatitude” (*summe beatificans*) pursued by the “pious intention in the affect and works” (SC I, 3,3; Siedler 13, 65–72). Therefore, if Albert invokes Aristotle in order to explain the “contemplative bliss” that is the goal of a theology understood as “moral and practical” science, it is so that he can make an irreducible distinction between the practical philosophical sciences, which focus on works that are “perfect through the perfection of acquired virtues,” and theology, which involves works “that are perfect through the perfection of virtues instilled by grace*.”

More generally speaking, sacred theology is distinguished from philosophical theology in three ways. First, the “principal object of its principal part” is the God* of the Bible* and not Aristotle’s primary cause or primary motive. Second, the determinations (*passiones*) of its goal are not the being and its “properties” (to be) but “the Word* incarnate, together with the totality of the sacraments* that is carried out in the Church.” Third, sacred theology is distinguished by the principles of “probation” upon which its arguments are based. With reference to the last of these, what “confirms” a theological argument is not a “maxim” or a “well-known” suggestion, as it is in the case of philosophy, but faith* itself (the content of which established in the conviction defining what is “believed”) and what “precedes faith” as a logical antecedent: that is, the knowledge of

Scripture*—in short, “revelation*.” If all sciences, even philosophical sciences, come from God as creator of the “connatural light” in the human mind, theological science is unique in that it comes from God who “reveals through faith.” Thus, theology is ultimately distinguished by the fact that it stems from “another light,” “supra-worldly,” which “shines” and illuminates “within the article of faith,” whereas the light inspiring philosophers shines in the proposition “known to one”: It is, therefore, a science of piety, in the literal sense of the term, *scientia secundum pietatem* (SC I, 3, 1; Siedler, 47–54, after Ti 1:1): that is, a science founded on the knowledge of theological faith.

b) From Theological Faith to Mystical Theology. The role played by the knowledge* of faith, “the undoubted knowledge of spiritual realities” (DN 2, §76), in Albert’s theology allows him to surmount the traditional debate relating to the superiority of love* over the intellect, something which was affirmed in the 12th century by the school of Saint*-Victor (voluntarism*). Indeed, by rendering the light of faith a theophany* that has an anagogical function (Scripture*, senses of), and by placing faith at the top of the “habitus of grace,” Albert establishes continuity between the “viatic” state (pilgrimage on earth) and celestial bliss. Often described as “intellectualist,” the theology of Albert the Great is rather a theology of the intellect, which, in the same “noetic” framework, involves knowledge of theological faith, the blessed vision, and mystical union. Describing the knowledge of faith in the viatic man (*vision fidei in via*) as “information of the intellect by the light of faith,” Albert the Great defines the beatific vision* with the theoretical instruments of Peripatetic noesis.

The vision of the chosen people in the heavens is a “junction” between man’s intellect and divine essence, an “intellectual” union, in that “he who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit with him” (1 Cor 6:17), of God and the intellect agent. However, the mystical union, the “theopathic” state that Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite attributes to his teacher, Hierotheus, is also intellectual. In the theophany of mystical darkness the intellect receives “an impulse stemming from the light of glory,” which “converts” it and “brings it back into the unity of the Father.” The theology of the intellect is thus the central piece in the theology of grace and the theology of the divine missions (Trinity*). The gift of infused wisdom* and the love of charity, in their very connection, bring about the fulfillment of theological faith in mystical contemplation*.

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ALAIN DE LIBERA

See also **Aristotelianism, Christian; Deity; Intellectualism; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism; Scholasticism; Thomas Aquinas**

Albigensian. *See* **Catharism**

Alexander of Hales. *See* **Scholasticism**

Alexandria, School of

It is customary to contrast the School of Alexandria to the School* of Antioch, but these two expressions conceal a great variety of phenomena. The expression “School of Alexandria” (*see* Le Boulluec, “L’école d’Alexandrie: De quelques aventures d’un concept historiographique,” in coll. 1987) refers on the one hand to a certain method of exegesis* and on the other to strictly theological questions connected successively to the very origins of Alexandrian Christianity, to the fight against Arianism*, and to the Nestorian crisis.

a) Historical Background. Around the second century B.C., the large Jewish community of Alexandria produced the translation* of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, known as the Septuagint. According to a tradition recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea (*HE* II, 16), the apostle* Mark was the first to evangelize Egypt, but very little is known about the earliest Christian community of Alexandria. Pagan and Christian philosophers succeeded one another in Alexandria, among them Pantaeus and Clement, before the establishment of the Didaskaleion, a catechetical school that was officially dependent on the church*. Origen was its first leader, during the episcopate of Demetrius (189–231), and Didymus was his distant successor in the late fourth century. Hellenism, Judeo-Christianity, and Gnosticism, with its two illustrious representatives, Basilides and Valentinus (*see* Ritter in coll. 1987), thus formed the crucible in which Christians both appropriated and challenged ways of thought and modes of expression that were fruitful for the development of Christian orthodoxy. Although the influence of Alexandria was soon recognized, so that it was even made a patriarchate*, its relations with the Christianity of the Egyptian interior—and in the fourth century with nascent monasticism*—were sometimes difficult. Crises and schisms* followed one after another in Alexandria, as witnessed in particular by the troubled history of the episcopate of Athanasius*.

b) Alexandrian Exegesis. This was not limited, as a simplistic contrast between Alexandria and Antioch might lead one to believe, to a triumph of allegory over the literal meaning of the Scriptures*. To begin with, it was rooted in the secular philosophical tradition. The Neoplatonist commentators on Plato and Aristotle had

established rules of interpretation that the Christians adopted (*see* Hadot 1987, on Origen’s commentary on The Song of Songs). For their part, Gnostic influences, also bearing the stamp of Platonism, oriented the understanding of Scripture in an esoteric direction. For example, Clement frequently referred to the Eleusinian mysteries to illustrate by analogy the way in which the teachings of Christ* should be transmitted and understood (*Strom.* VI, 15). Knowledge was not given to everyone (*Strom.* V, 3), and for Clement as for Origen, there were hidden meanings in Scripture, so that recourse to allegorical exegesis was necessary in order to reveal them. If Origen, who became very influential in both East and West, was the master of this technique (*Treatise of Principles* IV, 1–3; *see* Lubac* 1950), he was principally indebted to Philo of Alexandria (first century B.C.), himself heir to the dual Jewish and Greek tradition (*see* Nikiprowetzky 1977 and Runnia 1995).

The exegetical work of Hilary of Poitiers follows in the tradition of Origen, and it was thanks to the Latin translations of Origen’s works, made by Rufinus and Jerome as early as the fourth century, that Alexandrian hermeneutics* was disseminated in the West. The doctrine of the four senses of Scripture, put forward by Cassian and later by Gregory* the Great, was also derived from the triple sense defined by Origen (*see* Simonetti, “Quelques considérations sur l’influence et la destinée de l’alexandrinisme en Occident,” in coll. 1987).

c) Alexandrian Theologies of the Logos. The central place given by the Alexandrians to the doctrine of the Logos (Word*) had two consequences: Alexandrian thought played a decisive role in Christology*, and there was a recurring risk of heterodox deviations. The Johannine uses of the term *Logos* certainly provided a scriptural basis, but the complex philosophical heritage of the notion and its use (in the plural) by the Gnostics gave rise to ambiguities from the outset. Clement’s discourse on the eternal Logos of God* and its manifestation in the flesh opposed the singleness of the Logos to the Gnostic systems, but it could seem very much like Docetism*. After Clement, Origen seems not to have tied the mediating role of the Logos solely to the Incarnation* (*see* his commentary on 1 Tm 2:5 in *Princ.* II, 6, 1; *Contra Celsum* III, 34). Athanasius, relying similarly on an affirmation of the

preeminence of the Logos in redemption as well as in creation, confined himself to a theology of the Logos-sarx (Grillmeier 1979) and in a sense left in suspension the questions of the soul* and of human knowledge of Christ. These Christologies took their place within a cultural model that was primarily Platonic (Simonetti 1992), and it was only later developments in Cappadocia which were to free them from this.

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FRANÇOISE VINEL

See also Antioch, School of; Gnosis; Patriarchate; Platonism, Christian; Scripture, Senses of; Stoicism, Christian

Allegory. *See Narrative; Scripture, Senses of*

Almightiness. *See Omnipotence, Divine*

Alphonsus Liguori

1696–1787

Alphonsus Liguori was a precocious child. From an affluent family, he received a classical education at home and matriculated in the faculty of law* at the age of 12.

In 1713 he received a doctorate *in utroque jure* (civil and canon* law) and began practicing law. In 1723 he left the bar and entered a seminary where he studied

moral theology*, particularly in the treatise tinged with Jansenist austerity of François Genet (1640–1702), “the leader of the probabiliorists” (*Morale de Grenoble*, 1677). Ordained as a priest* on 21 December 1726, Liguori’s first parish was in Naples, among the “debauched and dissolute,” then in a backward rural area where there was great ignorance about matters of faith*. In order to foster the evangelization of the countryside, in 1732 Liguori established a congregation of missionary priests, approved in 1749–50 by Benedict XIV under the name of the Institute of the Most Holy Redeemer (the Redemptorists). Addressing the pope* in 1748, he described its purpose: “With the help of missions, teaching, and other exercises, to serve the souls* of the rural poor who are most deprived of spiritual aid, for they often lack ministers, sacraments*, and the divine Word*.”

His pastoral activities, and particularly the practice of confession, led Liguori from probabiliorism to probabilism and then to equiprobabilism. In the seminary and as a young priest, he was an advocate of probabiliorism, which required the adoption in every moral dilemma of the “most probable” opinion: that is to say, in effect, the most certain opinion (tutorism) or the most rigid (rigorism). Along with his rural ministry, Liguori’s move from probabiliorism to probabilism was shaped by the study he made of the *Medulla theologiae moralis* by the German Jesuit Herman Busenbaum (1600–1688), a balanced probabilist. The *Medulla*, a fundamental text in the history of casuistry*, was reprinted more than 200 times between 1645, the date of its first edition, and 1776. From this period, after 1748, date several *Dissertations* and *Annotations* of the *Medulla* (which make up the first edition of the *Theologia moralis*).

Probabilism was introduced by a Dominican of Salamanca, B. Medina (†1580), and consists in maintaining that, in doubtful cases, it is legitimate to follow *probable* opinion, that is, an articulated opinion supported by strong reasons and *approved* by the authority of experts (one or more “solemn doctors”). A probable opinion may be followed even if the opposite opinion is more probable. Probability does not refer to mere possibility, but to a proof, in its original meaning: *Probabilis* means “plausible” or “provable,” in the sense of *approvable*. In 1762 Liguori published a treatise in Italian, *On the Moderate Use of Probable Opinion* (*Dissertazione sull’uso moderato dell’opinione probabile*), in which his doctrine reached its definitive form. It sets forth his system, called “equiprobabilism,” which is based on three major principles. The first states: “If the opinion that is in support of the law* (*pro lege*) seems certainly more probable, we are obliged to follow it, and we cannot follow the opposite

opinion which is in support of liberty*.” This principle brings out the primacy of truth*, insofar as human action must be based on an authentic search for that truth. The second principle asserts: “If the opinion that is in support of liberty is merely probable, or as probable (*aeque probabilis*) as the one that supports the law, we cannot follow it merely because it is probable.” Liguori emphasizes that a very weak probability is no longer a probability, but only a false appearance of probability. He thus refutes the principle widely accepted in modern times: *Qui probabiliter agit, prudenter agit* (Whoever acts probably, acts prudently). The third principle holds: “When two opposite opinions are equally probable (*aeque probabiles*), the opinion in support of liberty enjoys the same probability as the one in support of the law. Consequently, the existence of the law is doubtful.” In order to create obligation, the law must be promulgated in such a way that it establishes the conviction that such a law does indeed exist. If this promulgation is lacking, the law is doubtful and therefore creates no obligation. Liguori thus defends the traditional principle: *Lex dubia non obligat*.

With equiprobabilism, he brings out three basic notions that, far from being in conflict, balance and mutually support one another: truth, liberty, and conscience. Conscience is here defined as “judgment or diktat” (*dictamen*; the word comes from Thomas* Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 79, a. 13), a practice of reason* by means of which we judge what is good and to be done or evil and to be avoided.

Through his original development of the primordial role of conscience, Liguori was not merely showing himself to be a follower of the casuists of the century before, whose equiprobabilist system was the latest embodiment of the doctrine of probability, but rather a contemporary of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Liguori set out his system in the *Theologia moralis*. Adding original exposition to his *Annotationes* on the *Medulla* of Busenbaum (1 vol., 1748), he published the two volumes of the second edition in Naples in 1753–55. It was, in effect, an original work. The *Theologia moralis*, continually revised and expanded, went through several editions during the author’s lifetime (the ninth edition, Venice, 1785, was in three volumes) and many in the 19th century. Indeed, it had considerable influence throughout that century, in particular on the attitude of confessors toward the sexual life of married people and the conditions of procreation*.

Appointed bishop* of Sant’Agata dei Goti in 1762, Liguori did not wish to write a specialist work of theological speculation but to develop a theology at the service of pastoral work and to strengthen the piety of the faithful. Among the many works he wrote, in both Ital-

ian and Latin, and ranging from the most highly technical to the most popular, there are 50 devotional texts, including the celebrated *The Glories of Mary*, one of the most important books of Marian devotion. After the *Theologia moralis* Liguori composed a number of short treatises, among which should be mentioned *The Confessor of Country People* (1764; a work preceded by *Practical Instruction for Confessors*, 1757, an abridgment of *Theologia moralis* for the use of confessors). It was specifically designed for rural priests, “who are little versed in the study of morals and who cannot buy expensive books, to make them capable of hearing the confessions of country people.”

The practice of confession constitutes an essential aspect of Liguori’s moral theology, which aims to reestablish a relationship of confidence between confessor and penitent and to restore to confession its character of an act of love*. From this point of view it is easy to understand why Liguori opposed the Jansenist practice of delay in sacramental absolution. The postponement of absolution was justified by the frequent relapses of sinners into the same sins*. Liguori took up the distinction between “habitudinary” and “recidivist” that moral theology had developed. The habitudinary confesses for the first time a sin that he has often committed, whereas the recidivist is one who falls into the same sin after confessing it. Refining this distinction, Liguori has no hesitation for the first case: The habitudinary must be absolved if he manifests sincere repentance. The case of the recidivist is more delicate. Liguori observes that, in general, relapses, even if they are frequent, are not incompatible with the resolution to sin no more and are thereby susceptible to absolution. An expert in humanity, Liguori observes that giving absolution is often a better remedy than delaying it. In addition, he was in favor of penance in proportion to the nature of the sin, penance that would not impel the penitent to stay away from the confessional. And in order the better to move toward God*, Liguori favored frequent, indeed daily communion*.

Liguori’s major distinction is that he helped stem austerity within Catholicism and opened the way to a broader moral theology that is more understanding of

human weakness. He was canonized in 1839 and declared a doctor* of the church* in 1871. His *Theologia moralis*, for which he was granted the status of doctor, is no doubt the last major monument of the doctrine of probability. After Liguori, casuistry seems to have entered on an irremediable decline.

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MASSIMO MARCOCCHI

See also Casuistry; Conscience; Ethics, Sexual; Intention; Jansenism; Mission/Evangelization; Penance; Prudence; Suarez, Francisco

Ambrose of Milan

(337 or 339–97)

Around 370, Ambrose, who belonged to a senatorial family, became governor of the Roman province of Emilia and Liguria. The capital of the province was Milan, and in 374, while the Christians of that city* contested with one another concerning an episcopal election, he intervened to reestablish order and found himself being acclaimed as bishop*. Being only a catechumen at that time, he was baptized hastily and then ordained at the end of the year. During the 22 years of his episcopacy, and boosted by his political experience, he asserted himself, as one of the West's most influential personalities. He played a decisive role in Augustine*'s conversion. Well served by his mastery of Greek, he took inspiration from Philo of Alexandria (first century A.D.), Origen*, Athanasius*, and Basil* the Great, but he still showed real originality in matters concerning spirituality, pastoral work, and ethics*. The recent bilingual edition (Latin-Italian) of his Complete Works (*SAEMO*, see bibliography) is made up of 13 volumes of exegesis* (practiced according to the allegorical method of the School of Alexandria*), three volumes of moral philosophy and asceticism*, three volumes of dogmatic* texts, four volumes of speeches and letters, and one volume of poetry.

a) Doctrinal Controversies. Ambrose was at first an adversary of the western advocates of Arianism*, as much through his actions as through his writings. Between 377 and 380 he sent Emperor Gratian his major theological treaty, the *De fide*. For this work, Ambrose borrowed ideas from Athanasius and Hilary* of Poitiers, as well as from Basil, Gregory* of Nazianzus, and Gregory* of Nyssa, but did show himself to be original in places (Simonetti 1975). In 386, when Emperor Valentinian II ordered him to hand over one of Milan's basilicas to the Arians, Ambrose occupied it. In order to inspire courage in his followers, he made them sing hymns of his own composition, more popular than Hilary's. It was because of these hymns that Ambrose came to be regarded as the founder of Latin hymnology.

In his *De Spiritu Sancto* (381) he championed the divinity of the Holy* Spirit, notably by relying on the baptismal formula of Matthew 28:19 and on the mention of the Spirit in Genesis 1:2, as his Greek masters

had done. He fought against Apollinarianism* by reaffirming Genesis in his *De Incarnationis dominicae sacramento* (382), the integrity of the humanity assumed by Christ*.

b) Eulogy to Virginity. Ambrose exalted virginity and widowhood in five works that marked a new stage in the history of Western spirituality. Like Athanasius, he saw in virginity a way of transcending nature, a "celestial pattern of living" made possible by the Incarnation* (*SAEMO* 14/1, 110, 116). The virgins already receive in this world the benefits of resurrection* (*ibid.*, 152, inspired by Cyprian*). They are a "priesthood of chastity," a "living temple*" (*SAEMO* 14/1, 134; 14/2, 270). They must preserve *integritas* (integrity, purity*), not only that of the body but also that of the spirit (*SAEMO* 14/2, 24), and lead a life of prayer*, work*, poverty, and charity.

Ambrose does not condemn second marriages, but he disapproves of multiple remarriages (*SAEMO* 14/1, 300). He does not advise against marriage*, and in fact he attacks its detractors (*SAEMO* 14/1, 126; 14/2, 34). Listing the difficulties of family life, in order to exhort young ladies to preserve their virginity, he stops himself in his tracks for fear of discouraging those who are already "saintly parents" (*SAEMO* 14/1, 128). Marriage, widowhood, and virginity are but three ways of practicing chastity, because while *integritas* is only recommended, *castitas* is required of all Christians (*SAEMO* 14/1, 266; 306).

From eulogizing virginity, Ambrose goes on to eulogizing women (woman*). The widows who wish to remarry on account of the "vulnerability of women" are reminded by him that some women were able to reign as queens (*SAEMO* 14/1, 288). He refutes those who use the stories of the Creation* and the Fall to disparage women, and in Mary*, whose perpetual virginity he champions, he exalts all of womanhood (*SAEMO* 14/2, 122–34).

c) Theory and Practice of Penance. In his *De paenitentia* (SC 179) Ambrose fights against the belated followers of Novatianism*, who admit the perpetrators of grave sins* (apostasy, homicide, adultery) to penance* without the crowning step of reconciliation: "It is in

vain that you claim you are preaching penance, when you are doing away with the fruit of penance" (SC 179, 125). Ambrose emphasizes divine mercy*: "even Judas could have managed... not to be excluded from forgiveness if he had done penance" (SC 179, 151). He champions above all the right of the church* to absolve sinners or not to absolve them, finding particular support for his arguments in Matthew 16:19 and John 20:22–23. On this same point, he accuses his adversaries of contradicting themselves by accepting baptism but not penance (SC 179, 85). Ambrose, however, allows Christians to resort to canonical penance only once in a lifetime; according to R. Gryson (SC 179, 48), this is a contradiction of his own principle, namely that no sin can be totally out of the church's power to absolve or not to absolve.

Beyond its polemical character, the *De paenitentia* is intended both for the bishops who impose penance and for the believers who submit to it. It asks from the former a willingness "to share the sinners' affliction from the bottom of their hearts" (SC 179, 181); and from the latter, it requires that they should know how to confess, weep, humble themselves, then live reconciliation as a total change (SC 179, 193). Heading a community not of pure people but of forgiven sinners, Ambrose says of himself that he is one of them (SC 179, 177): "I confess... that I was given more forgiveness myself when I was rescued from the quarrels of the madding crowd and from the formidable responsibilities of public administration to be called to the priesthood*."

d) Attitude in the Face of Political Authorities. In 384 Ambrose exhorted Valentinian II not to yield to the pagan senators who wanted to reestablish the altar of the goddess Victory in the Roman Curia, and in 386 he again resisted Valentinian, who was demanding a basilica for the Arians (*see above*). In 388 he asked Theodosius not to force the bishop of Callinicum, a city in the region of the Upper Euphrates River, to rebuild a synagogue set on fire by monks. And when, in 390, the same emperor ordered the massacre of thousands of Thessalonians as punishment for the lynching of an officer, Ambrose forced him to do penance publicly.

With regard to the second of the events listed above, basing his decision on Matthew 22:21, Ambrose writes: "In matters of faith*, I do mean in matters of faith, it is up to bishops to pass judgment on Christian emperors, and not up to emperors to pass judgment on bishops" (SAEMO 21, 108). In the case of the other three events, he reminds the monarchs of their duties as believers. As a Christian, Valentinian "has learnt to honor only the altar of Christ" (SAEMO 21, 68), while with regard to the

situation at Callinicum, Theodosius had to give preference to the "cause of religion" over an "appearance of public order" (SAEMO 21, 92). In 390 Theodosius had to do penance, just as King David had done in ancient times (SAEMO 21, 236). Ambrose does not make a distinction between the emperor as a Christian and the imperial function as an institution. He does not see himself in an abstract fashion as a spokesman for religious authorities in the face of political authorities, but presents himself as a spiritual adviser concerned for the sovereign's salvation* (SAEMO 21, 86).

e) Social Morality. Ambrose, an aristocrat, wanted to reform the socioeconomic behavior of his milieu. His works draw an ideal profile of the Christian landlord at the head of a large estate. He does not practice usury (*De Tobia*), does not evict his neighbors from their humble properties (*De Nabuthae*). He does not overburden his feudal tenants with excessive charges (*De officiis* II, 16, 81). He remunerates fairly the day laborers he employs (SAEMO 6, 284), and he does not endanger the lives of those who work for him by assigning them hazardous tasks (SAEMO 6, 142–44). He does not hide his harvest in order to speculate on the price of wheat (*De officiis* III, 6, 37–44). On the contrary, he does the opposite: knowing that the fruits of nature are intended for all human beings, he opens his granary generously to the poor (SAEMO 6, 154). In short, he behaves as a protector of the weak (SAEMO 9, 258).

Displaying originality in his pastoral concern for virginity and penance, and in his actions and ideas in the face of political authorities, it is Ambrose, among all the Latin Fathers, who presents the most coherent teaching on social matters.

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JEAN-MARIE SALAMITO

See also Arianism; Church and State; Novatianism; Penance; Platonism, Christian; Precepts; Property; Spiritual Direction

Amish. *See* Anabaptists

Anabaptists

Anabaptism arose amidst the ferment of ideas and movements that marked the beginnings of the Reformation of the 16th century. Around this time, several attempts at reform received political support and were institutionalized. But some who wanted to reform the church*, and who were not (or were no longer) in agreement with Luther*, Zwingli*, or Calvin*, became dissidents. For polemical reasons, these Protestant dissidents have often been characterized as "Anabaptists." Contemporary historians, however, have pointed out the multiplicity and variety of this "left wing of the Reformation," or "radical Reformation," and have made distinctions among revolutionaries, spiritualists, Anabaptists, and anti-Trinitarians, which in the past had been seen as a homogeneous dissident whole. Anabaptism in the strict sense comprises various movements that arose in 1520–30 in several regions of Europe.

The earliest organized Anabaptism arose in Switzerland with Zwingli. Taking their inspiration from ideas coming from Luther, Zwingli, Erasmus, Carlstadt, or the peasant movement of 1524–25, men such as Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, and Balthasar Hubmaier came to reject the baptism* of infants and to formulate the idea of a "pre-Constantinian" church made up of

members who had made a deliberate Christian commitment. Taking up the *sola scriptura* and the *sola fide* of the Reformation, these Swiss Anabaptists rejected the symbiosis between church* and state that the Reformers did not question. This rejection was accompanied by a Christocentric and communitarian ethics* and ecclesiology* advocating the practice of *Nachfolge Christi* (*sequela Christi*, imitation* of Jesus Christ) and, most often, a return to Christian "nonviolence." A series of theological disputes with Zwingli did not succeed in resolving all disagreements. The first baptisms on the basis of a profession of faith* (hence the name *Anabaptist*) took place in Zurich in January 1525 and led to the formation of a "Protestant" church lacking in political support. This church was able to survive only clandestinely, and it was in large part thanks to a former Benedictine, Michael Sattler, who drafted the seven articles adopted by the Swiss Anabaptist communities at Schleitheim in February 1527, that it persisted through harsh rejection and persecution. These articles confessed the baptism of adults, the necessity for a church discipline in conformity with Matthew 18:15–18, the impossibility of a Christian being a magistrate or using violence*, and a radical separation between the church and the world*.

Another Anabaptist movement arose around the same time in southern Germany and Austria. With leaders such as Hans Hut and Hans Denck, this Anabaptism was strongly marked at the outset by Rhenish mysticism*. The lay theologian Pilgram Marpeck developed a theology based on the humanity of Christ*. This influence was to survive lastingly, particularly in Moravia, under the leadership of Jakob Hutter. In the 1530s Hutter established an Anabaptism that was more radically communitarian than the Swiss movement and that practiced communal ownership of property. This Hutterite movement had a golden age during the second half of the 16th century, but was hard pressed to resist the Counter-Reformation.

A third movement, located in the Netherlands, was strongly influenced in its beginnings by the millenarian and spiritualist theology of Melchior Hoffman (†1534 in Strasbourg). This thinking met with popular support and contributed a good deal to the events in Münster in Westphalia (1534–35) where, under the leadership of Bernhard Rothmann and Jan van Leyden, an attempt was made to establish a Reformation based on Anabaptist ecclesiology and to prepare for the imminent return of Christ (Parousia*). Ending in bloodshed, the episode assisted the anti-Protestant polemic of the Catholic Church and drove Protestants to dissociate themselves as much as possible from any form of dissidence arising in their ranks. Dutch Anabaptism nevertheless survived in a pacific form thanks to the former priest Menno Simons, who assembled a large number of the refugees from Münster under a theology close to that of the Swiss Anabaptism coming out of Schleithem.

Rejected and persecuted by “official” Protestants as well as by Catholics, thousands of Anabaptists were killed (especially in the 16th century) or driven into exile or emigration. Only in the Netherlands did the Mennonites experience a fairly peaceful cultural assimilation from the 17th century onward (the painter Rembrandt was close to Mennonite circles, although it is not known whether he was actually a member). By the 17th century many Swiss, Alsatian, and German Anabaptists found a more welcoming atmosphere in North America. Emigration to the Americas continued as late as the period after the Second World War*. Finally, with the recent collapse of communism, many Russian Mennonites of Dutch or German origin have now settled in Germany. Thus, the spiritual descendants of the 16th-century Anabaptists are now living in many

countries, including countries in Africa and Asia. They call themselves Mennonites, Hutterites, or Amish.

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NEAL BLOUGH

See also Analogy; Baptists; Calvinism; Millenarianism; Protestantism; Unitarianism

Anagogy. *See* **Mysticism; Scripture, Senses of; Trace (Vestige)**

Analogy

In theology*, analogy designates the gap between human knowledge* of God* and God himself. It expresses two requirements: respect for the absolute transcendence of God, who is ineffable and unknowable, and the preservation of a minimal intelligible pertinence in the discourse of faith*. The combination of these antagonistic elements has given rise to diverse syntheses embodying the vicissitudes of theological language*.

a) Proportion and Participation. The original meaning of analogy has to do with mathematical proportion, and represents a mid-point between total resemblance and complete dissimilarity. Etymologically, *analogia* (in Greek) is a simple relationship (*logos*), which is a logos of a logos, a relationship of relationships, a mediated identity. Prefigured in Parmenides and Heraclitus (Jüngel 1964), developed by the Pythagorean school, *analogia* is attested in Archytas of Tarentum in the sense of a mathematical proportion ($a/b = c/d$). Extended to all aspects of philosophy* (Boulnois 1990), it gradually came to be applied to relations between the sensible and the divine. The analogical method was disseminated by Middle Platonism as a path towards knowledge of the unknowable God, being understood also in relation to the paths of eminence (*hyperokhè*) and retrenchment (*aphairesis*). Such teaching is found in Celsus (True Discourse VII, 42; Glöckner 59), Maximus of Tyre (Dübner XVII, 9) and Albinos (*Epitomè tôn Platōnos dogmatōn* X, 5; Louis 61). For Proclus, analogy assures the real continuity of degrees of being, each of which participates in the next higher degree; it no longer means a proportion, but a one to one relationship, a capacity to receive participative being* (*In Timaeum* II, 27, 13). For Damascius, on the contrary, analogy demonstrates our inability to know the ineffable God: “the analogy of being” leads us to the One established above the being, but attains it as unknow-

able (Of First Principles, the Ineffable, and the One, Werterink-Combès 69).

b) From the Creation to the Creator. Analogy entered Jewish and then Christian theology through the Wisdom of Solomon 13:5: “From the greatness and beauty of created things comes a corresponding perception of their Creator.” This verse echoes philosophical reflections asserting that the invisible divinity can be contemplated thanks to its visible works, for example in Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mundo* VI, 399b 19–22: “Although invisible to any mortal nature, his works themselves manifest him.” Often linked by the Fathers* of the Church to Romans 1:20, analogy enables us to have knowledge of God through his creation*. For Athanasius*, *Against the Pagans* 44 (SC 18 bis, 199), the Word*, “being the head and king and the union of all beings, performs everything for the glory* and the knowledge of the Father and teaches us through his works.” According to Cyril* of Alexandria, in his treatise on the Trinity IV, 538b (SC 237, 240): “For God, it is the most beautiful and best part of his illustriousness and his glory to be able to create, because it is precisely in that way that we know who and what He is.”

Knowledge of God needs the analogical method: that is, the movement upward from works to the Principle. There is no theology, however, that does not rely on divine economy. Theology is not some kind of pure reasoning on the divine nature, but must rely on tangible manifestations in order to ascend toward the Creator. Moreover, analogy even makes it possible to think about the relation among the divine Persons: as creation manifests its author, so the divine Word* in turn reveals the Father* (Boulnois 1994, 44–49). Among the Fathers of the Church, Pseudo-Dionysius adopts the interpretation of Proclus: “God is known by analogy with those things of which He is the cause”

(*Divine Names* VII, 7; PG 3, 872), but he is not a being as such. Analogy further implies the diversity of hierarchical degrees, but it means that each existent has the capacity to receive God (*Celestial Hierarchy* III, 2; PG 3, 165). In the New Testament, Romans 12:6 requires that gifts be exercised “in proportion to our faith” according to the *analogia fidei*. Origen* emphasizes the gratuitousness of God’s gift, remarking that among the graces granted according to the analogy of faith “is included faith” itself (*In Rom.* III, 5-V, 7; Scherer 204). From now on, he adds, analogy is an incalculable relationship between two terms, because it includes both the divine gift and the relationship of humankind to that gift.

c) *Semantics and Logic.* Porphyry reduces the unit of reference among existents to an intelligible relationship by associating it with Aristotle’s *paronymy* and by justifying the relationships of meanings by the inflections of a word (*In Categorias Aristotelis* VI, 1, 133); between homonymy and synonymy, analogy becomes a mode of preaching. Alexander of Aphrodisias interprets this unity as a participation, which permits the deduction of categories (*In Metaphysicam* I, 243–44). In the Latin tradition*, Boethius* transforms the mathematical usage by translating *logos* (the relation between two terms) as *proportio* and *analogia* (in Greek) by *proportionalitas* (*De institutione arithmeticae* II, 40). Thus, *analogia* (derived from Dionysius by John the Scot Eriugena) might be a simple resemblance and *proportio* a simple relation between two terms. Applied to God, this grammatical and logical apparatus joins with a strong Dionysian trend for which contemplation of created beings makes possible the ascent to God. The Fourth Lateran* Council did this in Neoplatonic terms: between God and created beings, “however great the resemblance, the dissimilarity is even greater” (Mansi 23, 986; see Augustine*, *De Trin.* XV. xi. 21, BAug 16, 476; Proclus, Commentary on *Parmenides*, Cousin 1864).

Other shifts come from translations from the Arabic. Arabic authors interpret *paronymie* as a form of ambiguity (*convenientia*): “The *convenants* are intermediary between the univocal and the equivocal, as existence is attributed to substance and to accident” (Algazel, *Logica* chap. 3, ed. Liechtenstein 1506, 3 vo a). But the Arabic term was also translated as *analogia*. Hence, semantically, analogy occupies the midpoint between the univocal—the single meaning of a term applied to several referents—and the equivocal—difference in meaning according to difference in referents. But grammatical analysis is coupled with a logical problem: The question arises whether an equivocal term corresponds to several concepts (equivoc-

ity); to a relation between the anterior and the posterior (analogy); or to a single concept concealed beneath various modes of signifying (univocity; see Ashworth 1992).

Thus, Alexander of Hales (1186–1245) thinks of the relationship of created beings to God not as a *convenientia secundum univocationem*, which presupposes at least that they are of the same type, but as a *convenientia secundum analogiam*, which refers to the relationship between substance and accidents. In the plurality of meanings of being*, there is a primary meaning—“substance”—and the others are articulated with reference to that meaning in a sequence from posterior to anterior. The Good is said first of God by nature, then of created beings through participation (*Summa Theologica* I, Intr. q. 2, membr. 3, chap. 2 [§21]; Quaracchi, I, 1924, 32 a). But analogy did not impose itself on everyone who approached the question of the relationship between God and created beings. Divine attributes, such as justice, were said to be univocal to God and the creature (Prevotinus of Cremona, quoted by Schlenker 1938), as indeed being itself had been (Peter of Capua, *ibid.*, 58, n. 107). For Alexander of Hales himself, the notion of person is thought of as univocal (*op. cit.*, Pars II, Inq. 2, tract. 2, sect. 1, q. 1, a. 1 [§388]; 573). In the context of this terminological uncertainty, Albert* the Great connected the unity of perfections that God causes in each order with the finite receptive capacity of each created being, invoking the concept of *univocitas analogiae* (*In de Div. Nom.*, chap. 1, 1 a). Bonaventure*, for his part, contrasted God, as pure act of unparticipated being, with the created thing which participates in it, *esse analogum* (*Journey of the Soul toward God*, Duméry 84).

Thomas* Aquinas argues against Maimonides (1135–1204), for whom there is nothing in common between God and created beings, which leads him to attribute being to God by a “simple homonymy” (*Guide for the Perplexed* I, chap. 56). For Thomas, nothing can be attributed to God univocally either, because there is no “reason” common to God and created beings: God is his own being, incommunicable. The attribution is therefore made by analogy (*De Veritate*, q. 2, a. 11; *ST* I, q. 13, a.5). To justify this analysis, Thomas advances various classifications of analogies, which had divided the commentators. However, at least the analogy of created beings to God is that of the multiple to the one, of the posterior to its center of reference (Montagnes 1963; Boulnois 1990). Thomas thus eliminates all the symbolic or metaphorical names, retaining only those that designate pure perfections (God* A. III).

The logical thought of Duns Scotus, while accepting the real analogy between God and created beings, dis-

places the problem of the knowledge of God. God is reached within the univocal concept of *ens*, by the articulation of this concept and its mode, which is infinity (infinite*). Negativity and eminence are absorbed in the affirmation of positive divine perfections: “We do not supremely love negations” (*Oratio* I, d. 3, §10). From then on, the analogy between (created) being and God becomes an analogy within being, and God is reached within the concept of being—this is designated by the *analogia entis*, which arose in the Thomist school in the 14th century (Thomas Sutton, *Contra Robert Cowton*). For Wycliffe (Hus*), the notion of analogous being—that is, the notion of going from created beings to their idea in God—confirms this unification of being in a representation. The solutions proposed by Cajetan (Thomism*) and Suarez* were unable to free themselves from this primacy of the concept.

d) Analogy of Faith and Analogy of Being. Following Cajetan, the question of analogy became the *pons asinorum* of Neoscholasticism. Metaphysics, apologetics, and natural theology* were supposed to stand or fall with analogy. The fourth of the 24 allegedly Thomist theses imposed on the clergy in 1914 thus included the analogy of the Creator to created beings (*DS* 3604). This hypertrophy provoked an absolute rejection by Barth*, according to whom analogy is an “invention of the Antichrist” because it lays claim to knowledge of God outside revelation* (which is true of Neoscholasticism but not of Scholasticism*). He contrasts it to *analogia fidei* (Rom 12:6): the grace* of God alone provides the conditions for knowledge of him (*KD* I/1, 1932, 239 ff.).

For Erich Przywara, by contrast, *analogia entis* is “the fundamental form” of Catholicism*. It provides a philosophy of religion*, as well as an answer to Protestantism*, to modern thought on subjectivity, and to transcendental theology. Integrating pure logic and making analogy dialectical by a series of oppositions calling for their own overcoming, Przywara makes Western thought, in all its polarities, the content of analogy. Reality is merely provisional and awaits its accomplishment in God, with the overcoming of all contradictions. This historical and systematic work is rooted in a meditation on the text of the Fourth Lateran Council: dissimilarity greater than resemblance makes possible the avoidance of any “idolatrous” notion of analogy as affirmative knowledge.

Przywara was born in 1889 in Katowice, Upper Silesia, on the border of Germany and Poland. He joined the Company of Jesus in 1908 and studied in the Netherlands. From 1913 to 1917 he was director of music in Feldkirch, Austria. Ordained as a priest in

1920, he contributed to the journal *Stimmen der Zeit* from 1921 until it was banned in 1941. He pursued a dialogue with Barth, Buber, Husserl, Heidegger*, and Edith Stein, and inspired Rahner* and Balthasar*. Chaplain to the students of Munich from 1941, he gave lectures in Munich, Berlin, Vienna, and other cities. He died in 1972.

Przywara’s method consists of drawing from the most important writers an objective meaning, in order to understand them better than they understood themselves, according to the principle of hermeneutics*. Augustine*, the Rhineland*-Flemish mystics, the German romantics, Nietzsche*, Scheler, and Newman thus form nodes who oppose and answer one another in the history of thought, following an internal rhythm and reciprocal polarities. Their unity goes beyond these oppositions and is expressed in terms of *analogia entis*, transforming a Neoscholastic concept into a concord of opposites and a fundamental structure of universal (Catholic) truth*. The history* of thought thereby escapes from historicism, without being trapped in the Hegelian logic of irreversible progress (Hegel*) or in simple Christian apologetics. In the spirit of the *Spiritual Exercises*, Przywara wrote *Christliche Existenz* (1934), *Heroisch* (1936), *Deus semper maior* (1938), and *Crucis mysterium: Das christliche Heute* (1939), which also attests to the resistance to Nazism. He develops the question of the foundations of religion in *Religionsphilosophie der katholische Theologie* (1927), *Das Geheimnis Kierkegaards* (1929), *Ring der Gegenwart* (1929), *Kant heute* (1930), and *Augustinus: Gestalt als Gefüge* (1934). His debate with Luther* is set out in *Humanitas* (1952).

From a more detached standpoint, Hans Urs von Balthasar attempts to reconcile positions. Analogy is not a principle of natural knowledge but the condition of the created being, and yet this is recognized only through faith. In this way, *analogia entis* is integrated into *analogia fidei* (*Karl Barth: Darstellung und Deutung seiner Theologie*, 1962). From a Protestant perspective, Bonhoeffer* criticizes Przywara’s application of analogy to being (*Akt und Sein*, *DBW* 2, 67–70), but he outlines his own theory of *analogia relationis* to designate the relationship between humankind (the image of God) to its model (*Schöpfung und Fall*, *DBW* 3, 58 ff.). The analogy of relation was to be taken up and orchestrated by Barth (*KD* III/1, 218–20; III/2, 226 ff., 390 ff.). More recently, E. Jüngel (1977) has proposed a return to analogy as a way of thinking of God in his transcendence, while at the same time emphasizing the opposite pole, which is God’s mercy in revealing himself. He thereby proposes to reverse the formulation of the Fourth Lateran

Council and to see “in dissimilarity an even greater resemblance.”

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OLIVIER BOULNOIS

See also **Attributes, Divine; Language, Theological; Name; Negative Theology**

Andrew of Saint-Victor. *See* Saint-Victor, School of

Angels

1. Biblical Tradition

a) *Old Testament and Postbiblical Tradition.* With ancient civilizations, the Bible* acknowledges the existence of spirits, including angels and demons, but, in its strict monotheism, ranks them as creatures. There are superior spirits that serve God*—hence, the Hebrew title *mal'ak* (Greek: *aggelos*, Latin *calque: angelus*, meaning “envoy,” or “messenger [of God]”). Then there are spirits that are evil and in revolt against God.

The subordination of good angels to God can be seen in their role as executors of divine will. Genesis speaks of sentinel angels at the entrance of the garden of Eden (Gn 3:24) and of an intervening angel at the time of Isaac's sacrifice* (Gn 22:11). Angels are called “sons of god” and form his court (Jb 1:6); some of them are called *seraphim* (Is 6:2), which means “burning.” Often angels are reduced to simple literary symbols that lend authority to the message they deliver through a vision or a thought (as in Dn 7:16). Hence,

the more critical expression *Angel of YHWH* wherever the context suggests that it is God himself who is involved (Gn 32:24–30; Ex 14:19, etc.). It would be a later correction of the text that would safeguard divine transcendence in its immediate manifestation. The prophets*, rather silent on the theme of angels until exile, when it developed because of the Persian contract, insist on their condition as loyal servants and worshipers of God. Among the “thousand thousands . . . and ten thousand times ten thousand” angels (Dn 7:10) are distinguished “seven holy angels who present the prayers of the saints” (Tb 12:15), constantly worshipping God, as are three principal angels, or archangels, Raphael (Tb 12:15), Michael, and Gabriel (Dn 8:16, 9:21, and 10:13).

The pseudoepigrapha of the New Testament and postbiblical writings introduce many more angels, but without systematizing them. Philo combines angels with Greek winged spirits. Late Jewish literature, and especially the Talmud and the Midrash, claim that angels have flaming bodies and attribute numerous roles to them in relation to human beings. Sometimes angels are sent to punish, while on other occasions they communicate God’s favor. In addition to the few proper names for angels that can be found in the canonical books, there are many others, more than 250 general titles for good and bad angels, such as the Accusing Angel, the Angel of Darkness, and the Angel of Death. A certain dualism appears, with the good angels, who had been created on the first day, finding themselves at war with the rebellious angels, those ruled by the bad angel, who had been created on the ill-fated second day. Islam borrows from Jewish angelology and demonology, which has Christian connections. It assigns a large role to angels (Koran XXXV), including Gabriel, Michael (Mika’il), Cherubim, al-Hafaza, Throne Carrier, and Isrâfil. Among the innumerable angels, angel Djibril, “the loyal spirit,” is ranked up with Mika’il.

b) New Testament. Like the Old Testament, the New Testament refers to angels. Paul uses a number of accepted titles for angels, including: *thrones, sovereigns, authorities, powers* (Col 1:16, 2:14–15; Eph 1:21; and Rom 8:38). The Evangelists do the same (Lk 1:11, 1:26; Mt 1:20–21, 1:2, 1:13, and 4:11). Jesus* mentions angels quite a few times, notably in John 1:51, in Matthew 18:10 (a passage that has been understood as alluding to guardian angels), in Matthew 22:30, 25:31, and 26:53, and in Luke 12:8 and 15:10. Angels are clearly present in the accounts of the Passion* and the Resurrection* (Lk 24:4; Mt 28:2; and Jn 20:12). It is an angel, according to Paul, who gives the signal of judgment* (1 Thes 4:16). It is also an angel who frees

Peter* in Acts 5:18, and an angel who addresses the deacon*, Philip, in Acts 8:26, and so forth. In the account of Paul’s appearance before the Sanhedrin the disagreement between Pharisees and Sadducees over angels is brought up (Acts 23:8).

2. Christian Theology

a) Liturgy and Magisterium. Early Judeo-Christianity initially gave to Christ* the title of *Angel*, but Paul, followed by Hebrews and Apocalypse, specifies that the incarnate Christ-Son has primacy over all the angels, which are created by him and for him and are integrated into his body (Col 1:15–18). Christian liturgy, both Greek and Latin, honors angels as servants of God and friends of human beings: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and all the anonymous angels. It associates its own celebrations with their heavenly liturgy. This can be seen, for example, in the *Trisagion* of John Chrysostom, and in the threefold Sanctus of the Latin liturgy. The Fathers* all believed that God confided missions to his angels to help human beings on their way to salvation*. The theme of guardian angels, as instruments of divine providence, is found in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215), Irenaeus, Origen*, Ambrose*, Augustine*, and Jerome (c. 342–420), with a few hesitations when it comes to the question of how long these angels are assigned for, and to whom (only to the only converted, to the baptized, to every human being?).

Because the question of angels is secondary from the point of view of salvation, the ecclesiastical magisterium (thus Lateran* IV) only defined their creaturely status. However, since angels did not belong to the temporal order as experienced by human beings, the ancient councils ruled out the theory of the final conversion of fallen angels during the renovation (apocatastasis*) promised for all things, a theory supported by certain disciples of Origen.

b) Patristic Era. If the desert monks referred to angels according to the mentality of their own time, the first major theologians—men such as Irenaeus, Gregory* of Nyssa, Gregory* of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, and John Chrysostom—offered more deeply considered discussions. In his critique of gnosis*, Clement of Alexandria teaches that the angels only know God the Father if they are “baptized in the Name*” (“above all names”), that is, in the Son (Extracts of Theodotus 27:2. SC 23, 101s). Irenaeus specifies that the angels only contemplate the Father* while contemplating the Son, and inasmuch as the Son reveals him to them (*Adv. Haer.* II, 30, 9, SX 294, 322). Augustine also says that only grace* allows angels to

reach final bliss (*City of God* XII, 9 BAug 35, 174). This sovereignty of grace for their salvation explains Mary's superiority, as mother of the incarnate Word*, over all the angels, something which was affirmed as early as the Greek Fathers.

The fact the Paul gave them different names led to a hierarchization of angels. There was no system before Pseudo-Dionysius (Irenaeus talks of six degrees; Basil, five; Athanasius*, five; and Augustine, eight). It is Pseudo-Dionysius who, while relying on Proclus, creates a hierarchy of angels (*Celestial Hierarchy*, c. 6) in three triads of increasing dignity: angels, archangels, principalities; powers, virtues, dominions; thrones, cherubim, seraphim. This hierarchy would be borrowed by John Damascene and the entire tradition*. The whole hierarchy of angels, writes Pseudo-Dionysius, constitutes the theocracy that is ruled by the divine Trinity, its function being to assure the deifying salvation of believers. Origen accounts for this hierarchy of angels in terms of their individual merits (*Principles* 1, 8, 4, SC 252, 206), but Augustine declares himself to be ignorant on this point (*Manual* 15, 58, BAug 9, 206).

Although the Fathers were in agreement on the function of angels, they were not of one view when it came to their nature. Some, it seems, acknowledged individual spirit in the angels through a certain subtle corporeal state known as spiritual. Angels were thought to have an internal life that was greater than cosmic time, but less than the divine eternity, the latter being defined by Boethius* as "the simultaneity of all moments." It is named *aevum*, eviternity. Opposing Manichean dualism (Manicheism*), Augustine specified that the creation* of angels came before the moment they choose, therefore before their sanctification or before their reprobation. He distinguished three levels of angelic intellection. First, there was knowledge of the thing known in itself. Then there was knowledge according to two stages of transcendental illumination by the creating Word: vision in the morning light (the creating idea in the Word), and vision in the fading light of evening or in accordance with the unique nature of the angel (*De Genesis ad litt.* IV, 22, BAug 9–48, 334f.).

c) *Middle Ages.* The angelology of Pseudo-Dionysius, known in the West since the time of John the Scot Eriugena (c. 810–77), was common to all the medieval theologians. These scholars strove for ever greater rigor in their doctrine of angels. In his *Sentences*, Peter Lombard (c. 1100–c. 1160) brings together the teachings of Augustine, Jerome (an expert on the Greeks), Ambrose, Gregory* the Great, and Dionysius. The theory of an angel-creator is rejected and the theme of

their fallible freedom, already examined by Anselm (the fall of the devil), is studied. With the theme of separated Intellects (independent of the corporeal level), which was borrowed from Greco-Arab philosophy*, critical demands increased. There were important essays on the noetics of pure spirit, which went all the deeper in that they provided an occasion for the development of a theory of knowledge in general, with angels representing a borderline case with regard to man. Albert* the Great hesitates to identify Intellects and angels. While he does draw comparisons with regard to their purely intellectual nature and their function in ruling the world, he thinks, following the Bible and Pseudo-Dionysius, that only angels transmitted the divine light of grace. From Pseudo-Dionysius, Albert the Great borrows the theme of the seraphim's immediate knowledge of God, and he extends this to the deifying illumination granted to human beings in eternal life*. Bonaventure* acknowledges philosophers' view on angels as pure Intelligence, and he applies the Pseudo-Dionysian idea of hierarchy to the human soul*. The soul is given a "hierarchical" character by its access to the light of revealed wisdom*, the illuminations of which it receives in accordance with an ascending order defined by Pseudo-Dionysius. This order becomes a series of stages in the progress of the soul, in which the angels cooperate in an occasional manner, by lifting obstacles (*In Hexaem.* III, 32; XX, 22–25, XXII, 24–34). For Thomas* Aquinas, the recognition of the existence of angels—identified with the separated Intellects in terms of their nature, but not in terms of the function in the order of grace—is necessary for philosophical reasons. Between God, Intellect or pure and infinite* thought, and man with his reason* linked to the palpable, one must, according to Thomas, acknowledge the reality of beings equipped. The nature of these beings remains unknown; one only makes out something through human intellection and desire, and by the corrections provided by negative theology. Only the Bible speaks of their contribution to the salvation of humanity. Like all free creatures, they had to convert to God in response to divine grace, of which Christ is "the efficient cause and example in his eternal mystery* of incarnation*" (*In Ep.*, c. 1, lect. 3; *In Col.*, c. 1, lect. 4–5).

All angels, according to Thomas, are strictly incorporeal. They are immaterial, being by nature exclusively intelligence and will. Each one is unique in its kind: the generic category of "angel" is a product merely of our own divisive way of reasoning. The multiplicity of angels does not form a homogeneous whole, or a univocal meaning, and is not to be specified like the things of this order. They can only be made into a hierarchy according to their relative dis-

tance from the divine essence; since we do not know it, we give them a mutual order because of the eminence of such a gift of grace, although all the gifts of grace are in all of us, but in varying degrees (*In Col.* c. 1, lect. 4). Having a simple spiritual nature, angels nevertheless have an ontological composition. Their essence (or nature) must be distinguished from their being* in action. The latter is truly in addition to the essence, for this being in action (in an entirely different way than the traditional meaning of existence) is both granted by the Creator and acquired during noetic and volitional operations that are referred to a reality that is superior to angels themselves. Not needing palpable knowledge like man, angels know through a transcendent illumination and in accordance with a priori principles, having more or less synthetic characters depending on how close they are to the absolute unity of divine thought.

Duns Scotus, for whom there are angelic genres, applies his own theory of knowledge to the intelligence of angels and therefore rejects the Thomist noetics of pure spirit (*Ordin.* II, 3, 2, 3, §388 f.). The nominalist theologians (nominalism*) continued in this vein.

d) Modern and Contemporary Theology. During the Reformation, Calvin* saw angels as administrators of divine providence and as friends of man (*Inst.* 1, 14, 1–12). Petau (1583–1652) summed up the tradition, as did Suarez* in his vast treatise on theme of angels and demons. More recently, Karl Barth*, while noting the difficult questions that the question of angels raises, underlined its importance in the Scriptures* and the revelation of salvation. The Bultmannian platform (Bultmann*) of demythologization led Karl Rahner* (1957) toward a radical critique of angelology: not only do angels have no place in the modern world, but those theological developments of which angels have been the object are incompatible with the fundamental doctrine of salvation by Christ alone. He denounces the rationalist hypothesis, adopted by Suarez, of the possibility of a natural salvation. But Paul and the first Greek Fathers, in their critique of the Gnostics, had already dismissed this by emphasizing the subordination of angelic spirits to the incarnate Son. The modern radical negation of the reality of angels stems from an easy rationalism* that biblical exegesis does not share, even when it interprets scriptural expressions, often as metaphors—something L. Scheffczyk has recently underlined (1993). From a strictly philosophical point of view, Leibniz* borrows the notion of pure spirit which

he defines as monadic. Husserl (1859–1938), who took an interest in Thomas's treatise on angels, uses this theme of the monad in his analysis of the world of interpersonal relationships (*Médit. cartés.* V).

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See also **Demons; Hierarchy; Praise**

Angelus Silesius. *See* **Negative Theology; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism**

Anglican Church. *See* **Anglicanism**

Anglicanism

a) Definition. Anglicanism is the body of beliefs and practices of those Christians who are in communion* with the see of Canterbury, and in particular insofar as they distinguish themselves from other Christian confessions by virtue of their ties to England. But Anglicanism is not only English, and it includes the members of all churches that belong to the Anglican Communion.

b) Origins and History. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the term *Anglicanism* was first used in English by Newman* in 1838, although it appeared in French as early as 1801. Some date the concept of Anglicanism much earlier, locating it at the origins of Christianity in the British Isles, punning on the origin of the adjective *Anglican*: *anglicanus*, English, from the Latin *Angli* “angles,” the source of the name *England* (*Anglia* in Late Latin), which appeared by the late ninth century. The present-day Anglican Communion, made up of autonomous churches in full communion with the see of Canterbury, includes 65 to 70 million members scattered throughout the world. Although Anglicanism was present outside England by the 16th century, thanks to English colonization and emigration, and later due to the efforts of missionaries, the Anglican Communion itself came into being in 1851. It was formalized with the 1867 convocation of the first Lambeth Conference, a meeting of all Angli-

can bishops* at the London residence of the archbishop of Canterbury. The conference meets every ten years. Conference resolutions, however, have legal force in a church only if that church confirms them. If it does not do so, they have only advisory value. Finally, the Church of England alone in the Anglican Communion is a state church.

c) The Idea Anglicans Have of Themselves. Conceptions of Anglicanism differ substantially depending on notions of its historical origin. The current tendency is to reverse the perspective and, instead of beginning with the 19th century and the first appearance of the term *Anglicanism*, to locate its beginnings in the early centuries of Christianity. For example, J. Macquarrie (1970): “Anglicanism has never considered itself to be a sect or denomination originating in the 16th century. It continues without a break the *Ecclesia Anglicana* founded by Saint Augustine thirteen centuries and more ago, though nowadays that branch of the Church has spread far beyond the borders of England.” Similarly, H.R. McAdoo (1965): “The absence of an official theology in Anglicanism is something deliberate which belongs to its essential nature, for it has always regarded the teaching and practice of the first five centuries as a criterion.” Thus, while some see Anglicanism as dating from the 16th or the 17th century, others assert its fundamental continuity with the early church.

And although it is true that *Anglican* was used as a geographical term for centuries before taking on its current meaning, the real problem arises from the fact that Anglicanism thinks of itself as both a Reformation and a pre-Reformation church, both Catholic and Protestant. This stance is not without its difficulties. (The adjective *Protestant* is found neither in the Book of Common Prayer nor in the Thirty-nine Articles, but most Anglicans generally consider themselves Protestants.)

d) Doctrine and Basic Texts. Anglicans profess the Catholic and apostolic faith*, based on Scripture* and interpreted in the light of tradition* and reason*. They proclaim the lordship of the dead and resurrected Christ*, recognizing him as the second Person* of the Trinity*. This faith finds its principal expression in the celebration of the Eucharist*, the chief act of Christian worship. The essential texts expressing the Anglican faith are the Bible*, followed by the ritual of the Anglican liturgy* in the Book of Common Prayer (a major doctrinal source), and the document called the Lambeth Quadrilateral (*see j* below), which summarizes the principal dogmas*. To these should be added the Thirty-nine Articles and various collections of Anglican canon* law. The Book of Common Prayer exists in various forms today, but the 1662 version is still authoritative for the Church of England.

e) Theological Method. In a sense it was Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) who first formulated what was to become the normative principle of Anglican theology. According to her, neither her people nor herself were practicing a new and strange religion, but rather the very religion prescribed by Christ, sanctioned by the primitive Catholic Church, and approved by all the early Fathers* of the Church. It was thus a matter of finding a *via media*, a middle way between Catholicism* and Protestantism*, by relying on Scripture, reason, and tradition. Richard Hooker (1554–1600), the greatest of the Elizabethan theologians, defined the relationships of these three elements in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* (V. 8. 2): “What scripture doth plainlie deliver, to that the first place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is whatsoever anie man can necessarelie conclude by force of reason; after these the voice of the Church succeedeth.” In this, Hooker showed his opposition to the Puritans (Puritanism*), for whom Scripture alone could define faith, and he defended the right of the church to propose its own laws*, provided they were not contrary to Scripture. The following formulations permit an understanding of what this principle means for Anglicanism.

According to R.P.C. Hanson, for a given subject, “we must study as completely as possible the documents and the historical context; and if we have to come to theoretical or doctrinal conclusions, we should do so with the greatest circumspection.” And for A.R. Vidler: “Anglican theology is faithful to its spirit when it seeks to reconcile opposed systems, not considering them mutually exclusive but showing that the principle represented by each one has its place in the body of Christian faith and is truly assured...only if it is understood in the tension it maintains with apparently contrary but really complementary principles.” According to Anglicans themselves, this openness to all points of view is characteristic of Anglicanism.

f) Church of England before the Reformation. Very little written evidence of early English Christianity of the third and fourth centuries has remained. The earliest surviving documents date from the Celtic period of the fifth and sixth centuries, and these are essentially spiritual, consisting principally of prayers* and hymns. The theology found in them closely links redemption and creation*. After the Synod* of Whitby (664), Roman ecclesiology achieved dominance, an eventuality welcomed by the Venerable Bede (673–735) in his *Ecclesiastical History*. (Bede also produced an elaborate theology of history*, miracles*, providence*, and evangelization.) Later, there were poems such as *The Dream of the Rood* (c. 750) and, in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, theological works on kingship, monasticism*, the priesthood*, the liturgy, penitence, and pastoral duties—see the works of Aelfric (c. 955–c. 1020) and Wulfstan (†1023), *The Law of Northumbrian Priests* and the *Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (c. 970). After the Norman Conquest (1066) the same themes reappear in the monastic constitutions of Lanfranc (c. 1010–89), the work of the Norman Anonymous, in various coronation rituals, and in treatises on relations between church* and state.

The greatest theologian of the medieval English church was Anselm*, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 on, but there was in fact no lack of excellent theologians. The humanist John of Salisbury (c. 1115–80) wrote the *Policraticus* in which he describes the ideal state, where spiritual and temporal power are in balance. Robert Grosseteste (c. 1175–1253), bishop of Lincoln, studied Scripture and the origins of Christianity. Then there was a remarkable series of archbishops of Canterbury. These included Cardinal Stephen Langton (†1228), who wrote commentaries on most books of the Bible and who is credited with dividing its books into chapters; the Dominican Robert Kil-

wardby (archbishop 1273, †1279), author of remarkable indexes of the Fathers of the Church; the Franciscan John Pecham (c. 1225–92); and Thomas Bradwardine (c. 1290–1349, archbishop 1349), whose work on theological determinism was interrupted by the Black Death. Other major theological figures were Duns* Scotus and William of Ockham (c. 1285–1347). In maintaining that it was impossible to present rational proofs* of the existence* of God or of the creation of the world, the latter produced a climate of theological thought in which all one could really do was assert that God makes himself known barely enough for salvation* to be possible—as did, for example, the Dominican Robert Holcot (†1349). This was the context for the work of John Wycliffe (c. 1330–84), whose philosophical ideas led him to attack the possession of earthly goods by the church and the reality of eucharistic transubstantiation. He had disciples, known as Lollards, and the Reformers of the 15th century found precedents in his work for their favorite doctrines, except for that of justification.

The 14th century also witnessed the flourishing of an English school of spirituality, notably including the hermit Richard Rolle (c. 1300–49) in *Emendatio vitae et Incendium amoris*; the poet and minor cleric William Langland (†1396) in *The Vision of Piers Plowman*; Walter Hilton (†1396) in *The Scale of Perfection*; the anchoress Julian of Norwich (c. 1342–c. 1417) in *Revelations of Divine Love*; the anonymous *The Cloud of Unknowing* (c. 1370); Margery Kempe (c. 1373–after 1433); and the solitary monk of the Isle of Farne. (In this context one might even mention Chaucer [c. 1343–c. 1400]: among other things, his *Canterbury Tales* does have some strictly theological content.) The *Cloud of Unknowing* is remarkable for its negative theology*, and the work of Julian of Norwich for its optimism and its doctrine of the maternity of God. In the late Middle Ages Reginald Pecock (c. 1393–1461) was the first English bishop to be condemned for heresy*. Even though his *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming the Clergy* (1455) had the aim of refuting the Lollards, he had placed the authority of reason above that of Scripture and tradition. By the late 15th and early 16th centuries, however, humanism* was in the wings. In relation to this latter we must mention the figures of John Colet (c. 1466–1519), one of the first to deny the literal inspiration of Scripture and to replace allegorical interpretation with a more critical reading; and Thomas More (1478–1535), beheaded for his rejection of the Act of Supremacy.

g) *Reformation*. The Church of England has been officially separated from Rome since the time of Henry VIII (reigned 1509–47), in the course of which

it rejected the sovereignty of the pope* and represented itself as the local form of the universal Church. Henry VIII's repudiation of Catherine of Aragon was certainly one of the causes of the Reformation in England, but not the only one. In any event, it gave king and Parliament the opportunity to reject the primacy of the pope and to assert the supremacy of the crown over the church. The first phases of the Reformation, moreover, consisted essentially in emancipating the church from the authority* of the pope. Theological change was already in the air. However, because institutional emancipation was carried out before it was fully articulated, the actual change in theological thinking was generally more limited than it was elsewhere. The almost complete acceptance by the episcopate of the break with Rome, following the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), gave Anglicanism a more conservative character than the other European churches that had willingly accepted the Reformation. Because this change was embodied in a ritual, the first Book of Common Prayer (1549, produced almost entirely by Cranmer), Anglican liturgy generally serves as a doctrinal reference for Anglican theology, by virtue of the ancient principle *lex orandi lex credendi*.

The same period witnessed the rewriting of the history* of the church in England with the aim of presenting the change as a restoration. Church and state were to be considered as forming a single national body in which a quasi-episcopal king replaced the pope. In this way, Anglicanism was later able to assert that the Reformation had merely purified the existing church and not created a new one. But the Reformation was also responsible for the Bible in English, the dissolution of the monasteries (although the reasons for that were more economic than religious), the marriage* of priests*, vernacular liturgy (new Books of Common Prayer were published in 1552, 1559, and 1662), and reform of canon* law to make it independent of papal jurisdiction* (see in particular the canons of 1604). The sense of all these changes is clear.

Edward VI (reigned 1547–53) attempted to make the Anglican Church more Protestant. After his death his sister Mary Tudor (reigned 1553–58) tried, by contrast, to bring it back to Catholicism. Her policies engendered a suspicion of Catholicism that was to last in England and the Anglican world for centuries. Reformers like Hugh Latimer (1485–1555), Nicholas Ridley (1500–1555), and Cranmer himself were executed during her reign, while many of those who had sought refuge in Europe exerted pressure to make the Church of England more Protestant. With the accession of Elizabeth I to the throne in 1558, and thanks to her moderating influence, Anglicanism began to take

on the form in which it is now known. That is to say that it represented a synthesis of Protestantism and Catholicism in a single national church whose cohesion derived from the monarch as “Supreme Head,” and from a general adherence to the Book of Common Prayer. There were protests, nevertheless, from more radical Protestants and from the Calvinists, who were soon to be called Puritans (Puritanism*).

Although there was an official collection of homilies by 1547 and acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563–71 soon became obligatory for ordained clergy and holders of benefices (a requirement that lasted with few modifications until late in the 19th century), there was no Anglican “confession of faith” comparable to those of other churches. Similarly, although the works of J. Jewel (1522–71; *Apology of the Church of England*, 1562) and Richard Hooker (*Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1594–97) clearly define the Anglicanism of their period, there was no dominant Anglican theologian comparable to Luther* or Calvin*. Indeed, in the church that took shape under Elizabeth I in the 16th century, the national experience of the unity of worship in the vernacular was much more important than theological passion. The Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer of 1559 was based on that of 1552, with a few inflections toward a moderate Protestantism. These positions were justified by Hooker, who even argued for their superiority over other forms of Protestantism.

h) 17th Century. James I (reigned 1603–25) pursued the same policies as Elizabeth. A new cause of conflict appeared, however, when the movement known as “High Church,” with its predilection for the primitive church and liturgical ceremony began to take shape around the figure of William Laud (1573–1645). Laud is also known for his argument with the Jesuit John Fisher (1569–1641; *A Relation of the Conference between William Laud and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit*, 1639). In it he argued that the Anglican Church and the Roman Church were both parts of the Catholic Church. During the Civil War and under Cromwell (1599–1658), Parliament abolished the episcopate and banned the Book of Common Prayer, but the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 once again “established” the Church of England, and a revised edition of the Book of Common Prayer appeared in 1662. The new rite of ordinations, in particular, made ordination* by a bishop obligatory. During the reigns of James I, Charles I, and Charles II, the Church of England was the only acceptable form of Christianity in the kingdom. But with the accession of William and Mary in 1689, one of the first decisions of Parliament was passage of the Act of Toleration, which granted liberty of

worship to all Protestants, with certain conditions. “Nonconformity” was thereafter tolerated in Anglican theology.

The 17th century is generally considered the golden age of Anglicanism, its thinking being particularly well expressed by the theologians of the Caroline period. A simple list of their names and works is eloquent: Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626), *Preces Privatae*; Richard Field (1561–1616), *Of the Church*; Joseph Hall (1574–1656), *Episcopacy by Divine Right*; James Ussher (1581–1656), *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*; John Bramhall (1594–1663), *A Just Vindication of the Church of England*; John Cosin (1594–1672), *Collection of Private Devotions*; Herbert Thorndike (1598–1672), *Discourse of the Government of Churches*; William Chillingworth (1602–44), *Religion of Protestants*; Henry Hamond (1605–60), *Practical Catechism*; Thomas Fuller (1608–61), *Church History of Britain*; Anthony Sparrow (1612–85), *Rationale or Practical Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer*; Jeremy Taylor (1613–67), *Holy Living and Holy Dying*; Isaac Barrow (1630–77), *Treatise on the Pope’s Supremacy*; George Bull (1634–1710), *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae*; Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99), *Origines Britannicae*; Thomas Ken (1637–1711), *Exposition on the Church Catechism; or, The Practice of Divine Love*; and finally, Thomas Comber (1645–99), *Companion to the Temple*.

In general, the *via media* sought by these writers was not that of a compromise, but an intellectual and spiritual attempt to recover the simplicity and purity of the primitive church. Some of them were inclined to recognize that the Church of Rome (which remained outlawed through the kingdom) did not teach only error, and in this they differed from the Puritans, who saw “papisty” as the very opposite of Christianity. And despite their attachment to the episcopacy and the apostolic* succession, they also displayed an irenic attitude toward the Protestant churches of Europe. Also of theological importance in the 17th century were the “metaphysical” poets: John Donne (1572–1631), Thomas Traherne (1636–74), and Henry Vaughan (1622–95). A major poet who did not belong to this group, George Herbert (1593–1633), a priest of the Church of England, gave an ideal image of what a parish priest* should be in *A Priest to the Temple, or The Country Parson*.

These theologians generally belonged to the High Church, but they also included “latitudinarians,” who attached little importance to dogma and ecclesiastical organization and granted so much value to reason that they sometimes seemed to deify it. In addition to Edward Stillingfleet, mentioned above, these included Simon Patrick (1625–1707), the historian David Wilkins

(1685–1745), and Archbishop John Tillotson (1630–94). Liberal in spirit, they had contempt for “enthusiasm” and emphasized principally the ethical implications of Christian faith and the harmony between revealed religion and natural* theology. Some of them were close to the Cambridge Platonists, a group of mystical philosophers of the mid-17th century (the best known are Henry More [1614–87] and Ralph Cudworth [1617–88]), for whom reason was the very presence of the spirit of God in humankind—“the lamp of the Lord,” in the words of Benjamin Whichcote (1609–83), a reference to Proverbs 20:27. Heirs of the humanist tradition of Colet and More, they applied all the moral seriousness of the Puritans in search of a union of philosophy* and theology, faith and reason, Christianity and Platonism. John Locke (1632–1704) was much more reductive. For him Christianity was summed up in a small number of simple truths* accessible to reason (*see Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690, and *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, 1695). He was an advocate of total religious liberty* within a national church that had a very broad confessional foundation.

i) 18th Century. Anglicanism went through a crisis in the 18th century when a certain number of High Church dissidents chose to separate from the established Church rather than swear allegiance to William of Orange and his successors (Nonjurors). Their knowledge of orthodoxy* and of the Fathers of the Church had a major influence on the Scottish liturgy, which served as a model for the Communion liturgy of the Anglican Prayer Book in North America. One of them, William Law (1686–1715), is the author of one of the classics of English spiritual literature, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728); and another, Robert Nelson (1656–1715), wrote a long popular book, a *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England* (1704). Anglican theology of the early 18th century also had to deal with a deism* that was close to pantheism* and to Unitarianism*, something already seen in the previous century, for example in the works of Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648).

Locke was a deist, as was John Toland (1670–1722), who advocated a Christianity without a supernatural* dimension (*Christianity Not Mystrious*, 1696); and so too was Matthew Tindal (1655–1733), for whom Christianity added nothing to what nature had already revealed (*Christianity as Old as the Creation*, 1730). William Law combated deism in *The Case for Reason* (1731). The most important religious event of the 18th century, however, was the movement of evangelical Revival, characterized by a return to the Bible and to

justification by faith, by an insistence on personal conversion* and social reform, and finally by a Christianity turned toward action. Although the movement led by John Wesley (1703–91), his brother Charles (1707–88), and George Whitefield (1714–70) ended by separating from Anglicanism (Methodism*), the evangelical strain was important in Anglicanism itself, being given impetus by laymen* like Lord Shaftesbury (1801–85) and William Wilberforce (1759–1833), as well as the other members of the “Clapham Sect.” The struggle of the latter against slavery (liberty*) helped to bring about its abolition. We may also mention Charles Simeon (1759–1836), one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and Hannah More (1745–1833), whose religious books were widely read.

The century also produced bishops who were theologians and philosophers, such as George Berkeley (1685–1753), who relied on natural theology to combat deism (*The Analogy of Religion*, 1736). The theologian Daniel Waterland (1683–1740) wrote influential works on the divinity of Christ and on the Eucharist. And we must not forget the poets, Blake (1757–1827), Coleridge (1772–1834), and Wordsworth (1770–1850), who were also in their way religious writers.

j) 19th and 20th Centuries. The Church of England was in a sad state in the early 19th century, with clergy holding multiple positions, as well as problems with nepotism, nonresident pastors, and a very inegalitarian distribution of church wealth. Reform was urgently needed. Thomas Arnold (1795–1842), headmaster of Rugby, was one of the first to react with his *Principles of Church Reform* (1833), but spiritual and theological renewal came from the Oxford Movement, the key figures of which were John Keble (1792–1866), John Henry Newman, and Edward Pusey (1800–1882). Keble’s 1833 sermon on national apostasy was the movement’s founding act. It is well known that Newman for a time thought it possible to reconcile Anglicanism and Catholicism (*see* the famous Tract 90), but he joined the Catholic Church in 1845. It was Pusey who led the movement thereafter. These writers, known as Tractarians because of the theological tracts they published, were High Church supporters: as such, they advocated a return to the Fathers of the Church and Catholic tradition, and stressed the notions of apostolic succession, sacramental grace*, and ascetic sanctity.

The Oxford Movement, which took its inspiration from the Caroline theologians, but also from the romantic opposition to liberalism, transformed Anglicanism both in external appearance and in spirit. In this context, the term *Anglo-Catholic* appeared for the first

time in 1838 and designated those who were seeking to establish “concord” that were as close as possible with the other “branches” of Catholic Christianity (particularly the Roman and Orthodox Churches). The keen interest in the liturgy (sometimes to the point of ritualism) that the Oxford Movement advocated had first appeared in 1832 with the *Origines Liturgicae* of W. Palmer (1803–85). John Mason Neale (1818–66), for example, took an interest in rites, founded a religious community, was an active writer of hymns, and wrote a history of the Orthodox Church. A certain strain of High Church existed in American Anglicanism before the Oxford Movement, thanks to people like John Henry Hobart, Bishop of New York from 1816 to 1830, who was looking for a synthesis, and according to whom “the High Church must be evangelical.”

From the mid-19th century on, Anglican theology took an ever greater interest in social problems. The goal of Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–72), for one example, was to socialize Christianity and Christianize socialism (see *The Kingdom of Christ*, 1838). His ecclesiology links the family*, the state, and the church. Biblical criticism developed around the same time, particularly at Cambridge under the influence of J. B. Lightfoot (1829–89), B. F. Westcott (1825–1901), and F. J. A. Hort (1828–92). A very controversial work called *Essays and Reviews* appeared in 1860 and was a milestone in liberal Anglican theology. It was condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities in 1864. Its authors defended freedom of research in the religious realm and favored an opening to the intellectual and social movements of modernity. They rendered obsolete the distinction made by the latitudinarians between fundamental doctrines and secondary doctrines by extending critical method to the interpretation of Scripture and the creeds. For example, Benjamin Jowett (1817–93) argued that Scripture should be read “like any other book.” Similar positions were expressed in the “liberal Catholicism” of Charles Gore (1853–1932) and his coauthors of *Lux mundi* (1889). Their goal was to bring together the theology of the Tractarians, modern critical methods, and social concern. For example, they accepted the evolutionist point of view (evolution*) and a kenotic concept of the human science of Jesus*. These concerns can be found in two important collections: *Foundations* (1912) and *Essays Catholic and Critical* (1926). The interest in social problems was particularly evident in the work of William Temple (1881–1944), which dealt with the relationship between theology and human experience: see *Mens Creatrix* (1917), *Christus Veritas* (1924), *Nature, Man and God* (1934), and *Christianity and Social Order* (1942). In America during the same period, Wil-

liam Porcher DuBose (1836–1918) was pursuing important research into soteriology, the history of the ecumenical councils*, and the notions of high priest and sacrifice. This was also the period of a bitter debate on the Thirty-nine Articles: should the members of the clergy adhere to them literally? In any event, this requirement was substantially softened in 1865.

On the basis of the works of William Reed Huntington (1838–1909; *The Church-Idea*, 1870), in 1886 the American Episcopalian (Anglican) Church formulated four fundamental principles that were approved by the Lambeth Conference in 1888. This is what is known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral: 1) Scripture (Old and New Testaments) “contains everything needed for salvation.” 2) The Apostles’ Creed* and the Nicene Creed* provide a sufficient definition of Christian faith. 3) The church recognizes the sacraments of baptism* and Communion, administered with the very words and instruments used by Christ himself. 4) The institution of the episcopacy is essential to the church and is to be adapted to the needs of different nations. The Quadrilateral remains the basis for ecumenical discussions within Anglicanism today. A commission was charged with examining the state of doctrine in Anglicanism, and its report (*Doctrine in the Church of England*) was published in 1938. However, because it did not define that doctrine, it contributed little to establishing the boundaries of permissible diversity.

As in other Christian churches, liturgical renewal made itself felt from 1950 on, and this influenced theology as well as the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. The book by A. G. Herbert, *Liturgy and Society* (1935), and the conference whose proceedings he published as *The Parish Communion* (1937), played a decisive role, as did *The Shape of Liturgy* by the Anglican Benedictine Gregory Dix (1945). A specialist in mysticism*, Evelyn Underhill (1875–1941; *Mysticism*, 1911; *Worship*, 1936), also had considerable influence.

Anglican theology of the 20th century was marked by Anglo-Catholicism and a moderate neobiblicism up to the period of Vatican* II. On the other hand, since the 1960s, liberalism and radicalism have taken the upper hand, as evidenced by the publication of *Honest to God* (J. A. T. Robinson) in 1960 and of *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel* (Paul van Buren) in 1963. The debate on the ordination of women (woman*) was heated until the synod* of the Church of England approved it on 11 November 1992 (following many other churches of the Anglican Communion). The first ordinations of women took place on 12 March 1994. The problem of the status of sexual minorities and that of the separation of church and state continues to be troublesome. Nevertheless, a revival of the charismatic

movement (Pentecostalism) has been witnessed, as well as a renewal of evangelism, but in a form that is more learned, sacramental, and ecumenical than that of its 19th century predecessors.

k) *Ecumenism**. The coexistence within Anglicanism of Protestant and Catholic characteristics and its participation in the formation of the Ecumenical Council* of Churches in 1948 have made it possible for it to play an active role in the ecumenical movement, for which the Lambeth Quadrilateral provides an excellent basis. The birth of the Church of South India in 1947, the product of the union of a million members on the basis of the Quadrilateral, provides a good example. The ecumenical patriarch (patriarchate*) of Constantinople recognized the validity of Anglican orders in 1922, and there is an active dialogue (although without intercommunion*) with the Orthodox churches. Since the Bonn agreement of 1932 there has been intercommunion with most of the old Catholic churches. The work of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) from 1960 to 1980 also gave rise to much hope, until it received a negative reaction from Rome. Discussions are in progress with the Reformed churches and the Methodists, as well as with the Lutherans.

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See also Calvinism; Congregationalism; Lutheranism; Methodism; Puritanism

Anhypostasy

The terms *anhypostasy* and *enhypostasy* have been used since the 16th century by Scholastic theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, to designate the particular ontological status of the humanity of Christ*. What they mean to indicate is that the man Jesus* is not a hypostasis or concrete individual existing separately, but that his humanity receives its concrete reality, or is “en-hypostasized,” in the personal being* of the second Person* of the Trinity*. As Karl Barth* says, “as a man, he thus exists in and with the one God*, according to the mode of existence of the Son and the eternal

Logos, and not otherwise” (*Die kirchliche Dogmatik* 1932–67; *Church Dogmatics*).

a) *Patristic Context*. The terms *enhypostasy* and *anhypostasy*, which evoke a process and a state, did not exist in classical or patristic Greek. However, the corresponding adjectives, *enhypostatos* and *anhypostatos*, were common; they meant simply “subsisting” or “not subsisting,” having a specific concrete reality or not. In Christian theology* they began to be widely used in the Trinitarian debates of the fourth century, to affirm

that Father*, Son, and Holy* Spirit were not words corresponding to no reality (*anhypostatoi*), simple divine modalities, but possessed a real being (*enhypostaton*), although they were defined by their relations.

Anhypostasy and *enhypostasy* became technical terms in the christological controversies of the sixth century. Starting from the classic conception of the Cappadocians, according to which essence (*ousia*) or nature (*physis*) designates a universal reality, and *hypostasis* or *prosōpon* (Latin *persona*) a concrete individual substance, person, or thing, the adversaries of the Christology* of Chalcedon* seem to have relied on an anti-Platonic axiom that was probably widespread at the time and to have maintained that “a nature/essence that is not subsisting does not exist” (*ouk esti physis/ousia anhypostatos*): in other words, that universals have no reality apart from the concrete things in which they are embodied. From this they concluded that the Chalcedonian conception of Christ as a hypostasis existing simultaneously “in two natures” was contradictory. In order to avoid the “Nestorian” consequence, which would then make Christ two hypostases or two individuals—a man united by grace and divine favor to the divine hypostasis of the Son—the anti-Chalcedonians maintained that he could be conceived of only as a single nature and a “composite” hypostasis; according to the phrasing dear to Cyril* of Alexandria, “a single incarnate nature of the Word*.”

To answer them, an advocate of the Chalcedonian position, Leontius of Byzantium (c. 490–c. 545), distinguished between *hypostasis* and *hypostatic* (*to enhypostaton*). The latter term did not apply to concrete individuals as such, but to universals (essence, nature) that were found in them, and it indicated that they were concretely embodied. It must therefore be said that divinity and humanity, as complete and functional natures, are both “hypostatic” (*enhypostata*) in the person of Christ, but that they are not hypostases. Leontius also conceded what the supporters of Cyril considered most important, namely, that the humanity of Christ comes to concrete or hypostatic existence by being assumed “into” the person of the Word of God. This meaning is not directly indicated by the *en-* of *anhypostatos*, which is simply the opposite of an *a-*, meaning “privation.” In *Ekdosis tes orthodoxou pisteos* (*Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*), John of Damascus (c. 750–c. 850) gave a characteristically precise expression to this conception.

The flesh of the Word of God has no specific subsistence, it is not another hypostasis beside the hypostasis of the Word, but by subsisting in the latter, it is hypostatic (*enhypostatos*), and not a hypostasis subsisting by itself. Hence, it can be said neither that it is without

subsistence (*anhypostatos*) nor that it introduces another hypostasis into the Trinity.

b) Modern Usage. Modern theologians who have adopted this terminology have not always fully understood it. They believe that, for the patristic tradition*, the divine Person of the Logos assumed a generic or “impersonal” human nature (this is how they understand *anhypostatos*) and gave it a personal existence “in” him (which, in fact, no ancient writer maintains). The position of Leontius of Byzantium has been summed up by Baillie (1956) saying that, for Leontius, “although the humanity of Christ is not impersonal, it does not have an independent personality.... Human nature is personalized in the divine Logos that assumes it, it is thus not impersonal (*anhypostatos*) but ‘impersonal’ (*enhypostatos*).” Some 20th-century Protestant theologians consider the idea of an “anhypostatic” humanity of Christ very important because it gives rightful place to divine initiative in the work of salvation and avoids granting too much autonomy to the created order. Torrance, echoing Augustine* and Barth, sees in these two terms the basic structure of the relationship between God and humanity: “*Anhypostasia* asserts the unconditional priority of grace*, that everything in theological knowledge derives from God’s grace.... But *enhypostasia*, asserts that God’s grace acts only as grace. God does not override us, but makes us free. In merciful and loving condescension, he gathers us into union with himself, constituting us as his dear children, who share his life and love.”

A Catholic writer, critical of Scholasticism, maintains on the other hand that a Christology that uses the concept of anhypostasy by that very fact denies the full humanity of Christ, and he therefore proposes a reconsideration of all the Chalcedonian terminology. But whether one is for or against the use of these concepts, it is always the modern notion of existence as a person that is sought beneath this ancient vocabulary of hypostasis and nature. It is therefore inappropriate to make affirmations about the economy of salvation on the basis of the subtle ontological dialectic of the universal and the particular characteristic of the sixth century. From the point of view of Chalcedonian Christology this both exaggerates the importance of the terms and fails to see their precise meaning and import.

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See also **Constantinople II, Council of; Hypostatic Union; Nestorianism**

Animals

I. Old Testament

1. Main Texts

a) Narrative of Origins. In Genesis 1–3 and 7–9, man is associated with animals, which are seen by God* as “good” (Gn 1:21–25). It is in his capacity as image of God that he receives an authority* over them, which nevertheless excludes violence* or exploitation (Beauchamp 1987). Genesis 1:29f. implies that the diet of human beings as well as of animals was originally vegetarian (another opinion can be found in Dequeker, *Bijdr.*). In Genesis 2:19f., where the creation of woman is also described, man is invited to “name” the animals, an act of knowledge and power. The negative role of the snake, creature of God (3:1), remains unexplained. The accounts given by Abel (Gn 4:4) and Noah (Gn 8:20f.) recognize sacrifice* to be a universal custom (cf. with Ps 50:9–14, e.g.). With Noah’s help, God guarantees reproduction for all species (Gn 6:9ff., 7–9 *passim*). After the Flood, he modifies the status of human beings by granting them the right to eat the flesh of animals. The two texts which record this change are followed by a third from the same source (Gn 9:8–17), which describes the Covenant* between God and all living creatures, and still places cosmic peace* above any other value. Animals and human beings are coparticipants in the divine Covenant: although rarely put explicitly, this concept (Hos 2:20; Murray 1992) and Job 5:23 (obscure: *ibid.*) takes over from the archetypes that inspired Genesis 1–2, 9.

b) Legislative Texts. These texts codify the distinction between pure and impure animals (Lv 11; Dt 14:3–20) and the sacrificial rites (Lv 1–7; etc.). According to Exodus 21–23, Leviticus 22–25, and

Deuteronomy 14–22, animals (and even trees) will be treated humanely. Contrary to 1 Corinthians 9:9, Philo does not resort to allegory to comment on these laws* (De Virt.) (Carmichael 1976; Murray 1992).

c) Other Texts. Human beings share with animals the condition of being creatures, but also that of being mortals (Pury 1985) (Ps 49:13–21; plants: *see* Ps 103:15f.). God takes care of all creatures (Ps 104:10–30) and knows their ways (Jb 39). Sparrows nest near him in the temple (Ps 84:4). Directives and reprimands may come to human beings through animals (e.g., Is 1:3; Jer 8:7), and bonds of affection are frequent between them (Balaam’s female donkey: Nm 22:28ff.; the ewe lamb of the poor in Nathan’s parable*: 2 Sm 12:3). Compassion for the suffering of animals (Jer 14:5f.; Jl 1:18–20; *see* Prv 2:10). The study of animals (of plants, of the cosmos*) is part of wisdom* (1 Kgs 5:13; Wis 7:20).

2. Personifications

Whether it is a question of the faithfulness of cattle (Is 1:3), or the ant’s haste (Prv 6:6ff.), or the ostrich’s insensitivity (Jb 39:13–18), virtues or vices are attributed to animals, who, together with all creatures, praise the Lord (Ps 148; Dn 3 [LXX]; *see* the “chapter on hymns”; *see* *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, “Pereq shirah”; and Beit-Arié 1966 and Francis of Assisi). Poetic imagination expresses here, better than science, the solidarity of what is created (Murray 1992).

3. Metaphors

An inexhaustible reserve of meanings, the world of animals expresses beauty (Sg 4); or animosity: for example in the guise of dogs (anonymous enemies): Psalms

59:6f., 14f.; lions (Assyrians): Isaiah 5:29; a dragon (Pharaoh): Ezekiel 29:3ff.; 32:2–8; grasshoppers (unstoppable destruction on the Day of YHWH: Jl 2:1–11) (Beauchamp, *Creation and separation*, 1969); or wild animals (wrath of God): Hosea 13:7f., and so on.

Peace* is consented to by dangerous animals (Ez 34:25–28); or, more accurately, it prevails between wild animals and humans. This is the myth of a golden age, taken up by Isaiah 11:6–9, probably to represent the social peace that is expected with the imminent advent of an ideal king (Murray 1992). Various rereadings influenced by the theme of a “messianic age,” then made these aspirations appear more distant and hazier. Central to all this is the representation of the king as a shepherd (Gilgamesh; Homer: *poimè laôn*), applied first to God (Ps 23, 80:2, 100:3, 78:52), to his tenderness (Is 40:1; see Ez 34:11–31). God bestows this function on the king, of which David is the paradigm (Ps 78:70f.). Conversely, the “bad shepherds” are the bad rulers (Ez 34:2–10). Notwithstanding the proscription imposed on the making of pictures (Ez 20:7, etc.), the *kéroubîm* have their place in the temple*. The human-animal characters that bear the weight of the divine chariot in Ezekiel 1 may suggest that the interconnection between humans and animals is modeled on what is in heaven.

II. New Testament

Jesus affirms that God takes care of sparrows (Mt 10:29), flowers (Mt 6:28 ff.), and lost sheep (Lk 15:3–7). According to the majority of exegetes, Mark 1:12f. (“He [Jesus] was with the wild beasts”) does not refer to the (Pauline) theme of a second Adam*. However, those who concede more room to the midrashic

allusions, as well as some poets, do accept such an interpretation (Murray 1992). Peter*’s vision (Acts 10:10–16), in which he sees both pure and impure animals gathered together (“What God has made clean, do not call common”), interpreting this as a metaphor for the welcoming of Gentiles into the church*, is based more widely on a concept of the universal sanctity of what has been created. By way of contrast, the rigid anthropocentrism of Paul’s denial that God could take care of oxen (1 Cor 9:9; see Dt 25:4) comes as quite a shock. In the apocalypse, animal metaphors principally denote evil* and destruction. An angel* shouts, however: “Do not harm the earth or the sea or the trees, until we have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads” (Rev 7:3). It is the repeated image of the shepherd-lamb* (7:17), pasturing his flock in the temple-paradise, that evokes the positive aspect of the biblical symbolism of animals.

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See also Adam; Cosmos; Creation; Ecology; Purity/Impurity; Sacrifice; Violence

Anointing of the Sick

a) Early Christianity. In early Christianity a certain number of liturgical accounts, as well as accounts of other types, bear witness to the existence of a blessing with oil for the sick, or the practice of anointing them in accordance with the recommendation of James 5:14–15. The most important liturgical accounts are

the Roman blessing of the oil for the sick, which took place at the end of the eucharistic prayer; and a prayer*, in Egypt, from a compendium called the *Euchologion* (c. 350; *Sacramentary*) of Serapion. The Roman blessing was already in existence in the Greek language, in the *Apostolike paradosis* (*Apostolic Tra-*

dition) attributed to Hippolytus (c. 170–c. 236) (and this textual continuity is one of the elements of the complex debate regarding the specifically Roman nature of tradition). The text of the prayer for the blessing of the oil did not see much variation until the present time; but during the Middle Ages, the ministry* of this blessing came to be reserved for the bishop*, who consecrates the three holy* oils on Maundy Thursday in the course of the Mass of the Chrism. In the Greek-speaking East the prayer was already in existence in the fourth to fifth centuries in the *Euchologion* of Serapion, and has never ceased to be part of the Byzantine ritual of anointing, called the *euchelaion*, which meant, at first, “prayer on the oil,” then, more recently, “prayer oil.” The anointing of the sick is also mentioned in a letter addressed in 416 by Pope Innocent I to Decentius, bishop of Gubbio in central Italy. This anointing, which he relates to the Epistle of James, is intended for the care of the baptized who are sick (with the exception of public penitents). The oil is blessed by the bishop and may be brought to the sick by a priest or by a lay* person, and the Roman custom includes an internal as well as an external use of the oil. Similar customs were practiced in various Western countries until about the eighth century.

b) *Middle Ages.* From the Carolingian period at the very latest, the anointing was done exclusively by priests*. Since the custom was to wait until the last moment to resort to the sacrament* of penance*, the anointing was deferred, and what was expected from it was mainly the forgiveness of sins*, a conditional effect that is mentioned at the end of James’s text (“if he is a sinner, his sins will be forgiven”). After the middle of the 12th century, when the Latin list of the seven sacraments was established, the anointing of the sick was included. During the 12th and 13th centuries this anointing was commonly given the name *extreme unction* and dubbed “the sacrament of those who go away (*exeuntium*).” The liturgy* of the monks of Cluny, then that of the Papal Chapel, spread a custom whereby the sacramental anointing was applied to the organs of the five senses. In each case there was a formula asking “that you be forgiven for the sins you have committed with such or such sense.” In this perspective, any bodily effect of the sacrament is considered exceptional and nonessential. It became necessary, then, to distinguish between the effect of extreme unction and that of penance; the theologians of the later Middle Ages did this by stating that anointing had its own effect: it removed the remnants of the sin, and thus prepared the soul to appear before God. This opinion led to the practice of performing extreme unction after the viaticum; this became the rule of the Roman liturgy from

the end of the Middle Ages until the liturgical reform of Vatican* II.

The liturgies of Eastern Christianity have different customs on this point. Copts, Western Syrians, Greeks, and Russians insist on the bodily effect of the sacrament (something that led Simeon of Thessalonica, the great Greek liturgical commentator to protest, in the 15th century, against the Western idea of extreme unction). Armenians and Eastern Syrians have, on the other hand, abandoned the practice of anointing the sick.

c) *Protestant Reformers and the Council of Trent.* Anointing of the sick is one of the sacramental rites accepted by the Roman Church* that the Reformers refused to include among the sacraments. In his treaty *Von der babylonischen Gefängniss der Kirche* (1520; *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*) Luther* thus puts in opposition the healing* ritual mentioned in the Epistle of James and the rite intended for the dying in the Roman Church. As for Calvin*, he thinks the gift of healing attested by the New Testament was not preserved beyond the apostolic era. The churches born of the Reformation were to maintain the blessing of the sick and the dying, while restricting it to an imposition of the hands to avoid any suggestion of a sacrament.

Contrary to this, in 1551 the Council* of Trent* passed a doctrinal decree on extreme unction. In a comprehensive account and in four canons, the Catholic Church formally declared that there was true homogeneity between the sacrament and the practice recommended by the Epistle of James, and it affirmed the sacerdotal identity of the minister of the sacrament. While designating the sacrament as extreme unction, however, the conciliar document avoided saying that such a designation belonged to the deposit of faith*. The Roman Ritual of 1614 includes a section on extreme unction corresponding to the teachings of the Council of Trent, and the practice there outlined has become more or less general in the Latin church.

In the liturgies of the Anglican Communion the first *Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of the Sacramentes* (1549) offered a rite of unction, which later disappeared. Similar rites would appear again in the 20th century, especially after Vatican* II. The Episcopal Book of Common Prayer of the United States (1977) provides a good example.

d) *Second Vatican Council and Liturgical Reform.* Vatican II’s constitution on the liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium* 73; 1963), whose exact phrasing led to much debate, prefers the designation “anointing of the sick,” but it does not conclude in a really decisive way

whether this sacrament is to be reserved for the sick who are in danger. Coming after the rite of the blessing of the holy oils (1971), a new rite for the anointing of the sick (1972) implemented the conciliar decision and replaced the anointing of the five senses, together with the corresponding sacramental formula, with anointing of the forehead and the hands. This new rite is accompanied by a formula directly inspired by the Epistle of James, which implies that the remission of sins through this sacrament is a conditional effect and not its main effect. The rite also offers also a choice of prayers adapted to the particular condition of each sick individual. This rite can be celebrated in a communal fashion, for sick or old people assembled together.

In the Orthodox churches the blessing before Easter of the oils intended for the sick is followed by the anointing of the congregation with the holy oil. This custom may have originated in an ancient ritual of reconciliation for penitents.

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See also Baptism; Eucharist; Holy Oils; Marriage; Ordination/Order; Penance; Sacrament

Anselm of Canterbury

(c. 1033–1109)

An eminent representative of monastic theology*, Anselm principally looked for the reasons that would help elucidate the mysteries* of the faith*. His rational method led to him being seen as the "father of Scholasticism*."

a) *Life.* Anselm was born in Aosta (Italy) around 1033 and at a very young age formed the intention of joining the Benedictine monastery of his region. After his mother's death* Anselm left the family manor because of a difference of opinion with his father. After three years in Burgundy (1053–56) he decided to join Lanfranc, a famous scholar of that time, at the recently founded abbey of Bec in Normandy. As a monk at Bec from 1060 on Anselm was entrusted with teaching duties by Lanfranc. He became prior of the community in 1063, exercising that function for 15 years. Elected as the second abbot of Bec in 1078, for another 15 years he governed an abbey with estates and priories that were rapidly spreading, on the Continent as well as in

recently conquered England. During a journey to England in 1093 Anselm was forced by King William the Red (Rufus) to become archbishop of Canterbury. Anselm had to hold simultaneously the two functions of Primate of England and of First Baron of the Realm in a climate of perpetual tension, under two successive monarchs who governed as absolute rulers. In the face of royal power and at risk to his own life, he asserted and defended the primacy of spiritual power and the freedom of the church*. This cost him two exiles. During the first of these he lived in Rome*, attended the Council of Rome and also the Council of Bari (1098), at which the Latin church's doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit (*Filioque**) was pitted against the Greek position. Having started *Cur Deus homo* (1098; *Why God Was Made Man*) at Canterbury at the height of persecution, Anselm completed it near Capua. After the death of William the Red he went back to England (1100), but the attitude of King Henry I Beauclerc obliged him to choose exile a second time (1103). Af-

ter the meeting of l'Aigle (1105), where he threatened the King with excommunication, Anselm went back definitively to England and convened the Council of London in order to clarify the difficult situation of the Church of England. He died in Canterbury on 21 April 1109.

b) *God*. Anselm was approximately 40 years old when he wrote his first meditations: the *Meditatio de redemptione humana* (*Meditation on Human Redemption*). He was a highly valued lecturer in monastic circles, and his first spiritual writings spread rapidly. In these writings Anselm introduces a new method of meditating and praying*, one that has recourse to reason*. His methodological research *sola ratione* (through reasoning alone) was, in fact, the result of monastic exhortations (*collationes*), long discussions, and the teaching given at the school of Bec. It was there that Anselm started practicing the sort of research that so fascinated his listeners that they begged their master to put his unusual meditations in writing. The result was the *Monologion* of 1076. In it, Anselm reflects on the divine essence so that nothing will be imposed by the authority* of the Scripture*.

Anselm starts by proving that there exists something supremely good and supremely great, which is the summit (*summum*) of all that is. He establishes his thesis for the benefit of those who have never heard of a similar thing or who do not believe in it. With the latter in mind, he declares that each human being will be able to prove, through reason alone (*saltem sola ratione*), everything we necessarily believe about God* and his creatures. Anselm starts with the various degrees of kindness that lead necessarily to the assertion that there is such a thing as Sovereign Good*. The meditation deals next with the nature of God and of his absolute being*. This process, which is purely rational (*disputatio*), is applied to all the divine attributes*. It reaches its peak in the study of the Trinity* and ends with the question of the knowledge of the Ineffable. Borrowing generously from Augustine*, Anselm condenses in a dialectical synthesis everything we can know about God, except the Incarnation*. God is presented as Spirit.

Anselm's thinking is certainly that of a monk, but it would be a mistake to classify it with monastic thinking in general. Indeed, the mainstream monastic thinking of Anselm's time, as represented by Peter Damien and others (Gérard de Csanád, Rupert of Deutz) is more or less a tendency to resist the intrusion of the profane sciences such as grammar and dialectics into the *lectio sacra* (sacred Word). Even Lanfranc avoids using dialectics for the elucidation of the *sacra pagina* (sacred page), except when he wishes to show that he

is capable of mastering it when facing its champions, who resort to it in order to question certain dogmas*.

Anselm's attitude is totally different. In his first meditation on the divine essence (*Monologion*) he makes full use of every intellectual resources, not only of dialectics (*disputatio*), but also of introspection, to clarify the Christian mystery of the triune God with a philosophical framework. Anselm makes generous use of the fundamental philosophical notions accessible at the time and even deploys a radical ontology. This entails exploring in depth the problem of the God called *Summus Spiritus*, who is also presented as *Summum Omnium*—having absolute power, independent of anyone else, needed by all beings for their welfare and indeed for their mere existence. This ontology goes to the very roots of being: the sovereign being alone *is*, and all the rest is quasi-nothingness*. Anselm returns to the problem of nothingness in one of his letters (Epistle 91), in which he places it in relation to the definition of evil*; the deepest discussion of that problem is to be found in the *De casu diaboli* (*On the Fall of Satan*).

Because of the novelty of his method—the use of “necessary reasons” intended to prove what it is that faith says of God, and even of the mystery of the Trinity—Anselm could not avoid giving rise to severe disquiet and indeed criticism among his entourage, mainly from his old master Lanfranc, who in the meantime had become archbishop of Canterbury. To defend his orthodoxy Anselm invokes the authority of the Fathers*, and most particularly Augustine's (354–430) *De Trinitate* (*On the Holy Trinity*).

To the external criticism coming from those around him was soon added Anselm's critique of his own thinking. The rational approach he had deployed in the *Monologion* started to appear too complicated to him. He had the idea to put an end to what he called *multorum concatenatione contextum argumentorum* (the sequence of numerous arguments that are intertwined) and to replace the complicated arguments unfolded in the *Monologion* with a single argument. This produced the *Proslogion* in 1077–78, the work of a contemplative mind in search of a supremely logical synthesis of all our knowledge* about God, incorporating the irrefutable proof of his existence* and of his essence and attributes*. In the *Proslogion*, initially called *Fides quaerens intellectum* (*Faith Seeking Understanding*), a title that reveals a great deal about his entire program, one can find simultaneously the expression of the adoration of God, which has been revealed through faith; and a dialectical approach by the mind, which is attempting to understand the object of contemplation*, and engaging, in order to do so, its whole rational capacity (*cogitari posse*).

This dialectical approach is undertaken by means of the “principle of greatness”: *aliquid quo nihil maius cogitari potest* (something in relation to which nothing greater can be thought). If God is “the one in relation to whom nothing greater can be thought,” he is “the one who exists not only in thought, but also in reality.” This dialectics leads us at first to the obvious: there are things that exist only in thought, and there are also things that exist in thought as well as in reality. According to the hierarchy of dignities that this dialectics presupposes, what exists in reality is greater than what exists only in thought. Thus, if God is “the one in relation to whom nothing greater can be thought,” he must exist not only in thought but also in reality.

Anselm’s approach stems from two presuppositions: First, that God is “The one in relation to whom nothing greater can be imagined.” And second, that all that exists also in reality is greater than that which exists only in thought. Each of these two presuppositions implies an outlook that considers all things in the perspective of greatness.

Anselm ends up not only with the assertion that “God really is,” but also with the logical impossibility of negating the existence of God. That leads us to the following conclusion from the *Proslogion*: “That which you first gave me to believe, I now conceive in such a way, enlightened by you, that even if I did not want to believe it, I would be unable to unthink it.” For from the moment one poses the problem of God in the perspective of “the one in relation to whom nothing greater can be thought,” any denial of the characteristic “greater,” represented by the real existence of God in relation to the idea that we make of him, becomes a logical impossibility. When the “fool” of Psalms 14:1 and 53:1, who says in his heart that “there is no God,” hears that God is “the one in relation to whom nothing greater can be thought,” he finds himself in the logical impossibility of denying the real existence of God. The dialectical opposition between faith and reason reaches its climax. On the one hand, faith is placed inside brackets; on the other hand, it is impossible not to think that God does exist.

Most commentators on the *Proslogion*—from the monk Gaunilon, a contemporary of Anselm, to the commentators of our own time—stop at the proof of the existence of God, mistakenly called, since Kant*, the “ontological argument,” whereas it should be called the “dialectical proof through greatness.” And yet, Anselm’s project goes much further: it proposes to include everything we believe regarding the divine substance in that same dialectics of greatness.

According to this logic one is led to assert about God all that is better if he exists than if he does not, namely eternity*, omnipresence*, truth*, kindness

(good*): in brief, all the perfections that might be said to constitute his essence and his attributes. In this first stage of the dialectical approach intelligence scours the whole of creation*. It undertakes to transcend the finite by means of logic, in order to dwell only on the perfections that represent a “plus,” something greater, in relation to the imperfections to which they are opposed. In this perspective what is eternal is greater than what is ephemeral: it follows that God must be eternal, not only in thought, but in reality.

However, the first stage of the dialectics of greatness considers everything in relation to intelligence, and so one might be tempted to identify God with “something” that is indeed in reality, but that can be “grasped” by intelligence. And yet, this is not the case in Anselm’s thought. By means of his dialectics he is able to transcend intelligence with intelligence by applying to human intelligence the same dialectical principle that had brought him to criticize the finite being. God is not only greater than what intelligence is capable of grasping, but greater than the concept itself. As he had done at his starting point, Anselm, now at the peak of his dialectical approach, addresses God directly to spell out his principle: God is not only that which completes the capacity of our intelligence, he is also that which transcends it. God, therefore, can only be pure surplus, pure excess, for had he not been surplus, one would be able to think of a being greater than him; and had he not been real—existing really as excess—one would be able to think of a being still greater than him. It is in this way that Anselmian dialectics arrives at its goal, with the assertion of God’s reality; this reality goes beyond anything the human mind can conceive and goes even beyond the boundaries of human intelligence.

The *Proslogion* was criticized by the monk Gaunilon in terms that foreshadowed the kind of criticism Kant would later make of the “ontological argument.” For Gaunilon, Anselm’s thought implies that one can talk about what precisely cannot be talked about: dealing with that topic is doing what is an antinomy of the undescrivable. In his reply Anselm tried to strengthen his argument with a series of demonstrations by contradiction, which are evidence of a subtle dialectical mind. He categorically rejected Gaunilon’s suggestion that it would be sufficient to imagine something greater than everything—such as “the lost island”—and deduce from this that it is in existence.

c) Salvation. After the *Proslogion*, Anselm, already an abbot, between 1082 and 1090 composed several dialogues, three of which—*De veritate* (*Concerning Truth*), *De libertate arbitrii* (*On Freedom of Choice*), and *De casu diaboli* (*The Fall of Satan*)—are designed

to aid understanding of the Scriptures. They are not, however, biblical commentaries. What these dialogues do is explain a small number of biblical statements, the most important being: “God is truth.” *Concerning Truth* stems from the confrontation of traditional Augustinianism* (or from Augustinian Platonism*) with the Aristotelianism* of the logic corpus translated by Boethius*, the *logica vetus*, whose revival at the end of the 10th century brought about a rationalization of theology. *Deus est veritas* (God is truth) seems contrary to the Aristotelian definition of truth. Anselm solves the problem by insisting on the transcendental nature of the Truth that is God: the *summa veritas* causes the *veritas essentiae rerum* which, in turn, causes the *veritas enuntiationis*, the truth according to Aristotle.

On Freedom of Choice, as well as *The Fall of Satan*, discuss the Augustinian problem of freedom* and responsibility by proposing a totally new definition of freedom. Human beings are free not only because they can choose one thing rather than another, but also because they are capable of morality (*iustitia*). They can evade the determination of nature* only if they are morally good. Since God could not have determined that human beings can give up their just will (because in doing so he would be wanting what he does not want human beings to want, which would mean wanting what he himself does not want), the persistence of a just will in human beings is the result of an act of perfect self-determination, something praiseworthy and therefore responsible. God’s grace* does not change this, but it explains how human beings (who on their own, can only choose what seems pleasant to them) can be just, or morally good (how they can love God for his own sake): his justice* is always a gift of God.

De grammatico (*De Grammatico: How Expert-in-Grammar Is Both a Substance and a Quality*)—the only nonreligious writing by Anselm—dates from this period. In this original study on the problems of language he initiates his disciples into subtle exercises of logic, introduces a new terminology that allows raising the problem of the reference, and recognizes the usefulness of such exercise, in accordance with rules familiar to the dialecticians of the time.

Cur Deus Homo (*Why God Made Man*) is the third work among the most famous by Anselm. He started it in England right in the midst of persecution and completed it in Capua (1098) during his first exile. It outlines a bold soteriology—a theory of vicarious satisfaction—in which Anselm attempts to find the necessary reasons to justify the Incarnation. In the *Monologion* and the *Proslogion* Anselm had wanted to support, by purely rational means, the truth of revealed faith regarding the divine substance, with the exception of the Incarnation. He had left open the opportu-

nity to treat this mystery separately, in the *Why God Made Man*, in the form of a diptych.

Why God Made Man is a dialogue between Anselm and Boson, a monk of Bec. Answering the question: For what reason or necessity did God decide to make himself man?, he inaugurated a literary genre that later had great success in the Middle Ages (Gilbert Crispin, disciple of Anselm, Abelard*, Nicholas* of Cusa). This important work is divided into two parts. The first contains the objections of the infidels who reject the Christian faith—because, according to them, it goes against reason—and the answers of the believers. In this work Anselm shows by means of necessary reasons that no human being can be saved without Jesus Christ*. In the second part he proves, still by rational means—as if nothing were known of Christ (*remoto Christo*)—on the one hand that human nature was created for eternal bliss and that human beings were meant to enjoy that bliss in both body and soul*, and on the other hand that this bliss can be realized only by the grace of the Man-God. As a consequence, all that we believe about Christ necessarily had to be realized before reason. Thus, those reasons that we seek will at the same time constitute the common point between the believer and the unbeliever. The object of the search is therefore common, and that is why a genuine dialogue can be established.

The fundamental question of the Incarnation is, at the same time, the challenge, the main objection (*obicere*) of the infidels, who ridicule “Christian naivety.” It also gives rise to many queries, from well-read people and uncultivated ones alike, who all ask for the reason behind that question (*rationem eius*).

The complete wording of the question comes from Boson: “For what necessity and for what reason, has God, who is nonetheless all powerful, assumed the humble condition and the infirmity of human nature in view of its restoration?” According to Anselm, in order to obtain a correct solution, it is indispensable to clarify certain fundamental notions, such as necessity, power, will, and the like, which, moreover, cannot be considered separately. Given that human beings are meant for beatitude*, given that they cannot avoid sinning in their present condition, and that they need the remission of sins*, it was necessary, “death having become part of human condition through the disobedience of a man, that in turn, life be reestablished through the obedience of a man.” It was fitting then (a necessity of appropriateness), given this premise, that “divine and human nature meet each other in the form of one sole person.” The Father* therefore wants humankind to be restored by the human act of the death* of Christ, greater than the sin of human beings, and the Son “prefers to suffer rather than leave humankind

without salvation*.” Through that, he settles humanity’s debt and reestablishes divine honor. The satisfaction of sin is commensurate with the divine honor that has been injured; and as a consequence it cannot be done by a human being alone: “The sinner owes to the help of God what he cannot turn around by himself, and failing that help, he cannot be saved.” It is then necessary that someone “should pay to God, for man’s sin, something greater than anything that is, except God.” The author of the satisfaction must therefore be “a God-man,” because “nobody can do it, except a real God, and nobody should do it, except a real man”: the same one must be perfect God and perfect man.

Anselm also composed a few occasional works: *Epistola de incarnatione Verbi* (1095; *The Incarnation of the Word*) to refute the errors of Roscelin de Compiègne (tritheism*); *De processione Spiritus Sancti* (*Concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit*). In this opuscle, which resembles a dialectical exercise, advancing by means of continual objections (questions) and answers, Anselm hopes to be able, by means of reason (*rationabiliter*), to bring the Greeks to recognize the procession of the Holy Spirit according to the doctrine of the Latin church*.

De conceptu virginali et de originali peccato (*Concerning Virginal Conception and Original Sin*) is a complement to *Why God Made Man*. Indeed, Boson, Anselm’s interlocutor, does not seem entirely satisfied with the reasons proposed by Anselm to explain how God, who is without sin, could have assumed his role as man, while mankind sins. *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae dei cum libero arbitrio* (*On the Harmony of Foreknowledge, Predestination, and the Grace of God with Free Will*) deals with the problem of predestination*. This question originates in the apparent contradiction between the different biblical texts: some of them seem to imply that free will plays no part in salvation, and some others seem to suggest that salvation rests entirely on it. Thus the question of free will springs up like a real *Sic et Non* (Yes and No) a short time before Abelard.

Letters. Anselm left an abundant correspondence: 372 letters recognized to be authentic and covering some 30 years of his life. Some deal with doctrinal problems, but most are precious testimonies to his religious and political commitments, and accounts of his fights against abuses and royal tyranny and for the freedom of the church.

Anselm maintained assiduous relations with the most important personalities of his time, both political and religious: bishops*, abbots, popes*, dukes, counts, countesses, kings and the people close to them, but also ordinary monks, young students, and members of his own family. All of these looked to him for advice

and regarded him as a trusted counselor. His letters show his limpid writerly style, marked by simplicity and conciseness; they focus on what is essential and guide his correspondents toward God.

d) Method: Faith in Search of Understanding. Anselm’s argumentation aims to be convincing “at least (*saltem*) through reasoning alone.” The addition of *saltem* to *sola ratione* makes us understand that, for him, the hierarchy of knowledge remains intact: the rational approach should always respect the superiority of faith. For, *nisi credideritis, non intelligetis* (if you do not believe, you will not understand): faith remains the starting point of all rational knowledge, even as far as the dialectical principle of the *Proslogion* is concerned. Throughout Anselm’s work, it is faith that pursues the search, it is faith that calls for intelligibility: *Fides quaerens intellectum*. Faith remains the starting point of the dialectical search, but not of all natural knowledge, because Anselm will always continue to pretend to the ability to convince even the pagans. He has therefore changed the original title *Fides quaerens intellectum* into *Monologion*, which indicates a certain philosophical intention.

In the *Monologion* Anselm does not invoke the help of any authority and does not quote the Scriptures. In *Why God Made Man* he neglects the fact of Christ (*remoto Christo*) and looks for “necessary” reasons to explain the necessity of the Incarnation by nevertheless finding support in the Scriptures. The *rationes* (reasons) are natural reasons as well as quotations from the Scriptures. However, as with the God of the *Proslogion*, the redemptive work of God here appears, in its greatness, to go beyond the human mind.

The expression *sola ratione* can be found in Augustine; the method it designates is, however, well and truly Anselmian. Anselm makes full use of all the resources of reason by drawing heavily on the philosophical arsenal of his time. He wants to arrive at a purely rational synthesis of the object of faith through the logical sequence of a series of necessary reasons. However, the rational approach as founded on faith relies on introspection as well as on concrete examples that are likely to clarify the mysteries.

The full use of reason is carried along by the momentum of an unending quest, a *quaerere* whose dramatic shape is mapped out by Augustine at the end of *De Trinitate*. That momentum is motivated by the *quaerite faciem eius semper*, the invitation of Psalm 105 to “seek his presence continually.” That search may be realized by means of *rationes necessariae* (necessary reasons), and it is here that dialectics, the use of logic and of the resources of logic, come into the picture (in the use of invincible arguments, of *reductio ad absurdum*, of philosophical notions, and in the

deepening of the *usus communis loquendi*). Anselm attempts to adjust and purify these resources through a metaphysical form of thinking and through the use of *similitudines* drawn from experience*. He does this in order to render intelligible the question being asked, and to illustrate the truth that is to be sought and found.

Anselm recognizes, however, the possibility of finding better and more convincing reasons. *Why God Made Man* is a typical case of the extreme determination of Anselmian inquiry to explore matters to the fullest: having undertaken a prolonged search for reasons, Anselm leaves the door open, and he actually re-examines the same question in *Concerning Virginal Conception and Original Sin* because he feels that his interlocutor Boson is not satisfied.

On the other hand, the momentum of this search does not retreat in the face of any mystery that faith may pose: there is an a priori readiness to tackle any object. *Fides quaerens intellectum* is not only the statement of a method, it is also a research program, a program for a life nurtured by prayer.

Anselm's method was hailed by his contemporaries as a real liberation. William of Malmesbury makes a comparison between Anselm and the other theologians of his time, who were attempting "to extort their disciples' credulity by means of authority." Anselm, on the other hand, attempted "to corroborate their faith through reason, by demonstrating with invincible arguments that everything we believe is in accordance with reason and that it cannot be otherwise."

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COLOMAN VIOLA

See also Bonaventure; Chartres, School of; Duns Scotus, John; Existence of God, Proofs of; Saint-Victor, School of; Scholasticism; Thomas Aquinas

Anthony the Great. *See* Monasticism

Anthropology

1. Biblical Origins

a) Old Testament. The principal sources of a biblical anthropology are the passages from Genesis relating to the creation of man. In the priestly account, the creation of man in the image and likeness of God (Gn 1:26–27) is the result of a divine deliberation without equivalent in the history of religions. Similarly unique is the assertion that man exists as male and female. Man appears as the culmination of creation and is accorded dominion over the earth. In the Yahwist account (Gn 2:4b–25), man is described as being fashioned from clay, emphasizing his earthly reality and kinship with the rest of creation, and animated by the breath of God, making him “a living being” (Gn 2:7), and indicating a relationship to God. In this account, human sexual bipolarity is the result of God’s act of forming Eve from the side of Adam, and man’s dominion over the rest of creation is expressed in terms of his naming the creatures. Also of importance from Genesis is chapter 3, which describes the Fall*, the introduction of death*, the clothing of Adam and Eve in garments of skin, and their expulsion from paradise, with the consequent change in the conditions of human existence. The dependency of human life upon God, and his Spirit, is repeated throughout the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms (e.g., Ps 104:29–30). The Wisdom of Solomon introduces the further idea that man is created as the image of God’s eternity, and that it was toward this immortality, or incorruptibility, that God created man (Wis 2:23).

b) New Testament. While the Gospels emphasize the intrinsic dignity of the human being, it is Saint Paul who develops a more considered anthropology. The most important aspect of Pauline anthropology is its Christological perspective: the first Adam was a “living being,” animated by the breath of God, while the

second and last Adam, the risen Christ, is “a life-giving spirit,” giving spiritual life to mankind; men who have shared in the existence of the first, earth-born Adam, can, in the resurrection, come to share in the heavenly, spiritual existence of the second Adam (1 Cor 15:42–50). Adam was created as a “type of the one to come” (Rom 5:14). The creation of man in the image of God is thus referred to Christ, who is himself the likeness and image of the invisible God (2 Cor 4:4 and Col 1:15), and so Paul’s anthropology has an eschatological orientation, unlike the protological mythologizing of the Gnostics (gnosis*). The continuity of man from his original creation to his future spiritual existence is guaranteed, for Paul, by the body (*soma*), an essential dimension of human existence (*see* 1 Thes 5:23, which refers to man as “spirit and soul and body”), and which is to be distinguished from the flesh* (*sarx*), the hardened state of man turned away from God.

2. Extrabiblical Origins

The larger context of Paul’s anthropology, and the background for later patristic developments, was that of Judaism, especially as represented by Philo (c. 20 B.C.–c. A.D. 50), Hellenism, and Gnosticism. Philo, interpreting Genesis with the philosophy of Middle Platonism, contrasts the two accounts of creation and elaborates a distinction between the heavenly, immaterial man (Gn 1:26), who exists before, and is the image for, the earthly man (Gn 2:7), who is identified with the mind (*nous*), which itself is the essential element of actual man. Hellenism, in its various forms, generally accepted the idea that the noblest part of man’s constitution, the soul or mind, is essentially divine, and, due to its kinship (*syngeneia*) with the divine, enables man, through knowledge, to know the divine. It is the soul, and not the composite of soul and body, that defines man, leaving man’s relationship to his

body always uneasy. Gnosticism, in all its various manifestations, further deprecated the bodily nature of man. In its Christianized form, Valentinianism, for instance, differentiated between three classes of men: the hylic (material), the psychic, and the spiritual. Only the spiritual element of the last group will be saved, by nature, from destruction; the psychic can either become spiritual or return to the hylic state, in which, with those of the hylic class, they will be utterly destroyed. The Valentinians also differentiated between the man created in the image of the demiurge, and the psychic man created in the likeness, into whom had been breathed the spiritual seed that, through gnosis, can return to the divine. The fleshly bodies that can be perceived by the senses are the “garments of skins” added to the true human nature to enable its continuation in the fallen world (Gn 3:21), so giving the spiritual seed time to grow in gnosis and ultimately return to the Pleroma.

3. *Patristic Era*

While faith* in the reality of the Incarnation and the Resurrection of the body ensured that the generally accepted Greek body-soul polarity never became hardened into an unresolvable dualist separation, the expressions of this faith were so varied that one must distinguish among three different anthropologies, those of Antioch*, Alexandria*, and the West.

a) School of Antioch. The Antiochene tradition united the two creation accounts, so that the man made from clay is the same man as the one created in the image, and developed this within the Pauline framework of an anthropology grafted onto Christology. This approach begins with Theophilus of Antioch (late second century) and is most fully expounded by Saint Irenaeus*. Irenaeus adopts the eschatological orientation of Pauline anthropology, and, in his battle with the Gnostics, further emphasizes the earthly reality of man by describing him as essentially flesh rather than body. For Irenaeus, there is an intimate link between theology proper and anthropology: the truth of man is revealed in the Incarnation, which at the same time is the primary, if not the sole, revelation of God. Adam was created as a type of the One to come, and the manifestations of God in the Old Testament were always prophetic revelations of the Incarnate Son. Adam was animated by the breath of life, which prefigured the future vivification of the sons of God by the Spirit: initially, of the Incarnate Son and, subsequently, through baptism* of those adopted as sons. Christ revealed the full truth of man, vivified by the Spirit; in the present, adopted sons possess a pledge of “part” of the Spirit, preparing them for their full vivification in the resur-

rection. Thus, the truth of man is still “hid with Christ in God” (Col 3:3); it is an eschatological reality, anticipated in Christian life, and revealed most fully in the confession of martyrdom. The Spirit, though not a constituent of created human nature, is nevertheless essential to man to be what God intended: man lives in communion with God, partaking of the Spirit, and this living man is the glory of God. As the Incarnate Son is the model for man, Irenaeus locates the “image of God” in man’s corporeality, his flesh. This leads him to differentiate between the “image” and the “likeness”: the latter is revealed when man lives, in the Spirit, directed toward God. This likeness was lost in the Fall, breaking the communion between God and man, and so introducing death. The likeness can, however, be regained, in Christ, the true image and likeness of God, provisionally as adopted sons, and more completely in the Resurrection. While enabling the restoration of the likeness, the Incarnation does not simply return man to Adam’s original state: through the adoption that it makes possible, the Incarnation enables man to acquire the status of sons of God, growing ever closer to the stature of the Son. The potentiality of man’s original state is exemplified in Irenaeus’s depiction of Adam and Eve as children in paradise. Irenaeus thus inscribes anthropology within a dynamic understanding of salvation history: anthropology does not simply look at man as he was created, in some protological past, but strains ahead to what man is called to become.

A similar position with regard to the image of God in man can be found in Tertullian*, according to whom “the clay that was putting on the image of Christ, who was to come in the flesh, was not only the work but the pledge of God.” The later Antiochene tradition did not locate the image of God so concretely in the flesh. Diodorus of Tarsus († c. 390), polemicizing against the Alexandrians, refuses to refer to the image of man’s possession of an invisible soul, his intellectual faculty: for Diodorus, the image of God refers to man’s dominion. That is, the whole man, body and soul, in his vocation as lord of creation, is in the image of God.

b) School of Alexandria and Its Posterity. Alexandrian anthropology initially developed along the lines of Philo: the image of God has no reference to the body, but, as the image of the preincarnate Logos (i.e., “without flesh,” *asarkos*), it is located in the highest element of man, his intellectual (*logikos*) soul or *nous*, which is then used as the definition for the true man. This spiritual man nevertheless exists concretely as the earthly man of Genesis 2:7, from whose limitations the spiritual man must endeavor to free himself by asceticism*, and so achieve likeness to God. Christ, realizing both the image and the likeness, is the model or teacher for

Christians, showing us the way by which to achieve this likeness. Origen*, further elaborating Philo's idea of double creation within his own system of an eternal creation, considers Genesis 1:26 to refer to the creation of the true, original man, who must be recovered, and Genesis 2:7 to indicate the fallen man, the *nous* clad in garments of skin. For Saint Athanasius*, it is man as a rational (*logikos*) being who is in the image of the Logos, and the Incarnate Logos who gives fallen man the possibility of regaining his true relationship to the Logos and hence his character as an image.

The Cappadocians inherited the basic tendency of Alexandrian anthropology to refer the image of God in man to the Logos. The most comprehensive anthropology was developed by Saint Gregory* of Nyssa (c. 330–c. 395), who wrote a treatise specifically on the topic, *Peri kataskeues anthropon* (also known as *De hominis opificio*; translated as *On the Creation of Humanity*). Gregory begins this treatise by setting the appearance of man within the creation of the cosmos as a whole: man appears as the culmination of the ascent made by creation from the lower levels of inert matter, vegetative life, animal life, to the rational animal, man. Man thus encompasses all previous levels of existence and, by virtue of his rationality, can fulfill their potential: for instance, all animals have the power of sensation and movement, but humans, who have bodies suitable for their rational souls (as they have dexterous hands, their mouths are adapted for speech rather than tearing meat), can use these capacities in a manner befitting a rational being. However, the true dignity of man is not in his existence as a microcosm, but in his being created in the image and likeness of God, terms that Gregory does not distinguish. Moreover, for Gregory the image is not to be located in a static ontological element of man, but is instead manifested in man's free exercise of virtue. Gregory also goes further than other Fathers in explaining the rationale of man created as male and female (Gn 1:27). Gregory teaches a dual Creation: first, man (meaning the whole of mankind) made in the image; second, the additional distinction of male and female, which has no reference to the Divine Archetype, but was added by God in foresight of the Fall. Although this is the order of God's intended creation, its temporal realization occurs in reverse: for Gregory, unlike Philo and Origen, man (the whole of mankind) created in the image (and neither male or female) preexists the actual appearance of mankind as male and female *only* in God's foreknowledge, and will be finally realized only at the end of time. While mankind was male and female in paradise, their sexuality was not as yet operative, but was, rather, latent, "in view of the Fall." Prior to the Fall, mankind would have multiplied as the angels*. Human

sexuality, along with the characteristics of the flesh as we now know it, was realized in the "garments of skins" (Gn 3:21). These garments of skins are remedial, rather than punitive, enabling mankind to continue in existence in exile from paradise, and, as it is through these garments that mankind now reaches the foreordained number, they have a positive role to play in the fallen world. In the final consummation, when the fullness of mankind has been reached, God's originally intended creation will be realized, without the economic addition of the garments of skin.

The idea of man as a microcosm was further elaborated by Saint Maximus* the Confessor, who inherited much of his anthropology from the Cappadocians, including a position on human sexuality similar to that of Gregory of Nyssa. According to Maximus, man was intended to mediate within the five divisions of creation: between the sexes, paradise and the inhabited world, heaven and earth, intelligible and sensible creation, and, finally, God and creation. Man, as a microcosm, had the vocation of uniting these divisions (*diareseis*), through the exercise of virtue, so manifesting the theophanic character of the universe. Adam failed in this task. Only the man Jesus, because he is also God, was able to achieve this mediation. He is the new Adam, and only in him does the creation find its true harmony and communion with its Creator.

c) *Western Tradition.* In the West, anthropology (with the exception of the basically Asiatic position of Tertullian) developed as a form of Christian Platonism*, which referred the image of God in man to the unity and Trinity* of divine Persons*. The most important and influential person in this tradition was Saint Augustine* (354–430). Augustine detaches anthropology from its earlier Christological and cosmological settings. He uses the idea of man as a composite of soul and body, an "amazing" conjunction, and emphasizes their diverse roles, without denigrating either. Perhaps following Tertullian, Augustine differentiates between the breath (*flatus*) of Genesis 2:7, which is the soul of man, and the Spirit (*spiritus*), in terms of the created and Creator. However, Augustine's most important contribution to anthropology was to reorient the question of man as a call to a reflexive return inward: "Return within yourself; in the inward man dwells truth." The fundamental distinction, for Augustine, is not that between spirit and matter, or higher and lower, but that between inner and outer. While God can be known through the created order, our principal route to God lies "in" ourselves. The path leads from the exterior to the interior and thence to the superior, God, who is "more interior than my inmost self and more superior than my highest self."

Thus, through this reflexive approach, God is found to be the ground of the person, in the intimacy of their self-presence. Despite the route of this conclusion being anthropocentric, man is inconceivable without God, his proper end. This is the basis of Augustine's Trinitarian description of the image of God in the soul and its activity: as mind/self-knowledge/love* of self, or memory/intelligence/will. Memory (related to the Father) is the soul's implicit knowledge of itself. To be made explicit and full knowledge it needs to be formulated, put into words (the Word), which constitutes intelligence. Yet to understand one's true self fully is to love it, and so from intelligence comes will, and from self-knowledge comes self-love (the Spirit). Thus, man is most fully in the image of God through the intimacy of his self-presence and self-love.

Of further importance for Augustine's anthropology is his dissociation of the will from knowledge. Greek philosophy tended to make the will a function of knowledge: men act well and desire the good, unless they are led to evil through ignorance of the good. Augustine's teaching on the two loves allows for the possibility that our disposition may be radically perverse. Weakness of the will (*akrasia*) was a central problem for Greek philosophy; for Augustine it is the basic experience of fallen man. Because of original sin*, we have all lost the supernatural grace* and gifts that Adam originally enjoyed in paradise. These supernatural gifts enabled Adam to live righteously and in tranquility, himself subject to God, his lower appetites subject to his own reason and his will. Having been disobedient to God in the use of his sexual nature, it is fitting, Augustine argues, that human sexuality should be man's most unruly drive. Against the Pelagian* emphasis on the autonomy and capacity of man, Augustine stresses our need for grace, which for him is never opposed to human liberty*, but rather is its support. We need to be healed by grace before we can do good. Augustine thus differentiates between free will (*velle*) and ability (*posse*): it is grace that establishes free will as ability and so as true liberty. The Incarnation has the function of restoring the original condition of grace that Adam lost at the Fall; by a detour, our original destiny is fulfilled, but not transcended.

4. Scholastic Theology

With the reintroduction of Aristotelian philosophy in the West, a more holistic anthropology began to be developed, finding its most complete synthesis in the work of Saint Thomas* Aquinas (c. 1125–c. 1274). For Aquinas, man is more than a simple conjunction of a soul and body, two disparate elements, as for Plato and Augustine. The body is an essential element in the human constitution, yet it does not exist through itself,

but by the intellectual soul, which is the form of the body, a form, moreover, that possesses and confers substantiality. The soul is act and itself a substance, but without the body it cannot fulfill its actuality; it would remain destitute without the body and its senses, while the body has neither actuality nor substantiality apart from that conferred by the soul. Thus, man is not a substance constructed from two self-subsisting substances, but is himself a concrete and complete substance. This implies a type of dualism, but one that does not impair man's substantial unity as a complex being: a unity of soul, which substantiates his body, and body, in which his soul concretely exists. Nevertheless, man's existence as a complex substance derives from the intellectual soul, which has in itself adequate reason for its own existence. In this way, without denigrating the importance of the body, the traditional priority of the spiritual over the material is maintained. Furthermore, it enables Aquinas to explain the immortality of the soul: the corruption of the body, when it is separated from the soul, that which gives it its actual being, cannot affect the soul itself. Despite Aquinas's emphasis on the complex unity of man, there is a novel departure from the biblical view as represented by Genesis 2:7. The latter describes the whole man, clay animated by the breath of life, as a living soul; for Aquinas, the concrete reality of man is governed by the intellectual soul (*anima intellectiva*), which has an autonomous existence as a substance. Moreover, Aquinas, following Augustine, rejects the connection between the breath of life mentioned in Genesis 2:7 and the Holy Spirit (as upheld, for instance, by Irenaeus), preferring to see, in the contrast that Paul draws in 1 Corinthians 15:45, two distinct and unrelated realities.

Following Saint John of Damascus, Aquinas distinguishes between the image and the likeness of God in man, and couples this with Augustine's teaching on the original state of grace: the image is the intellectual nature of man and his possession of free will, while the likeness was the gift of grace given to Adam, which was lost through sin and restored in Christ. Although it is by virtue of having a rational nature that man is considered to be in the image, as also are the angels, there is no connection between man's possession of *logos* and the divine Logos, as in Alexandrian anthropology. Man is said to be in the image with reference to both the divine Nature and the Trinity of Persons. Thus, the theology of the image is fully detached from Christology*. Existence as the image of God is an essential characteristic of man, enduring even after the Fall: for Aquinas, if man had lost his character as the image of God, his rationality and freedom, he would only be an animal, not a human responsible for his action and sin.

Possession of the image of God is, therefore, a presupposition for the likeness, the additional gift of grace, that is, the actual communion with God proper to the original, and the recreated, state. Thus, while generally following Augustine, Aquinas lays more emphasis on the free will and enduring dignity of man.

5. Reformation

The anthropology of the Reformation is based upon a radicalizing renewal of Augustine's doctrine of original sin and grace. Whereas Latin Scholasticism taught that the image of God was a formal property of human nature, a presupposition for the likeness, the Reformation did not differentiate between "image" and "likeness," but considered them to be equivalent to original righteousness, as Martin Luther writes: "The likeness and image of God consists in the true and perfect knowledge of God, supreme delight in God, eternal life, eternal righteousness, eternal freedom from care." In this perspective, the image of God in man is not a set of static ontological properties, but the complete orientation of life toward God. Inevitably, therefore, the Fall entailed a loss of both the likeness and the image. Fallen man is "totally depraved"; there is no aspect of man that remains unaffected by his sin. Man still possesses free will and reason, but as his will has lost the grace that constituted and empowered it, it has lost its true liberty. The loss of the image did not (despite Matthias Flacius Illyricus [1520–75]) affect our created nature as humans: man's faculties may be seriously weakened or leprous, but one can still call a leprous man a man. This ultimately led the later Reformation dogmatists to consider both the image and likeness, as well as human sinfulness, as accidental determinations of human nature.

Man can still perform good acts and keep the law, but these will be done with a depraved motivation (for instance, selfishness), rather than in the love that alone fulfills the law. In this situation, Luther denies philosophy the possibility of either understanding or defining the essential characteristics of man: it can only achieve an autonomous self-understanding, overvaluing the (for it, naturally immortal) soul and reason, or claiming full liberty. It is possible to comprehend the true nature of man, *homo theologicus*, a created and fallen being, only because, by the grace of God, we have the Scriptures. Through the gospel, the image is restored and man begins to be re-created, prepared for the truly spiritual life, in which man will exist in flesh and bones, not with an animal mode of life (eating, drinking, resting), but from God alone. Adam was also destined for this spiritual life and, if he had not sinned, he would, in due course, have been translated to it. Luther describes man of this present life as the matter out of

which God will fashion the glorious form of eschatological man. However, while man is freed from bondage and restored to the original state of the image by Christ, the spiritual existence of eschatological man is not so intimately connected with the Incarnate Christ, as it was for instance, with Irenaeus, nor, consequently, does the work of Christ have the same eschatological orientation: ultimately, there predominates an understanding of the effect of the Incarnation—the return of man to his original relationship to God.

Calvin* vehemently opposed the idea that Adam was created as an image or type of the Incarnate Christ, as Osiander (1498–1552) claimed. The image and likeness are located in the integrity, righteousness, and sanctity of Adam's first estate. Calvin, however, maintains that the image was not totally effaced at the Fall, but "was so corrupted that anything that remains is a horrible deformity." The purpose of regeneration in Christ is to renew man in the image of God, but again, this identity does not lie in the Incarnate Christ. The later Calvinist tradition distinguished between a "narrower" and a "broader" sense of the image: in the narrower sense, it refers to man's original condition in paradise; in the broader sense, it refers to those characteristics of man that make him a human rather than a beast. The image, in the narrower sense, was lost at the Fall; while in the broader sense, it remains, though deformed.

6. 18th and 19th Centuries

A reorientation occurred in the 18th century, partly as a development from the humanism of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, which recaptured the insight and perspective of Irenaeus. In the 15th century Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94) had suggested that Adam was created with an imprecise form, able to fix his own destiny through his free will; the fulfillment of this destiny lies in assimilation to God, which was only fully achieved by Christ. Herder (1744–1803) develops this idea, but, reacting against the Promethean pretension to human perfectibility through self-improvement, inscribes man's self-determination within divine providence*. While God gave instincts to animals, in man he carved his own image: religion and humanity. The outline of the statue is still obscure, lying deep within the block. Man cannot carve it out for himself; rather, God has given us tradition, learning, reason, and experience to this end. Thus, the image has a teleological function: it is something toward which we are working, rather than something that we once had and hope to regain. This perspective, moreover, applies to our status as human: "we are not yet men, but are daily becoming so."

Herder himself, however, does not relate the fulfillment of this vocation to the Incarnation of Christ. This was done, soon after, by Schleiermacher*, for whom Christ was “the completion of the creation of man.”

This reorientation had significant implications for the whole of the Protestant theology of the 19th century. Combined with the developments in biblical criticism, especially of J. G. Eichhorn (1752–1827), which tended more and more to remove any descriptive value from the accounts of the Creation, and then the first repercussions of Darwinist theories upon theology, 19th-century Protestant theology therefore necessarily came to understand the image in terms of the destiny or vocation completed in Christ, rather than the perfection of the original state that was lost in the Fall and regained in Christ.

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7. 20th Century

All the theological anthropologies of the 20th century seem to have one point in common: the recourse to the concept of “relation,” understood in the narrow sense of an intersubjective or interpersonal relation, as a key category. The main themes are: the widespread influence of philosophies of the “person,” of “dialogue” or of “existence”; the manifest reluctance to make any appeal to the idea of “nature”; the subordination of hu-

man being to human becoming, and the suspension of this becoming into an absolute future, which must be thought of in a christological manner; and, accordingly, the concern to give anthropology a strictly theological treatment.

It is probably in the work of Karl Barth* that these themes are most powerfully deployed, within a theology that perceives the covenant* precisely as the location of fully human existence. Understood in its theological sense, the humanity of man—and therefore the “likeness”—is not at all ontic, is neither a property nor a natural faculty, and therefore cannot be linked to a natural state of integrity that man has lost. In the covenant, a “pledge and promise” to which God has called man, man never “possesses” this likeness and therefore cannot be said to have lost it; and, as God’s promise, it is not even subject to partial destruction. Barth does, however, retain a correspondence between our created nature and our divine destiny. Man’s prototype is the relationship and differentiation between the *I* and the *Thou* in the Trinity: man was created as a *Thou* that can be addressed by God, and an *I* responsible to God. Based in the final instance on internal relations with the divine life and intended first and foremost as a conception of man as a being *before* God, this anthropology also names other relationships and gives them theological importance: the relationship between man and woman, social relations, and, above all, ecclesial relations, in which the being-before-God is accomplished in the form of a *communion* with Christ.

Emil Brunner (1889–1966) also related the idea of the image to relationships and to existence as a person, but he remained closer to the classic Protestant positions. Even though, like Barth, he abandoned the idea of original perfection, Brunner by contrast to Barth distinguished two primordial theological traits, liberty and the capacity to enter into a loving relationship with God. The second can be lost, but not the first, which is an essential trait of the personality.

Catholic and Orthodox theology frequently adopt similar language: the rooting of Christian experience* in communion is not a concern limited to just one Christian confession, having been present in the *Catholicisme* (1938) of H. de Lubac* and in the ecclesiologies* of the “mystical body” (cf. Mersch); outlined as a very prominent aspect in the few remaining texts by J. Monchanin; made into a program in the work of V. Lossky; and brought to its first synthesis by J. Zizioulas. The ontological language used to raise “being-with” (*Mitsein*) to the rank of a theological category is certainly a language in which Protestant theology has traditionally had very little confidence. However, the purpose for which this language is used is no longer to draw up a chart of human properties, in

relation to believers in particular, but to give names to theological realities: being-in-the-church, communion, which finds its paradigm in the life of the Trinity—"We have to live in circumincession* with all our brothers" (Monchanin); the absolutely primordial character of personal existence, in the image of the Father, *fons et origo totius divinitatis* (fount and origin of complete divinity) (Zizioulas); the Christological theory of anhypostasy* as the keystone of a theological doctrine of the person (Lacoste); and so on. It should be remembered that within recent theology there remain a number of anthropological beliefs that lack any theological basis for their affirmation, such as the notion that anthropology is a constant of which Christology is the variable (H. Braun).

The theological status of the religious fact remains a source of discord between the different creeds. In a period in which there has been little concern with the "virtue of religion," but a spectacular development of "religious sciences," philosophy of religion*, and theology of religions*, there has been no lack of pronouncements on man perceived as *animal religiosus* (a religious animal), in a variety of styles. In the *a priori* theologies that began with J. Maréchal, and above all in the work of Karl Rahner*, the religious dimension of existence is interpreted in terms of transcendental aptitude. To be "spirit" in the "world" is to exist, in fact, as the addressee of a possible word spoken by the "free unknown," of whom one may have a premonition that he governs the "mystery*" of being*. Among *a posteriori* theologies, responses diverge, ranging from a massive challenge to the religious fact (as in Barth) to a conceptual strategy of Christological criticism and integration (as in Balthasar*), or to descriptive analyses of the human condition in which the religious appears as the human experience that is the richest in possibilities (Pannenberg; Martelet). Theories of the religious as "experience" have been constructed, in a variety of ways, whether in response to William James or Rudolph Otto, or in response to Schleiermacher*'s *Über die Religion: Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern* (1799; *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*), perceived as a common ancestor; during the 20th century, there has been a tendency to combine such theories with a Christian hermeneutic* of the great religious traditions. While there may be an "aptitude for experience" (R. Schaeffler), and there may be some justification for a general theological evaluation of the behaviors that display this aptitude, it is nonetheless as "Jewish experience," "Hindu experience," and so on that religious experience is captured in any more precise description. Indeed, Vatican* II came to different conclusions about different religious commitments.

An epoch in theology that began with Weiss's reopening of the case of eschatology* could not fail to put forward, as well, an eschatological position on the question of man. Indeed, in many different ways 20th-century theology has emphasized the paradox of an object, man, who exists here and now, within the finite limits of the world, only in an inchoate and provisional mode. As Barth says, "Human existence is ontologically determined by the fact that among all human beings, one of them is the man Jesus*." Man is a creature for whom Christ, and his life in Christ, is part of his existence. While this idea accounts for the present experience of the believer, it suggests, nonetheless, that the meaning of what man is to be apprehended on the basis of his future. This future is certainly what theological experience anticipates. According to Luther, *fides facit personam* (faith makes the person), and the existence of the believer has eschatological meanings that have been considered soberly within the framework of a doctrine of justification* and of liberty liberated (e.g., Jüngel; *see also* Pesch), or in a more exuberant manner, based on a doctrine of divinization (e.g., Lossky). However, these meanings, to which theology alone has access, are only the penultimate word of anthropology. Here and now, the definitive has not been realized. It is not, therefore, in his own visage that man can scrutinize his humanity, but in the visage of Christ resurrected, "in" whom believers already live an authentically human existence, while hoping for an absolute future of which they do not yet possess more than a deposit.

Some theologians, such as Bultmann*, have believed that the historical and worldly present of experience is capable of integrally providing a basis for man's access to his "authentic" humanity. However, thinking of man on the basis of his accomplishment—and thinking of being on the basis of the *eschaton*—necessarily leads us to highlight the definitive realities, understood as parts of an economy of the provisional. The anthropology of relations uses the language of being but cannot conceal the fact that the most humanizing relationships—the *esse ad Deum*, the communion of persons—are works of liberty. Man is the being who can exist face to face with God (in G. Ebeling's "*coram* relationship"), but first and foremost he necessarily exists within the world in a mode of opening up to the world. While an anthropology rooted in Christology must certainly reject every type of thinking that permits death to have the last word, the resurrected Christ should not make us forget that the disciples were not greater than their master and had to live, at first, with the image of Christ crucified.

What we shall be "does not yet appear" (1 Jn 3:2), and the definitive is no more at the disposal of theology than it is at the disposal of the believer. As against

a factuality, or facticity, that can be interpreted completely without naming God, the whole of theology must object that man surpasses all that he is “in fact” because he is the bearer of a vocation. Whatever concepts one may adopt in thinking about the “being of vocation,” the definitive, the *eschaton*, the absolute future, and so on, and even though there is no shortage of biblical images for expressing what “resurrection” or the “reign of God” may mean, the *problem* of man leads back, in every sense, to the *mystery* of God—and the problematic, the “question,” that man represents for himself (Augustine) thus itself becomes part of the mystery. Man is the image of God in several different ways, one of which encourages us not to want to say too much about it: in the image of an incomprehensible God, man is also a being that we know without understanding. Man is also *homo absconditus* (Moltmann).

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See also Adam; Creation; Death; Evolution; Monogenesis/Polygenesis; Resurrection of the Dead; Soul-Heart-Body

Anthropomorphism

In its broadest sense, anthropomorphism consists of representing in human form beings other than, and considered superior to, humans. Angels* and Wisdom* might thus fall into this category. But usage tends to confine the term to the problem of the representation of the divine, both in polytheism and monotheism*, and it is in this latter case that it has real force and interest.

1. General Characteristics of Biblical Anthropomorphism

Biblical anthropomorphism has two aspects. God* has a corporeal form. For example, in the myth of Adam he hears and walks. He also experiments (Gn 2:19) and comes down to find out what is happening on earth (Gn 11:5, 18:21). He “smelled the pleasing odor” of burnt offerings (Gn 8:21; *see also* Nm 15:24) and

writes with his finger (Ex 31:18). Above all, he is “a man of war” (Ex 15:3), a “dread warrior” (Jer 20:11).

The second aspect of biblical anthropomorphism consists in attributing human passions and feelings to God. God takes pleasure in offerings (Gn 4). He shows anger and is jealous (Dt 5:9). He changes his mind (Gn 6:6–7; 1 Sm 15:11). These characteristics should not be seen as expressions that lay no claim to being assertions about reality (as would be the case, for example, if it were a question of setting the scene for a parable; see 1 Kgs 22:18–23 and the first two chapters of Jb), nor as what are often called poetic images (such as those in Ps 104:32). In fact, even when they come from ancient literary strata, they correspond to a perception of divine essence that will not be denied—for example, “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness” (Gn 1:26). But anthropomorphism has limits. Treachery is never attributed to God, and any sexual representation is ruled out. It is noteworthy that the Old Testament is very parsimonious in its attribution of the character of Father* to God; whereas Adam begot Seth “in his own likeness” (Gn 5:3), Genesis 1:26 does not say that Adam was begotten by God (but cf. this passage with Lk 3:38).

2. Correctives to Anthropomorphism in a Construct of Transcendence

If we agree that there are two basic forms in which the imagination can structure a universe, one tending to abolish borders (the extreme case being a world in fusion), the other emphasizing their distinctness (the extreme being a dualism with no possible passage between the two aspects), then the biblical representation of God avoids the former and provides correctives to anthropomorphism within the latter. These correctives can be reduced to three types. 1) The distance between human beings and God is marked out by intermediaries, no doubt creating a link but delaying contact: for example the angels, especially the “Angel of the Lord” who appears at those decisive moments when divine action is revealed to humankind (Gn 22:15; Ex 3:2; Nm 20:16, 22:22–35; and Jgs 2:4). Celestial beings intervene in visions of the Temple* (*serafim* in Is 6:2, 6:6 and *kerubim* in Ez 10:2), evoking the forms that had already been present in the Temple of Solomon (1 Kgs 6–8), carved images of Mesopotamian origin that were partially theriomorphic. 2) Instead of an angel, or along with him, there sometimes appear mysterious “men”—for example, the men at Mamre in Genesis 18, Jacob’s adversary in Genesis 32, and the even more mysterious adversary of Moses in Exodus 4:24. 3) Jacob’s combat ends with the request, “Tell me, I pray, your name*” (Gn 32:29), to which no other answer but a blessing* is given. Later texts mark a greater distance, particularly in two narratives* of

similar inspiration that take up once again the Sinai theophanies*. In Exodus 33:18–23 Moses sees God’s back, and only as he passes by. Later, Elijah hears the voice of God that has become *qol demamah daqqah*—“a still small voice” (1 Kgs 19:12). God “is not a man that he should repent” (1 Sm 15:29), although he is said to have repented of having made Saul king (1 Sm 15:11). The Septuagint version of Isaiah 63:9 favors “face” and “Holy Spirit” over “messenger” and “angel.”

3. Word, Covenant, Partisan God

a) *The Name.* Jewish tradition* was very sensitive with respect to the ineffable name: it was forbidden to speak it. For the Deuteronomist, the Temple is simply “a house for my name” (2 Sm 7:13).

b) *The Word.* The current importance of philosophies of language encourages us to regard the word (“God speaks”) as being at the root of biblical anthropomorphism. This conception gives rise to two variants, one oriented toward heaven the other toward earth. On one hand the “Word” is presented as a distinct and eternal entity. On the other, the Word* of God comes out of the mouths of human beings, the prophets*, who say: “Thus says YHWH,” along the lines of a word of covenant*, the promise* of a homeland made to Abraham and later renewed, a covenant within which God may be represented as a bridegroom (Hos 2:16, 3:1; Is 62:4–5; Jer 2:2, 31:21–22; and Ez 16:8–60).

c) *Critical Point.* Anthropomorphism is put to the test when the notion of the chosen people makes God a partisan in human struggles, something that culminates in the extermination of the first-born of Egypt. The narrative wavers, sometimes attributing the deed to God himself, sometimes to a “destroyer” (Ex 12:23) distinct from him, whereas Psalm 136:10 sees the event only as a sign of God’s “steadfast love” (*chesed*) of his people*.

d) *The Incarnation.* With Jesus* Christ*, God takes on human form (Phil 2:7): the “true man, true God” is at the center of the confession of faith. But the corrective that untangles the obscurity and overcomes the impasse of a partisan God is the fact that Christ’s human form is one of weakness and humiliation, even unto death*. This death is not only the ritual, familiar to ethnology, of the king of fools; it also establishes the solidarity of this king with all humanity. As the first-born, the image of the invisible God, Christ is the restoration of man in the image of his Creator (Col 1:15–20). “And whatever you did to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me” (Mt 25:40).

4. Ambivalence of Anthropomorphism

a) *Representation or Relation?* Augustine* played a decisive role in the way Western thought has posed the question of anthropomorphism. In fact he gave the name *anthropomorphites* to the disciples of Audius who “in carnal thought, represent God in the form of a corruptible man.” Augustine thereby doubly cut through an ambivalence of anthropomorphism, as it had been developed at the crossroads of the biblical and Greek traditions. On the one hand, Augustine denies all that, in anthropomorphism, may reduce God to man or to draw man toward God in whose image he is made. On the other hand, to the negation of an anthropomorphism conceived in terms of being, he adds the negation of an anthropomorphism conceived in terms of representation—an anthropomorphism whose most famous formulation was given by Xenophanes: “If cattle, horses, and lions had hands like men, if they could paint like men and produce works of art, then horses would paint even the images of the gods as horses, cattle as cattle, and each would establish the corporeal form of its gods according to its own appearance.”

The Renaissance of the 13th century followed Augustine’s lead. Although analogy, a process used to answer the question, “What is God?,” played a role in the discussion of “divine names,” this relational dimension was set aside to enable these concepts to be used later, legitimately, provided that their lack of adequacy is taken into account.

b) *Kant.* Immanuel Kant* occupies a special place because of the particular way in which he approaches the ambivalence of anthropomorphism. Discussing “the determination of the limits of reason,” he observes that Hume’s skepticism toward all theology hardly affects deism* (dealing with the “supreme Being”) but does affect theism (Deism*/Theism) (which postulates a personal God); and only theism is of interest to man as a morally responsible being, but it is inevitably tainted with anthropomorphism. There is no solution if we rely on a “dogmatic anthropomorphism,” claiming to say something about what God is “in himself.” But it is proper to use a “symbolic anthropomorphism” that “concerns only language and not the object itself.” An analogy is at work in this instance. What is important here is the connection with the symbol, the problematics of which, in contemporary thought, originates with Kant. And what is most fruitful is the intuition of a link with language. In the case of anthropomorphism, this meant a return to the problematics of relation. It is in fact a question of freedom* as it is experienced in the awareness of the moral law*, which finds its true development only in interpersonal relations (Kant speaks of respect). This re-

quires that we speak of God as we would of a person (hence, in contrast to deism). The symbol derives from an effort of the imagination, linked to the tangible world, which is not to be left behind because it provides the living experience of those words that remain necessary to express what God is for us. As É. Weil correctly observed, Kantian problematics are indeed those of theomorphic man.

c) *Hegel and Kierkegaard.* Fichte, Schelling*, and Schleiermacher follow in Kant’s footsteps. Kierkegaard* argues for a “vigorous and powerful anthropomorphism.” He is thereby opposed to Hegel*, whose interest in anthropomorphism is expressed in his emphasis on the way in which Christian forms depart from pagan forms through a critique of representation. The truth of this inevitable passage through man in order to express God is the identity of identity and difference, the heart of the Hegelian “concept,” the highest point of which is the idea of the Incarnation. But we can see that the emphasis returns to representation, even though this is done to criticize its inadequacy, whereas it is a struggle to maintain the weightiness of the tangible world.

d) *Contemporary Thought.* E. Jünger follows a Hegelian line when he justifies anthropomorphism both through man made in the image of God and through the Incarnation, a proximity of man and God that is, as it were, “the ‘result’ of an identity of God and man subsuming any difference.” Paul Ricœur is among those who has grasped what is of interest in Kant’s analysis of the symbol. He comes up with the programmatic formulation, “The symbol provokes thought.” Its first form is a reading of myths (including the myth of Adam) “with sympathy and imagination.” This procedure gives imagination its rightful place, but sets it in a relation of “sympathy.” As Ricœur says in an essay on the imagination, “Our images are spoken before being seen.”

e) *Conclusion.* Karl Barth* noted as a challenge to theology the obligation to speak in those circumstances in which speech knows that it is irremediably inadequate. This opens onto “negative* theology,” which is one of the fruits of the confrontation of the biblical and Greek traditions, leading toward the “beyond of being” that Plato set at the pinnacle of his dialectic. Kant’s “symbolic anthropomorphism” is in some sense a negative theology reduced to modest proportions. It authorizes a reading of the Bible that does not hesitate to spend time in work on images. Whereas the negative theology deriving from Dionysius approaches mysticism* and the “night of the senses,” the

patient path through the tangible world is the road to “spiritual meanings.” This is the attitude of one who listens, whose eyes are open, who learns to feel and taste, touching with great respect the word of God.

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See also Analogy; Angels; Bible; God; Idolatry; Immutability/Impassibility, Divine; Incarnation; Love; Myth; Name; Scripture, Senses of; Theophany; Word of God

Antinomianism

Antinomianism is the term for Christian rejection of the law* in the name of the Gospels. Antinomianism was already present in the apostolic age (*see* Rom 3:8), and it has been associated with Gnostic sects (Nicolaites, Ophites). The sharp distinction between law and gospel promulgated by the Reformation led to a revival of antinomianism, particularly in the “radical Reformation” (the polemic by J. Agricola [1492–1566]

against Luther*, the Anabaptist* movement). The Lutheran theory of the “uses of the law” constitutes a moderate position, probably acceptable in Catholic terms.

- O. H. Pesch (1993), “A.,” *LThK3*, 1, 762–66 (bibl.).

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See also Law and Christianity; Luther, Martin

Antinomy

The concept of antinomy comes from philosophy and designates, for example in Kant*, the presence of two contradictory assertions both of which have legitimacy and a solid basis, making it impossible to apply to them the principle of the excluded middle. Antinomy has become a central theological term in recent Orthodoxy*.

Examples of antinomic assertions include the unity of the divine Trinity* or of human freedom* and divine predestination*. The concept of antinomy holds a key position, alongside that of mystery*, in the organization of Orthodox theology* as an apophatic theology. The word does not belong to the vocabulary of contemporary Cath-

olic or Protestant theology. On the other hand, the doctrine is a part of the common Christian heritage. Moreover, contemporary logic has shown renewed interest for antinomy (“dialectic” or “paraconsistent” logic).

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See also Negative Theology; Orthodoxy, Modern and Contemporary

Antioch, School of

a) Exegesis and Theology. The expression *School of Antioch* is merely a convenient name for designating the representatives of a form of exegesis* that favors the letter and the historical reality of Scripture*, in reaction against the tendency of Origen* and the Alexandrians toward what was considered an excessive reliance on allegory. The term should not, therefore, be given too narrow a meaning, nor should we posit too radical an opposition between the exegetical practices of Antioch and Alexandria. In each camp, however, use was made of different terminology to indicate closely related realities. What was true in the realm of exegesis was also true of theology* and Christology*. But here too, from Diodorus of Tarsus to Theodore of Mopsuestia and John Chrysostom*, and from Nestorius to Theodoret of Cyrrhus, despite the affinities of certain patterns of thought, positions evolved and differentiated themselves. So it is not possible to speak of an “Antiochene Christology*” without making distinctions.

b) Early Antiochenes. Diodorus, whom Cyril* of Alexandria tried to depict, along with Theodore of Mopsuestia, as an ancestor of Nestorianism, seems to have been principally concerned with preserving in Christ* the divinity of the Logos, first against the attacks of the Emperor Julian and the Arians; and then against the danger represented for him by Apollinaris’s concept of a “substantial union” between the Logos and an incomplete humanity. He therefore avoided attributing to the Logos the human weaknesses of Christ, even if it meant giving the impression of a loose union

with the flesh the Logos had assumed. Contrary to received notions, his Christology relied initially on a *Logos-sarx* (word-flesh) schema derived from Eusebius of Emesa, and much closer to Alexandrian Christology than that of Antioch, since it was shared by Athanasius*. Subsequently, as a consequence of the Apollinarian controversy, Diodorus argued more and more along the lines of the “Logos-man” schema, although without making of the soul* of Christ a “theological factor”: this was not the point on which his refutation of Apollinaris’s positions was focused.

In his almost exclusive concern with shielding the divinity of Christ from the attacks of the Arians, John Chrysostom in fact subordinated all Christ’s human and psychological activity to the control of the Logos, the only real principle of decision. So on this point he remained very close to his master Diodorus. In reality it was not until Theodore of Mopsuestia that the human soul of Christ really became a “theological factor.” Because the Logos had assumed the form of a perfect man—that is, a body and a rational soul—that human soul, endowed with immutability* by divine grace*, not only “animated” the person of Christ but also held the power of decision and action in him, something which in Apollinaris’s system was attributed to the Logos alone. With that assumption, how was it possible to prevent this union of God* and a perfect man from appearing to introduce into Christ a duality of persons* (*prosōpa*), or from allowing for the supposition of a loose and purely mental union? Theodore might very well propose the analogy of body and soul in order to explain that the distinction of na-

tures in Christ did not entail recognition of two persons, but he failed to express in a satisfactory manner a unity which did not proceed, as in Apollinaris, from a close but natural union. The notion of “single *prosōpon*,” used to express the result of the union of two natures, is evidence, despite the ambiguity of the term in Antioch at the time, that he had an intuition of the true unity of Christ.

c) *Nestorian Crisis and Theodoret of Cyrrhus*. One positive aspect of the Nestorian crisis was that it forced the representatives of Antioch and Alexandria to refine their christological terminology and correct its inadequacies. Beginning with his refutation of the anathemas of Cyril against Nestorius, Theodoret (393–460) was led into a long and painful debate that, from the Council* of Ephesus to that of Chalcedon*, made him the major theologian of the School of Antioch. However, like Theodore of Mopsuestia, nicknamed “the interpreter,” he was primarily an exegete, and it was in this capacity that he challenged Cyril’s christological formulations—“union by hypostasis,” or “single nature of God the incarnate Word*”—which he considered devoid of any basis in Scripture. In his Christology, close to that of Theodore, the human soul of Christ also played a genuine role, as shown, for example, in his exegesis of Christ’s temptation in the desert in *Scholia de incarnatione unigeniti* (*Scholia on the Incarnation*). Because the “union by hypostasis” of which Cyril spoke meant for him a union by “nature” (*physis*) or “substance” (*ousia*), and seemed thereby to imply the idea of “mixture” (*krasis*), which called into question the divinity of the Logos, he was always careful in his commentaries to make a clear distinction between the divine nature and human nature. His reaction was therefore close to that of Theodore against the Christology of Apollinaris. It also explains his reticence toward the term *theotokos* (God-bearer) (although he recognized its legitimacy). Above all it led him to place so much emphasis on the duality in Christ that he might give the impression of distinguishing in him not two natures but two persons. This was all the more true because, until the Council of Ephesus, he frequently used concrete expressions to designate them.

After 431 (Ephesus), aware of the ambiguity of this terminology, Theodoret gave up speaking of the “Word assuming” or the “man assumed,” in favor of purely abstract formulations with which he was equally familiar. Despite an evident desire to emphasize dyophysitism, he was careful to state that it was a matter of a close and indissoluble union (*henōsis*), and not a mere juxtaposition, even less an “inhabitation” in the sense under-

stood by Nestorius. Accomplished from the moment of conception, this union of divine and human natures remained close, even at the time of the Passion*, when impassive divinity “appropriated” the sufferings of our humanity, fully assumed by that divinity in Christ. It is therefore impossible to call into question Theodoret’s good faith when he asserted that he had never “divided Christ in two” or professed the existence of “two Sons.” Clearly, for him the distinction between natures occurred within a “single *prosōpon*,” within a unified subject, although he used this concept, at least until the Council of Chalcedon, in a sense close to the one it had for Theodore of Mopsuestia.

While never failing to assert the nonfusion of the two natures, in the course of the debate with Cyril, Theodoret no doubt arrived at a better understanding of the need to proclaim the unity of the person. The abandonment of concrete designations, the care taken to make Christ the only active subject, and the choice of the term *henōsis* to express union, rather than the term *synapheia* (conjunction) preferred by Nestorius, all revealed an evolution of his terminology more than of his Christology. He could thus assert that he had never professed any doctrine but the one that distinguishes in Christ the humanity from the divinity, without separating them, and that recognizes only one imputed subject, “the only Son himself, clothed in our nature.” Although the form of this expression, on the eve of Chalcedon, does not express a real doctrinal evolution, it at least makes it possible to recognize the deepening in his christological thinking since Ephesus. In this area, as in that of exegesis, this last major representative of the School of Antioch had thus managed to reach a proper balance, thereby contributing, as he already had at the time of the Act of Union (433), to the acceptance of the fact that, regardless of the different formulations bequeathed by tradition*, representatives of Alexandria and Antioch expressed the same faith*.

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See also Alexandria, School of; Apollinarianism; Arianism; Immutability/Impassibility, Divine; Mary; Nestorianism

Antitrinitarism. *See* Unitarianism

Apocalyptic Literature

The literature genre of apocalypse (from the Greek *apokalupsis*, “revelation”) takes its name from the title of the last book* of the New Testament. The Book of Daniel is the only other apocalyptic book in the Bible*. The genre is widely represented, however, in both Jewish and Christian pseudepigrapha, from the Hellenistic period down to the Middle Ages. Some similar kinds of literature are found in Persia as well as in the Greek and Roman worlds, but it is not clear whether they significantly influenced Jewish and Christian apocalypses.

I. Definition

Apocalypse may be defined as a story type in which a supernatural being acts as the intermediary to communicate a revelation* to a human being. The object of such a revelation is a reality that transcends both time (as it discusses eschatological salvation) and space (the scene takes place in another world). Usually, apocalypses are pseudonymous: they are attributed to famous figures such as Enoch or Ezra, instead of their real authors. The supernatural mediator is usually an angel* in the Jewish apocalypses. In Christian works, this role is sometimes taken by Christ. The eschatological salvation can take various forms, and may involve the restoration of Israel* or a new creation*, but it invariably involves reward and punishment for individuals after death.

II. Typology

1. Historical Apocalypses

Two types of apocalypse may be distinguished. The first, exemplified by the Book of Daniel, may be called “historical.” In this kind of apocalypse, the revelation is given in the form of a symbolic vision, such as

Daniel’s vision of four great beasts coming up out of the sea (Dn 7:3). This vision is then interpreted by an angel with reference to historical events. Sometimes, the revelation takes the form of a speech by the angel rather than a vision, or a dialogue between angel and visionary. In Daniel 9, the revelation arises from the explanation of a biblical prophecy (Dn 9:2; *see also* Jer 25:11–12 and 29:10). Often, history is divided into a set number of periods. Daniel speaks of 70 weeks of years. At the end, there is a great crisis, marked by war* and persecution. Then there is a divine intervention, followed by resurrection* and the judgment* of the dead. Besides Daniel, this kind of apocalypse is found in the Animal Apocalypse (1 En 85–90), the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En 93, 91:12–17), 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the Book of Revelation.

2. Ascent into Heaven

The second type of apocalypse is characterized by the motif of ascent to heaven. Enoch is the prototypical apocalyptic visionary of this kind. In these apocalypses, the revelation takes the form of a trip to heaven with the angel serving as a guide. The emphasis is on the geography of the heavens; the classical model typically includes the realm of the dead, the place of judgment, and a vision of the divine throne. There may be also the prediction of the world’s destruction, and at times a trip across history as in the historical apocalypses. The eschatological expectation deals primarily with the afterlife of individuals. Apocalypses of this kind are found in the Book of the Watchers (1 En 1–36), the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En 37–72), 2 Enoch, 3 Baruch, the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, and the Apocalypse of Abraham. This kind of apocalypse enjoyed great popularity in early Christianity (Ascension of Isaiah, Apocalypse of Paul, Apocalypse of Mary, etc.).

III. Origins of Apocalypticism

1. *Precedents*

Apocalypticism is a literary genre that developed late (third century B.C.—intertestament*). The historical apocalypse has obvious roots in Old Testament prophecy, especially in the later prophetic books. Isaiah 24–27, a postexilic addition to the Book of Isaiah, is often called the “Apocalypse of Isaiah,” although it lacks the usual “revelation.” These chapters of Isaiah make heavy use of mythological imagery, much of it drawn from ancient traditions now known through Ugaritic texts from the second millennium B.C. The ancient myths often recount a battle between a god and a monster at the time of creation (Marduk and Tiamat in Babylonian myth, Baal and Mot [Death], or Yamm [Sea], in Ugaritic). The prophetic/apocalyptic texts project this battle into the future. Isaiah 25:7 says that God will swallow up death (*Mot*) forever, and Isaiah 27:1 says that God will punish Leviathan and slay the dragon that is in the sea. Daniel’s vision of beasts rising from the sea continues this tradition. The battle with the dragon is a central motif in the Book of Revelation, which also conjures up beasts from the sea in chapter 13.

Isaiah 26:19 uses the imagery of resurrection for the restoration of the Jewish people* after the exile. Isaiah 65:17 speaks of a new heaven and a new earth, a theme that also appears in Revelation 21:1. The formal side of the apocalypse also had a precedent in postexilic prophecy. The Book of Zechariah presents its revelations in the form of symbolic visions interpreted by an angel.

2. *Original Characteristics*

a) *Daniel*. The Book of Daniel goes beyond the prophetic tradition in several respects. First, there is the use of pseudonymity. The passages we have cited from the Book of Isaiah are anonymous oracles that were added to the book of the eighth-century prophet. With Daniel, and with Enoch, we have a new phenomenon, where books are ascribed to legendary characters. Daniel probably never existed. The first six chapters of the Book of Daniel describe the careers of Daniel and his friends at the Babylonian court during the exile. Daniel is supposedly a wise man who distinguishes himself by his ability to interpret dreams and mysterious signs. Enoch is also characterized as a scribe and a wise man, rather than as a prophet. Yet the Books of Daniel and Enoch bear little resemblance to Proverbs or Sirach. The Old Testament wisdom books have an empirical approach to life and avoid claims to special revelation. Apocalyptic wisdom, in contrast, is

by definition inaccessible to normal human reasoning and relies completely on a supernatural revelation with mystery as its object.

Daniel also differs from the prophetic tradition in paying much more attention to angels. The divine throne in Daniel 7 is surrounded by thousands upon thousands of celestial beings. An angel explains Daniel’s visions. In the end, the salvation of Israel is achieved by the heavenly victory of the archangel Michael over the “prince of Greece” (Dn 10:20; *see also* Dn 11:2). The main difference between Daniel and the Hebrew prophets, however, may be the belief in the resurrection and judgment of the dead. This belief opened the way to a set of values quite different from those in the Hebrew Bible. In the earlier prophets and in Deuteronomy, salvation means that the days will be many in the land and prosperity of the people. From the apocalyptic perspective, salvation comes after death and so it is acceptable to lose life in this world to gain it in the next. In historical reality, the heroes of the Book of Daniel are the martyrs* who lay down their lives during the persecution of the Maccabean era.

b) *Enoch*. The ascent apocalypses associated with Enoch show less continuity with biblical prophecy than is the case of Daniel. The figure of Enoch seems to be modeled to a large extent after a Mesopotamian legend, Enmeduranki, who was taken up to heaven before the Flood. The Enochic Book of the Watchers is older than the Book of Daniel, probably dating from the third century B.C. Unlike Daniel, it is not associated with a particular crisis, such as the persecutions of the Maccabean era. It addresses the problem of the origin of evil* by expanding the story of the sons of God who come down from heaven and married the daughters of men (Gn 6:1–4). These “Watchers,” as they are called, are destroyed by divine decree. Enoch is then taken up to heaven and guided through a trip to the end of the earth.

The Book of the Watchers resembles Daniel in its interest in the heavenly world. The description of the divine throne in 1 Enoch 14 is very similar to Daniel 7. Both apocalyptic visions differ from older prophetic throne visions (such as Is 6) in emphasizing the number of celestial beings around the throne. Enoch, like Daniel, suggests that salvation* is not to be found on earth, but in a blessed life beyond death. A later section of the Book of Enoch (1 En 91–105) describes the afterlife in terms of life companionship with the stars and the angels (1 En 104:2, 4, and 6). This imagery is close to Daniel, who sees the wise shine like stars after the resurrection (Dn 12:3). Some apocalypses in the name of Enoch were also composed at the time of the

Maccabean revolt (the Animal Apocalypse and the Apocalypse of Weeks). These apocalypses are of the historical type and closer to Daniel than to the Book of the Watchers.

IV. Qumran

Both Daniel and Enoch had a profound influence on the literature found in the Qumran writings. They represent the literature of a sectarian movement that should probably be identified with the Essenes, although the identification is disputed. They also include Enoch, Daniel, and other books that were not composed within the sect. There is no clear case of a sectarian apocalypse in the writings, but nonetheless they often exhibit an apocalyptic worldview. The specifically sectarian viewpoint is most clearly set out in the rule books, especially in the Community Rule (1 QS). According to the treatise on the Two Spirits in 1 QS 3–4, humanity is divided between Spirits of Light and Darkness, and these do battle within people's hearts. The ways of the Spirit of Light have their goal in eternal life*; those of the Spirit of Darkness in fiery destruction without end. God has set a limit to the time of this conflict, and in the end he will destroy the forces of Darkness. This dualistic view of the world is expressed in a number of sectarian writings. The Testament of Amran is one of the older sectarian writings, and appears to come from the second century B.C. According to this document, the Angel of Light is known by various names (Michael, Melchizedek) and so is the Angel of Darkness (Melchiresha, Belial). The most colorful dualistic document from the writings is the Rule of the War, which describes the final battle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. The Sons of Light, the true Israelites, are helped by the celestial forces, and they do battle with the Kittim (probably the Romans, but possibly the Greeks) and with the forces of Belial. In the end, God exalts the princely power of Michael among the angels and the kingdom of Israel on Earth (1 QM 17). This is very similar to what is found in the apocalypses, and was probably influenced by Persian dualism.

The Qumran writings also show the influence of the more mystical side of apocalyptic tradition. The *Hodayot* (Thanksgiving Hymns) express the belief that the members of the community are already mingling with the angelic army in this life. The Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice describe the liturgy* of the angels. Because of this belief in present participation in the heavenly world, the writings pay little attention to resurrection.

V. Early Christianity

Apocalyptic traditions also had a profound influence on early Christianity. Ernst Käsemann's claim that "Apocalyptic literature is the mother of Christian theology" may be too simple, since Christian theology had many sources. Nonetheless, apocalyptic expectation played a crucial part in the formation of the church*. According to the synoptic Gospels, Jesus* affirmed Daniel's vision of the "Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory" (Mk 13:26). There is no consensus in modern scholarship as to whether Jesus actually made such predictions. There is no doubt, however, that the early Christians believed that Jesus himself would come again as the Son of Man on the clouds. The Resurrection* of Jesus was not perceived as an isolated miracle. Rather, in the words of Saint Paul, Christ is "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor 15:20), and his Resurrection marks the beginning of the general resurrection. Paul is confident that the process will be completed within a generation (1 Thes 4:14–16). This kind of scenario (archangel, trumpet call, dead in Christ rising into heaven, etc.) only made sense within the context of the apocalyptic traditions that had developed in Judaism in the preceding 200 years.

The Book of Revelation (Johannine* theology, Lamb of God/Paschal Lamb*), composed toward the end of the first century A.D., was not an aberration in early Christianity, but the culmination of trend that is well attested in Paul and the synoptic Gospels. It differs from Jewish apocalypses in not carrying a pseudonym, but is inspired by the imagery of Daniel. It was also inspired by the ancient myths of conflict. Satan is a dragon cast out of heaven. The Roman Empire is a beast rising out of the sea, or the great whore seated on the seven-headed beast. At the end, Christ appears as a heavenly warrior who strikes down the nations with the sword of his mouth. One of the principal purposes of this apocalypse was to support persecuted Christians and assure them of victory even though they were subjected to martyrdom, following the example of Christ, who conquered from the cross. The intensity of the apocalyptic expectations of certain currents within early Christianity can also be seen in 2 Peter 2:1–3 and 3.

VI. Later Developments

In Judaism*, apocalypticism seems to have faded in the second century A.D., probably because Jewish hopes of divine deliverance had been bitterly disappointed in the great revolts against Rome. We do, how-

ever, find occasional revivals of apocalyptic expectation down to the Middle Ages. The apocalypses had an important bearing on the history of Jewish mysticism.

In Christianity, too, the mystical side of the tradition continued to flourish. The influence of the ascent to heaven (and descent to hell) apocalypses can be seen in the great poems of Dante*. Over the centuries, apocalypses of the historical type were repeatedly revived by millenarian movements, notably Joachimism (millenarianism*). Today, millenarianism has fallen into disrepute mostly because of its connection to Christian fundamentalism*, which interprets biblical prophecies in an unduly literal manner, and which lacks a sense of the mystery of the ways of God.

VII. Permanent Value

Whatever meaning they had in their historical contexts, the apocalypses, with their imaginative force and their powerful symbolic content, have been a source of hope* for the victims of oppression and alienation. Both Daniel and the Revelation of Saint John, written during persecutions, deny their approval to those who seek to oppose persecution with violence*. Their visions have inspired a view of the world in which it is better to lay down one's life than to renounce the principles of one's faith. It is true that John's Apocalypse has often been criticized because of the role that it gives to the vengeance of God*. Its depiction of the destruction of Babylon (in fact, Rome) is not, perhaps, entirely charitable, but it should be placed in its original context. It provides a means of expression for irrepressible feelings of anger and resentment toward the oppressor, but it leaves vengeance in God's hands. The decision to include this book in the canon* of Scrip-

tures has long been contested, but is justified by the symbolic force of its images. Apocalyptic literature still contains elements that can console the oppressed, provided that it is never forgotten that we see only an enigma, as in a mirror (1 Cor 13:12), and that it is not in our power to calculate the day or the hour when God will come (Mt 25:13).

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See also Angels; Bible; Canon of Scriptures; Death; Eschatology; Intertestament; Judgment; Mystery; Prophet and Prophecy; Resurrection of the Dead; Revelation; Violence; Wisdom

Apocatastasis

Apocatastasis, a Greek word meaning “establishment” or “restoration,” is normally used in the language of Christian theology* to denote universal salvation*, principally because Origen* and other early Christian writers used the term to express a hope* for the restoration of all creatures endowed with reason* to their original state of unity with God*.

a) Scripture. Although the Hebrew Bible*, unlike other, earlier Semitic texts, does not conceive of human history* in terms of a cyclic conception of falls followed by restorations of cosmic well-being, a number of Old Testament passages express the hope that God will one day restore the security of Israel*, as he once brought the exiles back from captivity (Hos

11:11; Jer 16:15, 27:22; Dn 9:25; and Ps 126). The word *apocatastasis* is not used by the Septuagint, and appears in the New Testament only once, in Acts 3:21, where it seems to mean simply the “establishment” of the messianic kingdom* in fulfillment of God’s promise* (see also Acts 1:6). It is undeniable that many texts of the New Testament evoke the perspective of judgment* and eternal punishment for sinners, a number of others at least suggest that God’s “original” plan is to establish, through the risen Jesus*, a new life and a new cosmic unity that will include all people (e.g., Rom 11:32; Phil 2:9–11; Eph 1:3–10; Col 1:17–20; 1 Tm 2:3–6, 4:10; Ti 2:11; 2 Pt 3:9; and Jn 12:32).

b) Patristic Theories. Clement of Alexandria († before 215) was the first Christian theologian to suggest that the punishment of sinners, whether in this life or after death, is always therapeutic and therefore temporary. It is the only conceivable punishment. Once the soul* has been purified of its passionate attachments, it can accede to that eternal contemplation* of God that Clement calls its “restoration” or apocatastasis.

Origen came from the same cultural milieu as Clement and was surely influenced by his thought, but he developed an eschatology* that is at once more consciously biblical and more cautious in its speculation. Origen often mentions, but does not comment on, the biblical threats of the judgment and the eternal punishment of sinners, but he suggests that punishment must ultimately be psychological rather than material, and medicinal rather than vengeful. This leads him to develop, at least as a possibility, the doctrine of universal salvation usually associated with his name. Since, according to him, in God’s desired history “the end is always in the beginning,” and both God’s mercy* and human liberty* are indestructible, it is logical to think that all creatures endowed with reason will ultimately come, by God’s leading yet of their own choice, to lasting union with God. At times, Origen even seems to suggest that Satan and other evil spirits will be included in the final salvation, although in his “letter to friends in Alexandria” he denies having ever held this position (cf. Rufinus, *De adulteratione librorum Origenis* [397; On the Adoration of the Books of Origen]). In any case, Origen always expresses his theory of apocatastasis with great caution; as was said, he considered it “not as a certainty but as a great hope” (Crouzel 1978).

In the late fourth century, the same hope for universal salvation was expressed, even more cautiously, by Gregory* of Nazianzus. By contrast, Gregory of Nazianzus’s friend and contemporary, Gregory* of Nyssa, taught it quite openly in a number of his writings, as grounded both in the ontological finitude of

evil* and in the natural dynamism that impels all creatures endowed with reason toward God. Beginning with the resurrection* of the body, final salvation will not be “restoration” in the sense of the regaining of a precorporeal state of the soul, but the realization of God’s eternal design for his angelic and human creatures, who will finally attain his image and likeness.

A revival of interest in the Origenist tradition—more precisely, in the extreme forms that it had taken in the writings of Evagrius Ponticus (late fourth century)—occurred among Palestinian monks in the sixth century, leading to conflicts and, ultimately, the condemnation of a number of Origenist doctrines during the reign of Justinian (527–65). Among the theses rejected by the Synod* of Constantinople in 543 (the condemnation of the synod was apparently confirmed, in an expanded form, by the assembly of bishops* before the start of the Second Council of Constantinople* in 553), was the following: “If anyone says or holds that the punishment of demons and of impious men is temporary, and that it will have an end at some time, or that there will be a complete restoration *apocatastasis* of demons and impious men, that is anathema.” This condemnation, which does not have the clear status of a decision of an ecumenical council*, is generally taken to be a rejection of the idea that one can know certainly that no one will be eternally damned.

c) Modern Theology. The doctrine of apocatastasis has continued to fascinate Christian theologians, even though it has never been a dominant opinion among them. Schleiermacher* considered the idea of eternal damnation to be incompatible with faith* in a just and good God, and thought that “a milder view” of salvation for all also had a scriptural foundation, with “at least equal rights” to credibility. According to Barth*, since our resistance to God is always temporal and finite, “the Eternal One cannot, as such, cease to negate that persistence in disbelief,” and that therefore “it is impossible to expect too much from God”; just as we cannot be certain that all will be elect of God, so we cannot exclude the possibility that God, in his freedom, will save all human beings. In recent Catholic theology, Balthasar* has been the most determined supporter of the thesis that, while one can never be absolutely certain of the final salvation of all, it belongs both to Christian hope* and to Christian love* to hold that it is possible, in the mystery* of God’s saving grace*. Ultimately, the question is whether human freedom is capable of definitively frustrating God’s purpose, or, put another way, whether the universal triumph of grace would mean the destruction of the created freedom that it justly seeks to transform and heal. It remains today a disputed question.

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See also **Hell; Hope; Salvation; Universalism**

Apocrypha

a) Definition. The term *apocrypha* (secret, hidden), as applied to texts, has had varied meanings in the course of history and still seems resistant to any precise, stable, and widely accepted definition (Junod 1992).

In antiquity, the name *apocrypha* was given to certain books to which only the initiated were allowed access, or which were not supposed to be read in public. By the fourth century—that is, after the “canon*” of the Scripture had been definitively established—the term took on a negative connotation in the Christian church*, as well as a rather imprecise meaning. The term *apocrypha* was applied to noncanonical books said to have been written or used by heretics and supposed to have been written later than the canonical texts.

In the 16th century Catholics and Protestants raised questions about the status and the name to be used for a particular category of works that included Judith, Tobit, 1 and 2 Maccabees, The Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Baruch, A Letter of Jeremiah, and passages in

Esther and Daniel. The connection of these texts to the Old Testament had been discussed over time, particularly by Jerome, because they were not part of the Hebrew Bible*. Protestants called these works the Apocrypha, whereas Catholics designated them as “deuterocanonical” (made canonical in a second stage), a designation that gradually became standard. Even with the deuterocanonical works removed, the diffuse mass of the Apocrypha remained difficult to identify. From the 18th century on, scholars undertook the task of assembling and classifying texts in collections of Apocrypha of the Old Testament and Apocrypha of the New Testament. The title given to these collections, however, did not secure unanimous assent. To designate noncanonical Jewish texts composed in the Hellenistic period, the currently preferred terms are *pseudepigrapha* of the Old Testament and *intertestamentary writings*. As for Christian works, they are categorized as “Apocryphal Christian literature.” This article deals exclusively with the latter.

Apocryphal Christian literature is made up of:

- Texts of Jewish origin, but Christianized in the early centuries A.D., including the Ascension of Isaiah, Odes of Solomon, Sibylline Oracles, and Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.
- Christian texts composed in the first three centuries A.D.—that is, before the closing of the canon. They include various Gospels*, legendary acts of particular apostles or heroes, apocalypses, and conversations of the risen Christ with disciples.
- Christian texts composed after the establishment of the Christian canon, including narratives of the childhood of Jesus*, dormitions of Mary*, hagiographic lives of apostles and biblical figures, as well as chronicles, revelations, visions, and writings composed for liturgical purposes.

There has, in fact, been no interruption in the production of such texts between late antiquity and the present time.

The cultural connections of these texts, particularly the earliest ones, are various and include Jewish, Judeo-Christian, pagan-Christian and Gnostic communities, ecclesiastical circles in East and West, heterodox movements, and Manicheans. They all have in common two principal characteristics: 1) They are anonymous or pseudepigraphical (attributed to a saint or Church Father); and 2) they each have some connection to the books of either the New Testament or the Old Testament or both. This sometimes tenuous connection will be one of various kinds, the texts displaying one or the other of the following characteristics:

- They relate to events recounted or evoked in biblical books—for example, to the Transfiguration or the Passion*.
- They are situated before or after events recounted or evoked in those books—for example, the life of Mary before the Nativity or after the Passion and the narrative of Christ's descent* into hell.
- They are centered on characters who appear in those books—for example, the prophets* or the apostles.
- Their literary genre is similar to that of biblical writings—for example, letters and apocalypses.

b) History and Transmission of the Apocrypha. The ancient Apocrypha are badly preserved. To take the case of the gospels, it is known that, in addition to the four that were later included in the New Testament, a good dozen other gospels were circulating in Christian communities in the second century. But only fragments of these various narratives* survive: the Gospel

of Thomas (in Coptic), Greek fragments of the Gospel of Peter, and a few gospel scraps that are rarely identifiable.

This partial transmission was an effect of the ecclesiastical condemnation that weighed on the ancient Apocrypha from the fourth century on. Certain marginal or heretical circles were suspected—not without reason, in the case of the Manicheans, the Priscillianists, and the Encratites of Asia Minor—of relying heavily on these texts, and so they were banned or destroyed. Nevertheless, the popularity they enjoyed among the people and the monks, combined with the fact that they had been translated very early from their original language (often Greek) into several other languages (Latin, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Georgian, Irish, etc.), and thereby spread through various cultures, assured the survival of some of them. However, these texts rarely survived in their complete form and in their original language. Some of them managed to survive through the centuries only because they were rewritten, either to be purged of suspect elements or to be revised in line with current tastes.

The state of conservation of the texts, whether in the original language or in translation, in their ancient form or in one of their revised forms, represents a serious obstacle to the knowledge and use of ancient apocryphal literature.

c) Principal Types of Ancient Apocrypha. The division of ancient Christian apocryphal literature into four major genres (Gospels, acts, letters, and apocalypses) corresponding to the literary* genres of New Testament writings is seriously reductive and deceptive. On the one hand, the Apocrypha exhibit a much greater variety of genres and literary forms than is found in the New Testament; and on the other, division into four genres means that texts with little in common are grouped under a single heading. For example, the various apocryphal “Acts” of John, Andrew, Thomas, Peter*, and Paul do not belong to a defined literary genre identical to that of the Acts of the Apostles composed by Luke. Frequently, moreover, texts represent several genres. For example, the *Epistle of the Apostles* has the title of letter, whereas its form is related to the discourse of revelation and to conversation. The *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Geerard 1992) provides a catalogue of the Christian Apocrypha of the first five centuries A.D.

Among the oldest Apocrypha, four genres seem to predominate:

- Gospels—either very similar to the synoptic Gospels, as in the case of the *Gospel of Peter*, or a collection of “sayings” (*logia*), as in the case of the *Gospel of Thomas*.

- Conversations of the risen Christ with disciples (and sometimes Mary*), as in the *Epistle of the Apostles*, *Questions of Bartholomew*, and so forth.
- Apostolic novels—for example, the *Journeys of Peter* (a pseudo-Clementine novel) and the *Acts of John*, *Acts of Andrew*, *Acts of Peter*, *Acts of Paul*, *Acts of Thomas*, and *Acts of Philip*.
- Apocalypses (centered on the Last Judgment* and hell*), including the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

d) *New Perspective of Contemporary Research.* Contemporary historical research has endeavored to reappraise the discredit that still weighs on the Apocrypha and to appreciate each text on its own terms. In particular it has modified the idea that the oldest Christian Apocrypha, by definition, propagated legendary traditions that were aberrant or clearly of secondary value (Koester 1990). It attempts to treat them as historical documents that provide invaluable evidence about the various circles in which they were written and which accepted them, as well as about the way in which the early Christians prolonged and enriched their memory of the founding heroes and events (Picard 1990). Finally, it seeks to bring to light the direct or indirect influence (in particular through the liturgy* and through iconography) that these texts have exerted on theology* and piety over the centuries.

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Gnosis; Heresy; Intertestament; Judeo-Christianity

Apollinarianism

This doctrine takes its name from Apollinarius of Laodicea (c. 315–92), author of several books, many of which are completely or partially lost, or exist under an assumed name. His writings are apologetic, dogmatic (including *Apodeixis*, or *Demonstration* of di-

vine Incarnation* by man's resemblance), polemical, and exegetical (numerous passages in the *Chains*: Apollinarius had a particularly strong reputation as an exegete). Apollinarius was ordained bishop* of the Nicæan community of Laodicea in Syria around 360

and his doctrines on Christ* soon provoked condemnation: from Athanasius in 372, in his Letter to Epictetus; and then from Epiphany, in 374. Furthermore, an investigation was conducted at Antioch, after which a warning on Apollinarist doctrine was included in the *Panarion* in 377). Several councils* condemned these doctrines: the Council of Rome (377 and 382), the Council of Antioch (379), and the Council of Constantinople* I (381 and 382). Gregory* of Nazianzus, Gregory* of Nyssa, in 385 and 387, as well as Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia wrote refutations.

Apollinarius wanted to safeguard the unity of Christ—God* incarnate, Word* made flesh*—against a viewpoint that saw in him the union of two Persons*. But true also to his Nicene instincts, he wanted to uphold the doctrine of Christ's divinity. Apollinarius therefore first challenged all views that saw Christ as a man favored by divine grace* (*anthrôpos entheos*), any theology of the man who had been "adopted" (*homo assumptus*) by God. But in order to assert the substantial unity of flesh and Word*, he excluded the *noûs*, the mind, the rational intellect from the being* of Christ, insofar as he is able to determine himself: it is the divine element, divinity, the Spirit* of God, that takes this particular place (Apollinarius's anthropology* usually has a tripartite character—mind, soul, flesh—but it is expressed at times as bipartite, and it is then said that Christ's divinity serves as his soul).

It was his notion of fallen man and of salvation* that led Apollinarius to this Christology*. In fallen man the *noûs* has become carnal, and therefore no longer rules the passions* that are housed in the soul. But it is through the passions that sin* finds an entry into the person, and with sin comes death*. Things are quite different with Christ: in his case, the *noûs* is not conquered by flesh, because he is not human but divine, heavenly. As a result, sin and death are destroyed. Christ thus appears as a perfect man, in whom the divine Spirit prevails perfectly over flesh, which has been made divine, and over the passions of the soul. Taking

up this position also allows Apollinarius to affirm, against Arius, Christ's perfect immutability* during his life. There is, therefore, a substantial unity within him between Spirit and flesh, a unity that would be impossible between Spirit and a mind. In the latter case, there would only be a union of energy, as when the grace of God acts upon a human being. But in Christ there cannot be any action of grace since this would mean that he had need of salvation. And so we have the substantial unity of a perfectly unified being, which Apollinarius expressed in his famous formula: "One is the *nature* (*physis*) of the Word that has been incarnated." Here the word *nature** signifies concrete reality, hypostasis, person: because he is a strict Nicene, Apollinarius gives the same meaning to *physis*, *ousia*, and *hypostasis*. In Apollinarius's theology, pneumatology therefore has a crucial role. The major argument that opposed Apollinarianism is well expressed by Gregory of Nazianzus: "What has not been assumed by Christ, in the incarnation has not been healed" (Letter 101: 32). Christ must therefore be a whole person body and spirit, if he is to save the whole of humanity.

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See also Adoptionism; Antioch, School of; Arianism; Consubstantial; Nicaea I, Council of

Apologetics. *See* **Fundamental Theology**

Apologists

a) *Authors and Texts.* Traditionally, *apologists* is the name given to Christian authors from the second century who sought to defend (*apologeîn*) their religion against pagan hostility, and less frequently, Jewish opposition.

Most of them were lay* people*, converted from Hellenism, educated in rhetoric and philosophy* in the main cultural centers of the empire. They addressed the pagan world in the second person, either directly to emperors, the Roman Senate, or individuals, or in the form of an open letter to the Greeks in general. The following are major examples of such apologetic writings: Aristides of Athens, *Apology* addressed to Hadrian (c. 145); Justin, *Apologies*, the first of which is notably addressed to Antonin (between 155 and 157) (*I Ap.* and *II Ap.*); Tatian, *Discourse to the Greeks* (between 152 and 177) (Tat.); Athenagoras of Athens, *Petition about the Christians* addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (177) (Ath.); Theophilus of Antioch, *Three Books To Autolycum* (after 180; perhaps in 181) (Theoph.); Letter/Epistle to Diognetus (between 12 and 200–210) (Dg.); Hermias, *Satire on Pagan Philosophers* (end of the second century?); Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* (195? 202?) (Clem.); Tertullian*, *Apologetic*, addressed to the magistrates of the Roman Empire (197) (Tert.) and *Ad Nationes* (197); Minucius Felix, *Octavius* (end of second century) (Minuc.). Several apologias addressed to emperors are entirely or partially lost. These include: *Quadratus* to Hadrian (c. 124–25); Apollinaris of Hierapolis, to Marcus Aurelius (c. 175–76); Melito of Sardis, to Marcus Aurelius (176 or 177); Militiade to the princes of this world (after 178). Other works contain apologetic elements, but do not belong to the second century context: *Prediction of Peter* (between 110–20?) and the pseudo-Justinian treaties; *Oratio ad Graecos* (end of the second century); *Cohortatio ad Graecos* (end of the second century or middle of the third century?) (*Coh.*); and *De Monarchia* (beginning of the third century?). The later apologists, while finding themselves in a rather different historical context from that of the second century, nevertheless developed themes that had often been proposed by the first apologists. Among the Greeks, we can name: Origen*, *Against Celsus* (246) and, after 313, Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius* of Alexandria,

Theodoret of Cyr, and others; and among the Latins: Cyprian of Carthage, Arnobius of Sicca, Lactance, Firmicus Maternus, Prudentius, and Augustine* (Barnard 1978).

With the Jews, the apologists adopted a dialogue form, or else wrote their treatises in the third person: Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* (after *I Ap.*) (*D.*); Tertullian, *Against the Jews* (c. 200).

The Discussion between Jason and Papiscus on the subject of Christ (c. 140) by Ariston of Pella has only partially survived.

b) *Relationship to Judaism.* By connecting Christianity to the Old Testament, the apologists hoped to demonstrate the great age of their religion to the pagans, thereby refuting accusations of its essential novelty (Tat. 31 and 35–411; Theoph. 3, 24–29; *Coh.* 9 and 12; Tert. 19, 1–8 and 47, 1). But they especially wanted to show that the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies* was the foundation of the truth* of Christianity and ignited faith* (Theoph. 1:14; see Justin, *I Ap.* 31–53; *D.* 8, 1 and 35, 2; Tat. 29; Tert. 20, 1–4). This argument also had significance for the Jews, since once the prophecies were realized, Jewish law* had to be considered as belonging to a preliminary time and henceforth no longer valid.

Underlying this vision and undoubtedly already in the New Testament, were collections of *Testimonia* relating to messianic prophecies, to the legal custom of Judaism*, to God's rejection of Israel* and to the calling of the pagans. Both Justin and Irenaeus made use of these. There were also Christian *Midrashim* that saw in the Old Testament a baptismal typology of paradise, of earth and water, of the Last Supper and the Passion*, and there are traces of these in the *Epistle of Barnaby* and in Justin (Prigent 1961). Theophilus tacitly acknowledges the same typology (Zeegers 1975 b).

From the Old Testament, the apologists adopted the notion of a single God* (Clem. 8, 77, 1–81, 4), of God as Creator (a nihilo: Theoph. 1,4; *Coh.* 22), and who provides for his creatures. God is transcendent, without a name* (*Coh.* 211; Minuc. 18,10). He is not diffused through matter (Tat. 4, 2), nor is he contained in a single place (Ath. 8, 4–7), for God is greater than all places (Justin, *D.* 127, 2–3; Theoph. 1, 3 and 2, 22; Minuc. 32, 1). They also retained from the Old Testa-

ment a sense of the prefigurations of the Christ: Wisdom* created by God before the world* so as to be associated with his creative work (Prv 8:22–31); and the Word* produced by God (Ps 44:2) in view of the creation* of the world (Ps 33:6) (Justin, *II Ap.* 6, 3 and *D.* 61, 1–5; Tat. 5, 1–2; Ath. 10, 1; Theoph. 2, 10 and 2, 22; Dg. 7, 2; Clem. 1, 5, 3 and passim; Minuc. 18, 7), charged with completing the divine missions on earth and with safeguarding the transcendence of God (Theoph. 2, 22). The events of the life of Christ also deserve faith because they were predicted (Justin).

Certain apologists drew inspiration from rabbinical exegeses* in order to interpret the *hexameron* (Grant 1947), notably to find a personal category (the Son or the Logos) (Zeegers 1975 b) in the *en arkhè* of Genesis 1:1.

c) Relationship to the Pagan World. First and foremost, the apologists sought to defend themselves against recurring accusations of immorality, atheism*, noncivic spirit, newness, of having blind faith in a crucified man, and an irrational hope* in the resurrection* of the body.

They also sought to justify their refusal to offer the emperor the worship that was due to God alone (Theoph. 1, 11; Tat. 4, 1; Tert. 27, 1 and 28, 3–34, 4). Some continued to pray for the prosperity of the empire and hoped for harmony between church* and state (Ath. 37, 2–3), by underlining the coincidence between the prosperity of the empire and the advent of Christianity (Melito in Eusebius, *HE* 2, 4, 26, 7–11).

Asserting all the while that Christianity was the only true philosophy, the apologists nonetheless recognized common points between the two thought systems. Most explained this harmony through the Greek “small thefts.” Others explained it more positively, in terms of the action of the Word (*logos spermatikos*), which instilled in all human beings the seeds of truth (Justin, *I Ap.* 44, 10; *II Ap.* 8, 1, 3 and 13, 5; Clem. 6, 68, 2 and 7, 74, 7). They went as far as asserting that those who have lived in accordance with the Word belonged to Christ (Justin, *I Ap.* 46, 3–4; see Ath. 7, 2; Minuc. 20, 1).

Notable points in common are the dualism of body-soul*, the rejection of idolatry*, the sign of universal cataclysm through fire, the just retribution for good and evil. Similarly, God is presented with features borrowed from Middle Platonism and Stoicism (see Spanneut 1957). He has negative attributes*, but he is also *provident*. His works, together with the harmony of the cosmos, reveal him as the Creator and Father of all things (see Plato, *Timaeus* 28 C). The Stoic terminology of *logos endiathetos* and *logos prophorikos* allows the two states of the Word to be ex-

pressed: it is simultaneously immanent to God and engendered in view of the creation (Theoph. 2, 10, and 2, 22). It is often also in Stoic terms that the *pneuma* (Holy* Spirit) is described. This presentation certainly ran the risk of erasing the specific contribution of the New Testament.

d) Relationship to the New Testament and Christian Doctrines. Some apologists cite Christ specifically. Aristides, for example, gives a summary of his life (15, 1–3; see Tert. 21, 14–23; in an anti-Jewish argument), while Justin asserts that the Immaculate Conception, miracles*, death*, and the Resurrection are fulfillments of prophecy (*I Ap.* 22, 2 and 23, 2.) The *Cohortatio ad Graecos* stresses that the coming of the Savior was predicted by the Sibylle (38). They do not insist on the folly of the cross or on its redemptive action. With the exception of Clement (9–12), they hardly refer to “a god who took flesh in accordance with the divine economy” (Ath. 21,4), “a god born in the form of man” (Tat. 21,1) and “the God who suffered” (Tat. 13,3). Most designate Christ using Old Testament titles, such as Word (Jn 1:1) and Wisdom (1 Cor 1:24) (Justin, *D.* 61, 1–3; 62, 4; 129, 3; Tat. 5, 1; Theoph. 2, 10; Dg., 7, 2); and when they describe the Word of the Son of God, it is in this same Old Testament context (Theoph. 2, 22; Ath. 10, 2–4 and 24, 2; Dg. 7, 4; Tert. 21, 11–14).

The Trinitarian formulations are sometimes specified (Aristides, 15, 1; Justin, *I Ap.* 6, 2; 13, 3; 61, 2 and 65, 3; Ath. 10, 5; 12, 3 and 24, 2). The term *trias* is found for the first time in Theophilus (2, 15), but it designates a less Trinitarian group than has been supposed (Zeegers 1975 a).

The apologists do not all offer the same anthropology*. Most adopt the dual body-soul scheme, whereas others employ the tripartite body-soul-spirit scheme (Justin, *D.* 6,2), asserting that the soul is not necessarily immortal (Tat. 13, 1–3). To refute the objection of God’s responsibility for the death of human beings (Tat. 11, 2; Theoph. 2, 27), they emphasize that God created human beings in an intermediate state between mortal and immortal (Theoph. 2, 24 and 2, 27) and granted them free choice between good* and evil*, between life and death, and therefore gave them responsibility for their own destiny (Justin, *I Ap.* 28, 3 and 43, 3–8; *II Ap.* 7, 3–6; Tat. 7, 2–3 and 11, 2; Theoph. 2, 24 and 2, 27). So they stress the reality of free will, but also humanity’s need of grace* (Justin, *I Ap.* 14, 2–3 and *D.* 116, 1; see *D.* 7, 2 and 58, 1; Dg., 8, 7–9, 6) and faith (Tat. 15, 4; Clem. 9, 87, 1). They assert that the salvation* of human beings is a gift from God (Theoph. 2, 26; Clem. 10, 94, 1) and that their vocation matches their dignity. Human beings, that is, are cre-

ated by God's own hands (Theoph. 2, 18), in his image and likeness (Tat. 15, 1–2; Clem. 10, 98, 1). They are called to contemplation* (Justin, *I Ap.* 23, 3), to immortality in sharing divine life (Theoph. 2, 17; Clem. 1, 8, 4 and 10, 107, 1) and to divine filiation* (Clem. 10, 99, 3). The fundamental precepts* are those of the Decalogue*. Several apologists underline the stricter character of evangelical morality in conjugal matters (Mt 5:44–46; see Is 66:5; Aristide 15, 5–9; Justin, *I Ap.* 14, 3; 15, 9–13 and 16, 1–3; Ath. 11, 2–3 and 12, 3; Theoph. 3, 14; Dg. 10, 5–6; Tert. 39, 7–11; Clem. 10; 108, 5), the ideal of virginity (Justin, *I Ap.* 61, 1–13 and 66, 1; D. 13, 1–14, 2; 43, 2) and the precept of charity (Mt 5:44–46; see also Is 66:5; Aristide 15, 5–9; Justin, *I Ap.* 14, 3; 15, 9–13 and 16, 1–3; Ath. 11, 2–3 and 12, 3; Theoph. 3, 14; Dg. 10, 5–6; Tert. 39, 7–11; Clem. 10; 108, 5). With regard to these points, they readily highlight the contrast between pagan and Christian behavior (Tat. 32) and more generally the paradox of Christians' attitudes in the world (Dg. 5). The only sacraments* described are those of Christian initiation*: baptism* (Justin, *I Ap.* 61, 1–13 and 66, 1; D. 13, 1–14, 2; 43, 2) and the Eucharist* (Justin, *I Ap.* 65–67; D. 41, 1–3; 70, 4 and 117, 1–3).

In terms of eschatology*, the apologists do not base the resurrection of the body on the Resurrection of Christ, and rarely on the realization of Old Testament prophecies (see Ez 37:7–8; Justin, *I Ap.* 52, 5–6). Rather, they look to the omnipotence of God (Lk 18:27), who is capable of recreating what he created from nothing (Justin, *I Ap.* 19, 5–6; Tat. 6, 1–2; Tert. 48, 5–7; Minuc. 34, 9–10); to the soul's need to find an identical body (Tert. 48, 2–3); and to the analogies offered by nature* (Theoph. 1, 13 and 2, 14; Tert. 48, 8; Minuc. 34, 11) and in human procreation (Justin, *I Ap.* 19, 1–4). Here again the distinctive Christian dimension is sidestepped.

e) Conclusion. The apologist polemic against paganism*, both its writings and its rituals, was caustic. Stripped of any attempt to interpret, it was more likely to annoy than convince. The claim of apologists to be the only guardians of truth could not have been well received by the pagans, whom these same apologists regarded as thieves of truth, or by the Jews, who were said to have an outdated religion. If the apologists were at all successful in making the pagans reflect, it was perhaps because their writers were intellectuals, educated in the same school as the pagans themselves, and because their attempt to defend a banned religion naturally provoked an examination of it.

The apologists are important in that they attempted to present Christianity as a coherent doctrine, venera-

ble because of its great age, and compatible with philosophy. They undoubtedly reduced the specific dimension of the gospel and did not answer the real pagan question: that of the scandal of the cross. But they did not intend to expound the whole of the gospel. They only wanted to show the pagans that revelation* contained acceptable philosophical foundations. From this point of view, the apologists were pioneers in transmitting the Christian message.

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See also Gnosis; Judeo-Christianity; Marcionism; Messianism/Messiah; Philosophy; Platonism, Christian; Stoicism, Christian; Trinity; Word

Apophasia. *See Negative Theology*

Apostasy. *See Cyprian of Carthage; Heresy*

Apostle

1. History of the Concept

In secular Greek the word *apostolos* had a relatively broad range of meanings. Most often it designated the accomplishment of a mission (dispatch of a fleet, naval expedition) or the document authorizing the mission (passport, letter of escort, notice of delivery). It was only rarely applied to people (e.g., Herodotus I. 21, V. 38). In using *apostolos* from the outset as an established term designating a “plenipotentiary envoy,” early Christian literature was in fact recycling an Old Jewish Testament. This usage was rooted in the concrete framework of ancient Eastern law*, according to which an envoy represented and stood in for his representative throughout the duration of a particular mission. This legal principle is attested on several occasions in the Old Testament (e.g., 1 Sm 25:40 and 2 Sm 10:1–3), though the term *apostolos* itself appears only in 1 Kings 14:6 (Septuagint). Its classic expression is found in *Mishna Berakhot* 5, 5: “A man’s envoy is like that man himself.” Judaism* did not, however, institutionalize the function until after the catastrophe of A.D. 70, when the new central authority* created a body of commissioners charged with inspecting the communities of the Diaspora and collecting taxes from them. The official name of these functionaries was provided by the Aramaic verbal substantive *shâlîach*; and as Jerome correctly conjectured (*ad Ga* 1, 1), it corresponds exactly in form and content to the Christian term *apostolos*. The Christian idea of apostle chrono-

logically preceded this fixing of the Jewish concept of *shâlîach*, and thus cannot be the result of a direct borrowing from Judaism. The two terms must rather be seen as parallel formations, derived from the same legal notion. The first uses of the word *apostleship* (Greek *apostolè*), as a Christian technical term designating a charge attached to the person of the apostle as a permanent agent of a mission*, are found in Paul (Gal 2:8; 1 Cor 9:2; and Rom 1:5; *see also* Acts 1:25).

2. The Two Sources of Christian Apostleship

a) Scholars are now in agreement in attributing a postpaschal origin to Christian apostleship. The identification of the prepaschal circle of the “Twelve” with the apostles—an identification that is merely incidental in Mark 3:14 and 6:30 and Matthew 10:2, and developed systematically only in Luke 9:10, 22:14, and 24:10—is the result of retrospective harmonization. The Twelve did not have the function of legal representatives of Jesus*, but that of a kerygmatic sign for Israel*. Their institution by Jesus was a significant act which illustrated the essence and the purpose of his mission to the people* of God*. The number 12, symbolizing the totality and integrity of that people, referred to the fact that Jesus had been given the task of reuniting all of Israel and leading it to its eschatological fulfillment. The Twelve then appeared, so to speak, as the founding fathers and the points of crystallization

around which the people of salvation* were to gather at the end of time (Mt 19:28). They did not, however, represent an assembly in which certain functions had been institutionalized.

The circle of disciples who followed Jesus, within a community of vocation and service set under the sign of the imminent advent of the kingdom* of God, was not at all limited to the Twelve. Even after Easter, the circle of Twelve maintained for a time its meaning as a sign addressed to Israel. Having designated a new member (Acts 1:15–26) to take the place left vacant by the betrayal of Judas—who was “one of the Twelve” (Mk 14:10 and 14:43)—they took a public position in Jerusalem* by presenting themselves as the kernel around which the people of God should gather at the end of time (Acts 2). But the role of the Twelve began to decline by the mid-30s. The “apostles” then became the decisive group in the primitive community of Jerusalem (Gal 1:17), which no doubt reflects a change in the ecclesiological and missionary paradigm. The expectation of the reunion of Israel in Jerusalem was replaced by the awareness of a *mission*, which was to be actively assumed: a mission to Israel, and beyond that to the pagans.

Apostleship was founded on the apparitions of the risen Christ* (1 Cor 9:1 and 15:5–11). But not all the witnesses of the Resurrection* were considered apostles. For the church* of Jerusalem, only appearances that had the character of call and mission could legitimate those who experienced them as plenipotentiary envoys of Jesus Christ. Because Paul manifestly satisfied this criterion, he was recognized as the last apostle to be called (1 Cor 15:9–11).

The circle of those apostles called by the risen Christ was thus limited in number (1 Cor 15:7). We cannot clearly identify all its members. Peter*, first witness of the Resurrection, was thereby the leading apostle. The Twelve, named as witnesses of the Resurrection, were also without doubt apostles. To them should probably be added James the brother of Jesus and Barnabas, as well as Andronicus and Junias (Rom 16:7).

b) In addition to this clearly defined type of apostleship, as it was represented in Jerusalem, we find traces of a more open apostleship of a pneumatic and charismatic character in Antioch and its Syrian hinterland. Here the decisive factor was not the mandate of the risen Christ but the teaching of the Holy* Spirit. According to an ancient tradition (repeated in Acts 13:1–3, 14:4, and 14:14), it was through a prophetic testimony inspired by the Holy Spirit that Paul and Barnabas were invested with the charge of missionary envoys of the community of Antioch and thereby con-

sidered to be apostles. As a young man Paul had understood himself to be an apostle in this broad sense, and it was only after having established closer contacts with Jerusalem that he came to redefine his apostleship according to the criteria applied in that community. The origin of this second type of apostleship remains obscure. However, it may be presumed that it was rooted in the circle of itinerant Galilean-Syrian missionaries that came out of the prepaschal Christian community, a circle to which is connected the Q source, or *Source of the Logia* (Bible*, Gospels) (Mt 10:5–16 and Lk 10:1–12). The *Didache* (11:3–6), for example, attests to the continued existence in Syria in the early second century of itinerant charismatic preachers who were considered apostles. It is among these that we must look for the adversaries designated by Paul as “superlative apostles” (2 Cor 11:5 and 12:11) or “false apostles” (2 Cor 11:13). According to Paul, these individuals sought to legitimate their spiritual mandate by inspired speech (2 Cor 10:10 and 11:6), forcing Paul to compare himself with regard to visions (2 Cor 12:1) and the “signs of a true apostle” (2 Cor 12:12). The false apostles of Ephesus mentioned (in post-Pauline times) in Revelation 2:2 can also be included here.

3. Paul and the Pauline Tradition

a) Paul deserves particular recognition: in his vast theological reflection, he deepened the understanding of apostleship and developed it in different directions. Taking up the concept of apostleship based on the experience of the risen Christ, he interpreted his *vocation* as the act by which God “was pleased to reveal his Son” to him (Gal 1:16). He describes this revelation by making an obvious analogy with the calling of the Old Testament prophets* (Is 49:1 and Jer 1:16), and attributes a salvatory place in history to apostleship as a bearer and messenger of the eschatological, self-manifestation of God, where the prophets’ message is absorbed (Rom 1:2).

Elsewhere he emphasizes *the essential relation between apostleship and the gospel*. The apostle is “set apart for the gospel of God” (Rom 1:1). As final messenger of God, charged with proclaiming to the world the saving message of God’s imminent reign (Rom 10:14–17), Paul is an instrument for the fulfillment of the gospel. When, as an envoy of Christ, he implores, “be reconciled to God” (2 Cor 5:20), it is God himself who implores through Paul. He is not only the bearer and the messenger, but also the representative and personification of the gospel. His entire person and his way of life show the imprint of the gospel, of which Christ crucified forms the heart and the content. His

sufferings (2 Cor 4:7–18), his weakness (2 Cor 12:9–10), and his life in the service of others (2 Cor 4:5) all reflect the structure of the gospel, founded on the journey of Christ. It is through its conformity with the gospel that the behavior of the apostle constitutes an ethical (ethics*) model (1 Cor 4:16 and 11:1; Gal 4:12).

Paul strongly emphasizes the *ecclesiological dimension* of apostleship. It is the apostle's task to bring together the community of salvation made up of Jews and pagans, to make of it the location for the presence of the gospel in history*. He has been called and sent "to bring about the obedience of faith for the sake of his name among all the nations" (Rom 1:5). This founding function distinguishes the ministry* of the apostle from the other ministries of the community: these latter, by contrast, are charisms through which the Holy Spirit acts within the Church. In the perspective of the history of salvation, the apostle's ministry is placed before all other ministries (1 Cor 12:28). He is the one who lays the foundations for the sacred edifice of the Church, a foundation on which others will build (1 Cor 3:9–17). He is the father who, in bringing the gospel, has engendered the Church (1 Cor 4:15 and Gal 4:12–20). In conformity with this founding function, the apostolic duty is not attached to a particular community but is connected to the *universal Church*. In relation to particular communities, their duties, and their services, the apostle is the one who sets down the basic foundations and establishes norms. And so it was that Paul, during the founding period of the Christian communities with which he was associated, exercised in exemplary fashion all the ministries that would later be attributed to different authorities. He was the master who transmitted the traditions and taught the basic doctrines (1 Cor 15:3–11, *passim*). He was the prophet who, according to the portion of the Holy Spirit that had been granted to him, interpreted Scripture and revealed what Christ, now ascended into heaven, wanted for the present (1 Cor 7:40 and 13:2). Finally, he was the leader of the community, charged with settling questions of organization (1 Cor 11:23). Through his Epistles, Paul continued to exercise all these functions after the establishment of the community, insofar as was necessary.

b) Paul's reflections are developed in the Deutero-Pauline writings (Colossians, Ephesians, pastoral Epistles), with the accent principally on the ecclesiological meaning of apostleship. Apostles are now considered founders and guarantors of the tradition on which the Church is based. According to Ephesians 2:20 (and in contrast to 1 Cor 3:10) they are, with the prophets, the solid basis on which the sanctified house

of the Church stands. In the same spirit, the pastoral Epistles see Paul as the bearer and guarantor of the doctrinal treasure that the Church of future generations will have to preserve (1 Tm 6:20 and 2 Tm 1:14). In addition, Paul appears here as the normative authority in pastoral matters. Community leaders are required to follow the apostle in teaching and spiritual direction (1 Tm 4:11, 5:7, and 6:2), in the maintenance of community order (1 Tm 5:14), as well as in the witness given by their lives (2 Tm 2:8–13). They must consider themselves in all this as his successors and his replacements (1 Tm 3:15 and 4:13).

4. Other New Testament Writings

a) Luke also proposes a strong concept of apostleship in his work in two parts, Luke and Acts. In his view, apostles are above all the initiators and guarantors of the tradition* to which the Church must conform (Acts 2:42). In his concern with reporting the words and acts of Jesus by setting them out in a verifiable way, he limits the circle of apostles to those who accompanied Jesus from the beginning of his ministry and who witnessed both his life and his Resurrection (Acts 1:21–22). He thus repeats the notion, which Christians probably borrowed from Judaism (Rev 21:14), of the twelve apostles. In this perspective, which was integrated into the common understanding of the Church, Paul was to be sure a privileged witness of the gospel (Acts 26:16), but not an apostle.

b) John 13:16, 17:3, 7:18, and 7:25 and Hebrews 3:1 present an independent tradition that refers to the Jewish legal conception of the apostle as a plenipotentiary envoy (*see* 1 above). Jesus himself appears here as the envoy of God, charged with representing him in the eyes of the world. These two writings recognize no other disciple than Jesus.

5. Later Tendencies

From the second century on, apostles have generally been identified with the founding personalities of the earliest times of the church, those who established the norms of the tradition in matters of government* and doctrine.

a) The *First Epistle of Clement* (42; 44:2–4) thus relates ecclesiastical duties to a divine order, which extends from God to Christ and to the apostles, then to the bishops* and deacons* instituted by the apostles. We can see taking shape here the idea of an apostolic* succession. This would become the keystone of a hierarchy, and therefore the principal legitimizing source of authorities. On the other hand, Ignatius of Antioch

believed that the presbyters* of communities, gathered around the bishop, reproduced the heavenly model of the “senate” of apostles assembled around God himself (*Letter to the Trallians* 3:1).

b) The adjective *apostolikos* (apostolic) appears for the first time in Ignatius’s *Letter to the Trallians*; which first refers to the model of the apostles, and then more generally to the norms established in their doctrine as in *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* 16:2. From then on, any doctrine was considered apostolic if it could be traced back to the origins of the Church, on the grounds of its being recorded in the New Testament witness of the apostles. The concept of apostolicity, which appears only in modern dogmatic terminology, also served to express this relationship to an original norm.

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See also Apostolic Succession; Church; Gospels; Israel; Jesus, Historical; Mission/Evangelization; People of God

Apostles, Symbols of. *See* Creeds

Apostolic Fathers

Introduced by scholars at the end of the 17th century, the expression *Apostolic Fathers* suggests that this generation of writers was in direct contact with the apostles*. This title initially designated the following set of writings: the *Letter of Barnabas*, the two letters of Clement of Rome, the letters of Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna, and *The Shepherd* of Hermas. Later were added the passages of Papias of Hierapolis, the Letter to Diognetus, and the *Didache*. These writings have different origins, come from different eras, and vary in composition and style. For the most part, they are dated before A.D. 150 and tend to share a pastoral emphasis.

a) *First Group*. The *Letter of Barnabas* is a pseud-epigraphon, probably written in Alexandria between A.D. 70 and 100. It contains severe criticism of Judaism, particularly of its ritual and ceremonial requirements: the sacrifices* (§2), fasting (§3), circumcision (§9), the Sabbath* (§15), the temple* (§16). The Letter criticizes Jews for applying the Scriptures* literally instead of interpreting them allegorically. The work ends with an essay on the doctrine of two paths (§18–20). Clement of Rome’s *Letter to the Corinthians* was written around A.D. 96 by Peter*’s third successor, and in the name of the Christian community in Rome*. Me-

ticulous in style, the letter describes the virtues* necessary for community life (repentance, faith*, humility, harmony: §4–36). It reminds the reader that the apostles themselves established their successors as *episcopi* and presbyters* (§44), and ends with a long prayer* that is filled with lightly Christianized references to the Old Testament (§59–61). Clement does not scruple about combining pagan themes, like the harmony of the cosmos* (§20), with several biblical citations. The so-called *Second Letter of Clement* is, in fact, an anonymous second-century homily on Christ as judge and Redeemer.

Around 110 Ignatius, bishop* of Antioch, wrote several letters in the course of his journey to Rome*, where he was martyred. Three of these were pre-served in a Syriac summary. In addition to the seven letters generally considered authentic, there were six other Apocrypha* from the fourth century. In an impassioned and sometimes uneven style, they assert the principle of the monarchical episcopate (*Magnesians* 6:1), of the necessary unity* of the community around its bishop (*Philadelphians* 4). The Eucharist, over which only the bishop can preside, is truly the body of Christ (*Smyrniotes* 1:1). They present martyrdom* as the supreme form of imitation* of Christ (*Romans* 5–6).

Ignatius's friend, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, wrote a *Letter to the Philippians*. The story of his *Martyrdom*, which served as a model for this literary genre, explains the veneration offered to victims of persecution and bears the traces of ancient Christian prayers (§14). Hermas, perhaps the brother of Pope* Pius I, probably wrote *The Shepherd* around 150, the first text to explicitly refer to the possibility of a (single) penitence—after baptism. The visions, which have an apocalyptic* quality, present the Church* either as an old woman (*Vision* II), or a large tower (*Vision* III and *Similitude* IX). There are also long moral lessons (*Precepts* I–XII). Sometimes Christ is called the Venerable Angel* (*Vision* V), other times, the Master of the Tower (*Similitude* IX). This work is often considered an example of Judeo-Christian theology*.

b) Added Works. Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, gathered all the information on the apostles that their disciples could convey. His work, which seems to have been rather anecdotal, is lost. Only a few passages survive. In them, Papias defends the millenarian thesis and reports that Saint Matthew first gathered the words of Christ in Hebrew.

The Letter to Diognetus is an apologia for Christianity, addressed to a cultured pagan. Both its author and intended recipient are unknown, as are the date and place of composition. Elegant in style, and attaining a remarkably high spiritual level, this work criticizes above all the idolatry* of the pagans and the formal ritualism of the Jews (§2–4). It then refers to the supernatural* life of Christians (§5–6). The work is sometimes placed among those of the Christian apologists of the second century.

The *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, is a collection of moral doctrines and church rules and is probably from Syria. The date of composition is unknown. After having developed the doctrine of the two ways (§1–6), the text explains the liturgical procedure of baptism* (§7) and of the Eucharist* (§9–10). It also tackles disciplinary problems associated with the place of prophets* and apostles (§11 and 13). In all these areas, the *Didache* seems to represent a particular or archaic stage in the organization of the cult and communities.

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Judeo-Christianity; Millenarianism

Apostolic Succession

a) Definition. *Apostolic succession* refers to the continuity of the church* in its character as apostolic, the permanence of the ministry from generation to generation, and the teachings of the Apostles. Apostolic succession applies above all to the church as whole, since it is the church that is apostolic.

The phrase *apostolic succession* is often used more narrowly to refer to a succession of bishops* (episcopal succession) or of priests or presbyters (presbyteral succession) reaching straight back to the apostles. Such a succession can be “local” (*successio localis*), and consist of all the persons holding the same office (e.g., the line of bishops of Rome* or Alexandria, reaching back to the first bishop, ordained by an apostle) or “personal” (*successio personalis*); in this case it refers to a sequence of persons, each having ordained the next, reaching back to the first ordained by an apostle. While apostolic succession is often reduced to a “personal succession” of bishops, recent ecumenical discussions have emphasized the importance of a more comprehensive understanding of apostolic succession.

b) Biblical Background. Elements of the concept of apostolic succession can be found in the New Testament, although it is not explicitly developed. Paul already speaks of a tradition* that he has received and must transmit intact, for example, in relation to the Resurrection* (1 Cor 15:3) or the Eucharist* (1 Cor 11:23). In later texts, greater emphasis is placed on “the faith that was once for all delivered to the saints” (Jude 3). The recipients of the pastoral epistles are particularly admonished to hand on the tradition faithfully (1 Tm 6:20; 2 Tm 1:14 and 2:2; Ti 1:9). Second, Jesus* is depicted, both before the Resurrection (Lk 10:1) and after it (Mt 28:18–20), as sending out the apostles on a mission* in which they will exercise an authority derived from his (Lk 10:16; Jn 20:21–23). The post-Resurrection sending is to continue through history (Mt 28:19). Lastly, while the meaning of the word *apostle* varies in the New Testament, the apostles are referred to many times as the foundation of the Church (Eph 2:20; Rev 21:15). In Titus 1:5 the idea appears of a transfer of authority from Paul to the next generation.

c) Patristic Era. In the second century, the concept of apostolic succession was used to fight against Gnos-

tic heresies. Already, Ignatius had stressed the key role of the bishop in the local church (Letter to the Magnesians 6) without, however, any notion of succession, and Clement of Rome had introduced the idea of a succession from Christ* to the apostles, then to the successors of the apostles and so on (1 Clem. 42). Irenaeus* then developed apostolic succession as an aspect of the apostolic tradition that distinguishes the true churches from their Gnostic competitors. Christ did not keep anything from his apostles, his closest disciples, and taught them the whole truth*, which the apostles in turn transmitted “above all to those to whom they confided the churches themselves,” that is, to the first bishops (*Adv. Haer.* III. 3.1). For the most important churches, most notably that of Rome, the line of bishops can be traced back to the apostles, “by which line and succession the Tradition of the church, beginning with the apostles, and the preaching of the truth, have come down to us” (*ibid.*, III. 3.3). While Irenaeus does say of “the presbyters” that “with the succession in the episcopacy, they have received the certain charisma of truth” (*ibid.*, IV. 26.2), his emphasis is on a *successio localis* as the sign of a continuity of apostolic tradition within a specific church, and thus as a criterion for identifying this tradition. Tertullian (*De Praescriptione haereticorum; Adversus Marcionem*) has a similar understanding of apostolic succession for the same anti-Gnostic reasons.

In Cyprian*, the succession of the entire episcopate from its single source in the apostles, and especially Peter*, is decisive both for the unity* of the entire church (*De unitate Ecclesiae* 5) and for the authority of each bishop over his church (*Ep.* 68). Nevertheless, apostolic succession still belongs to the church rather than to individuals. A bishop who, through heresy* or schism*, has left the unity of the church has also left the apostolic succession. The foundation for a more individually focused conception of apostolic succession was laid during the fourth and fifth centuries by an increased willingness to recognize the validity* of sacraments* and ordinations* performed outside the communion* of the church. If such ordinations were valid, they were then ordinations in apostolic succession, and bishops in heresy or schism simply were not outside this succession. It follows that apostolic succession must be less a characteristic of the church, fo-

cused in its leaders, and more a characteristic of persons ordained in a *successio personalis*, which these persons continue to possess even in heresy or schism. Augustine* laid the basis for this change, although his own explicit discussions of apostolic succession still generally follow the earlier lines.

Apostolic succession was self-evident and was not extensively debated during the Middle Ages. However, the development within Scholasticism* of a theology of orders, with its concepts of a power (*potestas*) and an indelible nature (*character indelibilis*) granted in ordination, strengthened the more individualistic understanding of apostolic succession. The absence of debate led to remaining imprecision. While it was agreed that apostolic succession was transmitted through the bishops, most Scholastic theologians held that no sacramental difference existed between bishops and priests. The grounds for denying a valid presbyteral succession were thus not clear.

d) Reformation and Post-Reformation Disputes. The various branches of the Reformation (Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican) rejected the contention that apostolic succession, in the sense of an episcopal *successio personalis*, was essential for a valid or effective ministry* of Word and sacrament. Luther's rejection of the ideas of a *potestas* or *character indelibilis* passed on in ordination undercut apostolic succession as it had come to be understood in medieval theology. True apostolic succession lay in holding to the apostolic gospel (WA 39 II, 176). While Melancthon was more favorable to episcopal order, he nonetheless thought that episcopal apostolic succession was not essential to the church (CR 23, 595–642). The Lutheran states, however, consistently maintained that they were willing to submit to the Catholic bishops, and thus accept an episcopal apostolic succession, if the bishops would permit the preaching of the gospel and certain Lutheran reforms (BSLK 296, 14 ff.). An episcopal *successio personalis* remained in the Swedish and Finnish Lutheran churches.

The Calvinist tradition likewise held that an episcopal apostolic succession is not essential to the church. In placing greater emphasis on the equality of all ordained ministers (e.g., in the Second Helvetic Confession, chap. 18), however, Reformed churches have usually been less open to traditional episcopal order than the Lutheran churches, and thus more opposed to apostolic succession as traditionally understood.

Episcopal apostolic succession was preserved in the Church of England during the Reformation and defended theologically against those who preferred a presbyterian polity. All Anglican churches have an episcopal order in a *successio personalis*. Most Angli-

can theologians and authorities have not held that churches that lose an episcopal apostolic succession are no longer true churches. Nevertheless, this question does not lead to unanimity, especially since the Oxford movement. The Anglican Church has always had the ecumenical policy (Lambeth Quadrilateral 1888) of rejecting full communion with churches not willing at least to reenter episcopal apostolic succession.

The Council of Trent* said little explicitly about apostolic succession, but implicitly reasserted the Scholastic doctrine. The Decree on the Sacrament of Order states that "the bishops who have succeeded the apostles belong in a special way to the hierarchical order" (*ad hunc hierarchicum ordinem praecipue pertinere*, XXIII, 4). Vatican* II is more explicit: "the bishops, by virtue of divine institution, are the successors of the apostles as pastors of the Church, in such a way that those who hear them hear Christ, while those who reject them reject Christ and him who has sent Christ" (LG 20). While apostolic succession is realized through an ordination in a *successio personalis* that transmits a spiritual gift (LG 21), emphasis falls on the collective succession of the entire body of bishops, as successors of the apostles in their office of teaching, sanctifying, and governing. The apostolic succession links the Catholic Church to the Orthodox churches (UR 15), while what is lacking in the sacrament of orders in the Protestant churches, presumably due to the absence of an episcopal apostolic succession, means that they lack "all the reality belonging to the eucharistic Mystery" (UR 22).

The Orthodox churches have not shared the debate over apostolic succession. They maintain that episcopal apostolic succession is an essential aspect of the church, but often criticize Western theology for conceptually separating continuity in ministry from the total continuity of the church (Zizioulas).

e) Ecumenical Issues. Apostolic succession has been one of the most difficult ecumenical topics. Disagreements over apostolic succession have become one factor blocking a mutual recognition of ministries between Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican churches, on the one hand, and between the various Protestant churches, on the other. Recent discussions have given hope for a resolution of the differences.

The text *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry*, issued by the World Council of Churches in 1982, finds the "primary manifestation of apostolic succession...in the apostolic tradition of the whole church" (M §35). "The succession of the bishops became one of the modes...by which the apostolic tradition of the church was expressed" (M §36). Appealing to the reality of the

episkope, the oversight over ministry, in all churches, the text then seeks to understand episcopal apostolic succession as “a sign, rather than a guarantee, of the continuity and unity of the church” (M §38).

The concept of “sign” is further elaborated in the Anglican-Lutheran dialogue (*Niagara Report* 1988). The apostolic continuity of the church is maintained by the faithfulness of God*, despite human failings (28), through various means: the Bible*, the creed, and the continuity of the ordained ministry* (29). Since apostolic continuity is a feature of the entire church, the presence or absence of any single criterion (e.g., an episcopal *successio personalis*) is not sufficient to judge whether a church stands in the true apostolic succession. A more comprehensive judgment must be made, taking various factors into account (20). On this basis, Anglican churches might be made to see Lutheran churches that lack such an episcopal *successio personalis* as within apostolic succession, and the

Lutheran churches that stand outside such a *successio personalis* might be able to see it as a useful sign of succession in the apostolic gospel. These arguments paved the way for the Porvoo Agreement (1994), which reconciles ministries among the Anglican churches, and the Nordic and Baltic Lutheran churches.

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- Baptême, Euchariste, Ministère* (1982), Paris.
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See also Authority; Bishop; Irenaeus of Lyons; Ministry

Apostolicity of the Church. *See* **Apostle; Apostolic Succession**

Appropriation

The term *appropriation* is used in Christology and Trinitarian theology.

a) In Christology, appropriations are an aspect of the communication of idioms* and correspond to communications proper. In the first case, the divine Person* of the Word* appropriates the realities of the human condition and the events experienced by Christ* (his birth, his kenosis*, his cross, etc.). In the second case, the divine Person of the Word communicates to humanity what is distinctive of divinity.

b) In Trinitarian theology, appropriations are a language* phenomenon that constitutes a third term be-

tween the essential attributes* or activities that are proper to the divine nature as such and the personal characteristics of the Father*, the Son, and the Holy* Spirit. To appropriate is to make a common noun serve as a proper noun. Trinitarian appropriation consists in applying an essential attribute to a person, as if it were his own, so as to “manifest” him. The language of the Scriptures* and tradition* appropriates to a particular person an attribute or an activity that is common to all the Trinity. Paul thus calls Christ the “power of God and the wisdom of God” (1 Cor 1:24). The Father is called “the Almighty” (Rev 1:8, chaps. 4, 8, etc.). Appropriation is commonly found in the liturgy. Thomas* Aquinas comments on four expressions of traditional

appropriation. First there is that of Hilary* of Poitiers: “Eternity* is in the Father, beauty in the Image, joy in the gift that is offered to us [Holy Spirit].” Then there are those of Augustine*: “Unity is in the Father, equality in the Son, harmony between unity and equality in the Holy Spirit”; “The Father is power, the Son is wisdom, the Holy Spirit is goodness”; “‘From him’ it is said of the Father; ‘through him,’ of the Son; ‘in him’ of the Holy Ghost” (*ST* Ia, q. 39, a. 7–8). Similarly, the Trinity’s indwelling of the justified man is appropriated to the Holy Spirit. The basis of appropriation is the resemblance or the affinity of the considered attribute with the suitability of each person, an affinity that has its roots in the knowledge* that we can have of God, and therefore of his essential attributes, starting with the creatures. Appropriations involve conveniences and do not give way to any proofs. Their dan-

ger is that, on one hand, they continue to create confusion between properties and essential attributes, and on the other hand that, lacking referents, they represent nothing more than a language game. Nevertheless, they are not without value for a spiritual understanding of the Trinity.

- M. J. Scheeben (1865), *Die Mysterien des Christentums* (3rd Ed. 1958), Freiburg, §23–31.
- A. Chollet (1903), “Appropriation aux personnes de la Trinité,” *DThC* 1, 1708–17.
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See also **Father; Idioms; Trinity**

Architecture

The earliest Christians had no special buildings devoted to the cult*; they worshipped in synagogues and the Temple*, and their distinctively Christian agape (love feast) meals were held in private houses. Christian worship does not require a particular kind of building, but from early times the church* has encouraged the provision of special places, to enhance solemnity and to use the building itself as a teaching resource.

I. Early Church

Already by the end of the first century, Christian communities had grown too large to meet in private houses and required a large hall with one altar, at which the bishop* presided. By the mid-second century, the eucharistic assembly had been separated from the agape meal and had been stylized into liturgy*. We know that there were buildings referred to by special names, including *ecclesia* (assembly) and *domus dei* (House of God*), but there is little direct evidence of what these were like, except that they tended to have ancillary rooms for cultic purposes, the major of which was the baptistery. The church at Dura Europos, converted

from a private house in about 240–41, had been set aside to serve the needs of the congregation by being carefully decorated with images illustrating the meaning of the rites taking place within it. Archeological evidence in Rome suggests that the second-century dwelling on the side of the basilica of San Clemente had undergone such a process of adaptation in the third century, as had some of the other titular basilicas. By the beginning of the fourth century, larger hall churches were being built in other parts of the empire (Parentium, Qirkebize in Syria). It is not known whether there was any characteristic Christian architectural style before the fourth century. Pagan temples were unsuitable models because they were not designed to house large groups of worshippers. Christian churches, like synagogues, were built for large gatherings of the faithful. After 312, when the emperor Constantine converted to Christianity, the basilica form was most frequently adopted for churches. Basilicas were large, generally aisled halls used for a variety of secular and religious purposes. They were well lit by rows of windows in the side walls and above the internal arcades: some had a rounded apse protruding from the center of a long side or from one end. Basilica

churches had the apse with an altar at one end and many were provided with an atrium at the other, entrance end. Some of the latter contained fountains, symbolizing the source of life, which could be used for ablutions before entering the church. By the fourth century, most churches were oriented with the entrance at the western end and the altar in the eastern end. In this way, at the morning service the congregation faced the rising sun, symbol of the Parousia* of Christ*, the Sun of Justice*.

During Constantine's lifetime were built not only the church of the bishop of Rome, on the supposed site of Peter*'s grave, but also the basilica of the Lateran, the first official church building of Christianity, begun c. 313, as well as several memorial chapels in cemeteries. In Rome, most of these churches featured an ambulatory—that is, a gallery linking the aisles and allowing to go around the altar (Santa Agnese, mid-fourth century)—but many others had centralized structures, modeled on pagan mausoleums. In Jerusalem*, the Anastasis ("Resurrection*") Rotunda was built over the Holy Sepulcher, and in Bethlehem an octagonal chapel was erected over the Nativity grotto. The palace-church of Antioch (327–41) was also octagonal. Under Justinian the domed, centralized church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople was built. In Rome in the fourth century, the popes* founded the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore and the church of San Stefano Rotondo, whose plan is a cross inscribed in a circle. In the late fourth and early fifth centuries, pilgrimage* churches began to be built with (or existing ones supplemented with) galleries to provide extra accommodation, especially for women or for catechumens (the basilica of Trier, as rebuilt by Gratian c. 380). Saint Peter's in Rome had a choir enclosure: such enclosures became a standard way of providing space for the clergy (Saint Thecla, Milan, mid-fourth century). In the following years, this feature spread all over the Mediterranean. Some early basilicas had transepts isolated from the nave, giving a cruciform ground plan. The earliest true cruciform church, in which all four arms are of equal height, may have been the Apostles* church in Constantinople. In a church to which crowds of pilgrims came, Saint Simeon Stylites at Kal'ar Sem'an in Syria, an unroofed octagonal building surrounded the saint's column. The cruciform plan became very popular because it turned the entire building into an embodiment of the cross. In the fifth century were built the first churches with cupolas over central spaces, and also basilica complexes, such as that adjoining the Anastasis.

In some places, for example in Aquilera and Trier, double basilicas (in effect two churches placed side by side) were built. This strange form can be explained in

terms of function. In addition to the churches required for regular worship, there arose a need for places in which to commemorate the martyrs. Structures were built over or near their tombs in cemeteries outside the city walls. As the number of pilgrims increased, these churches were added to, and by the fifth century some of them were connected with monastic complexes. The monastic communities were set up to minister to the needs of pilgrims, to ensure that continual prayer* was made over the graves of the martyrs, and also to serve as bases for missionary activity. After the Goth invasions of the fifth century, the bodies of the martyrs had to be moved from the cemeteries outside Rome into the city churches for safety and access. The relics* of the saints were spread among regular churches, and soon every church was required to own some relic. In Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople, "stational" liturgy gained importance. The bishop and the people processed from church to church, celebrating the Eucharist* and other services, with the purpose of sanctifying the whole city*. Such public processions were hardly possible before Christianity became the state religion. Processions within church buildings, so ubiquitous throughout the Middle Ages, seem to have developed from these. Various parts of the church, such as the baptismal font or the main doorway, provided stations where the procession paused for prayer, by analogy with the use of different churches as stopping points in outside processions.

II. Medieval Church

The medieval church building was considered a representation of the heavenly Jerusalem, as envisioned in the Apocalypse. From the 10th century, at the latest, the liturgy for the consecration of a church made this quite clear. The form and decoration of the building were designed to inspire the worshippers with a sense of the transcendence and nearness of God. This notion was common to all of Christendom, but the forms in which it was realized differed between the Eastern and Western churches.

1. Byzantium

In the East, the centralized domed church predominated for nearly a millennium. The form was probably inspired by centrally planned early structures such as martyrs' sanctuaries, baptisteries, and memorial buildings (Santa Constanza in Rome, the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem), themselves inspired by the domed Pantheon in Rome. The Byzantine use of the dome, however, rapidly developed into new and exciting forms, straining Roman technology to the limits, particularly during the reign of Justinian. The first masterwork of

this period is San Vitale in Ravenna (526–47), with an octagonal central dome surrounded by an aisle and galleries. There were many other early forms; one frequently copied in later, smaller churches was that of Saint John at Ephesus, which had a Greek cross plan with a central dome and domes over each arm. Saint Sophia in Constantinople (532–37, altered 558–63) became the paradigm of the imperial church. It had a huge dome, carried on the first large-scale pendentives (spherical triangular segments of the vault—the first ones to be this scale), which are graceful and carry the weight of the dome efficiently down to the pillars. The dome represents the heavens, covering without enclosing. In the ninth century, after the Iconoclast controversy, a new church plan was developed. More modest in size, it consisted of a barrel-vaulted cross inscribed in a rectangle, with a dome over the center, which later came to be raised on a drum.

All of these churches were decorated with mosaics or paintings, many of which were destroyed during the Iconoclast debate. The Ravenna mosaics are especially noteworthy. With the triumph of the icons from the mid-ninth century on, imagery began to be systematically applied to church interiors. The colonnade separating nave from the sanctuary was hung with icons and developed into the iconostasis, completely kept the Eucharist hidden, except when the center doors were opened.

The mosaics represented the heavenly hierarchy, with Christ in the central dome and a descending progression of the choir of angels*, patriarchs, and apostles, down to the local saints. The building became an earthly heaven in which God was mysteriously present. This style of architecture was preserved and developed in Greece through the Middle Ages. It spread also to Russia and the Balkans. Russia developed clusters of domes raised on tall drums; the domes were eventually transformed into the characteristic onion profile. Later, these forms were translated into wooden structures, thus combining the Byzantine esthetic with native building traditions. In the West, Byzantine influence is found in the churches of Norman Sicily. Saint Mark in Venice follows the pattern of Saint John at Ephesus and (as with the Sicilian churches) is decorated with mosaics.

2. The West

The majority of churches built in the West during the medieval period were inspired by basilicas. Important exceptions are those that copied early central structures, especially the Anastasis Rotunda. During the troubled centuries that followed the breakdown of the western Roman Empire, only small churches could be built. With more settled conditions and the advent of

the Romanesque style, churches began to rival the Constantinian churches of Rome. Liturgy and ceremonial became more complex; the ruling that each priest* must say his own mass every day required multiple altars in cathedrals and monasteries where there were many priests. From the sixth century on, churches might possess more than one altar. By the mid-12th century, there were 20 in Saint Denis, Paris. Each altar was dedicated to a particular saint. The dual use of these great churches, for the continual prayer of divine office and mass, and for lay pilgrimage, led to the choir and sanctuary being more completely separated from the nave and ambulatory. Such separations survive in the cathedrals of Lincoln and Paris, both 13th-century. It was during this period that the classic design of monasteries was developed: a rectangular cloister surrounding a garden. Around the cloister were the church, the chapter house, the refectory, and the dormitory, with other domestic structures set with no particular order outside the walls. Freestanding baptisteries survived in many Italian towns; they were used for multiple baptisms* at Easter and Pentecost. In northern Europe, children were baptized individually soon after birth; each parish church had its own font, usually prominently placed inside the main door as a reminder that baptism is the sacrament* of entrance into the Christian community.

a) Romanesque. Romanesque was the major western European style from around 950 to 1150, so called because it was based on the use of the Roman semicircular arch. From 950 to 1050, its formative period, there were many regional styles. Later, Romanesque became an international style because of monasticism, which helped to spread ideas, blueprints, and masons along the great pilgrimage routes, and also those opened by the Crusades. The most common form was an expanded basilica plan, with the addition of bays. There was much experiment with vaulting and structural articulation. Lombard-Catalan architecture of the early 11th century was based on a direct revival of Roman techniques, with heavy tunnel vaults (Saint Martin-du-Canigou, 1001–26; Saint Maria Ripoll, 1020–88). Interiors were dark and unadorned, but exteriors were enriched with delicate blank arcading. The great pilgrimage churches developed ambulatory and radiating chapels around the eastern end, with an exterior effect of compact massing and multiple towers. German early Romanesque used a double-apsed plan and timber ceilings rather than stone vaults. At Gernrode (c. 980) and Saint Michael in Hildesheim, the interiors were articulated by systems of alternating supports forming double bays.

The international high Romanesque style flourished

from around 1050 to around 1150. Major French pilgrimage abbeys (Tours, Conques, Limoges, Toulouse), modeled after Santiago de Compostela (c. 1075–1150), turned the basilica plan into a Latin cross with a transept, an ambulatory and chapels, a three-story elevation, and a double barrel vault with transverse ribs. Burgundian churches experimented with different vaulting (e.g., Vezelay, with its groin vaults). The third church at Cluny (1088–1130) seems to anticipate Gothic style with its height, light barrel vaults, buttressed by transverse ribs that carry the weight down on to compound piers, and the stilted pointed arches of the nave arcade. In western France, hall churches developed: Notre-Dame-la-Grande in Poitiers (c. 1130–45) and Saint Savin-sur-Gartempe (c. 1060–1115) have barrel-vaulted naves and aisles at almost equal height. In Aquitaine, under Byzantine influence, aisleless churches were covered in a series of domes on pendentives (cathedrals of Angoulême, c. 1105–25, and Périgueux, c. 1120). In Normandy and England, there were many structural experiments. Eleventh-century churches (e.g., Jumièges, 1040–67, Saint Étienne at Caen, 1066–77) used Germanic double bays and timber roofs. Most English churches also retained timber roofs.

b) Gothic. The Gothic style began in the early to mid-12th century in northern France (Saint Denis ambulatory and chapels, 1140–44); it lasted until the 15th century and, some would say, until the 16th century in France, and the 17th in England and Germany. Characterized by ribbed vaulting, deep buttresses, and tall piers, it made use of the pointed arch, which is more stable than the round arch: the angle and tilting of the arch can easily be varied to allow irregular spaces to be vaulted at uniform heights. There was thus no need for heavy walling, allowing gradual development of larger windows. Most Gothic churches have a strong vertical emphasis. In late 12th-century northern France, there were various experiments to find a satisfying bay design (Laon and Paris, c. 1160), but the rebuilding of Chartres (begun c. 1195) seems to have provided a pattern for classic Gothic: a three-story elevation, arcades, triforium passage, and tall clerestory, four-part vaults supported on buttresses, ambulatory, and radiating chapels. Thirteenth-century cathedrals in France strove for great height: the choir at Beauvais is the highest, at over 156 feet. In England, by contrast, the emphasis was on length, textural and color effects, size of windows, and complexity of vault ribbing (Lincoln, 1190s–1287; Salisbury, 1220–58). Tall spires heightened the impact. Germany and Spain did not adopt Gothic style before the mid-13th century, and then used its French form (Köln, begun 1248; Leon,

1254–1303; Toledo, begun 1227). Italy developed its own form of Gothic, retaining Romanesque techniques, using pointed arches and ribbed vaults to achieve broad, open spaces (Santa Maria Novella in Florence, begun c. 1278).

Later Gothic, from c. 1300 onward, developed decorative effects, openness, and lightness. In England the decorated Gothic style elaborated vault and tracery patterns. This was taken over in France and Germany as the flamboyant Gothic of the late 14th century, just as in England more austere effects were sought by using a perpendicular style. However, lightly decorated effects became popular again in the early 16th century with the use of the fan vault, a uniquely English form. Throughout western Europe, the interior of the late medieval church tended to be subdivided into a multiplicity of private and semiprivate chapels dedicated to various saints, or to praying for the souls* of the dead.

c) Renaissance. In Italy, beginning in the 15th century, the Renaissance style, which again looked back to the architecture of ancient Rome, gained some its impetus from the reconstruction of the early basilicas in Rome under the pontificate of Martin V (1417–31). San Lorenzo and San Spirito in Florence are the earliest examples. Appeal was made to antique precedents and principles, based on a rereading of Vitruvius. San Sebastiano in Mantua stems from designs of Roman baths; the facade includes elements of temples and triumphal arches. Centralized designs with domes were built (Pazzi chapel in San Spirito, San Biagio in Montepulciano, Bramante's "Tempietto" in Rome). Although the new style was certainly known north of the Alps, because of pilgrimages to Rome, it did not really catch on. However, Renaissance details were sometimes added to a Gothic design (Saint Eustache in Paris, the Fugger chapel in Augsburg, the screen and stalls in King's College, Cambridge).

III. Reformation and Counter-Reformation

1. Protestantism

An emphasis on preaching* and Bible* commentary, together with the rejection of the Catholic theology* of the Eucharist, transformed church interiors. Churches were built with galleries and tall pulpits to accommodate large congregations that could see and hear the preacher. Seating was arranged facing the pulpit rather than the Communion table. The Reformers rejected the idea that the building itself was holy, but this was frequently undercut by references to the Jerusalem Temple. The Anglican Church, however, retained the public singing in cathedral and college churches of

morning and evening prayer, based respectively on the hours of Lauds and Prime, and on Vespers and Compline. This was reflected in the retention in such churches of medieval choir screens, which allowed nonparticipant visitors access to the nave without disrupting the office taking place in the choir.

In Lutheran Germany, as in England, the chancels of parish churches were used as Communion rooms, the communicants moving there from the nave before the prayer of consecration and gathering around the altar table. Luther* allowed many images and statues to remain; Calvin* and Zwingli* required their total removal. In Germany, castle chapels led the style of Lutheran churches (Torgau, centralized plan with galleries). Reformed churches in the Netherlands and France also often used centralized designs (La Rochelle, 1577–1603; Willemstad, 1597–1607), and these influenced Reformed churches in Germany and, later, in England. Only in the second half of the 17th century did the Renaissance style (baroque or classical) become the norm in Germany (after the Thirty Years' War) and England (after the Restoration). New churches built with this plan provided only a very small chancel for the altar table. Instances of this are the various small churches built to Wren's designs in London after the Great Fire of 1666. These display a wide variety of styles and plans, the most interesting being probably Saint Stephen Wallbrook, a rectangle in which classical columns inscribe what can be seen as either a Latin cross or a Greek cross with narthex, surmounted by a circular coffered dome. Wren's major work, Saint Paul's Cathedral in London, is the result of a compromise between the domed centralized structure that he favored and the Latin cross shape required by the chapter. Wren's work was influential throughout the 18th century in England, and also in North America, especially through the works of his pupil Gibbs (Saint Martin-in-the-Fields, 1722–26).

2. Catholicism

The Council of Trent* encouraged using fine arts. In 1576–77 Carlo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, issued instructions for church building, referring to early Christianity. There were no stained-glass windows, since light is a symbol in itself; clear glass windows also allowed a better view of the works of art inside the church. Centralized designs were considered heathen, but this had little effect in practice. Chapels were needed along the sides of the church to provide for the cult of saints and the priests' private masses. The pulpit had to be seen in conjunction with the altar, symbolizing the unity of word* and sacrament. Robert Bellarmine* also emphasized this unity. His ideal church was divided into three parts—narthex, nave, and

choir—after the pattern of Solomon's Temple. He stressed the significance of decoration to attract the faithful.

Baroque and rococo architecture both sought to engage the subjective experience of the beholder, either through the dynamic of the building or through its ornamentation. The epitome of baroque is Bernini's Andrea al Quirinale in Rome, which has a carefully orchestrated movement upward to the heavenly light of the dome. Rococo architecture tends to be simpler, with an emphasis rather on the complexity of its decoration. In France, the architecture of the 17th and 18th centuries was in a sober baroque, under strong Renaissance and Palladian influence (François Mansart's Val-de-Grâce, begun 1645; Jules-Hardouin Mansard's Dôme des Invalides, 1680–91). This "classical" style in turn influenced most of the countries of northern Europe (Prandtauer's Melk Abbey in Austria; Wren in England).

Rococo became most theatrical in Neumann's Vierzehnheiligen in Germany (1743–72). In Spain, the style tended to show an abundance of ornamentation, as in the facade of Santiago de Compostela (1738–49). This style also traveled to the New World, as can be seen in Ocotlán, Mexico (c. 1745).

At the same time, partly under the influence of Wren (Soufflot's Ste. Geneviève, now the Pantheon, 1755–95), France developed a neoclassical style arising from the arts of antiquity, especially those of Greece.

IV. 19th Century

At the beginning of the 19th century, church architecture in the West was still largely classical. Pierre Vignon's La Madeleine in Paris (1806–42) is still of Greco-Roman inspiration. However, interest in the medieval past had already begun in the previous century with romanticism, and an ever more serious study of medieval building techniques led to the revival of the Gothic style. Scholarly research and restoration were combined in the work of Viollet-le-Duc in France and George Gilbert Scott in England. Their restorations were controversial, and often overdone, but they did save a number of churches from destruction. England was the heart of the Gothic revival style, with the work of the Cambridge Camden (later Ecclesiological) Society and of the Pugins, father and son. It became the most widely used style in England, and spread to other English-speaking countries. The Catholic Cathedral of Saint Patrick's in Melbourne, Australia, begun in 1858, was designed in 13th-century style by Wardell, a pupil of the younger Pugin. The change in architecture became the physical expression of a renewed interest in medieval liturgy and ceremony.

nial. In Anglican churches, the altar, now set against the east wall of an elongated chancel, became again the major feature of the church. Pews in medieval style faced east. The art of stained glass was revived to fill the windows with biblical scenes and figures of saints. Processions were also held once again by Protestants.

V. Contemporary Period

The liturgical movement and Vatican* II have changed the understanding of the liturgy, which is reflected in the design of churches. In many Protestant churches, the Eucharist has become more central and more often celebrated. In most major Protestant denominations, the font, pulpit, and altar are brought into visual relation with each other, to display the connection between word and sacraments. This has lessened the emphasis on the pulpit. The font, if not placed near the altar, is often given its own chapel. The rulings of Vatican II transformed the Catholic understanding of the mass. No longer is the priest leading the people* toward, and representing them before, God; instead, the laity gather before the altar, or sometimes around the altar, and participate fully in the liturgical action. This has created a tendency toward centralized structures.

Interestingly, in the late 20th century Protestant and Catholic churches have become less easily distinguishable from each other. There has also been an occasional return to the idea of the “house-church” (*domus ecclesiae*), producing small churches, often indistinguishable from surrounding houses. Many new churches are being designed for a wider range of functions and contain all sorts of ancillary installations.

Finally, together with the new theological approach to the liturgy, the 20th century has also witnessed a revolution in building materials and techniques. The new materials—iron, reinforced concrete, and glass—have been known since the middle of the 19th century: concrete was used by Bardot for Saint Jean-l’Evangéliste in Montmartre (1894–1902), iron by Boileau for Saint Eugène (1854–55) and by Baltard for Saint Augustin (1860–71). However, it was not until the 1920s or 1930s that they were extensively used to create new forms. Auguste Perret’s Notre-Dame-du-Raincy (1922–23) is one of the earliest examples. Its concrete roof rests on columns of reinforced cement, and the altar is raised on a platform. Reinforced concrete permits large spaces without supports, large glass surfaces, and parabolic vaults (Dominicus Böhm’s Saint Engelbert, Köln-Riehl, 1930). More recently, such materials have been used for Gothic churches, with shell vaults (Felix Candela’s Miraculous Virgin of Mexico, 1954; Gudjon Samuelson’s Hallgrim church in Reykjavik, Iceland, begun in 1945).

The crucial question for recent liturgical reforms has been the *participatio actiosa* (active participation, SC 14) of the whole congregation, instead of the “spectacle” performed by the clergy (and the choir). Nevertheless, the popularity of religious television programs suggests that the spectacular element of the liturgy still fulfills a real need for those who are unable or unwilling to go to church. Moreover, an excessive emphasis on the congregation normally leads to a restriction of the role played by the sense of divine transcendence, or to a forgetting of the dialectic that should be established between communal prayer and individual prayer. Finally, the assembly of the faithful around the altar may give the impression of a closed circle that excludes the seeker and the outsider. The way of the future may be to accept a plurality of liturgical conceptions and architectural solutions.

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See also **Cult; Images; Liturgy; Music**

Arianism

1. History

a) *Arius* (c. 260–336). Arius, of Libyan origin, was accepted to the diaconate by Bishop* Peter I of Alexandria (300–311) and then to the presbyterate by Achillas, before being put in charge of the parish of Baucalis under Alexander (312–28). He was soon denounced for his ideas on the Son of God*, whom he said was inferior to the Father*. Around 318–20, a local synod* excluded him from the church community. Despite considerable support from eastern bishops, he was also condemned in Antioch in early 325, then in Nicaea* in June 325. Exiled, and then called back from exile, Arius was not able to have himself reintroduced into the ranks of Alexandrian clergy. He died in Constantinople on a Saturday in 336. Two letters, a profession of faith*, a passage from a pamphlet in both verse and prose entitled *Thalia*, are his only writings that remain (Opitz, Boularand, Sesboüé), especially thanks to the citations offered by Athanasius* of Alexandria (Kannengiesser 1983).

b) *Arians*. Arius was excommunicated from the Alexandrian synod, around 319, along with five priests*, six deacons*, and two bishops, Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais. At the Antioch synod, from the beginning of 325, three bishops were sentenced, including the famous Eusebius of Caesarea; however, these bishops sympathized less with the personal ideas of Arius than they disapproved of the blatant authoritarianism of their Alexandrian colleague. At the Council* of Nicaea, Theonas and Secundus

were excommunicated again at the same time as Arius. Eusebius of Nicomedia, Arius's main champion, was exiled soon after the Council ended; but this was only for a lapse of time and because he pursued friendship with the condemned bishops, not because of heresy*. Moreover, he very quickly persuaded Constantine to initiate appeasement politics in the face of Nicene intransigence. He formed a coalition of eastern bishops, concerned with showing to the imperial court that religious peace* was more successfully maintained in the provinces without the Nicene protagonists. Eustathius of Antioch, Marcellus of Ancyra, and especially Athanasius of Alexandria, Alexander's successor, were sent into exile. After Constantine's death in 337, Athanasius became an unavoidable obstacle in the way of the political strategy of the Episcopal coalition, hostile to the Alexandrian reign. Because this strategy included revision, if not abolition, dogmatic decisions from Nicaea, all the while envisaging ecclesiastical hegemony supported by the imperial court, there is nothing surprising about the fact that Athanasius denounced his adversaries as "Arians," a polemical title having no precise doctrinal connotations.

One can get an idea of these more or less nominal "Arians" by studying their synods, which flourished everywhere after Nicaea until the Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople* I, in 381 (Duchesne, Brennecke). Diverging doctrines soon complicated the advancements of the coalition. The "Homoeans," who supported the idea of only one Son "similar (*homoios*) in every way" to the Father, therefore, non "consub-

stantial*,” seemed to dominate in Sirmium in 359. The “Anomoeans,” who were strict “neo-Arians” like Aetius the Syrian, or the Cappadocian Eunomius, for whom the Son bore “no resemblance (*anhomoios*) in accordance with the essence,” had their hour of glory around 360. They were quickly replaced by the “Homoeousians,” or “Semi-Arians,” grouped around Basil of Ancyra. Their definition of the Son was “similar (*homoios*) in terms of substance (*kat’ousian*).” These moderates disapproved of the excessive ways of the more or less fanatic factions, always ready to seize a political opportunity in order to take power in churches*; they sought to get along with the Nicaeans, the undisputed chief of whom was Athanasius, remaining all the while reserved on the subject of consubstantiality. From the depths of the Egyptian desert where he was then hiding, Athanasius agreed to this union. The synod of union and reconciliation that he was able to organize in Alexandria in 362 facilitated the final victory of the Nicene “consubstantial,” which was gained with the advent of Theodosius in 380.

The spread of Arianism in the west marked the Visigothic and Vandalic invasions. Indeed, it was Eusebius of Nicomedia, then reigning in Constantinople, who, around 341, consecrated Ulphilas as bishop of the Goths. His mission was to evangelize the Gothic people, who had recently settled in Roman territory.

c) *The Imperial Court.* Arianism in the fourth century would never have represented such a long and complex crisis without imperial interference. As Pontifex Maximus responsible for religion throughout the empire, Constantine favored the Christian bishops; in return, he expected them to actively contribute to the moral well-being of, and social peace among, his subjects. The Arian controversy, persisting after Nicaea, caused this plan to fail. Constantine died in 337, baptized on his deathbed by Eusebius of Nicomedia. His youngest son, Constantius II, was his successor, less than 30 years old and entirely unaware of Nicene issues. He was convinced that his most urgent task was to eliminate Athanasius of Alexandria, the declared enemy of the politics of compromise and appeasement, which was advocated by the episcopal coalition. The duel between these two men that resulted was unique in all of the empire’s history. Constantius died in 361, and after the intermediary court ruled by Julian, Athanasius had only to endure Valens, the Arian emperor (364–78), to drain Arianism to the last drop, which had become reason of state.

2. Arian Doctrine and Its Refutation

Arius’s personal doctrine was more orthodox than Origen’s teaching on the hierarchical functions of the Father,

Son, and the Holy* Spirit in terms of salvation. He transposed this hierarchy into the divine hypostases themselves: only the Father is God, strictly speaking; the Son, along with everything that exists, is created into being* through the will of the Father; like the Holy Spirit, he is not called God only as metaphor. Arius, as theologian, focused on the origin of the Son, with philosophical rigor reminiscent of Plotinus; this origin was to be considered without any anthropomorphism, like the kind he saw irreparably connected to *homoeousios* (Williams). Arius’s strict rationalism* was not shared by his Episcopal champions, who continued to oppose the “consubstantial” concept in the name of their own form of traditional Origenism. Around 355, a neo-Arian movement was launched in Alexandria by Aetius, who was then deacon. Eunomius, Aetius’s secretary and disciple, soon overshadowed his teacher. Their “Anomoean” doctrine, which rejected all resemblance between the substance of the Father and that of the Son, strove to have “Inengendered” the proper name* of divinity and emphasized the radical transcendence of the Father, of whom even the Son’s knowledge was imperfect.

Athanasius of Alexandria, still at the heart of Origen tradition, developed the notion of divine “generation,” which was already favored by his predecessor, Alexander. By removing cosmological connotations that still existed in Origen’s work, he showed that one could assert the communication of substance of the Father to the Son without broaching Sabellius’s modalism*. He adopted this thesis from the point of view of the concrete realization of salvation* in the Church. His doctrine of saving “divinization” through the incarnate Word* formed his retort to Arian Christology*. According to Arius, the Word, incarnated into the body without soul*, replaced it: when Jesus* is hungry or thirsty, when he suffers or is unaware, is in anguish and dies, it is the inferiority of the divine Word that is revealed. This heroic savior needs to save himself in order to arrive at the full dignity of God. In response, Athanasius explained that the divine Word could not be affected by the inferiority of its incarnated condition; in his flesh, Christ accepted the Passion* and the cross so that we could rise with him in a transfigured human condition. The Platonist realism of this Athanasiusian conception of salvation would be borrowed by Basil* of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Cyril of Alexandria. It offered an adequate response to Arianism within a framework of Christian Platonism* in the Alexandrian tradition.

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See also **Consubstantial; Nicaea I, Council of; Trinity**

Aristotelianism, Christian

The encounter between Aristotle and the Aristotelianism of the disciples and commentators with Christian thought began with ignorance, and then turned to hostility. Some concepts deriving from Aristotelianism would subsequently be introduced into theological syntheses, but still at the cost of radical corrections.

a) A Threat to the Fathers. Initially Aristotelianism was coolly received. During the period when Christianity was coming into being, Aristotelianism was not dominant. Popular philosophy* was Epicurean or Stoic. Moreover, the central themes of Aristotelianism seemed hardly compatible with Christian dogma*. For example, was the eternity of the world, defended in *De Caelo* (II), compatible with the Creation* story in Genesis? And the idea of a God* who knew nothing of the world*, being its final cause but not its efficient cause (*Metaphysica* Λ,7 and 9), was inadmissible in a Christian context. Platonism*, on the other hand, seemed at first sight to be more acceptable. The figure of the Demiurge, in Timaeus, could be interpreted as a foreshadowing of the Creator in Genesis, while the idea of the immortal soul* was easier to extract from Pheidon. Even so, Plato, like Aristotle, was not accepted by the Fathers* without radical adaptation (Ivánka 1964).

For the first Fathers, Aristotle was above all the one who dared to limit divine Providence* to the world above the lunar sphere, thus denying the possibility of divine intervention in the sublunary (Festugière 1932).

The situation did not improve while the Trinitarian and christological dogmas sought rigorously to be expressed. They did so against thinkers who, like Lucian of Antioch, Arius's teacher, used Aristotelian logic in favor of heterodox solutions. Aristotle was therefore the "father of heresy*" (Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic* V, 66, 4) and Basilides, the Gnostic, was Aristotle's disciple (Hippolytus, *Refutation* I, 20). From here came a certain recurring disingenuousness in the Fathers, who claimed to not understand Aristotelian language, but—in an allusion to Peter* the apostle*'s first trade—to be expressing themselves as fishermen (*halieutikôs, ouk aristotelikôs*) (Gr. Naz., *Or.* 23, 12; PG 35, 1164 c; Ambr., *De inc.* IX, 89; PL 16, 876). Nevertheless, even they would use the conceptual tool of philosophy, but only borrowing such as was needed to express a message that had come from elsewhere. Because of this there arose an eclecticism in which the Aristotelian sense of concepts was never exclusive, but always counterbalanced by their meaning in other systems—such as in the Stoic one. This is the case, for example, with the concept of substance (*ousia*). What the divine hypostases share is the same "substance," but the sense of this term is larger, less technical, than it is in Aristotle (Stead 1977).

Aristotle was directly attacked by the Pseudo-Justin, probably Diodorus of Tarsus († before 394), "Refutation of Certain Aristotelian Theses" (J. C. T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum christianorum saeculi secundi*,

Jena, 1849, vol. IV, 88–207 and PG 6, 1491 a 1564 c). After a short preface, in which the prophets*’ agreement about the Creation is contrasted with the contradictions of philosophers, the author cites and refutes, to various extent, 65 passages of *Physica* (from I, 7 to V, 1, then VIII, 1 and 6–8) and the first three books of *De caelo*.

At the beginning of the sixth century, the Alexandrian Johannes Philoponos (Böhm 1967; Sorabji 1987) launched a systematic attack against Aristotelian physics, but using the very weapons of Aristotelianism. He asserts the creation of the world in time* in two books. One of the books is directed against Proclus (*De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*, ed. Rabe, Leipzig, 1899), while the other, of which only fragments remain, is directed against Aristotle himself, and is cited especially by Simplicius (*Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World*, trans. C. Widberg, Ithaca and London, 1987). He denies that there is a difference between the fifth celestial element—quintessence or ether—and earthly fire. He acknowledges the existence of emptiness. He explains the movement of projectiles by an *impetus* (*rhopè*) which is internal to these projectiles. As a result of his doctrinal heterodoxy (he was a Monophysite and would be accused of tritheism), Simplicius’s work was given only a modest reception in orthodox circles. It had more impact in the Christian Syriac East, where Simplicius was one of the “black-sheep” of the *falāsifa*, who were strict Aristotelians. He could be seen as the father of modern physics: his concept of *impetus* would be a distant foreshadowing of inertia.

b) A Tamed Aristotle. Neither the association of Aristotelianism with heresy, nor its refutations, would stop Leo of Byzantium and especially John Damascene from adopting it. Certain doctrines would still have to be made more acceptable through their refraction among commentators who were pagans. Themistios, for example, introduced the idea according to which God, in knowing himself, knows all things (Pines 1987; Brague 1991). Similarly, he extended to the individual soul the immortality that Aristotle had allowed only as impersonal identification with the agent intellect. At the same time, the Aristotelian corpus was expanded with apocrypha stemming from Neoplatonism. Among these apocryphal writings we find Aristotle’s *Theology*, Plotinus’s cento, very influential in Islam, or the *Book of Causes*, cento of Proclus’s *Elements of Theology*, especially popular in Europe. In its final stages, antiquity made Aristotelianism the logical and physical foundation of a Neoplatonic metaphysics. The Greek Orient also pursued this path, and until the end of the Byzantine Em-

pire the works of Aristotle were studied and commented upon (Benakis 1987).

The Syriac Orient applied itself intensely to translating and commenting on Aristotle’s logical writings. The *Categories* was translated three times. Ninth-century translations of Aristotle into Arabic were simply a continuation of this effort.

For a long time, Latin Christendom only studied Aristotle in the form of the *Dialectica* and the *Decem categoriae*, both attributed to Augustine*, or else through the work of Martianus Capella (McKeon 1939), or in what Boethius* (†524) had translated, that is, the *logica vetus*: the *Categories* and *Of Interpretation*, introduced in Porphyry’s *Isagog*. Theology* would lean on this logic that was still incomplete, but was never bound to it. For example, the eucharistic dogma of the real presence of the risen body of Christ* in the consecrated bread and wine would, following Paschasius Radbertus (†865), be expressed in terms of substance, until the idea of transubstantiation was conceived around 1140 and subsequently promulgated by Lateran* IV in 1215. But that of substance/species, a pairing unknown to him, superseded the substance/accidents pairing, classic in Aristotelianism. Indeed, it was devised in order to express a theory—species endure while substance changes—that, expressed in terms of the first opposition, would have seemed absurd to Aristotle.

In the 12th century the Toledo translators introduced a more complete Aristotle from the Arab world into Christendom, as well as commentaries by Averroes. The physics and epistemology that were thus discovered, together with the ideal of philosophical beatitude* developed by the Arabs, constituted a threat to Christian faith* and life. The theological authorities* began with a few preventive measures in the form of numerous bans on or restrictions of teaching (1210, 1215, 1231, 1263). Then they chose the riskier path of seeking to reexpress the whole dogma. Thomas* Aquinas (1225–74) played a central role in this. Basing himself on the Latin translation of William of Moerbeke, completed directly from the Greek, Aquinas commented on Aristotle’s principal works (1267–73). Against Averroes, he sought an interpretation of Aristotle’s psychology that would safeguard the individual style of knowing each soul*, and therefore its unique destiny (*De unitate intellectus*, Paris, 1270). He “fore-stalled” the question of the eternity of the world. For Aquinas, the doctrine of creation signifies that the world at every moment depends on divine will, as light depends on the sun. That there was a beginning in time is a matter of faith (*De aeternitate mundi*, Paris, spring 1271). In a rather general way, Aquinas conceives the world in an Aristotelian manner, the objects that form this world each have a stable and autonomous nature,

and God created them to grant them an act of being. The idea of Providence can be found here: God gives each creature what it needs in order to attain the perfection that is proper to it. And the economy of salvation* is replaced, as an adaptation of Providence to man's nature*, led by his liberty* into a fall that only an intervention in history could redeem.

c) *A Nuanced Integration.* In opposition to the first condemnations, the study of Aristotle became mandatory in theological training. In this sense Christendom was distinct from the Muslim and Jewish worlds in two ways, the coexistence of which may seem paradoxical:

- 1) Never did Christendom consider, like al-Farabi, that after Aristotle there was nothing else to look for, and that it was only matter of teaching (Kitāb al-hurūf, §143, ed. Mahdi); or, like Averroes, that Aristotle was the unsurpassable summit of human possibility, a gift from God who only yielded such a gift to the prophets (Commentary on "*De gen. an.*" I: Ed. Des Junes, vol. VI-2, Venice, 1562; "*De anima*" III, §14, Ed. Crawford; *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* III, §83, Ed. Bouyges). Rather, it followed Maimonides, who seemed to limit the validity of Aristotelianism to the sublunary domain; what is above—metaphysics—escapes him (Guide II, 22, Ed. Joël, Tr. Munk). Albert* the Great, for example, writes: "He who thinks that Aristotle was a God must think that he never made a mistake. But if one thinks he was a man, then, without a doubt, he could have made mistakes like us" (Physique VIII, Ed. P. Hossfeld, *Opera Omnia*, IV-2).
- 2) The Muslim and Jewish worlds never introduced the study of all of Aristotle's philosophy into the education of their elite. At most, Islam trained its jurists (*fuqahā*), cadis, and the like in the use of basic logic inspired in part by Aristotle. The primitive apologetic (*kalām*) most often rested on a discontinuous vision of the world, with material and temporal atoms, which are not so much borrowed from Aristotle as from his adversaries. As for the Aristotelian *falāsifa*, it was never able to get out of the private domain to acquire social legitimacy, and even less to enter into dialogue with something like a "theology."

In Latin Christendom after the 13th century, Aristotelianism would be known above all within the context of Scholasticism. In similar fashion, after the 12th century Islam knew Aristotelianism in the form of Avicenna's synthesis, and Judaism* knew it through Maimonides, with whom Averroes would very soon be

associated. In Greek Christendom, two factors were added: 1) The persistence of the Platonic tradition, starting with the Platonic dialogues, which Latin Christendom and Islam only knew in part; it constituted a counterbalance to Aristotelianism, the influence of which was therefore less exclusive; and 2) the Fathers' suspicion of the "logical subtleties" lasted to the end for the Byzantine theologians, who readily left Aristotle to mere philosophers.

Thinkers of the Italian Renaissance attempted to revive a more authentic Aristotle, sometimes borrowing the interpretation, more or less well known, of Alexander of Aphrodisias. This seemed to pose a threat to dogma, especially on the question of the soul's immortality (the Paduans, Pomponazzi). The Reformation began, and with that came Luther*'s systematic attack on Aristotle's role in theology: "It is a mistake to say: without Aristotle one cannot become theologian.... On the contrary, one does become a theologian unless one does so against Aristotle.... All of Aristotle is to theology what darkness is to light" (*Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam*, 1517, §43 Sq, 50, WA, v. 1). Nor did Luther shy away from the lewd in making his attack: philosophy, he says, is "the whore of Aristotle." This did not stop Melancthon from quickly making Aristotle a supreme authority of philosophy taught in Protestant universities, even to the point that the *Disputationes Metaphysicae* (1597) of the Jesuit Spaniard Francisco Suarez*, modeled on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, became one of the basic books of German academic philosophy (Peterson 1921).

At the end of the 19th century, the Catholic world underwent a Thomist renaissance. In 1879 the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of Pope* Leo XIII recommended the study of Saint Thomas. For some this was the occasion to reduce the Thomist theological synthesis—from which one attempts to extract a theory—to what comes from Aristotle, by eliminating Neoplatonic elements from it. Hence was formed an "Aristotelian-Thomist" philosophy, systematized in manuals and taught in seminaries in quasi-official fashion.

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See also **Maximus the Confessor; Naturalism; Platonism, Christian; Stoicism, Christian; Thomas Aquinas; Thomism**

Arminianism

Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609), a theologian from Leyden, was led by the study of the Epistle to the Romans to call into question the Calvinist doctrine of predestination*. In Leyden he encountered opposition from his colleague Francis Gomar (1563–1641), who accused him of Pelagianism* and Socinianism, accusations from which Arminius exculpated himself in a public debate in The Hague in 1603. He attempted without success to secure the revision of the two basic confessional documents of Dutch Calvinism*, the *Confessio Belgica* and the *Catechism of Heidelberg*. Arminius's doctrines were systematically set out in the "Remonstrance" of 1610: compatibility of divine omnipotence with human freedom*; Jesus died for all, not only for the elect; rejection of predestination, both after the Fall ("infralapsarian" predestination) and be-

fore the Fall ("supralapsarian" predestination). Orthodox Calvinist opposition to Arminius was led for a long time by Gomar. In 1618–19, the Synod of Dordrecht condemned Arminianism. The "remonstrants," also accused of collusion with Spain, were at first persecuted, then eventually tolerated. Arminianism exercised considerable influence on High Church Anglicans (notably on Archbishop Laud and the Erastianism* of his associates). It also exercised a decisive influence on John Wesley (Methodism*).

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See also **Calvinism; Erastianism**

Art. *See* **Architecture; Images; Music**

Ascension. *See* **Christ/Christology**

Asceticism

I. Definitions

The word *asceticism* is derived from the Greek *askèsis* (from the verb *askedō*), meaning “training” or “exercise,” originally of an athletic nature. Already in Plato, the word had acquired the meaning of moral or philosophical training, or practice. Although the word is not used in the New Testament, it is found very early in the Apostolic* Fathers, in the philosophical sense (to practice patience: Ignatius of Antioch, *Polycarp* 9, 1), and also applied to martyrdom (*Martyrdom of Polycarp*). In later Christian writers, both the verb and the noun are used very generally in the sense of training the soul* to practice virtues* and overcome temptation, or to designate one who leads a life of self-denial, especially as a hermit or monk, that is, an “ascetic” (*askètēs*). *Askèsis* comes to be used generally to mean “austerity,” or a regime of austerity (as well as retaining the important meaning of “study,” especially of Scripture*), and an *askètērion*, or place of *askèsis*, was a monastery. This brief survey of the use of the Greek root-word reveals three things: the link quickly established between asceticism and monasticism*; the philosophical background of the term and concept; and an original link between asceticism and martyrdom.

II. Origins of Christian Asceticism

1. Asceticism and Eschatology: Martyrdom

The link between asceticism and martyrdom lies behind certain distinctive and lasting features of Christian asceticism. The use of the language of asceticism in relation to martyrdom was something inherited by the early Christian Church* from the Jewish experience, especially from 4 Maccabees, a late work of reflection on the experience of the Jewish martyrs under Judas Maccabaeus (†161 B.C.) that had a powerful influence on early Christian reflection on martyrdom, as can be seen in the early Christian accounts of persecutions and in the letters written by Ignatius of Antioch on his way to his own martyrdom. The text of 4 Maccabees uses the language of training and athletic effort in relation to the Jewish martyrs, because it considers these martyrs as soldiers enlisted in a holy war* against the powers of evil*, represented by the idolatrous government of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who

sought to stamp out the Jewish religion. Similar ideas are found in the writings of the Qumran community, which also saw itself as a kind of standing army-in-training for the coming final outbreak of warfare between the powers of Good* (the faithful Israelites) and the powers of Evil (the occupying forces of the Romans). This notion of preparation for eschatological warfare, the holy war against the powers of Evil, meant that those in training for it observed the regulations for fighting a holy war, which included abstinence from sexual contact. Such abstinence had huge symbolic significance: it indicated that one was prepared for the end of history* and the coming of the kingdom* of God*, quite apart from any significance it might have as a mark of individual austerity. This has remained the case with Christian monasticism and Christian asceticism in general.

2. Protological Justification of Asceticism

The most important reason for early Christian asceticism was without doubt *eschatological*. There were, however, two other justifications, either given or implied, in much early Christian practice. Alongside the obvious *moral* or *moralistic* justification, which regards austerity as leading to personal self-control, there was another widespread justification that might be regarded as *protological*: that is, concerned with the restoration of the original state of humankind that has been overthrown by sin and the Fall (original sin*). This attempt to find one's way back to the beginning, to the original state, was a concern that Christians shared with many of their contemporaries, both pagan and Jewish, and like them they saw the beginning as characterized by unity, distance from that unity being characterized by increasing multiplicity. Marriage* and procreation* could obviously be regarded as participating in multiplicity, and even adding to it; so, too, could alimentation, as prolonging into a cumulative future beings that had already wandered far from their origin. Sexual abstinence and rejection of marriage, together with abstinence from food and drink, could therefore be regarded as an attempt to stem further progress into multiplicity, and to mark the beginning of an attempt to trace one's way back to the undivided unity of the origin (even though marriage, in itself, could certainly also be regarded as

something unitive). Because sexual congress between Adam and Eve is first recorded after their expulsion from paradise (Gn 4:1), it became very generally held that in paradise itself there was no sexual activity, nor had sexual activity ever been intended for man in his unfallen state, despite Genesis 1:28; those who held this view also held that unfallen propagation would not have involved sexuality. Among the Fathers*, only Augustine (perhaps following the shadowy “Ambrosiaster”: *Quaestiones* 127) seriously and explicitly questioned this, upholding in the works of his maturity (e.g., *De Gen. ad litt.* 9, 3, 6) that marriage and procreation were part of God’s plan for the original paradisaical life (Irenaeus also perhaps envisaged something like this: see *Demonstratio* 14). This general acceptance that sexual differentiation and propagation of the species pointed away from the human primordial state provided a fertile intellectual context for the enthusiasm for sexual continence that was an aspect of Christianity.

III. New Testament

The idea of asceticism, of ascetic training, needs to be distinguished from the practice of the virtues as such. Asceticism means training for some purpose, whereas practice of the virtues, especially the practice of love*, is seen in the New Testament, and Christianity in general, as a manifestation of the fruits of the Spirit* (Gal 6:22).

1. Jesus Christ

The commandment to love (Mt 22:37–40 par.) is not primarily ascetic: it points to the essential nature of Christian community, which is itself a response to God’s love for mankind. Nonetheless, in a later Christian tradition*, even love is sometimes regarded in an ascetic light, as we shall see. Properly ascetic doctrine in the teaching of Jesus and in the rest of the New Testament is nearly always—like the understanding of martyrdom outlined above—eschatological: in other words, it concerns training for the end, the *eschaton*, the coming of the kingdom of God. The key themes in this teaching are patient endurance (*hupomonè*, which also has the sense of patient expectation) and vigilance. Following Christ* means “taking up one’s cross” (Mt 16:24): it is not a momentary decision, but a matter of one’s whole life. The “synoptic apocalypse” (Mt 24:4–36 par.), the teaching that Jesus gave to his disciples immediately before his final days, speaks constantly of patience and watchfulness, as do the parables* that follow it in the account in Matthew. It is these themes that are developed in the rest of the New Testament.

2. Paul

Paul puts patient endurance in a sequence that leads the Christian to openness to God’s love: “tribulation works patient endurance, endurance leads to testing, and testing to hope, and hope does not disappoint, because the love of God is poured out into our hearts by the Holy Spirit that has been given to us” (Rom 5:3 ff.).

In the New Testament, the word *tribulation* (*thlipsis*) usually suggests troubles that are signs of the final conflict between the forces of good and the forces of evil, and that might lead to martyrdom: throughout the New Testament, martyrdom and the expectation of the end (more precisely, the Second Coming of Christ) provide the horizon against which Christian action is played out.

3. Imitation of Christ

Jesus Christ is, of course, the model for such asceticism. His patient endurance is an example to those who seek to follow him (Ignatius of Antioch, *Polycarp* 8, 2): those who have been granted to become martyrs have been given the grace of special closeness to him. The martyr is the archetypal saint. However, although the New Testament presents Jesus as an example, as one to follow, the real goal is something much more inward, more intimate. Both Paul and John speak of indwelling: Christ dwelling in the hearts of Christians (Eph 3:17) or, more commonly, an indwelling of all Christians “in Christ” (Rom 12:5, but very commonly in the other Pauline epistles), and even the indwelling of the Trinity* in the disciples (Jn 14:23). On one striking occasion, Paul speaks of bearing the cross as an asceticism that leads to the manifestation of the life of the Risen Christ in one’s own life: “always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies” (2 Cor 4:10).

IV. Development of Christian Asceticism

Early Christianity was enthusiastically ascetic: the origins of this asceticism were, we have argued, primarily eschatological, although protological considerations were powerfully supportive. Two features of Christianity were regularly cited by the apologists of the second century in favor of the truth* of the Christian religion: martyrdom and virginity (see Justin, *1 Apol.* 15 f.). Martyrdom was evident witness to the truth of Christianity, and virginity, much prized by the philosophers though less commonly embraced by them, demonstrated the power of Christianity, a power that sprang from its truth. In some branches of early Christianity (e.g., in Syria, it is argued), a vow of celibacy may even have been a requirement for baptism*. Christianity was hard pressed to prevent Christian as-

ceticism from leading to an outright rejection of the material in the name of a metaphysical dualism. Throughout Christian history, the attractions of dualistic movements (Manichaeism, Paulicianism, Bogomilism, Catharism) have posed serious problems.

1. Clement and Origen

The development of Christian ascetic theory has been largely the preserve of monasticism, but the ground was prepared by the Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, Clement and Origen* (Christian Platonism*). Clement, in particular, developed the ideal of martyrdom in the direction of an inward ascetic struggle, which he called “spiritual martyrdom” (spiritual life*, III), and made use of the ideas of classical philosophy, especially Platonic and Stoic philosophy, in his working out of this ideal. Clement seems to have been a favorite author with the more intellectually inclined monks of the desert, especially with Evagrius (†399), who was the theorist of this early monasticism. Also influential was Origen, although certain aspects of the Origenist influence led to controversy. Despite Evagrius’s condemnation as an Origenist—formally in the East, by the Patriarch of Alexandria, Theophilus, in 400, and by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, and informally, though much more effectively, in the West, explicitly by Jerome and implicitly by Augustine—the influence of Evagrius’s rationale of ascetic theology* had vast influence.

2. Evagrius

For Evagrius, the monastic life could be divided into three stages: *praktikè*, the active effort to form the virtues and to fight temptation; *phusikè*, natural contemplation*, that is, contemplation of the inner meaning and structure of the created order, including God’s design for humankind (his “economy”), which was worked out through that order; and, finally, *theologia*, the contemplation of the blessed Trinity*. What Evagrius has to say about asceticism is mainly found in his substantial teaching on *praktikè*, and draws, through Clement and Origen, on the psychological wisdom of the philosophers.

a) *Platonic Doctrine of the Soul*. Fundamental to Evagrius’s understanding of the soul is Plato’s division of it into three parts: intellect (*noûs*), aggressivity (*thumos*), and desire (*epithumia*). The true self, as with Plato, is the intellect, and its purpose is contemplation. Evagrius, however, puts this in a somewhat different way: for him, the natural state of the intellect is prayer (*Practicos*). Asceticism therefore concerns the training needed for the uninterrupted pursuit of prayer. He uses

the Platonic tripartite understanding of the soul to elucidate what this involves. The lower parts of the soul can prevent the intellect from engaging in prayer, either by distracting it from its purpose or by blocking its activity.

The desiring part of the soul produces images of desirable things that draw the attention of the intellect away from God. What is involved here is more complex and more profound than is apparent. It is not just a matter of desirable objects, but rather the nexus of activities that absorb one’s energies as one seeks to satisfy desire. The resulting “distraction” breaks the intellect’s attention and withdraws it from prayer. Much of Evagrius’s ascetic theology is concerned with understanding the psychic mechanisms involved in desire and its satisfaction, but the purpose of all this understanding of the soul is to enable it to attain a state of perpetual prayer. The aggressive part of the soul hinders the intellect from prayer, not so much by distracting it, but, more fundamentally, by blocking it. Anger, Evagrius says, is like a cloud cutting off the soul from God. In both cases, Evagrius suggests various remedies for dealing with these distracting or blocking mechanisms (e.g., *De oratione* 9, 19–27, 31, 83, 90, 98, 105).

b) *The Eight Logismoi*. At this stage, Evagrius introduces a much more elaborate understanding of the temptations and propensities of the human person. Temptations play on the natural reactions, called in Greek *pathè*, or “passions*.” These passions are brought into play by thoughts or images, which Evagrius calls *logismoi*: perhaps not so much “thoughts” as “series of thoughts.” Particularly in the case of hermits (with whom Evagrius is mainly concerned), passions are aroused through the stimulation of trains of thought by demons*. In the case of monks living in communities, and even more so in the case of Christians living in the world*, the passions are aroused by friction with other people. These passions, or the *logismoi* associated with them, are grouped by Evagrius into eight categories: gluttony, fornication, avarice, grief, anger, listlessness, vanity, and pride. (This is the origin of the later Western doctrine of the seven deadly sins*.) Some of these passions are directly associated with one of the parts of the soul—gluttony, fornication, and avarice with the desiring part, anger with the aggressive part—but there is no strict correlation, and some of the passions affect more than one part of the soul (e.g., listlessness affects all three parts). Evagrius’s discussion of these passions (e.g., in *Practicos*) and, even more, the treatment of these passions in the sayings of the Desert Fathers (some collections of which have been organized around Evagrius’s leading

notions), show a profound awareness of the kind of games that we play with ourselves. Gluttony, for instance, is not just greed for too much food, or for especially delectable food, but may also include worries about diet, and the way in which food itself, or the rituals of eating, can become a focus for deep-seated anxieties. Nor is fornication simple lust: dealing with fornication includes also acceptance of the fact that, however habitual one's austerity, one's body can still remind one of the realm within oneself that cannot be easily subjugated to the dictates of reason*, as well as being aware that the quest for a sexual relationship can be part of the longing for family life. Evagrius envisages the austere life of the hermit, but the principles that he discerns in his discussion of the ways in which the passions tend to make our lives reactive could easily be given a wider application.

c) *Apatheia*. For Evagrius, the intellect needs to be freed from the disturbance of the passions if it is to engage in prayer. Ascetic practice is aimed at preventing such disturbance, or at least rendering the intellect invulnerable to such disturbance. Central to Evagrius's discussion is the notion of *apatheia* (state of nonpassion, of "impassivity"), borrowed from the Stoics by way of Clement of Alexandria. Possession of *apatheia* means that the soul is free from reactive behavior and is able to direct its attention as it wants, which will mean primarily to God, but it also means that the soul will be able to tend effectively and disinterestedly to the needs of others. It is often misunderstood as a bleak lack of passion, not least by Jerome, whose misunderstanding meant that the term was never adopted in the West. Evagrius's disciple Cassian, who brought the wisdom of his master to the Latin world, spoke instead of "purity of heart," which has a very different resonance. The whole purpose of *praktikè* is, for Evagrius, to create a state of *apatheia* that will make it possible for the soul to love selflessly and pray undistractedly. However, natural contemplation (the object of *phusikè*) also has ascetic functions. First, in natural contemplation the intellect learns to contemplate, by learning how to behold the world without being attached to it. Second, the intellect begins to understand the constitution of the created order, and especially the human person. This understanding is an important quality in a spiritual father (spiritual life* IV 2 e) who is concerned to help others in finding their way to pure prayer.

d) *Synergy*. If there is very little said explicitly about grace* in Evagrius's ascetic theology, this is neither because Evagrius has a defective understanding of grace, nor because he understands asceticism to be a

purely human activity, but rather because Evagrius, along with much of the Eastern tradition, takes for granted that any human striving toward God is, in fact, a human response to God, and thus a working together (*synergeia*) with God. Asceticism then, in the Eastern tradition, presupposes grace. In the West, by contrast, the relationship between ascetic practice and grace poses a problem. Even before the Pelagian controversy, Augustine had come to mistrust the claims made for asceticism by some of his contemporaries: his self-analysis in the second half of Book X of the *Confessions* exposes in detail how deeply he is in need of grace, of the Mediator, and, rather than indicating any ascetic remedies, he makes clear how impossible it would be for any discipline to bring him to a fit state to behold God. This mistrust of asceticism was only deepened in Augustine's conflict with Pelagianism*, and in his final exchange with the monks of Provence he seems to set no store by asceticism at all. In his own life, however, Augustine was extremely austere, and in his monastic rule asceticism has an important place—not, however, as self-cultivation of the individual, but rather as setting down ground rules for a life of brotherhood.

3. Asceticism of the Common Life

a) *Monasticism*. In the practice of monasticism, the inexorable asceticism imposed by life in community quickly came to be regarded as being at least as important as austerity, as the way by which the individual sought to restore the image-likeness to God. In both the *Rule* of Basil and that of Benedict, the surrender of one's self-will for the sake of the common life, symbolized in the acceptance of obedience to the abbot, comes to be regarded as the center of the monk's inner asceticism. The monastic round of prayer, and especially the importance attached to vigil and prayer during the night, also preserves the eschatological root of asceticism. The danger that ascetic prowess may lead to a self-control that verges on pride is one that is fully recognized in the traditions of communal ("cenobitic") monasticism.

b) *Overcoming the Isolation of the Fall*. The deepest meaning of asceticism in a Christian sense is to work toward and restore the perfection of the image of God in human beings. It is therefore an attempt to restore the damage done by the Fall. As such, it is affected by how that Fall has been understood. If the Fall is understood as Adam's deception by Eve, then asceticism will stress avoidance of the bonds of sexual companionship and family. If the Fall is seen as submission to the pleasure of the senses (for the fruit of the tree was

“a delight to the eyes”), the denial of sensuous pleasure will become an important feature of asceticism (encouraged by Platonic dualism). Both these views are found among Christian thinkers, but a much more general and fundamental understanding of the Fall sees it as an act of disobedience toward God, or as an assertion of self in place of God, or, more philosophically, as acquiescence in the illusion, which each human being has, that he or she is the center of the world. Hence the importance, found in all Christian asceticism, of self-denial, humility, and loving service toward others (in this sense, love assumes an ascetic role). Throughout the Christian tradition, the heart of asceticism is found in acceptance of the reality and claims of the “other,” the refusal to exploit the other, and, indeed, an acknowledgment of encounter with the other as encounter with Christ himself (Mt 25:31–45). In monasticism, the discipline of community life dwarfs other ascetic “disciplines.” The *Rule of St. Benedict* does not include chastity or poverty among the monastic vows: the monk vows himself to stability, conversion* of life, and obedience—that is, staying in the monastery, conforming his life to that of the community, and obedience to the abbot and the *Rule*. Chastity and poverty are the inevitable corollaries of such a communal life. Humility and repentance are the requirements of recognizing the other in each of one’s brothers. Such principles of asceticism could readily be worked out in relation to married life, where the relationship itself becomes the primary discipline, demanding humility and repentance if it is to last.

V. External Forms of Asceticism

To the modern ear, the word *asceticism* suggests nothing so apparently humdrum as faithfulness and putting the other first. One thinks of hair shirts, flagellation, or extreme fasts and sleep deprivation. All of these have had their place in the history of Christian asceticism, although in fact none of the classical monastic rules ever makes much mention of them (except to forbid excessive asceticism as exhibitionism, or, worse, a breach of obedience). They are also sometimes misunderstood. In general, mortification—especially in the form of flagellation, which was popular well into the 20th century—is muted in much modern practice. Insofar as this is a recognition of the ambiguity of any form of self-inflicted pain, with dangers of exhibitionism (always recognized) and sadomasochism (perhaps less so, although Saint John* of the Cross was well aware of this danger), it is hardly to be discouraged.

a) Fasting. Fasting, which has ceased to be a general requirement in modern Christianity, save for the Orthodox, is not a matter of food deprivation. One does not feel hungry during the Lenten fast, but food lacks variety and is less distracting: it also serves a symbolic function, in marking out Lent as a preparation for Easter. To put it bluntly: unless one fasts, feasting ceases to be feasting, a joyful celebration of days or periods as special.

b) Almsgiving. Almsgiving is one of the forms of asceticism most commonly recommended by the Fathers to those who live in the world. In the early centuries, and indeed well into the modern period, the almsgiving of Christians living in the world enabled the church, and institutions under the aegis of the church, to provide for the poor, the disabled, and the sick. In the modern world, in many countries such welfare provision has been taken over by the state. It is, however, precisely those countries where many Christians are comfortably off and need to regard almsgiving as an ascetic discipline.

c) Pilgrimage. Pilgrimage* is another ascetic practice, involving as it does, to some degree, an uprooting from comfortable familiarity, and a recognition of the need to go in search of the *unum necessarium*.

d) Fool for Christ. A further individual way of asceticism, commonly associated with the Byzantine East, though by no means confined to it, is the way of the “innocent.” Perhaps our modern technological society* has more need of this witness than of any other, since it runs counter to all its values. Christian asceticism may have a prophetic value, not simply being directed toward individual sanctification, but presenting a challenge to the accepted norms of society. However, the example of the fool for Christ brings out another aspect of asceticism, namely that, because each human being is a unique image of God, there cannot and should not be uniformity in ascetic practices.

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See also **Contemplation; Life, Spiritual; Mysticism; Prayer; Spiritual Theology**

Aseitas

a) Definition. The Latin word *aseitas* is the abstract form of *ens a se*. *Aseitas* is the fact of existing in oneself, of having *esse* by oneself, and can therefore be applied only to God*. The term is used in Latin ontological theology. In parallel with the division of being* by categories taught by Aristotle (substance and accident, *per se* and *per aliud*), this theology proposes another division based on the idea of the creation*: to the Creator corresponds the *ens a se* and to created beings the *ens ab alio* (*abalietas*). *Aseitas* thus negatively designates the absence of any ontological dependence, and positively the fullness of divine sovereignty. Although the idea of *aseitas* is present in various forms in Latin theology*, the term itself is recent and has been in frequent use only since the 19th century, within the Neoscholastic movement and particularly in philosophy* and theology influenced by Suarez*.

b) Patristics and Medieval Theology. The Greek fathers of the church* used several terms to indicate the absolute sovereignty of God, such as *anarkhos* (Tatian) and *agennètos* (Irenaeus*, Cyril of Jerusalem).

Augustine* is the distant herald of the notion of *aseitas* insofar as he rejects any comprehension of the Principle as *causa sui*: "Nothing exists that engenders itself" (*De Trinitate* I. i. 1; BAug 15. 89). The Neoplatonists, for their part, had no hesitation in attributing this property to the Principle: "He is self-producing" (Plotinus, *Enneads* VI. 8. 15); "he is himself the cause of himself (*aition heautou*), of himself and by himself" (*ibid.*, 14, *see* 16). And Proclus even extended

this eternal reflection to existences and intelligences that enjoy sufficient perfection to give themselves means of existence. "He is himself his own cause" (*aition heautô*) (Proclus, *Elements of Theology* no. 46, *see* no. 43). This proposition marked the birth of the *causa sui* in the Latin version of the *Book of Causes*: "And he becomes cause of himself (*causa sui*) only by his relation to his cause; and this relation is his very formation" (*Book of Causes* prop. 26, comm.). Some Fathers of the Church, such as Marius Victorinus, took up the concept. Cyril* of Alexandria, citing the Orphic Hymns (Kern Ed. 254), says of God that he is *autogenètos* (*Contra Julian* 35 c, SC 322, 176).

Augustine's opposition was thus a break with Neoplatonism. In order to name what absolutely distinguishes the Creator from created beings, Augustine uses the expression *habens esse ut sit* (*De Genesi ad litteram* 5. 16, PL 34, col. 333, no. 34): God possesses in himself the being through which he is. The Augustinian principle was systematized by Nicholas of Amiens, *De arte fidei* I. 8 (PL 210, 600a): *Nihil est causa sui* (Nothing is the cause of itself). This would be quoted by all medieval theologians to support the interpretation of divine *aseitas*. The Augustinian formulation is nuanced in Anselm*. On the one hand, Anselm says *a se* instead of *in se*; on the other, he does not pose the problem from the point of view of *esse* (being, existence), but from the point of view of the divine nature (*habeat a se sine alterius naturae auxilio esse quidquid est*; *Monol.* c. 26; *see* Schmitt I. 44). Following Augustine, Anselm emphasizes the absence

of ontological indignation (*nullo alio indigens*; *Prosl.*, Prooemium, see Schmitt I. 93; *Ep. de Incarnatione* I, c. 11; see Schmitt I. 290), and positively asserts the idea of supreme perfection (*esse perfectum*; *Monol.* c. 28; see Schmitt I. 112).

Hugh and Richard of Saint Victor attributed to God *esse a smetipso*. Thomas* Aquinas proposed a primary division of being: “being by essence” (CG 2, c. 15, 4um) and “being by participation.” He proposed a secondary division corresponding to the division of being according to the categories of Aristotle: “being by itself” (substance) and “being by accident” (accidents). Even though the term *aseitas* is absent from his works (see *Index Thomisticus*), the equivalent is found in the expression “God is his own being” (*De Ver.* q. 2, a. 1, resp.; *ST* Ia, q. 3, a. 4, resp.), which constitutes the *raison d’être* of divine simplicity* (*De Ver.* q. 2, a. 1, resp.). The perspective chosen, that of being, *esse*, excludes any idea of “possession,” *habere*. And by saying that “God is his own being,” Thomas establishes the infinite nature of divine essence, as such radically different from any quantitative infinity (*De Ver.* q. 2, a. 2, ad 5). Analogous formulations can be found in Duns* Scotus. As for Nicholas* of Cusa, he associates and distinguishes at the same time *causa sui* and subsistence by oneself (*auhupostatton*), in a context inspired by Proclus: “All things that do not subsist by themselves, as they are not causes of themselves... are by a cause, which is their reason for being subsisting by itself” (*Philosophisch-theologische Schriften*, vol. 2, Vienna, 1966).

c) *Modern Philosophy and Theology.* The idea of *aseitas* is diametrically opposed to the idea of *ens causa sui* (Descartes, Spinoza), to that of a being that would be its own “cause.” Avicenna had already dismissed any idea of causality within the First (God), for the reason that God has no essence (*quidditas*). And Bonaventure* had excluded the idea of a God who was the product of himself, *a se ipso[feri]*. Descartes*, however, authorized the rule of *causa sui* by bringing together the two meanings of the expression, sovereign freedom and self-production, and attributing them to God. By virtue of the principle of reason, divine *aseitas* was therefore expressed in terms of reflexive causality: “This name [*causa sui*] can be no more usefully employed than to demonstrate the existence of God” (Descartes, *Réponses aux quatrièmes objections*). Thus God is himself through the identification of his power with the principle of reason, an ambivalent act in which is indicated both a submission to the principle and an absolute transcendence.

Having become the engendering of existence from essence, *causa sui* was to be the keystone of Spinoza’s

Ethics: “By cause of itself I understand that whose essence envelops existence” (I. 1, def. 1). And in German idealism, even when the absolute is no longer substance but subject, the term “cause of itself” is still appropriate: “Spinoza’s error did not lie in this idea, but in the simple fact of positing it outside of any self” (Schelling*, *On the Self*). The absolute self, “being conditioned by itself” (Schelling, *The Form of Philosophy in General*), is both omnipotence and ontological proof, and the *causa sui* presides over the completion of ontology and theology, as set forth by Hegel* in the self-effectuation of the Absolute: it is “the absolute truth of the cause” (*Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences* I, *Science of Logic* §153). But *causa sui* has been distinctly rejected as contradictory in theology (Kleutgen) as well as in philosophy (Nietzsche*, Sartre). The notion of causality is of value within the realm of the created and does not apply to the Creator.

The two aspects, negative and positive, of *aseitas* have been brought to the fore by many representatives of Neoscholasticism (Billot, Farges, Scheeben*). For some (Billuart, Kleutgen, Lehmen, Lennerz), *aseitas* is the principal divine attribute*, or the metaphysical essence of God, *essentia Dei metaphysica*, from which all the other attributes logically flow. Debates on the “metaphysical essence of God” have also led to a distinction (Lafosse) between an “inadequate *aseitas*,” denoting the negative aspect, which is the exclusion of any causality; and an “adequate *aseitas*,” a concept designating the divine plenitude of Being. It is in this dual sense that Franzelin, for example, interprets the notion of *ens a se*: its content implies simultaneously the negation of any participation, and the affirmation of an Absolute Being that was already present in Anselm (“*absolutum*,” “*absolute esse*,” “*solum esse*”; *Monol.* c. 28; see Schmitt I. 46).

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See also **Attributes, Divine; Being; Immutability/Impassibility, Divine; Justice, Divine; Knowledge, Divine; Omnipotence, Divine; Omnipresence, Divine**

Assumption. *See* **Mary**

Athanasius of Alexandria

(c. 299–373)

a) Life. Probably born in 299 (the *Index of Festal Letters*, established by his Chancery shortly after his death, states that he was not yet 30 years of age when he was consecrated in 328) to a Greek family in Alexandria*, Athanasius started, in 325, to serve as deacon* and secretary to bishop* Alexander, whom he accompanied to the Council* of Nicaea*. He was consecrated as "pope" (then a common title for the bishops of Alexandria) on 8 June 328. The first five years of his episcopate were marked by long pastoral visits to the monks of the Thebaid, the Pentapole and the Ammon deserts, or in the Delta regions. He was probably looking there for spiritual nourishment, which he greatly needed to assume his episcopal duties. These duties were weighty: the decrees of Nicaea regarding the reintegration of the Melitians to the ranks of the Catholic clergy (Melitius, bishop of Lycopolis, was opposed to Peter of Alexandria's patriarch about the reintegration into a Christian Church which had been apostatized during the Diocletian persecution, and whose bishops had been illegitimately ordained) had hardly been implemented by the old Alexander, and

the opposition to the Nicene Creed persisted in the Eastern churches under a coalition directed by Eusebius of Nicomedia against the episcopal seat of Alexandria. An alliance among the schismatic Melitians, who had a slight majority in Egypt, and the vast coalition favorable to Arius (Arianism*) signified a premature end to the much too young bishop of Alexandria's episcopal ministry.

At the beginning of 331, Constantine summoned Athanasius to appear before his court because accusations had been made against him, but he was found to be innocent. The alarm sounded again in 334, when Athanasius received an order to present himself in front of a synod* apparently presided over by Eusebius of Caesarea. He refused to abide by that order. In 335, forced by another order from Constantine, he could not avoid the imperial Synod of Tyre, in Phoenicia. That synod, which sealed the alliance among Melitians and Arians, deposed him. He sought help in Constantinople from the emperor in person, who banished him at once to Trier, where his son Constantine II was residing. The emperor did not replace Athanasius, who

therefore kept his seat; he was merely keeping him away from the commotion of clerical intrigues.

In Trier, the exile struck a friendship with the bishop Maximinus and the caesar Constantine. He touted the marvels of the monastic rise in the Egyptian deserts known to all around him, as a seed from which the oldest monasticism* would take germ. After the death of the emperor on 22 May 337, Constantine II authorized Athanasius to go back to Alexandria, which he did “in great triumph,” according to the *Index* of 23 November of the same year.

The episcopal coalition, hostile to the Alexandrian seat, did not tolerate this comeback. The Cappadocian Gregory, chosen as Athanasius’s replacement, was imposed to take the seat by force. Trouble arose; obliging Athanasius to withdraw underground on 18 March 339. Immediately after 15 April, which was Easter Sunday, the bishop left secretly for Rome*. He was received there by Pope* Julius I, whose synod soon recognized him, in 340, as the sole legitimate bishop of Alexandria. After an encounter in Trier with the Western emperor, Constans, whose support he obtained, Athanasius participated in 343 in the Council of Sardica (Sofia), where the episcopates of the East and the West refused to sit together, but where a fratricidal war between the two emperors, Constans and Constantius, was barely avoided. Marcellus of Ancyra, another victim of the Nicene after-council, who had the reputation of renewing the modalism* of Sabellius, had joined Athanasius in Rome. The two of them together had against them the unanimity of the Eastern bishops. In 346, the death of Bishop Gregory and his own precarious situation with the Persians finally justified, in the eyes of Constantius II, the recall of Athanasius and his return to the seat of Alexandria. His Alexandrine compatriots, Christians and pagans alike, celebrated the bishop as a national hero: “He was even honored with a triumphal reception before the one hundred thousandth,” notes the *Index*. But the Eastern coalition remained inflexible and the emperor Constantius was biased more than ever against Athanasius. When, in 350, Constans succumbed under the assaults of usurper Magnentius, Constantius II succeeded in getting rid of him and had nothing more urgent to do than organizing synods, at Arles in 353 and at Milan in 355, with the avowed purpose of obtaining Athanasius’s eviction from the seat of Alexandria and of setting up a regime of Christianity conforming to the Eastern coalition’s wishes. During the nights of 8 and 9 February 356, the church where the bishop was celebrating was stormed by troops headed by the *dux* of Syrianos. Once more, Athanasius succeeded in escaping. After bloody unrest in the Christian parts of town, the Arian bishop George of Cappadocia occupied the seat of Alexandria, while Athanasius sought refuge in

the desert, where he was able to hide under the monks’ protection. Hidden until Constantius’s sudden death in 361, Athanasius did not wait for the authorization of Julian, the new emperor, to return to Alexandria. Around the summer of 362, he organized a synod known as the “synod of the confessors,” where people with different pro-Nicene tendencies decided to support the Homoousians grouped around Basil of Ancyra, which hastened the final victory of the “consubstantial*.” In the meantime, Athanasius had to, once more, go briefly into exile under Julian in 363 and under the Arian emperor Valens during the winter of 365–66. Having outlived all his adversaries, he was able to find some peace, build a few churches and carry on some epistolary exchanges before passing away at the beginning of 373.

b) Works and Doctrine. Athanasius’s literary activity, like his political career, remains marked by an astonishing continuity. Every year, circumstances allowing, the bishop published a festal letter, through which he announced the dates for Lent and Easter, with the appropriate spiritual and pastoral considerations. The first letters are marked by Origenist and monastic spirituality; from 340 on, the evangelical realism particular to Athanasius becomes the dominant feature. The first doctrinal writing of the young pastor, dating probably from 335, is entitled *De Incarnatione*. That essay, appended to an apology entitled *Contra Gentes*, which is based on older notes and has a more conventional structure, is the first of its kind to be composed by a church leader; and to diametrically oppose Arian theology*, although without naming it. Contrary to Arius’s assumption, the evangelical figure of Jesus* does not purport to reveal a weak and inferior Word* that has to earn its own divine exaltation through suffering. On the contrary, the divine Word has taken upon itself, within its own flesh, all of mankind’s distress, with the goal of transfiguring this distress, of “deifying” it, by changing its condition. Thus the mystery* of divine Incarnation* becomes central to Athanasius’s theological synthesis. Around 339, Athanasius composed the double *Treatises Against the Arians*, intended, according to the accompanying letter, *To Monks*, for the monks. Here, he sets the foundations of a Trinitarian theology in keeping with the Nicene dogma*, by insisting above all on the principles of an anti-Arian interpretation of the Scriptures*. In 339, an *Encyclical Letter*, which was in fact a long shout of horror and protest, denounced the assaults inflicted on Athanasius at the time he had to flee to Rome. After he came back from his second exile in 346, the bishop produced a vast documentary compilation, the *Defense against the Arians*, intended to prove the legitimacy of his episcopal title. Around 350 there followed a *Letter on the Opinions of Dionysius*, the predecessor from the

previous century whose formulas the Arians believed they could lay some claim to, and an essay in epistolary form, *On the Nicene Degrees*. At the time of the riots in 356, Athanasius wrote—under a miraculous state of serene concentration—an *Encyclical Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya* in which he offered his best synthesis of biblical* theology against the Arian *Thalia*'s theses as he understood them. His desert exile inspired the following: the *Apology to Constance*, his only work in the polished style of the scholar, which was never made public during Constantius's lifetime; the *Defence of His Flight*; the *Epistles to Serapion*; a real cornerstone in dogmatic discussions preceding the First Council of Constantinople* (381); the long *Letter on the Synods of Rimini and Seleucia*, his longest written work, a documentary monument that is indispensable to the understanding of the Nicene after-council, and which serves as a direct preparation for the 362 synod of union, itself known thanks to the *Volume to the Antiochenes*; and above all, the *Life of Anthony*, perhaps written in its final stage after the end of the third exile, and intended to glorify, for centuries to come, the heroes of Egyptian eremitism, whose perfect model was, in Athanasius's eyes, represented by Anthony. The *Letter to Epictetus*, bishop of Corinth; the *Letter to Adolphus*, addressed to a longtime companion who had been at his side during some of his struggles; and a charming essay on the use of the Psalter, impossible to date, the *Letter to Marcellin*, complete Athanasius's literary legacy.

Centered on the mystery of divine Incarnation, Athanasius's synthesis examines notions of Trinitarian theology in more depth, without ever losing sight of the living experience* of faith. That synthesis, after many vicissitudes, led to a clear conscience of the separation between church* and state.

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See also **Arianism; Consubstantial; Incarnation; Nicaea I, Council of; Trinity**

Athanasius, Symbol of. See Creeds

Atheism

A. Philosophical Problematics

1. General Definition

An atheist is one who denies the existence of God*. This nominal definition is insufficient because it leaves

indeterminate not only the nature of the God that is denied, but, more importantly, the precise manner of the denial. If God is identified with an idol, denying his

existence may be a way of affirming the existence of the true God: what presents itself as atheism is in truth theism. In this case, the denial is limited: a particular God is denied in order to affirm another one. But it is also possible to deny that any being whatever can exist for which the name* *God* is fitting. This denial still presupposes an idea of what is denied, and that would be enough for some to demonstrate its existence. The only coherent way of denying God or of affirming that God is nothing would be to reduce the idea of God to that of nothingness*—a delicate operation, for the idea of God is not of the same imaginary nature as that of a chimera.

From this difficulty, indeed impossibility, of denying the existence of God, it would be rash to deduce a proof* of his existence*. It is not possible, as for another being, to be indifferent about affirming or denying the existence of God. As Kant* has shown, although reason* enters into conflict with itself with respect to the world, there is on the other hand no rational antinomy concerning the existence of God. It is possible to deny that the existence of God is demonstrable; it is not possible to demonstrate that God does not exist. The metaphysical definition of God, as supreme Being, is such that atheism is not the simple antithesis of theism. In other words, atheism is not primarily an opposition to a rational thesis concerning the existence of God. Conversely, it is quite possible to have an idea of God, and even to come to a rational conclusion that he exists, and still be called an “atheist.”

If atheism, in its primary usage, is not a doctrinal or speculative position, this is because it is first of all defined in relation to a belief. An atheist is one who does not believe in God, who does not share the belief accepted in a community with a relatively wide social foundation. When the community is identical to the city* or the state, the definition of atheism is political: not to believe is to place oneself outside the state. The equation for atheism represents the reverse side of official religion. To be sure, there is also a rational atheism, but its belated appearance can be explained by the modern reversal that transformed a negative meaning, indicating an exclusion, into a positive meaning, associated with an idea of humanity. It is only after this reversal that theology* itself can make atheism an object of reflection and not simply of condemnation.

2. Accusation of Atheism

The theoretical determination of atheism is sought in order to meet political and juridical requirements: it is necessary to be able to define the one who, in not respecting the state's gods, commits an act of rebellion against the state and its laws. The charge of impiety

(*asebeia*) allowed the Athenians to institute proceedings against atheism. The most celebrated was the trial of Socrates in 399 B.C. The philosopher was accused of corrupting the young by “teaching them to believe in new deities instead of the gods recognized by the state” (Plato, *Apology* 26b). Strictly speaking, this formulation means that Socrates recognizes gods and that he is therefore not an atheist but merely an infidel (this might be called “weak” atheism). However, this difference appears subtle to the accuser Meletus, who has no hesitation in expressing the accusation in a radical form: “Yes, I say that you disbelieve in gods altogether” (26c). Thereafter, Socrates has no difficulty in refuting the accusation, since it is based on a contradiction: he is charged both with believing (in new gods, in *daimonia* [27d]) and with not believing (in the gods of the state). The defense is clever: while showing that he is not an atheist (in the strict sense), Socrates refrains from denying that he is an atheist (in the weak sense), that is, from affirming that he recognizes the gods of the state.

Trials for atheism are characterized by this argumentative structure. On one hand, the accuser claims that what must be condemned is not the theoretical position of atheism but its disastrous moral consequences for society*. On the other, the defendant denies that he is an atheist by invoking an idea of divinity superior to that of the accusers. The accusation can thus be turned against its proponent: the real atheist is not the one you think. Rather, he is the one who reduces God to an idol, and true religion to superstition. To clarify the concept of atheism it is therefore necessary to distinguish between the theologico-political point of view of the accuser and the dogmatic point of view of the accused. In one sense, the atheist is defined by opposition to an obligation both to believe and to practice the rituals of piety; in another, by opposition to the truth of the concept or the idea of God. There is not necessarily any connection between the two meanings.

3. The Theologico-Political Argument

a) *Danger for Morality and Society.* Both the obligation to believe in the existence of the gods, and its corollary, the prohibition of atheism, have a political basis, something which Plato makes explicit in Book X of the *Laws*. There the Athenian indicates the reason why it is necessary to conform to the requirements of state law in believing that the gods exist. It is a matter of countering the prejudicial objection through which the enemies of the laws might ruin the order of the state: if the gods do not exist or are not concerned with humankind (another form of atheism), everything is permitted (887e, 889e). The mob that

obeys the laws because it anticipates heavenly retribution will cease to do so. "No man who believes in gods as the law would have him believe has ever yet of his own free will done unhallowed deed or let slip lawless discourse" (885b). Only atheism can lead humankind to transgress the laws. The Athenian does not assert that the atheism of the learned—that is, of the materialists, justly condemned for their impiety—is false. Rather, he considers it dangerous for the state as a whole because it provides arguments for the injustice of the ignorant. This position is symmetrical to that of Socrates: by affirming the necessity of a legislated theism, the question of theoretical atheism is left undecided. The only thing that is important for the state is that atheism not be allowed to spread, that it be censored; the question of its truth or falsity does not belong to the political order. The dissociation between opinion (or belief, which governs politics) and truth has as a consequence for the historical relativity of definitions of atheism: theism on one side of a border, atheism on the other. The contours of atheism match the contingencies of geography and history*. The Jews and the early Christians—"deadly superstition" (Tacitus, *Annals* XV: 44)—were condemned by the Roman emperors up to Constantine as denigrators of the gods of the official Roman religion. But after Constantine it was paganism that was prohibited (391). The political justification of religion contains in itself the very possibility of an intellectual challenge to religious truth.

b) Paradox of Atheist Theism. Even a philosopher such as Spinoza, who by means of demonstration reaches the mathematical certainty of the existence of God (*Ethics* I, Prop. 11), was considered an atheist during his lifetime (see Letter 30 to Henri Oldenburg). It was judged that his God "is only an imaginary God, who is anything but God," as his biographer, Pastor Johannes Colerus, wrote in 1704. If, by any method whatever, God may be identified with created things, he ceases to be God. An atheist is one who, while affirming in words the existence of a being called God, denies the existence of the true God, that is, the personal, transcendent, Creator God known through revelation*. In this case, atheism means rejection of revelation or of the law*, as the unique or primordial source of the knowledge* of God. Theism derived from revelation, on the other hand, is compatible with a skeptical position on the capacity of reason to know God. Hence this paradox: Spinoza was called an atheist precisely because he asserted that he could know God a priori; and the accusation came from the very people who "openly profess to have no idea of God" (*A Theologico-Political Treatise* chap. 2).

4. *Atheism As the Fate of Modernity*

a) Atheism in the Face of Revealed Theology. Religion based on revelation is not satisfied with basing the duty to believe on the political argument, but wishes to be recognized as true. It does not dissociate knowledge of the true God from the practice of pious actions. Obedience takes the form of a total adhesion of the person*, both intellectual and moral. The way in which the truth that God exists is recognized determines the attitude toward atheism. Really to believe in God is to believe in the true God, as he has manifested himself to humankind. Conversely, to know God only through reason is to forge an idol. The first step toward atheism is taken when humankind gives up basing its knowledge of God on obedience in faith*. Because faith demands more than simply prudent, politically proper adhesion to a superior normative principle, it opens up at the same time the possibility of rejection.

The atheist, who risks damnation, becomes a bold spirit, a libertine. He is defined not so much by denial of the existence of God as by his liberation from revealed dogmas*. One who relies entirely on reason in all things and who, out of principle, challenges not the political but the spiritual authority* of the community of believers, is an atheist. This situation, which requires all people to situate themselves with respect to revelation, gives rise to a new form of atheism: not one defined negatively by an accusation, but one that the libertine assumes positively as a profession of faith. In the face of revelation, atheism becomes at least thinkable, if not actually acceptable, as its other. Modern civilization, based on the rationality of the natural sciences*, even makes of atheism a kind of common sense. It is belief that has become absurd and dangerous.

b) Atheism of the Enlightenment. Atheism can be extended to denote the affirmation of the primacy of reason in the discovery of truth. To cultivate reason and modern natural science is to reject dogma and therefore deny the revealed God. The denial (of the existence of God) is then the secondary consequence of a position that could be set out in a credo, the one that Molière puts in the mouth of the great libertine lord: "I believe that two and two are four" (*Dom Juan* III, 1). Confidence in the powers of reason and mathematical science is indeed atheism, for it implicitly excludes any transcendence. Atheism is the negative version of the same rationalist credo: "I believe only that two and two are four." During the period running from the 16th to the 18th century, atheism gradually lost its taint of criminality. Enlightened thinkers led the way in this change, and their judgment was subsequently confirmed by legisla-

tion. Pierre Bayle (1697) challenged the final argument that maintained atheism in the realm of the illicit, and the identification of libertinism with dissolute morals. Not only could an atheist be an honorable man, but reason was a surer guide to good conduct than blind obedience to a retributive power or servile submission to clerical authority. Montesquieu rejected the penal character of crimes of opinion: “Where there is no public action, there is no element of crime” (*The Spirit of Laws* XII, 4). Along with the deism* of natural religion atheism became a militant form of humanism. The essential thing was not to carry on theoretical discussions about the existence of God but to fulfill a morality that, rather than enslaving humankind, guaranteed it dignity and responsibility. With modernity, atheism, which can be defined neither by the affirmation that God does not exist nor by indifference in matters of religion, derives its consistency from the critique of revealed religion. This is why, in relation to revelation, atheism and rationalist theism, although formally opposed, come together. Atheism belongs to the movement of the Enlightenment because its object is to liberate humankind from enslavement to dogmatic authority.

c) Humanism and Nihilism. Modernity thus reverses the direction of the traditional theologico-political argument: it is no longer atheism that is dangerous for truly human morality, but religion. Feuerbach’s position radicalizes Bayle’s: not only can an atheist be an honorable man, but only an atheist is an honorable man. To be an atheist becomes a duty of humanism, which consists in renouncing the illusion of an eternal* life, and so to concern oneself with the things of this world, seeking a happiness that is limited but remains within the scope of what humankind can attain.

Marx’s* critique of Feuerbach and, by extension, of Enlightenment humanism, claims that this humanism is derived, in its very anticlericalism, from a theological (that is to say, an ideological) problematic that misconstrues the reality of the material forces that make up its infrastructure. The humanist critique of religion in fact secretes a new form of religiosity: with reference to Bauer, Marx speaks of “atheism” as the “last stage of theism, the negative recognition of God” (*The Holy Family* chap. VI). If we want religion to cease dominating consciousness, it is useless to struggle against it with the weapons of rational argument. It is necessary to change the material conditions of existence: “Empty in itself, religion is not fed by heaven but by the earth, and it collapses by itself with the dissolution of the absurd reality of which it is the theory” (Letter to Ruge, 13 March 1843). Atheism, a “development of theoretical humanism,” must give way to communism, a “development of practical humanism” (*Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*).

When Nietzsche* develops the notion of the “death of God” (*The Gay Science* §125), he is not describing the happy event of human liberation but the abolition of the meaning of existence. Atheism is the work of modernity, the most contorted face of nihilism, the disenchantment of the world. It has ceased to be a demand and a struggle, and has become a fate. The madman reveals to humankind the murder that they themselves have already committed: modern civilization, based on natural science* and technology, makes obsolete both any metaphysical resort to the idea of God and any faith in revelation. At the same time, Nietzsche opens the way to reflection on the religious meaning of atheism, for he provokes the question of which god it is that is dead.

B. Theological Problematics

The theological question of atheism is a recent one. Atheism was in fact almost nonexistent in the cultural world in which the earliest Christian theology was organized. The principal debates that accompanied and influenced that organization were those between Christianity and Judaism*, on the one hand, and Christianity and paganism, on the other, and atheism played no role in either. Considered within the category of idolatry*, paganism clearly seemed to be devoted to the cult* of false gods, whom the Church Fathers* eas-

ily saw as demons*. The idol—the god that is “the work of men’s hands” (Ps 115: 4–7), the god that is essentially available to humankind and reveals of the divine only what humankind needs—indicates perhaps that in some sense the religious life of paganism was possessed by evil numinous forces. But pagan cults were not the whole of paganism. When Christian theology came to conceptualize its relation to classical antiquity, it resorted to an interpretation of ancient philosophy to assert that the gospel of Christianity was

its guardian; this was intelligible to the pagans because they had been “prepared” by the same Logos whose full manifestation in Jesus* of Nazareth Christianity itself proclaimed.

The Christian reading of the classical philosophers was certainly a tendentious one. The bias of Christian interpreters, however, should not conceal the principal fact: even if classical antiquity had not established a unified philosophical theism, the denial of God (of the god, of the divine) was almost entirely foreign to it. Whoever lived in the company of idols surely lived with no God and with no hope* in the world (Eph 2:12). And yet, the language that the pagans spoke allowed them to name God. Measured against the knowledge to which theology lay claim, that naming may have appeared meager. But theology always devoted its apologetics to this weak discourse and never to a denial of God.

It was only in modern times (*see* A 4 above) that the stakes and conditions of the naming of God were changed. When the denier of God appeared—very rarely—in patristic and medieval theology, it was in the guise of a madman. The desire to establish foundations was certainly vigorous enough in medieval thought to give rise to a language of rational demonstration, but the foundations were those given to itself by a faith in search of “intelligence.” Neither Anselm’s argument, nor the “ways” of Thomas* Aquinas, nor Duns* Scotus’s search for a first principle derived in any way from an apologetic intention. Patristic and medieval apologetics defended “Christian truth” against pagans, Jews, and heretics (a category that included dualists and Muslims). By contrast, the theological task of defending “religious truth” in the face of irreligious objectors is very much a modern one.

This complex task led to two theoretical strategies, neither of which can yet be regarded as obsolete.

- 1) By taking as its first goal the demonstration of the truth of the “religious,” the new apologetics—for which P. Charron suggested the sequence of treatises (*De veritate religiosa*, *De veritate christiana*, *De veritate catholica*)—clearly stated that the first words of theology are not uttered in the name of Christianity alone, but in the name of all practices (in ritual or in language) that rest on an affirmation of God, whether or not that affirmation has anything specifically Christian about it. On the theoretical stage of modernity, the atheist appears not as one who denies the reasons of Christianity, but as one who challenges the general framework of “religious” references within which Christian discourse seemed to take its place with ease. To

confront this challenge there then arose a procedure of defense and illustration of the religious phenomenon, something which found its perfected form in the *Discourses* of Schleiermacher*. The procedure consisted essentially in answering the denial of God with an affirmation about humanity. Atheism is thus interpreted as a tragic gesture of self-mutilation brought about by denial of the most precious realm of human experience (*see* Lubac* 1944).

- 2) Because atheism, which is probably more than a philosophical opinion, is not less than such an opinion, it was no doubt legitimate that theology should want to confront it on its own terms by convicting it of irrationality. Superficially identical, the language of demonstration then reappears in the service of entirely different interests. The arguments used by medieval theology to confirm the rational basis of faith become only preliminaries to faith. The atheist frequently claims to be the true philosopher, and this is exactly what the modern form of the proof of the existence of God calls into question. Theology wants to say more about God than does metaphysical theism. But it does not want to say less, and it wants to say as much. So the fate of theism cannot be a matter of indifference to theology. A theology for which God was also the “prime unmoved mover” or “self-sufficient being” is thus succeeded by a theology for which the existence of the prime mover or of the *causa sui* must first be proved before these concepts can take on a specifically Christian character. It is also necessary that the Christian specifics be provided on the basis of a language sufficiently rational to be common to all.

If classic atheism thus provokes the response of a theology that says little about it, since it does not claim to possess more than the affirmative force of a reason that Catholic tradition* calls “natural,” it seems that this is because atheism itself says rather little on the subject. In a certain sense, atheism cannot help but provoke frustration in the theologian, for the very good reason that atheism is rarely interested in God, and because the denial of God is for atheism the opening move that allows it to gain access to what it regards as the real questions. Since atheists are people who want to stop talking about God altogether, it is not surprising that their denials are brief. Indeed, atheists are sometimes satisfied with the presumption of being right, leaving to theists the concern with longer arguments (Flew 1984; an inverse formulation in the “reformed epistemology” derived from A. Plantinga, in which the

existence of God is an elementary, basic fact, which one may attempt to deny but which does not call for demonstration). The idea that the cause of God may not be quite what is called the “god of the philosophers” is in the end foreign to atheists.

There was thus a shuffling of the cards in the 19th century when atheism added a critique of theological reasoning to its classic procedure of denial. The new atheism derived from Feuerbach and reaching its paroxysm in Nietzsche certainly had no criticism to make of the small stock of materialist or determinist axioms that supplied classic atheism. But somewhere between La Mettrie or Holbach and Feuerbach, the God to be philosophically denied had changed faces. In the interim, indeed, the God of Jesus Christ had carried out what was perhaps his first entry into philosophy. After Hegel*, Schelling*, and Kierkegaard*, the task of atheism became for the first time that of an a-theology. If denial were necessary, it would have to go as far as they had carried their position. It would thus be necessary to deny an Absolute that had passed into history and of which history had preserved the trace (Schelling), to deny that the Absolute was life and that its life was the “play of love* with itself” (Hegel), to deny the paradoxical hypothesis of the Most High who draws near to humanity in the “form of the slave” (Kierkegaard). Atheism, therefore, took on its modern form by challenging arguments that, in its classic form, it had philosophical (and theological) license to ignore: that is, christological, soteriological, kenotic, and Trinitarian arguments.

It was precisely at this point that atheism became a theological problem, in the richest sense. The God whose death was proclaimed by Nietzsche’s madman in §125 of *The Gay Science* was in fact the one who had tied his fate to that of the Crucified One. The atheist presented himself as the “Antichrist.” And even though there has been no lack of chronologically post-Nietzschean philosophies that deny a pre-Christian God (logical positivism is the most brilliant example), recent theology has had to meet the challenge of the greatest denial, not of the supreme Being, but of creative and redemptive love. It did so and continues to do so in many ways, with answers that probably do no more than identify the terms of the problem.

- 1) Against the anthropological dissolution of Christian realities carried out by Feuerbach, one might argue (Barth*) that this was a pure and simple epistemological error. The aporia of atheist reason arises, in fact, precisely because it is carrying out the work of reason. Reason is defined by lack of faith, and so, faced with God, it adopts a theoretical posture that is existentially the most inad-

equately possible. It leaves itself the means only to construct its own god (which will thus be an idol), or to deny what it has not known, a denial that will thus have no impact, even if it takes on concepts of God with strong theological determinants. In a sense, Feuerbach was right, insofar as he proposed a critique of religion, seeing it as an act of piety to deny the god with which humanity maintains a “religious” relationship that excuses it from believing.

- 2) The brutalities of “dialectical theology” could not be accepted unmodified by a Catholic theology whose supreme teaching authorities had made specific allowance for a rational knowledge of God (*see* especially Vatican* I, DS 3004, 3026). Its influence was nevertheless felt, in conjunction with a critique of which the Barth of the *Römerbrief* was unaware: that of Heidegger*. Of what god can it be said that he is dead? By transposing the concept of idol from the ethical-religious to the theoretical realm, J.-L. Marion (1976) set out a challenge to “conceptual idols.” Just as an idol of stone or wood places the god at the disposal of humanity, so a concept may be said to function in an idolatrous way by restricting God to the services he performs for a particular metaphysics. To the extent that one then adopts the Heideggerian reading of the history of “metaphysics,” it will be possible to say that the God who is dead is the God who has been at the service of ontology, the God of onto-theology. And the reply to a “conceptual” atheism is to speak of the “truly divine” God, the God who himself breaks all the idols when his paternal goodness is revealed in the face of Jesus Christ.
- 3) Thenceforth, theology would be able to carry out a critique of atheism only by also issuing a challenge to theism. The atheist may sometimes recognize that Christians are themselves atheists of many gods (the best example is Bloch 1968), and Christians often specify that they speak otherwise about God because they are speaking of a different God. Between theism and atheism, Protestant theology reacted in classic (or neo-classic) fashion by organizing itself as meticulously as possible as *theologia crucis* (Jüngel 1977; Moltmann 1972). In the age of the “death of God,” the God of whom it is possible to speak is precisely the God who has taken up the cause of one condemned to death. The *veritas christiana* is thus articulated in the absence of any *veritas religiosa*. Atheism, then, is not important by reason of its antimetaphysical burden, which it seems to share with Christianity. If it is really

necessary to reply to atheism, it is in order to show (e.g., Piret 1994) that the Christian God confronts humanity as the giver of a future (in an age of the “eternal return of the same”); to show that he confronts humanity by instituting an economy of forgiveness that forces the dismissal of any *ressentiment* (the reference is to Nietzsche); or (referring again to Nietzsche) in order to counter an ontology of the will to power with a dialectic of crucified and conquering love. It was fitting that theology reply to the a-theological intentions of modern atheism by purifying what it says of God of any nontheological element.

- 4) The “death of God” is finally not only an event occurring in theory, it is the master event of an age and the presupposition of an experience of the world. The distinctive note of this age (an age of “secularization*,” an age of “nihilism”) is no longer that the existence of God is denied but that it is forgotten. Classic atheism weighed the proposition “God exists” and declared it false. In an age of nihilism, this proposition is no longer false, but devoid of meaning. Whoever speaks of God is not even in error, he is simply using words without meaning. And this atheism (already held by logical positivism) takes on what could be called its “postmodern” form under the influence of Jacques Derrida, finding its fulfillment in extremist demolitions of everything (“logocentrism,” “phonocentrism,” etc.) that seems tied to metaphysics. The reaffirmation of God in an age of nihilism thus stands alongside other reaffirmations, without which it would have only incantatory power: the reaffirmation of meaning, for example, of truth, of the humanity of humankind, among others. This work of reaffirmation is being carried out in various places and in diverse ways. Theologies of a “hermeneutic” type (Bultmann*, etc.) devote themselves to bringing to light the unforgettable questions to which the affirmation of God provides an answer. With H. U. von Balthasar*, the background of a doctrine of creation* requires that Christianity also answer for the “meaning of being*”; and if the case arises, it must answer by taking the place of those philosophical discourses that no longer do so (*Herrlichkeit* III). And, in the wake of the late works of Wittgenstein, theologians bring out the global reality of the “forms of life” and the “language games” within which one may speak of God without sinning against “grammar,” whether the grammar of concepts or the grammar of experience.

A problem that has been resolved is no longer a problem, and atheism remains a theological problem despite the attempts that have been mentioned. Some tasks remain.

- 1) If the God who is dead is only the God of metaphysics, the hypothesis advanced by Heidegger (*Identity and Difference*, Pfullingen 1957) must be subjected to the test of a detailed reading of the intellectual history of the West, of which we now possess only fragments. The God of the *Disputationes Metaphysicae* of Suarez* is unquestionably the God of onto-theology; the God of Anselm* or of Bernard* is unquestionably not; while the God of Thomas Aquinas may or may not be. But in order for theology to be able to maintain a fertile relationship with its past, we will have to know much more about that past and about the two logics that seem to have been operative in it: contamination of the theological by the metaphysical, as well as subversion of the metaphysical by the theological.
- 2) To an a-theological atheism, theology will reply with a theological position on the question of God in which christological and Trinitarian arguments play the role not of specifying an already formed concept, but of indicating what kind of God remains thinkable. The elimination of any “natural knowledge” in favor of “positive” thought (Schelling), or of a “more natural” theology (Jüngel) for which only “God speaks well of God” (Pascal*), nevertheless comes up against the utopian character of a strictly theological conception devoid of preexisting understandings. Taken in its kerygmatic dimension, theology aims its message at the Jews and the pagans. Insofar as its audience is pagan, it at least owes it the obligation of giving a meaning to words, beginning with the word *God*, before formulating for their benefit the complex statements in which *God* will attain its full meaning. This is so even if it involves criticizing in return the preliminary definition.
- 3) It may be conceded to Heidegger and to the heirs of Wittgenstein that it is important to praise God more than to think about him (Heidegger), or that the true place of “God” is in the language of prayer* and ritual rather than the language of a theory (e.g., D. Z. Phillips). The old question of the *demonstratio religiosa* ought then to reappear in a new guise.

For Hellenism, the interest in God or the divine was part of the *bios theoretikos*, the way of life fitting above all for the philosopher. But in late modernity, of what

“life” can the interest in God be a part, and of what form of life can it be said that it is essentially atheist? These queries indicate that the question of God is inseparable from a question about humanity, and that the affirmation of God cannot be isolated from affirmations about humanity. There are several ways of answering them. It can be considered that the description of the world proposed by Heidegger in *Being and Time* is accurate enough for it to be necessary to grant atheism an existential status. In that case, the affirmation of God must be seen as a work of distancing (distance taken in relation to the innate conditions of experience—Lacoste 1994). One might also refer to Husserl’s descriptions of the “life-world” in order to bring out the original character of belief and to grasp it as an innate recourse against the reduction of reality to fact, something that plays a large role in the genesis of atheism. One might also borrow from the Augustinian tradition a hermeneutics of desire and of anxiety, attributing to humanity an eschatological and a priori openness that cannot be lost, and which prohibits reducing the question of meaning to an analytics of *Dasein* and of existence as being-for-death. Whatever the outcome of a debate that puts in play irreducible perspectives not necessarily implying a contradiction, one point at least must be set out forcefully. There can be no consistent theological answer to atheist denials, whether those of a classic, a modern, or a postmodern atheism, unless that answer is integrated into a broader logic than that of discursive-conceptual assertions. In short, they must be met with a distinctive logic of spiritual experience*.

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See also Agnosticism; Existence of God, Proofs of; Faith; Knowledge of God

Attributes, Divine

I. Religious Knowledge of the Divine Names and Attributes

Believers of every religion have meditated on the divine attributes and have invoked a god or the gods using a variety of names. In the Bible*, God* himself reveals his perfections in the experience* that human beings have of him and that they express in their prayers*. It is in fact impossible to pray to God without recalling his goodness, his power, his mercy*, and his justice*. And in that other “book,” which is nature or the creation*, the human spirit discovers a whole series of perfections (beauty, order, light, and so on) that come from God.

1. Judaism

a) *The Hebraic Notion of Name.* In the Hebraic notion of *shèm*, “name*,” Procksch (*Theologie des AT* 1950) discerns two elements: the noetic and the dynamic. One is its meaning or its etymology, the other implies an archaic conception of the name, which includes a property that might have magical uses.

The name designates the secret nature of a being, without giving a logical definition or symbolic representation of it, and it contains the active presence or power of that being. The name of God*, therefore, contains his mysterious power, and by invoking his name we enter the sphere of mystery* or magic.

b) *The Name of Exodus.* The just men of the Old Testament wished to know the name of God. “What is your name?” ask Jacob (Gn 32:30) and Manoah (Jgs 13:17) of the angel* of YHWH. But the real meaning of the divine name is given only to Moses. In the theophany* of the burning bush, Moses says to God: “Suppose I go to the Israelites and say to them: ‘The God of your fathers has sent me to you,’ and they ask me: ‘What is his name?’ Then what shall I tell them?” God says to Moses: “I am who I am” (Ex 3:13–14) (see B.N. Wanback, Bib 59 [1978]). On Mount Sinai God reveals himself to Moses as “the compassionate and gracious God, slow to anger, abounding in love and faithfulness, maintaining love to thousands” (Ex 34:6). God is praised in the Psalms* as the “saint” (Ps 33:21), “true” (Ps 57), “just” (Ps 89), “powerful” (Ps 89), and

“merciful” (Ps 136) God. The divine names or attributes are thus revealed.

In Judaism* the name of God is not to be spoken (*shèm ha-meforèsh*), and God is called “the Place” (*maqom*) or “the Name” (*Shèm*) (see *ThWNT*, vol. 5, 251 ff.). In his letter to Marcella (Ep. 25), Jerome mentions ten biblical names that the Jews used to invoke their Lord.

2. Christianity

a) *New Testament.* John calls God “Spirit” (Jn 4:24), “Light” (1 Jn 1:5), “Love*” (1 Jn 4:8, 16). But where his Gospel is original is in the revelation* of the three personal divine names: Father*, Son, and Holy* Spirit. Jesus* revealed that “Father” is the true name of God (Jn 17:6; Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6).

b) The Fathers* of the Church* had a threefold motivation in their study of the divine attributes. They wished to teach Christian perfection as the imitation of God (this was the work of Athanasius* and the Cappadocians, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen*); to affirm Christian monotheism* against paganism*; and (in the controversies against Arius and Eunomius) to show the equality of the divine Persons* in the unity of the divine essence. Thus, divine names like “Light” are both names that characterize the divine essence and are common to the three Persons of the Trinity*, and the proper names of the divine Persons that express their relations among themselves and to humankind. Basil*, for example, shows in his *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* that “God is light,” the Son is the “Light born of the Light” (Nicene Creed*), and the Spirit is the “Light in which we see the Light” (Ps 35:4).

3. Islam

In Islam a celebrated hadith (the authenticity of which has been questioned) says that God has 99 names (100 minus one) and that “whoever keeps them in mind will enter paradise.” From this derives the use of the string of 99 beads (*subha, misbaha*), each one corresponding to a divine name: God is Existing, Eternal, Unique, Perfect, Living, Omnipotent, Omniscient, Creator, Sovereign, Master of Fates, Just, Certain, Guide,

Beneficent, Generous, Indulgent, Friend of Believers, and so on. The one-hundredth name is the supreme Name, the hidden name that God reserves for himself.

Exegesis of the divine names has given rise in Islam to an extensive literature on the meaning of the names, their theological explanation in the framework of the *sifat Allah*, and their spiritual meditation as practiced by the followers of the *tasawwuf*. In his *Maqasad*, Gazali (†505/1111) presents an exegesis of the divine names characterized by “moderate Sufism,” based on the list of Walid (†468/1075), but he points out that both the Koran and the tradition attest to a certain number of other names.

II. Theological Reflection on the Divine Attributes

Philosophers and theologians have sought to ascend from the created perfections to the uncreated perfections of God. Nevertheless, treatises that proposed the divine attributes as objects of contemplation* were late in appearing.

1. The Divine Names by Dionysius the Areopagite

a) *Title*. In the late fifth or early sixth century the author who wrote under the pseudonym of Dionysius the Areopagite—known now as the Pseudo-Dionysius*—composed a treatise titled *Divine Names* (*Peri theion onomaton*) (see DN I, 585 B; XIII, 984 A and MT III, 1033A), in which he explains the names God gives to himself in Scripture*. The title locates this treatise in a whole Neoplatonic tradition. Porphyry had written the treatises, now lost, “On Divine Names” and “On Statues,” and a commentary on *Cratylus*. The treatise by Jamblicus “On the Gods,” and the one by Theodore of Asinus, “On Names,” have also been lost. The *De Mysteriis* of Jamblicus, which contains an explanation of divine names (I, 4), has survived.

b) *Classification of Divine Names*. In chapter III of *Mystical Theology*, Pseudo-Dionysius situates his *Divine Names* in relation to lost works (such as the *Theological Sketches* and *Symbolic Theology*) and to *Mystical Theology*, and he characterizes these treatises on the basis of the distinction between affirmative and negative theology*.

Affirmative theology deals with three categories of divine names: 1) Names concerning the single and trine divine nature, the Trinity and the Incarnation* of the Son, that Dionysius had set out in the *Theological Sketches* (MT 1033 A-B). 2) Intelligible divine names, such as Good* (chap. IV), Being* (chap. V), Life (chap. VI), Wisdom* (chap. VII), Power (chap. VIII),

and finally the One (chap. XIII), all explained in *Divine Names*. 3) Symbolic divine names, that had been treated in *Symbolic Theology*: “In *Symbolic Theology* we dealt with the metonymies relating the tangible to the divine, we said what is the meaning in God of forms, figures, parts, and organs; the meaning in God of places and ornaments; the meaning of anger, sorrow, and resentment; the meaning of enthusiasm and intoxication; the meaning of oaths, curses, sleep, and waking, and all the forms with which divine sanctity is clothed to give it a face” (MT 1033 A-B).

Divine names thus have to do with the divine nature, its intelligible attributes, and the metonymies or metaphors that attribute to God human actions or passions*. God is both anonymous (DN 593 D) and polyonymous (DN 596 A), following the first two hypotheses of Parmenides: anonymous and ineffable in his absolute transcendence, polyonymous insofar as he may be glorified through the multiplicity of beings that proceed from and participate in him. God is known through both affirmative and negative theology. One follows the order of divine procession (*proodos*) which descends from the Principle to the lowest ranks of created things, the other follows the order of conversion* (*epistrophè*) of everything toward the Principle and ascends from what is “the furthest” from God to God himself. At the conclusion of this ascent we penetrate into the Darkness which is beyond the intelligible, and there is no longer merely concision but an absence of language, a total cessation of speech and of thought. God is the ineffable, like the One of Parmenides: “It is not named or spoken of, not an object of opinion or of knowledge, not perceived by any creature” (*Parmenides*).

c) *Structure of the Divine Names*. In the treatise divine names are organized following the fundamental distinction between 1) “the names suitable for divine realities” (DN 596 D); and 2) “the names derived from the operations of his providence*” (596 D). Dionysius gives the name “causative qualities” to “the Good, the Beautiful, Being, the Life-Giving, the Wise, and all those denominations that the Cause receives from the gifts that are fitting to his goodness” (640 B). With reference to the pairs of opposed categories in Parmenides, he makes it clear that these are “effigies” or “simulacra” (909 B) and, at the beginning of chapter X, that the “Omnipotent” and the “Ancient of Days” are “names that concern the procession (*proodos*) from the principle to the end” (937 B), which is also true of Peace*.

The divine names are the Good, Goodness, Beauty, and Love (chap. IV), Being (chap. V), Life (chap. VI), Wisdom, Intellect (chap. VII), Power, Justice*, Salva-

tion*, Inequality (chap. VIII), Greatness, Smallness, Identity, Diversity, Resemblance, Difference, Rest, Movement, Equality (chap. IX), Time* and Eternity* (chap. X), Peace (chap. XI), Holy of Holies, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, God of Gods (chap. XII), the One (chap. XIII).

2. Thomas Aquinas

a) *Commentary on Divine Names.* Thomas* Aquinas wrote *Expositiones super Dionysium de divinis Nominibus* (Pera) around 1260–61 (according to Walz) or 1265–66 (according to Pera). His commentary is the last of the major Western commentaries on *Divine Names*, after those of Jean Sarrazin, Robert Grosseteste, and Albert* the Great. He transposed Dionysius into the Scholastic* world, while Dionysius became, through quotations from his works, one of the three most important writers in the Thomist synthesis.

b) *Treatise of Divine Names in the Summa Theologica.* Thomas Aquinas takes up the question of divine names in *Summa Theologica* Ia, q. 13, where he studies the relationship between divine names and divine essence and sets out his theory of analogy* with reference to the knowledge* of God. Indeed, all of questions 3 through 13 (q. 3: simplicity*, q. 4: the perfection of God, q. 5: the Good, q. 6: Goodness, q. 7: infinity, q. 8: the existence of God in things, q. 9: immutability*, q. 10: eternity, q. 11: unity, q. 12: knowledge of God, and q. 13: the divine names) in which he discusses divine perfections, make up a treatise on divine names within the *Summa Theologica*.

The question of divine names poses two problems with reference to the relationship between divine attributes and the divine essence. On the one hand there is the problem of the mode of attribution of divine attributes to the divine essence, on the other the problem of the multiplicity of divine attributes and the unity or simplicity of the essence. For Thomas, divine attributes on the one hand characterize (*substantialiter*) (Ia, q. 13, a. 2, resp.) the divine essence. But on the other, the distinction between the multiplicity of divine names and the simplicity of the essence is only a distinction of reason*. Thus, the Thomist doctrine of the predication of divine attributes and of analogy undermines agnosticism* and lays a foundation for the knowledge of God.

c) *The Three Ways.* Following Dionysius, Thomas distinguishes three ways of knowing God: the affirmative way, the negative way, and the way of eminence. The affirmative way names God on the basis of created perfections, the negative way excludes any limit to

created perfections when it affirms them of God, and the way of eminence affirms that God eminently possesses in himself all the qualities or perfections of created beings. The resemblance between created beings and Creator makes it possible to attribute the perfections of the created to the Creator by analogy, but these qualities fit him so imperfectly that, when they are applied to God, their limitations must be denied. This is knowledge of God through negation. And because the divine essence cannot be known in itself, God remains ineffable.

An anonymous opusculum attributed to Thomas, *De Divinis Moribus*, which deals principally with divine attributes in relation to created beings, asks the Christian to imitate divine perfections.

III. Spiritual Contemplation of Divine Attributes

Along with theological reflection on divine names, there has also been extensive reflection of a more properly spiritual kind on the attributes of God, or the divine perfections. In the *De perfectione* Gregory* of Nyssa defines Christian perfection on the basis of the “names of Christ*.” Augustine* remarks that, according to Plato, the wise man is he who knows and imitates God and whose happiness is participation in divine qualities (*City of God* I. VII. chap. V), and he opens the first book both of the *Soliloquies* (I. c.1. 2–6) and the *Confessions* with an elevation on the names of God: “Who then are you, my God? What, I ask, but God who is Lord?” (*Confessions* I. iv. 4).

In his *De Consideratione* (I. V) Bernard* of Clairvaux implies a method for the “consideration” of the divine perfections. The *Monologion* of Anselm* is a speculative and emotional meditation on the divine attributes and the divine persons. God is the Sovereign Being; from this principle Anselm deduces all the perfections that are fitting to his divinity. Finally, in the *De triplici via*, Bonaventure* establishes a relationship between the divine names and the three ways, purgative, illuminative, and unitive. He locates the meditation on the divine attributes in the unitive way, as was also done by Garcia de Cisneros, in his *Exercitatorium spirituale*, and by Ignatius Loyola, in the fourth week of his *Spiritual Exercises*.

In the 16th century Teresa of Avila recommended to her nuns that they think of the attributes of God at the moment of beginning their prayers: “Oh Supreme Dominator...Bottomless Abyss of wonders! Beauty that enfolds all beauties! Strength that is strength itself! Oh God! Why do I not have all the eloquence, all the wisdom of mortals, to be able to set forth...a single one of those many attributes that reveal to us some

little bit of that supreme Master, our supreme Good! (*The Path of Perfection* chap. 22). And, in the third stanza of the “Living Flame,” John* of the Cross compares the divine names to “lamps of fire” (*lámparas de fuego*), which give to the soul* a “warmth of love.” In the *Contemplatio ad amorem* Ignatius Loyola meditates on the divine names, which are like “rays coming down from the sun,” or like “waters flowing from the spring” (*Exercises* no. 237).

Turning to the 17th century, in 1620 the Jesuit Leonard Lessius published a treatise in Antwerp, *De perfectionibus moribusque divinis*, and then in 1640, and in Brussels, a treatise entitled *Divine Names*. He distinguishes between absolute attributes, which belong to God alone, and relative attributes, which concern created beings as well (e.g., providence and justice). He provides a logical division of the 14 divine attributes (infinity, immensity, immutability, eternity, omnipotence, wisdom, goodness of the divine being, sanctity, kindness, sovereign rule, providence, mercy, justice, last things) to which all the others are connected. This is why his treatise is divided into 14 books. His method of meditation is both speculative and emotional.

Jean-Jacques Olier composed an unpublished treatise on the divine attributes, in which he distinguishes 19 divine attributes, almost all unrelated to created beings: the existence of God, his necessity, his independence, his sufficiency, his unity, his truth, his perfection, his infinity, his simplicity, his sanctity, his greatness, his immensity, his eternity, his knowledge, his love, his will, his goodness, his justice, and his strength. He sets forth a method “for praying about the divine attributes.” In prayer, the soul “communes” with these divine attributes: “This contemplation [of the divine attributes] sets the soul in perfection. For, as these

attributes are the perfections of God, the soul coming to commune with God and with his divine perfections, enters at the same time into sublime perfection” (vol. I).

Jean Eudes sets out this same doctrine in his *Entretiens intérieurs de l’âme chrétienne avec son Dieu*: “O my God, I give myself entirely to you: inscribe in me a perfect image of your sanctity and your divine perfections” (*Entretien* V).

It was probably Cardinal Bérulle’s “devotion” to the divine attributes, as expressed in his *Grandeurs de Jésus*, that prompted Bossuet to write his *Élévations sur Dieu, sur son unité et ses perfections*. Fénelon also wrote a *Traité de l’existence et des attributs de Dieu*. In it he establishes the existence of all the divine attributes by the fact that God is Being: “When I say of the infinite being that he is simply Being, and nothing more, I have said everything. . . . Being is his essential name, glorious, incommunicable, ineffable” (chap. V).

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YSABEL DE ANDIA

See also Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite; Eternity of God; Jealousy, Divine; Justice, Divine; Knowledge, Divine; Negative Theology; Omnipresence, Divine; Simplicity, Divine

Augustine of Hippo

Among the Fathers* of the Church, Augustine (354–430) left the largest body of work (more than 800 sermons, some 300 letters, and 100 treatises), in which he deals with all the fundamental problems of theology*. His life is also the best known. Not only did he write the *Confessions*, which, although not an

autobiography, contains autobiographical elements, but he also had a biographer in the person of his friend Possidius, bishop* of Calama. To this may be added the information he himself provides in the *Philosophical Dialogues*, the *Retractations*, sermons, and letters.

1. Life

From all these documents it is evident that the whole of his subsequent life was marked by his experience* of conversion*. This did not take place on a single occasion but lasted for 14 years, and it represented a clear dividing line in his existence. Before his conversion Augustine led a life that was quite conventional for his period, and in particular had a brilliant career as a teacher of rhetoric. Born in the small town of Thagaste (present-day Souk-Ahras in Algeria) on 13 November 354 to a middle-class family, Augustine soon distinguished himself by his intellectual qualities. From 365 he was a student of rhetoric in Madauros, but for lack of resources he returned to Thagaste for a year. In 370 his father, Patricius, sent him to Carthage to continue his education, thanks to the support of Romanianus, a family friend. He became an outstanding rhetorician, seeking honors and pleasure. He soon chose to cohabit with a woman of an inferior class, whom he consequently did not marry, although she bore him a son, Adeodatus.

At the conclusion of his studies, before beginning to teach in Thagaste in 372, he read the *Hortensius* “by a certain Cicero.” The book provoked such turmoil in him that it marked a turning point in his life (*Confessions* III. iv. 7–8). This was the first step toward the discovery of God*, *interior intimo meo et superior summo meo*, the first moment of his conversion. Not only did Augustine move from rhetoric to philosophy*, but more deeply, he discovered Wisdom* and was led to read the Bible*. He was disappointed, however, to find that it did not display the stylistic qualities of Cicero.

Yet his thirst for truth* persisted, which explains why he became an adherent of Manicheism* and remained one for 10 years. An auditor, he hoped to be initiated into the mysteries as one of the Elect, and in doing so to replace faith* with reason*. But his encounter with Faustus of Mileu (in 382–83), who was reputed to be a most learned Manichean, made him realize that Manicheism was far from providing the key to all mysteries and that it was in fact contrary to rationalism* (*Confessions* V. vi. 10–vii. 13). Augustine therefore gradually distanced himself from it. In 384 his appointment as a teacher of rhetoric in Milan, although supported by the Manicheans, allowed him to break definitively with the group.

It was then that he met Ambrose*, whom he appreciated for his human qualities and his preaching*. Introduced by Simplicianus, friend and successor of Ambrose, to the reading of the *Libri Platoniorum*, he experienced a genuine intellectual conversion (*Confessions* VII. x. 16–xxi. 27). It cannot be determined with certainty whether these books were those of Plotinus or

of Porphyry, or both. In any event, they oriented Augustine toward inwardness and led him to recognize the creative role of God. But by themselves they were not enough, and Augustine explains: “Unless I had sought your way in Christ* our Savior, I would not have been expert but expunged” (*Confessions* VII. xx. 26).

However, his reading of the Epistles of Paul in July 386 (*Confessions* VII. xxi. 27) still did not bring about his decision to ask for baptism*. To overcome his hesitations he required the example of the conversion of the rhetor Marius Victorinus (*Confessions* VII. ii. 3–iv. 9), the evocation of the life of the hermits of Trier (*Confessions* VIII. vi. 13–vii. 18), and above all the episode of the garden in Milan (*Confessions* VIII. xii. 28–30), where the conversion of his will was accomplished. He gave up his position as teacher of rhetoric and withdrew with a few friends to Cassiciacum, near Milan, to devote himself to prayer* and philosophical dialogue. On Easter night 387 he was baptized by Ambrose in Milan, along with his son Adeodatus and his friend Alypius. He stayed a while in Cassiciacum and then decided to return to Africa. Before embarking and after his celebrated ecstatic experience in Ostia (*Confessions* IX. x. 23–25), his mother Monica departed this life.

On his return to Thagaste in 388 Augustine organized a more structured community known as “the servants of God,” and avoided all cities that had vacant bishoprics. However, after the death of Adeodatus, he agreed to go to Hippo “to see a friend whom [he] hoped to turn toward God . . . [He] was not worried, because there was a bishop. But [he] was seized, made a priest*, and that led [him] finally to become a bishop” (Sermon 355. 1).

In fact, Bishop Valerius, who was aged and knew little Latin, asked during a liturgical service for assistance from a priest. Augustine, who was unexpectedly present, was literally overcome by the crowd and led to the bishop. More than reticent because of his monastic commitment and what he considered his lack of preparation, he secured a delay, but was ordained in 391. Better educated than most of his colleagues, he pursued his conversion and devoted himself to the study of Scripture*. He was soon called upon to defend the faith against Donatism* and Manicheism, from which came his celebrated debate with the Manichean, Fortunatus, on 28 September 392. Valerius also helped him to establish a monastery in Hippo. Recognizing his abilities, Valerius almost immediately asked him to take on quasi-episcopal functions and had him preach on faith and the creed at the Council* of Hippo on 8 October 393.

In 395 he was consecrated coadjutor of Hippo, so that he might remain in that church. Then, on the

death of Valerius in 395 or 396, he became titular bishop. Although Augustine was a contemplative, a renewal of conversion led him to agree to assume pastoral duties, including service and preaching*. He devoted himself wholeheartedly to these tasks, following the well-known maxim, "For you, I am a bishop; with you, I am a Christian" (Sermon 340). He was solicitous toward everyone, and particularly concerned for the cohesion of his community, threatened as this was by various heresies*, among which Pelagianism was noteworthy from 412 on. On this account he was reluctant to leave Hippo, but was brought to do so in order to participate in various councils, where he often played a decisive role. He thus traveled throughout North Africa.

In addition to the many works he wrote in this period, the Letters, discovered in 1975 by Johannes Divjak, and the Sermons, found in the Mainz library in 1990 by François Dolbeau, provide a better idea of his activity during these years. As a bishop who was also a monk, Augustine felt sorrow at his distance from the men with whom he had led a life in common in the monastery of Hippo: Alypius, Possidius, Evodius, and Profuturus, all of whom had become bishops. He nevertheless maintained a firm friendship with them, which contributed to the unity* of the African Church in a context made difficult by many heresies and by the fall of Rome*. It was in these circumstances that Augustine wrote *The City of God* and the *Retractations*. The latter represents a unique book in the history of thought. In it, Augustine takes up all his works one by one, providing correctives and additions. This was on the eve of his death, which occurred on 28 August 430, in a Hippo besieged by the Vandals.

2. Anthropology

Whereas Books I to IX of the *Confessions* constitute an important biographical source, Books X to XIII lay out the broad outlines of Augustine's anthropology. The *Confessions* (from the Latin verb *confiteor*) designate in fact a threefold confession: avowal of past sins, confession of faith, and thanksgiving for creation*, in which his anthropology is articulated.

In focusing solely on his writings concerning the Pelagian controversy and taking these out of context, or on the Jansenist* reinterpretation of his work, commentators have often criticized Augustine for propounding a pessimistic anthropology. This component exists, but it comes late in his work, dating from the years around 415. It derives from the requirements of a particular polemic, and therefore calls for a nuanced reading. In fact, Augustinian anthropology is resolutely optimistic and is defined on the basis of the schema: *creatio, conversio, formatio*. Furthermore,

this schema is constant, even though it was masked by other questions in the course of the Pelagian polemic.

a) *The Schema: Creatio, Conversio, Formatio.* Augustine was made aware very early of the need to develop a solid anthropology. Having discovered through Ambrose's preaching the spiritual dimension of the image of God in the human person, he was thereby able to refute the Manicheans on this point (*De Genesi contra manicheos*) and to deepen the notion of the relationship between Creator and created being. But Augustine did not stop with a simple reflection on the image of God. He situated it at its point of emergence in the text of Genesis and, in the course of exercising his duties as bishop, he commented five times on the first chapters of that book (*De Genesi contra manicheos*, *De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus*, *Confessions* XI-XIII, *De Genesi ad litteram*, *City of God* XI). In doing so he proposed a theological ontology and a spiritual anthropology, and dealt with fundamental questions: "Who made created beings? How and why?" (*City of God* XI. 21).

Creation holds a central place in his commentary. In opposition to the Manicheans, he emphasizes its goodness and interprets it as the gift of being*. But, whereas all other beings are perfect according to their kind, man has an intermediate position (Letter XVIII): according to the inclination of his heart, he fulfills or destroys himself, and from this comes the decisive role of conversion.

As one who was strongly influenced by the Neoplatonic notion of conversion, and who went through the experience of conversion throughout his life, Augustine frequently emphasizes its necessity for the fulfillment of being (*Confessions* XIII. ii. 3). It is through conversion that "the created being takes form and becomes a perfect being" (*De Genesi ad litteram* I. iv. 9). Angels*, which for Augustine represent perfect creation, give an idea of this: "Turned from his unformed nature toward God who formed him, the angelic creature is created and formed" (*De Genesi ad litteram* III. xx. 31). Conversion and *formatio* are simultaneous for angels, while for human beings there is a gap between the two.

By the term *formatio*, a variant of *forma* difficult to translate, Augustine designates the fulfillment of being, which he expresses chiefly with the metaphors of illumination and rest in God, which goes some way toward evoking deification, in which freedom* and grace* act in concert.

b) *Freedom and Grace, or the Echo of the Pelagian Polemic.* The problem of the relationship between freedom and grace took on its full importance during

the course of the Pelagian polemic. But from the moment of his conversion, as he was reiterating: “You converted me to yourself” (*Confessions* VIII. xii. 30), Augustine was aware of the synergy between freedom and grace. Although he stressed grace during the controversy, he nevertheless did not underestimate the role of freedom, as he explains in the *Retractationes* II. 37): “In my book *The Spirit and the Letter*, I violently combated the enemies of the grace of God,” that is, the Pelagians. He goes on (II. 42): “The book in which I answered Pelagius to defend grace and not to attack nature*, which is bestowed and governed by grace, is called *Nature and Grace*.” In fact he had no intention of calling nature into question. He simply wanted to show that, in itself, nature is nothing, and that the role of God is central. One particular form of Augustinianism, by radicalizing his positions, was to distort them.

Analogously, due to an erroneous exegesis of Paul (Rom 5:12) that he based on the inaccurate translation of the *Vetus Latina*, as well as to his polemical intentions, Augustine came to an excessively rigid position on the question of original sin* and infant baptism. If the context of all this is ignored, there is a danger of misinterpreting Augustine’s thought. It is important to see, as he explains in the *Enchiridion*, that he understands everything in the light of the new creation.

Moreover, Augustine simultaneously emphasizes the place of freedom and states that “he who has created you without you does not justify you without you: he has created someone who was not conscious, he does not justify someone without that person’s consent” (Sermon 169. 11).

Through grace, “free will is not removed but helped” (Letter 157. 2). Finally, Augustine comes to a very balanced vision of the relationship between freedom and grace, as evinced, for example, in his book *The Spirit and the Letter* (III. 5) and in Sermon 26. Polemic leads him into certain excesses, but his intention is to foreground the role of the Holy Spirit, as he does much more serenely in *De Trinitate*.

3. Trinitarian Theology

De Trinitate is an account of his meditation on the Trinity*. Augustine did not wish to publish it, but resigned himself to doing so around 426, after the first 12 books had been stolen from him and published without his knowledge. He did not purport to present a systematic exposition of the Trinity but an expression of his thinking, which he might continue to develop and deepen, as he had already done in Sermon 52. The book had an influence that he did not foresee and lastingly marked Western Trinitarian theology. Having read all the works on the Trinity that were extant at the time, Augustine in fact broached all basic questions

pertaining to the subject: the relationship between the unity of essence and the Trinity of Persons*, circumcession*, the creative Trinity, and Trinitarian analogies*.

a) *The Trinity: A Mystery of Love*. From the moment of his conversion, Augustine attempted to understand the mystery* of God. He was soon absorbed by its dynamics, which is nothing other than Trinitarian love* (*De Trinitate* XV. ii. 3). His thinking, therefore, was not merely speculative, but also spiritual and mystical*. Some of his works—*De Trinitate*, *On John’s Gospel*, *On John’s Epistle*, and the *Regulus*—bring together themes that he was the first to treat in terms of their interrelationship. In all these books Augustine points out that charity is the basis of intellectual, spiritual, and community life, and he advocates a welcoming attitude in order to penetrate the mystery of love that God is. As he explains in the *On John’s Gospel* (76. 4): “The Father*, the Son*, and the Holy Spirit come to us when we go toward them; they come to offer us their help, and we offer them our obedience. They come to illuminate us as we contemplate, they come to fill us as we welcome them.” An exchange, a constantly renewed gift on the part of the Trinity is then accomplished, and we are introduced into the life of the Trinity.

Augustine also repeats an image, that of the *cor unum* of the first community of Jerusalem*, in order to express the life of the Trinity (*On John’s Gospel* 14. 9). Therein lies the entire mystery of the unity of the Trinity, a theme he develops extensively in *De Trinitate*. The creator of this unity is none other than the Holy Spirit. “When this Spirit, God of God, gives Himself to man, He inflames him with the love of God and of his neighbor, because He is Love. Man can love God only through God” (*De Trinitate* XV. xvii. 31). He thereby enters into this mystery of love and can love as the Father loves the Son, or as the Son loves the Father, or be love as the Holy Spirit is love, and live the life that is given to him by the Trinity. *De Trinitate* attempts to give an account of this very dynamism, which accounts for the structure of the work.

b) *Two Books*. Augustine begins with two books: Scripture and creation. In a first stage, corresponding to the first seven books of *De Trinitate*, he tries to define the nature of the Trinity as it appears in Scripture. Against the Sabellians, he first affirms the unity and equality of the Trinity, then he studies the distinctive mission of each Person of the Trinity in order to show that there is not subordination but equality among them. Thereafter, he rereads the theophanies* of the Old Testament to determine whether they evoke the

Trinity. Having to engage in polemics with resurgent Arianism*, he recalls the divinity of Christ* and emphasizes Christology* and the mystery of the Incarnation*. In Books V and VII he proposes a specifically Trinitarian vocabulary. However, he soon sees that words are inadequate to speak of the Trinity. “What are these three?” To be sure, we do speak of three persons, but the term is only approximate, because the divine Persons are infinitely more than human persons (*De Trinitate* VII. iv. 7). Augustine does not go beyond a formal definition of person, but he prepares the way for further developments by Boethius*, Richard of Saint*-Victor, and Thomas* Aquinas.

Augustine gradually realizes, however, that the study of Scripture and a rational procedure do not allow him to go any further in his investigation. He therefore adopts a different perspective in Books VIII through XV. He no longer considers the Trinity in itself, but envisions it from the viewpoint of the human being, created in its image. He is then led to introduce what may be called Trinitarian analogies, which establish a link between anthropology and Trinitarian theology. The principal analogy, of the lover, the beloved, and the love, derives from his meditation on the Trinity. In Augustine’s view it characterizes the Trinity in itself, which is conceived as a circulation of love among the divine Persons, each Person being established in its being by the loving gaze of the other. The other analogies—the soul*, knowledge, and love (IX); memory, intelligence, and will (X); memory, inner vision, and will (XI)—refer only to the human being and have sometimes been defined as psychological. They are influenced by Neoplatonism, particularly by Porphyry, but Augustine proposes them merely as hypotheses and never as trinities in themselves. He applies them to the soul, insofar as it is created in the image of the Trinity (which Porphyry did not say), and attempts thereby to show that, although the Trinity may be inaccessible in itself, it is on the other hand accessible by taking as a point of departure its expression in the human person. Moreover, in Books XIV and XV he studies an important point: the renewal of he who is created in the image, a renewal that is accomplished in the image of the Trinity and which constitutes the human being as a subject. “We will then be transformed,” he writes, “that is, we will pass from one form to another, from the obscure to the luminous form. For the obscure form is already an image of God and thereby of His glory*.... This nature, the noblest of created things, once purified of its impiety by its creator, leaves its deformed form to become a beautiful form” (*De Trinitate* XV. viii. 14).

Here he reiterates the reflections he had developed in his commentaries on Genesis. In Book XV he also

considers the procession of the Spirit and sets out the preliminary elements for a theology of the *Filioque**. But when he comes to say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father* and from the Son, it is the result of his investigation and not simply a dogmatic assertion.

4. *The Two Cities*

Another work by Augustine, published in the same period (c. 427), although it was begun in 412, had a great influence on later thought: *The City of God*. As in *De vera religione*, Augustine propounds an apologia for the true faith, the faith that leads to beatitude*. “Two loves have made two cities: love of self going as far as contempt for God has engendered the earthly city, love of God driven as far as contempt for the self has engendered the heavenly city” (XIV. 28). Augustine had long reflected on the theme of the two cities. It is found as early as *De vera religione*, *De catechizandis rudibus*, and *De Genesi ad litteram*, before being theorized in *The City of God* on the basis of a refutation of paganism* (I-X) and an affirmation of Christianity (XI-XXII). But the interpretation of the theme is difficult and has given rise to many controversies. One can no doubt see an opposition between Rome and the heavenly Jerusalem in the choice of *civitas* for the title of the work: it was written shortly after the fall of Rome and, while strongly marked by that event, intended to show that it was not the end of history*.

However, we should not be too hasty in assimilating the City of God to the Church*, as writers in the 19th century tended to do. Augustine begins rather with the parable* of the wheat and the chaff in order to situate these two realities. The Church has a central place in the thought of Augustine the pastor* of souls. He defines it as the mystical body of Christ, or even as Christ in his entirety, whose soul is the Holy Spirit (Sermon 267. 4). He develops his ecclesiology* principally in response to Donatism*, and in the light of the mystery of the Incarnation. He also points out that the Church presupposes communion* in faith, the sacraments*, and love, and that outside the Church there is no salvation*. This last point, however, needs some qualification, because Augustine is not referring here to the hierarchical church but to the Church understood as the community of the just, of both the Old and the New Covenant*. His perspective is thus much less restrictive than might have appeared at first sight. In fact, the City of God that he evokes is in some sense the city of which Scripture speaks. Its goal is beatitude, the eternal Sabbath* in which “we will rest and we will see; we will see and we will love; we will love and we will praise,” and in this we can see a link between the City of God and Augustinian eschatology*.

Moreover, Books XIX through XXII of *The City of*

God are concerned with the final ends of the two cities and thus develop essential themes of Augustine's work, present from the earliest *Dialogues*: friendship, happiness, and peace*. These themes are supplemented, as in the works of the other Fathers of the Church, with a long reflection on the Resurrection* and salvation, interpreted in terms of the accomplishment of the six ages of the world*, which are understood as repeating the six days of Genesis and procuring beatitude and eternal rest.

Influenced by Porphyry, Augustine also presents in the work a theology of history, which to some degree reiterates and develops the celebrated reflection on time* that he had presented in Book XI of the *Confessions*.

Genius of the West, "doctor* of grace," Augustine left a considerable body of work, fragments of which are still being discovered, which strongly influenced the Latin Middle Ages. He was also the "doctor of charity," not only because of his famous maxim, "Love and do what you will," but also and especially because of the place he gives to charity, both in friendship, which was the very heart of his life, and in his pastoral duties and his spiritual* and communal life, of which it was the wellspring.

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See also Augustinianism; Catechesis; Monasticism; Platonism, Christian; Political Theology

Augustinianism

“It was not always the best part of Saint Augustine* that in fact exercised the deepest or at least the most visible influence; the task set for us is thus easy to define: constantly to appeal from Augustinianism in all its forms to Saint Augustine himself” (Marrou 1955).

It is much more difficult to analyze the notion of Augustinianism, which covers a long history and is extremely complex. It is vague and, like many other “-isms,” easily carries a pejorative connotation, all the more so because there is only one noun to designate both *Augustinian* quality and *Augustinist* defect. E. Portalié (1903) distinguishes between: 1) *Augustinianism*, the doctrine of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine on grace* (2485); and 2) *Augustinism*, which “either designates in a general manner the totality of Augustine’s doctrines, or even the particular philosophical spirit which animates them; or, more particularly, his system of thought insofar as it considers the action of God*, grace, and liberty*” (2501). F. Cayré (1951) makes a number of subdistinctions: 1) *historical Augustinianism*, which is “the entirety of the doctrine of Saint Augustine as it appears in his work”; 2) *contemporary, official Augustinianism*, which is “the entirety of doctrines on grace which have since antiquity stamped the action of Saint Augustine and have entered into the common teaching of the church*”; 3) *partial Augustinianisms*, “particular aspects of the thought of Saint Augustine, emphasized at various times” (about 10); 4) *great Augustinianism*, an “ordered synthesis of the thought of Saint Augustine, not only on grace, but on the totality of Christian doctrine and on the principles that insure its vitality as evidenced by the persistence of its action; and 5) *false Augustinianisms*: predestinationism, Protestantism*, Jansenism*, and ontologism* (317–24). We will confine ourselves here to a brief and inevitably incomplete attempt at discernment: first, of the *Augustinian* spirit during Augustine’s own lifetime and then during a period of calm acceptance; and second, of the *Augustinist* crises that have occurred over the course of 15 centuries on the question of grace and predestination* and on the theory of knowledge.

I. The Augustinian Spirit

1. During Augustine’s Lifetime

a) Augustine’s doctrinal activity was in no way aimed at establishing a personal system. It was di-

rected toward an understanding of faith* (following the principle, *Crede ut intelligas*, that was adopted by Anselm*), in and for the African Christian communities, through interpretation of the Holy* Scriptures, which contain Christian doctrine (the theme of *De doctrina christiana*).

b) But this interpretation was strongly influenced by the event of Augustine’s conversion* and the ensuing spiritual experience*. Three fundamental values can be discerned:

- 1) Interiority, the *Deus interior intimo meo et superior summo meo* (*Confessions* III. vi. 10), the discovery of the purely spiritual nature of God and of the soul*, thanks to the books of the Platonists; a theme deepened in the meditation on memory (*Confessions* X) and on Trinitarian spirituality (*De Trinitate* VIII–XV).
- 2) Community, incorporation into the Church through baptism*, but also the common life of brothers and then of the clergy*, based on the ideal of the apostolic community of Jerusalem* (Acts 4:32–35: *cor unum et anima una*), ideal form of the Church and prefiguration of the *City of God*. This practice of common life, following the *Rule* of Augustine, was continued in two families, the regular Canons and the Order (of Hermits) of Saint Augustine (O.[H.] S.A.).
- 3) The absolute primacy of God’s grace: the merciful kindness of God toward Augustine, experienced in his conversion. In 396–97, Simplicianus (Ambrose*’s successor as bishop of Milan) provoked Augustine to a profound meditation on chapters 7 and 9 of The Epistle to the Romans, after which he understood that the grace of God anticipates any human initiative, including belief and desire. Composed shortly thereafter and marked by this discovery, the *Confessions* contain the germ of the Pelagian controversy. Pelagius was scandalized by Augustine’s prayer: “Grant what you command, and command what you will” (*Confessions* X. xxix. 40).

c) At the same time, in concert with Aurelius (†432), bishop of Carthage and primate of Africa, Augustine played the role of theological expert in the Catholic episcopate of Africa, an honor that his colleagues obvi-

ously did not contest. To the many requests that were made of him he responded with thousands of sermons, hundreds of letters, and about a hundred books.

d) The controversies he provoked (Manicheism*, Donatism*, Pelagianism*) themselves arose from his pastoral activity and were made necessary because of the various religious antagonisms with which African Christendom was afflicted. The controversial works are peremptory retorts that mercilessly refute the opposing argument point by point, using the techniques of legal dispute. They should not be and should not have been exploited (sometimes in a simplistic way) in any process of dogmatization (dogma*) of Christianity. In contrast, the great works of reflection (*Confessions*, *De Genesi ad litteram*, *De Trinitate*) are meditative and questioning, not at all inclining toward dogmatism.

e) In fact, after 40 years of service, Augustine had covered the entire field of Christian doctrine: God, the Trinity*, Christ* and salvation, the Church as *Christus totus*, the sacraments*, sin*, grace and predestination, personal and community spiritual life*—all without the slightest trace of a system. He certainly did not wish to establish *an* or *the* Augustinianism, but rather to pursue the defense and illustration of Christian truth*.

2. *Calm Acceptance*

a) Latin Christendom was to find in this body of occasional if not disparate works what might well be called its theological common property, incorporating in coherent form all the elements of Christian culture: philosophy*, theology*, law*, spirituality, mysticism*. And this was quickly recognized, as witnessed by the legend of the “portrait” of the old Lateran library dating from the sixth century: *Diuersi diuersa patres, sed hic omnia dixit, romano eloquio mystica sensa tonans* (Marrou 1955: “The various Fathers* of the Church have explained various things, but he alone has said all in Latin, explaining the mysteries* in the thunder of his great voice”).

b) In the sixth century, Caesar of Arles († c. 532) was still making frequent use of Augustine’s sermons and assured their diffusion through the collections he made of them. He did this not because he was some kind of plagiarist, as scholars too often conclude, but for the good of souls. In this he was merely conforming with Augustine’s own practice, since Augustine would habitually prepare sermons that would then be delivered by colleagues who were less gifted at preaching* than he was.

c) With copy after copy pouring forth from monastic scriptoria, the works of Augustine were extraordinarily widely distributed and exercised an incalculable influence on medieval, and especially monastic, spirituality. Homilies, collections of sermons that were read during the night office and later in the dining hall, had become widespread by the seventh century. Augustine’s theme of the restoration of the soul* in the image of God exercised a powerful influence, notably in the 12th century (Javelet 1967). The reception of the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius* did not eclipse that of Augustine by Meister Eckhart (†1327; Courcelle 1963) and among the Rhineland*-Flemish mystics generally. J. Ruusbroec (†1381) was an Augustinian canon in Groenendaal. He was responsible for the conversion of G. Groot (†1384), founder of the Brothers of Common Life and initiator of *devotio* moderna*, to which Gerson (Jean Charlier †1429) gave theological status. The *Confessions* was bedside reading for many contemplatives. Teresa of Avila, to cite only one example, saw herself in it as in a mirror (Courcelle 1963).

d) In the ninth century Augustine was considered as “the master, after the apostles*, of all the churches,” according to the testimony of Gottschalk of Orbais (Chatillon 1949), who considered himself an Augustinian in his (disastrous) preaching concerning dual predestination (see II 1 f above). Aside from being condemned by church councils, he was refuted by Duns* Scotus (Madec 1978), who contrasted the Augustinianism of predestination with that of the absolute simplicity* of God, indicating that everything can be found in Augustine. The refutation is worth what it is worth, but it certainly shows that Duns Scotus had a good Augustinian library at his disposal. He later found better arguments in the Greek fathers* of the church and was the first to apply the “law of communicating Platonisms,” in the phrase of E. Gilson (1972), that is, to combine Augustinianism and Dionysianism (Koch 1969).

e) During the “renaissance” of the 11th and 12th centuries, powerful doctrinal personalities such as Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard* of Clairvaux, but also Peter Abelard*, Hugh of Saint*-Victor, and many others, maintained their Augustinian inspiration, each according to his own inclinations and for his own benefit and that of his colleagues. Also in the 12th century, the librarian of the Abbey of Clairvaux gathered a large part of Augustine’s works into a Corpus of 12 volumes. But we can only speculate about the potential readership he had in mind, for there are no superstars in the quiet reading of the works of Augustine.

f) However, Peter Lombard freely mined those works for quotations, which he then put in “theologi-

cal” order in the four books of the *Sentences*. They contain 1,423 mentions of Augustine, 4 of Pseudo-Dionysius, 193 of Ambrose, 150 of Jerome, and 139 of Gregory* the Great. Because of this manual, upon which it was obligatory to comment in all schools, basic theology during the major period of Scholasticism* came to be composed of 80 to 90 percent of Augustinian elements, even if these were passed through a Scholastic* filter. There are more than 2,000 quotations of Augustine in the *Summa Theologica* alone (Elders 1987). “Albert* the Great and Saint Thomas, far from presenting themselves as adversaries of Saint Augustine, as they were reproached for doing, set themselves to learn from him and, while modifying certain theories, introduced and absorbed the entire theology of the Doctor of Hippo.... Thus, there was no strictly Augustinian school ... because all schools were.... What disappeared was Augustinianism in too narrow and limited a form, bestowed on it by particular questions then much debated, an Augustinianism that was too Platonic. But *great Augustinianism*, with its views on God, on divine ideas, on the Trinity, on revelation*, not to mention grace, still holds sway over our minds” (Portalié 1903).

g) The decadence of Scholasticism brought about serious crises, which will be considered in part II. Suffice it to say that these crises were at a point of no return, and it is perhaps useful to recall the judgment of Harnack (1907): “All the major personalities who recreated a new life in the Western church or who purified and deepened piety came, directly or indirectly, from Saint Augustine and were trained in his school.” This is to assert that the “heretics” themselves—Luther*, Calvin*, Baius, Jansenius, and the rest—before becoming “mis-directed Augustinians” (Lubac 1931), wished to be and believed they were good disciples of Augustine.

h) During the period of Christian humanism* there appeared the first editions of the *Opera omnia*, that of Amebach in Basel in 1506, and that of Erasmus* in 1528–29, also published in Basel and reprinted several times. The edition prepared by the theologians of Louvain, published by Plantin in Antwerp in 1577, also reprinted many times, was in use throughout most of the 17th century (Ceyssens 1982), before there appeared the edition of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur (Paris, 1679–90). This was also the time of the first translations: *The City of God* by Raoul de Presles, appearing as early as 1486. All of this is evidence of Augustinian vitality.

i) The Great Century in France has also been called “the century of Saint Augustine” (Sellier 1982). If this

was the case, it was not only because of the Jansenist controversy. The spirituality of Bérulle, for example, is of Augustinian inspiration. Mersenne, Meslan, and Antoine Arnauld pointed out to Descartes* his affinities with Augustine (Lewis 1954). Pascal* was Augustinian in the *Pensées* as well as in the *Provinciales* (Sellier 1970). Father André Martin of the Oratorians (under the pseudonym of Ambrosius Victor), compiled a *Philosophia christiana*, a clever compilation of extracts from Augustine, which was of much use to another Oratorian, Malebranche. Bossuet was an Augustinian, as was Fénelon in another way, along with so many others that it would be tedious to list them all. Arnauld d’Andilly translated the *Confessions*; and his brother Antoine Arnauld translated not only the anti-Pelagian writings, but also various short works and the *Sermons of Saint Augustine on the Psalms*, in seven volumes.

j) After an eclipse, which was perhaps not total, during the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, Augustine gradually regained visibility in the difficult restoration of Christian thought, filtered through the work of Descartes and Malebranche. His presence is real, although ill defined, in traditionalism* (Lammennais, Bautain), in Christian rationalism* (Maine de Biran, Bordas-Dumoulin, Lequier), and in ontologism (Brancereau and Hugonin in France, Ubaghs in Belgium, Rosmini in Italy). It gained force in the work of Father Gratry. (On all these movements, see Foucher 1955.) The *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, founded by A. Bonnety in 1830, also belong to this movement.

In the Oxford Movement, Newman (*Apologia pro vita sua*) considered Augustine as “the great light of the Western world, who, though not an infallible teacher, shaped the mind of Europe.” Pusey published his own translation of the *Confessions* as the first volume of the *Oxford Library of the Fathers*. In Germany we must at least mention the school of Tübingen, the work of J. A. Möhler, as well as the *Summa* of J. Kleutgen, S.J., *Theologie ... and Philosophie der Vorzeit*.

k) From 1841 to 1862 J.-P. Migne reprinted the Saint-Maur edition of the works of Augustine in Volumes 32–47 of his *Patrologie latine*. And by the end of the 19th century France could pride itself on being the only country to have two complete translations of the works of Augustine (Poujoulat and Raulx, Bar-le-Duc, 1864–73, in 17 volumes; Péronne et al., Paris, Librairie Vivès, 1869–78, in 34 volumes).

l) When he assumed the editorship of the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* in 1905, L. Laberthonnière

adopted the motto: “Let us seek as though we must find, let us find as though we must seek” (*De Trinitate* IX. i. 1). M. Blondel* (1930) celebrated “the constantly renewed richness of Augustinian thought.” As early as 1933 Father F. Cayré (1884–1971), concerned with balancing neo-Thomism with a kind of neo-Augustinianism, launched the *Bibliothèque augustiniennne* and in 1943 created the *Centre d’Études augustiniennes*, where Augustinian studies experienced a rapid expansion in the context of a movement of return to the Fathers of the Church. It has even been written that it was Augustine who was the great theologian of Vatican* II (Morán 1966). On this point, we should simply note that J. Ratzinger (1954), an expert on the council*, had written his thesis on the Augustinian doctrine of the church as people* and house of God. The thesis was published in the 16th centenary of the death of Augustine, something which was also celebrated by an important international congress that prepared a survey of Augustinian studies and so helped to ensure their revival. The proceedings of the congress were published in three volumes: *Augustinus Magister*. Even today, the Augustinian spirit flourishes where it will.

II. Augustinist Crises

1. Grace and Predestination

a) In order to attempt to achieve clarity, it is first appropriate to set out a strict and narrow definition of Augustinianism as a particular interpretation of the mystery* of salvation, an interpretation that can be and has been challenged. According to Dom O. Rottmanner (1908), it is “the doctrine of unconditioned predestination and particular salvific will as Saint Augustine developed it in the last period of his life...surrendering no part of it until his death.” Subsequent history then becomes a series of doctrinal crises and provocations.

b) *An Augustinian Crisis?* We noted above (I 1 b) that in reflecting on Romans in order to reply to Simplicianus, Augustine had had the revelation of an absolute primacy of grace over any human initiative. This has been interpreted as a doctrinal crisis, an upheaval that transformed Augustinian doctrine into a “nest of contradictions” (Flasch 1980). But in the mind of Augustine it represented progress. It has also been thought (Hombert 1966) that the work caused a falling out: the silence of Simplicianus and of Aurelius himself is thought to have been reproving. If this were the case, it would also have been reprehensible, for the result was that Augustine was later to become entangled

alone in the excesses of his *intellectus fidei* (Solignac 1988).

c) The Pelagian controversy was essentially an affair of the church and the councils (Wermelinger 1975). Certainly, Augustine led the battle with his many writings against Celestius, Pelagius, and Julian of Eclanum, but the African bishops were behind him. However, it cannot be denied that his interpretation of the consequences of original sin* aroused protests. As early as 413, some went so far as to treat Augustine as a heretic (*ibid.*). In the heat of controversy, Augustine’s thought hardened, or rather his interpretation of Holy Scripture, especially Romans (*see* Solignac 1988), for it must be remembered that Augustine had no intention of constructing a personal system. The African bishops did not adopt his thought wholesale. The canons of the Council of Carthage (418; *DH* 222–30) make no mention of the limitation of saving grace or of predestination, and nor do pontifical documents (Innocent I, Zosima; *DH* 217–21).

d) Since the late 16th century, the monks of Provence, Cassian and his disciples, have inappropriately been characterized as “semi-Pelagians.” On the contrary, they in no way relied on Pelagius, but admired the works of Augustine. They merely challenged his theory of grace and predestination, which they deemed “contrary to the opinion of the Fathers of the Church and to the sense of the church” (Letter from Prosper to Augustine). In other words, they saw Augustine’s thinking in these areas as innovative and tending toward heresy*. It might be said that they were the first critical Augustinians. Augustine answered that although they had taken the trouble to read his books, they had not taken the trouble to make progress with him while reading them: that is, progress in the understanding of faith, which is the comprehension of Holy Scripture. Prosper of Aquitaine (†463) has been called the “first representative of medieval Augustinianism” (Cappuyns 1929), and he certainly did much work in defense of Augustine. By 431, a few months after Augustine’s death, he secured from Pope* Celestine a letter in praise of the great bishop* of Hippo and generally (that is, prudently) approving his doctrine, while recalling that his predecessors had always considered Augustine among the best teachers (*DH* 237). Prosper did much for the adoption of a moderate Augustinianism, opposed to the criticisms of the monks of Provence, while recognizing along with them that we must not discuss the mystery of predestination formulated by Paul in Romans 8:28 ff. (*DH* 238–49).

e) In fact there was a risk that the idea might logically degenerate into predestinationism: if God predes-

tines the elect to eternal bliss, logically he also predestines the others, the reprobates, to eternal damnation. Perhaps this is “a fearsome weapon” forged in some anti-Augustinian circle (Orcibal 1989). But the priest* Lucidus had to issue a retraction on this question at the Council of Arles in 473 (*DH* 330–42). Around 520 Fulgentius of Ruspe also attempted to dissuade Monimus from this position. The Council of Orange (529; *DH* 379–97), under the impetus of Caesar of Arles, gave official status to a “softened,” “moderate” Augustinianism, and in the opinion of Portalié (1903, 2526), this was “the most important event in the history of Augustinianism”: “Already . . . all of Jansenism is condemned by the very council that most exalted Augustinian doctrine. It will remain definitively established that, in *legitimate and Catholic* Augustinianism, there is not, in the proper sense of the word, a predestination to death and further that God really wills the salvation of all men” (1527).

f) Nevertheless, there were serious resurgences. The first was provoked in the ninth century by Gottschalk, a renegade monk from Orbais, who began to preach on dual predestination, following a formulation of Isidore of Seville: “There is a dual predestination, that of the elect at rest, that of the reprobates in death” (*Sentences* II. 6. 1). Such an argument could have only disastrous consequences for pastoral activity. Gottschalk was condemned by several synods, including the Synod of Quierzy (*DH* 621–24). His refuter, Duns Scotus, was also condemned (*see* I 2 d above) at the synod of Valence (*DH* 625–33).

g) The great Scholastics, Thomas, Bonaventure*, Gilles of Rome (O.H.S.A., †1316), and the others, explained and developed the (Augustinian) doctrine of grace and liberty in their schools, variously in relative tranquility. But predestinationism returned in the form of the absolute determinism of Thomas Bradwardine (†1348) and was transmitted to John Wycliffe (1384). It was, however, condemned at the Council of Constance* (*DH* 1151–95). There were further resurgences with Luther* and especially Calvin*. On their Augustinianism, *see* L. Cristiani (1954) and J. Cadier (1954).

h) At the Council of Trent*, Jerome Seripando, prior general of the Order of Saint Augustine and later archbishop of Salerno (†1563), insisted that Augustine could be relied on as a faithful interpreter of Paul, rather than the schemas of the controversialist theologians. Although the council Fathers did take some note of his views, this was not true of the theologians, who continued to follow Scholastic methods of discussion.

In Louvain there was the affair of Baius (Michel de

Bay †1589) (Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism), an avid reader of Augustine’s works but confused in his system of the natural and the supernatural*, as well as on the question of original sin and grace (Lubac 1965). Condemned at the Sorbonne and later in Rome* (*DH* 1901–80), Baius always submitted humbly. But the matter was not finished (*see* Orcibal 1989: “Rome, Louvain et l’autorité de Saint Augustin”). The controversy known as “De auxiliis” (on the different modalities of the assistance of grace) was provoked by the work of Father Luis Molina (†1600) entitled *Concordia: The Harmony of Free Will with the Gifts of Grace, the Prescience of God, Providence, Predestination, and Reprobation* (Lisbon, 1588; Antwerp, 1595). It opposed Dominicans and Jesuits, the former defending, with Bañez, physical predetermination (that is, efficient causality), the latter God’s “average science.” Pope Clement VIII created a commission that met more than 120 times between 1598 and 1611, though without reaching a conclusion. His successor, Paul V, thought it necessary to put an end to the debate and begged the adversaries to refrain from mutual censure (*DH* 1997).

But soon thereafter came Jansenius (Cornelis Janssen, 1585–1638), fellow student of Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, the future abbé de Saint-Cyran. In 1619 Jansenius discovered the central principle of Augustine’s doctrine in the distinction between two kinds of grace: the grace of Adam* and the grace of Christ, and he devoted twenty years to the preparation of *Augustinus; or, the Doctrine of Saint Augustine on Health, Illness, and the Curing of Human Nature against the Pelagians and the Marseillais* (condemned for five propositions by Innocent X; *DH* 2001–7). The posthumous publication of this work, in Louvain in 1640, in Paris in 1641, and in Rouen in 1643, would transform the intellectual and spiritual life of Christendom into an Augustinist battlefield.

i) Rather than the “century of Saint Augustine,” the 17th century might be called that of the failure of Augustinianism, if we accept the severe and striking verdict of L. Brunschvicg (1927): “It is a matter of determining who this Augustine is whom all parties agree in making the infallible arbiter of orthodoxy. Is he the theoretician of Ideas whom Neoplatonic speculations returned to the religion of the Word*? Is he the theoretician of grace, fired by zeal against the freedom of Pelagius as was the apostle Paul against the wisdom of the philosophers? Both, it will be said. Jansenius and Ambrosius Victor gave contradictory interpretations of Augustinianism; they do not, however, contradict one another as historians. But the century of clear and distinct ideas no longer resigned to simply record-

ing a chaotic collection of heterogeneous texts.... It was thus inevitable that the contributions of Neoplatonism and of the Gospels to the work of Augustine be separated like two rivers on parallel courses, whose waters have never really mixed. And hence arose the conflict of two perfectly organic systems, both Augustinian, whose antagonism and incompatibility it is impossible to mask, once it is admitted that a synthesis, even if it were to take place above the level of reason*, nevertheless requires that it be defined for itself in its internal ordering.... In the end, although there has probably never been, in any period of religious history, a flowering of geniuses superior to the one that occurred in France with Pascal and Malebranche, Fénelon and Bossuet himself, it seems that this wealth had no effect but to make more dangerous the imaginary obsession with heresy—Jansenism or rationalism*, quietism* or Gallicanism*—which made each one suspect the others, and finally rarefied the atmosphere of French Catholicism to the point of making it unbreathable.”

The Jansenist drama of conscience (Ceysens 1954), as well as the misfortune of all the Augustinians of the period, lay in absolutizing the Augustinian doctrine of grace and predestination, in the “dogmatic monopoly” (Neveu 1990) against which Richard Simon (1693; see Ranson 1990) reacted healthily: “I only wish that those who pride themselves on being his disciples would not pass off all their master’s feelings as articles of faith.” This was not to Bossuet’s liking (Rouméliote 1988), but it was exactly the point of view of Augustine himself (*Letters* 148, 5).

2. Theory of Knowledge

a) For Augustine, all intellectual knowledge is participation in the Word, which is Truth* and Wisdom*. If the Platonists were able to know God, the true God, one in three, this was thanks to the Word, which illuminates anyone who comes into this world. The Christian, reading the prologue of the Gospel of John through to the end, adheres to Christ, the illuminating Word of God and the savior Word incarnate. This is the principle of Christian rationalism that can be found in various forms in Duns Scotus (Madec 1977), Anselm (Madec 1994), Peter Abelard (Gregory 1973), Hugh of Saint-Victor (Simonis 1972), Bonaventure (Madec 1990), and later Malebranche (Gouhier 1926).

b) With the establishment of the university in the 13th century, a clear distinction between philosophy and theology became essential. This brought in its wake new conceptions of the relationships between faith and reason and between nature* and grace, and

new debates that lasted for centuries. Albert the Great advised Thomas Aquinas to follow Augustine in theology and Aristotle in philosophy. He followed the advice and discerned in Augustinian doctrine a different philosophical component. According to him, Augustine had followed Plato as far as Catholic faith allowed (*De spir. creaturis* X. 8). This perception was of capital importance, because it accredited the idea that Augustinian doctrine was a synthesis of Platonism and Christianity—it was a Christian Platonism*—an idea that has governed doctrinal studies on Augustine down to the present. It is, however, a false idea, for although Augustine did not hide his debt to the Platonists, he did not have the sense of being obliged to *follow* them, for the simple reason that he believed he had found in their books a doctrine that could be at least partly identified with that of the prologue of the Gospel of John.

c) Taking up the Thomist perception, P. Mandonnet (1911) offered a negative definition of philosophical Augustinianism as a state of doctrinal confusion: “Lacking formal distinction between the realms of philosophy and theology, that is, between the order of rational truths and the order of revealed truths.... A similar tendency, moreover, to erase the formal separation between nature and grace.” This notion is inconsistent (Madec 1988). It derives from a Scholastic discrimination whose rigidity constrains the inherent mobility of Augustinian doctrine. If the distinction between philosophy and theology is still compelling or pertinent, then all Augustinianism must be classified as theology.

d) Commentators have nevertheless striven to label an abstraction. É. Gilson (1926–27) created “the deplorably pedantic but clear expression ‘Avicennan Augustinianism’” to define “the position of Guillaume d’Auvergne, Roger Bacon, Roger Marston, and perhaps John Peckam,” and “Aristotelian Augustinianism” for the position of Alexander of Hales, Jean de la Rochelle, and Bonaventure. F. Van Steenberghen (1966) later dismissed the illusion of a “philosophical Augustinianism”: “Only in the realm of theology can there be any question of Augustinianism for the theologians of today; all the distinctive traits which have been used in an attempt to characterize ‘pre-Thomist Augustinianism’ or the ‘Platonic-Augustinian movement’ belong in reality to the theological movement formally considered and find their grounding in this fact.”

The fact remains, however, that the happily ineffective condemnation of certain Thomist theses by É. Tempier in 1277 (Thomism*) was, according to Portalié (1903), “the last victory of the Augustinians.”

e) The definition of *political Augustinianism* is modeled on the definition by Mandonnet: "It is the tendency to absorb the natural law of the state into supernatural justice* and ecclesiastical law. But what was only a tendency of mind for the African thinker became a doctrine for the heirs of his political thought, and a particularly vigorous doctrine, because it led to the theocratic conceptions of the Middle Ages" (Arquillière 1954). This formulation is as inept as the preceding one and the thesis was severely criticized by H. de Lubac (1984). It remains true that medieval theocratic theories are based on a radical misunderstanding in the interpretation of *De civitate Dei* (political theology*). In that work Augustine developed not a philosophy but a theology of history* (Marrou 1954), of the history of salvation completed with the Coming of Christ in the sixth age of humanity, one that cannot therefore be set out in detail through the history of the Church, contradictory to the theory of Joachim de Flore, as revised and corrected by Bonaventure (Ratzinger 1959).

f) According to F. Van Steenberghen (1966), "the doctrinal mission of Saint Bonaventure seems to have been to bring out the unity of Christian knowledge, at a time when growing emancipation was creating a serious threat of a break between reason and faith." In order to accomplish this mission, he repeated the doctrine of the Word, God and man, who guarantees the unity of faith and understanding, science and wisdom, because he is the only Teacher (Madec 1990), "the environment of all sciences, in which are hidden all the treasures of the wisdom and the knowledge of God" (*In Hex. coll.* I. 11).

g) According to L. Brunschvicg (1927), Malebranche (1638–1715) was the promoter of "Catholic rationalism." This was owed to Descartes, but especially to Augustine, who taught him that Christ is the internal teacher, the eternal Wisdom who presides over all minds in all their acts of thought: it is a question here not so much of any vision of God as such, but of vision *in* God. Christ is simultaneously the "eternal Word, [the] universal Reason of minds" and the "incarnate Word, Author and finisher of our faith." The work of the incarnate Word is related to contemplation* of the eternal Word as faith is to understanding. The way in which Malebranche had the Word speak in his *Méditations chrétiennes* provoked sharp responses from Antoine Arnauld and Pastor Jurieu, but their intention was simply to malign Malebranche's meditations and prayers (Madec 1969).

h) In the 19th century the theme of the vision of God inspired several Christian thinkers (*see* I 2 j above) in

the movements known as Christian rationalism and ontologism. But there was a certain degree of confusion engendered, probably because these thinkers had no means of freeing themselves from the philosophy-theology grid. The condemnations from Rome that some of them suffered certainly derived from a Scholastic conception of the relationships between faith and reason and between nature* and the supernatural. It will suffice to mention the cases of A. Rosmini Serbati (†1855) (*DH* 3201–40), A. Günther (†1863) (*DH* 8228–31; Simonis 1972), and J. Froschammer (1821–93) (*DH* 2850–61; Simonis 1972).

i) The expression "Christian philosophy" has been generally and peacefully used for a long time. It is contained in the title of the oldest French journal of philosophy (*see* I 2 j above). It was only in the heyday of Neoscholasticism that it became the object of a vigorous debate (Henry 1955), in which historians argued like philosophers attached to the definition of philosophy through the autonomy of reason. The debate barely touched on the Fathers of the Church or Augustinianism. H. de Lubac (1979), however, notes that the problem was mentioned at the session of the Thomist society in Juvisy in 1933 by Father A.-D. Sertillanges, who immediately dismissed it: "The new sense of the word 'philosophy' symbolizes a conquest to which we cannot submit. Since Saint Thomas Aquinas, the two realms of reason and faith have in principle been clearly distinct... Replacing in any way philosophy under the dependence of faith would be 'to retreat to before Saint Thomas,' *to return to the confusionism of medieval Augustinianism*, and by the same token to put ourselves 'in a very bad position, isolating us from the thinking world that means to think freely.'"

L. Laberthonnière (†1932), the troublesome friend of Blondel, cut off by ecclesiastical prohibitions, did not participate in the argument, but he alluded to it. According to him, "we can only speak of 'Christian philosophy' if what we call by this name *is Christianity itself*. This is what was done in the beginning. And it was only after the invasion of Aristotelianism* that, in separating on the pretext of distinguishing, we created the mortal conflict between philosophy and theology, the natural and the supernatural, within which we struggle so miserably" (1942). The question should remain open, peacefully.

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See also Augustine of Hippo; Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Grace; Jansenism; Pelagianism; Political Theology; Predestination; Sin, Original

Authority

A. In the Church

a) New Testament and the Fathers. In the ancient Roman Empire, *auctoritas* indicated power endowed with prestige, an indirect social power that was superior to immediate, coercive power (*potestas*). Since Augustus, supreme authority had been represented by the emperor, from whom magistrates and jurists in turn derived their authority.

The New Testament contains no direct equivalent of this Roman concept, and the Vulgate itself does not use the word. However, the terms *dunamis* (e.g., in 2 Cor 8:3 and Eph 3:16) and *exousia* (e.g., in Mt 21:23–27) are of interest in this regard. While *dunamis* means power and the means of executing it, in a general sense, *exousia* more specifically indicates a mandate legitimized by God*. As a relational concept, with reference to the origin of legitimization (emperor, God), *exousia* has certain features in common with *auctoritas*.

The Latin Fathers* from Tertullian* onward speak of *auctoritas Dei* or *Christi*. This authority could be extended to witnesses and disciples: there are references, in this sense, to the authority of the apostles* and of the ancients, but also to the authority of the canonical books* of the Bible*. This usage took as its model the authority of the emperor, from which legitimate representatives derived their own power. Thus, authority was assimilated to the notion of tradition* and the doctrine of apostolic* succession.

In the writings of Tertullian and, for example, Cyprian*, authority remained a derivative from Roman legal terminology. Augustine*, however, used the notion in a less institutional perspective, giving it a place in his theory of knowledge: divine authority, and the authority of Holy* Scripture, form the basis for authentic knowledge. Although he allotted first place to the authority of the Catholic Church*, as the ultimate criterion of truth*, Augustine did not mean by this any specific legal institution, but rather the authenticity of the universal Church. Nevertheless, by subordinating the individual reason* of Christians to the authority of the church, Augustine helped to create the basic problems that were to disrupt Christianity at a later stage.

b) Middle Ages and the Reformation. The principle of the authority of Holy Scripture was never called into question during the Middle Ages. However, in practice

authority was directly linked to the people who governed the church. Just as the philosophers of antiquity and the Fathers of the Church were considered in the universities as *auctoritates*, so popes*, bishops*, and other holders of church offices were considered to have a natural authority, which was conflated with that of the church and the apostles. This implied a broadening of the range of written sources of authority within the church: Scripture in the strict sense was supplemented by the decisions of councils*, papal decrees, canon* law, and the texts of the Fathers*. As a result, members of the church hierarchy could cite a multitude of established authority, external to Scripture but all theologically justified.

The Reformers denounced this development. Luther* in particular gave Holy Scripture an absolute priority over all other authority, human or institutional: “We do not accord to the church any authority that goes beyond Scripture” (WA 40 3, 434, 13). This idea was clear enough in itself, but it did not resolve the concrete problems of church government, nor did it provide any hermeneutic* rules for the correct interpretation of Scripture. Most of the churches born out of the Reformation were quick to recognize the need for a church magisterium* endowed with authority, despite the divergent evolution of their respective structures*. The principle of authority was also applied in the interpretation of Scripture, for which the readings of ordained ministers and trained theologians came to be valued as standard. Nevertheless, it may be concluded that, because of the emphasis that they placed on the primordial authority of Scripture, the churches that developed out of the Reformation always retained a certain critical potential in this domain.

c) Modern Times. Ever since antiquity, philosophy* has regarded the critical use of individual reason and obedience to traditional authority as two antithetical attitudes. This tendency was especially reinforced during the Enlightenment and found its political expression in the French Revolution.

The systematization of modern thought on the basis of opposition to the concept of authority was principally the work of Kant*. In his view, the philosophy that preceded his was a “dogmatism” linked to author-

ity, because it did not examine the conditions for the possible exercise of reason from a critical point of view. In the domain of moral philosophy, Kant taught that ethical authority must depend upon an internal principle, that is, on a good will determined by duty. In the final analysis, external authority always remained unjustified; only the autonomous person*, taking reason as his guide, could give a credible form to his own convictions. Drawing out the consequences of this principle of individual autonomy, modern philosophy adopted a critical attitude to all external authority from the outset. To the extent that it largely corresponded to the view that modern man took of himself in an individualist society*, modern philosophy could not help but enter into conflict with the Christian churches, which traditionally grounded their authority in the “external” jurisdiction of Holy Scripture and the church magisterium.

The authority of a religious text presents a complex hermeneutic problem, which may be clarified, on the one hand, by the theory of the divine inspiration of the text itself and, on the other, by the idea of a magisterium authorized to provide an interpretation of the text. While the Christian churches teach that the clarity (Luther, WA 18, 609, 4) and the obviousness of Scripture are enough to attest their authority, and that the Bible should be accessible to all believers (DH 4229), they also emphasize the necessity of the magisterium and of the theory of inspiration. Thus, Vatican* II assigns to the magisterium—“whose authority is exercised in the name of Jesus Christ” (DH 4214)—the task of authentically interpreting the word* of God.

d) *Different Types of Authority.* The philosophical critique of authority does not, of course, mean that the real organizations of the modern world have no dependence on relations of authority. In particular, Max Weber’s distinction among three types of authority has been of great interest in sociology. Weber conceives authority within an organization as a relation of “domination,” and distinguishes among “traditional” authority, “legal” (rational, bureaucratic) authority, and “charismatic” authority. The church represents an ideal type of traditional domination or authority; its power is organized hierarchically and is legitimized by a relation with the past. Legal authority is vested in the holder of an office by reference to his position within a system, independent of any personal quality; charismatic authority, by contrast, is legitimized by purely individual characteristics. Although Weber’s classification is only one of numerous modern typologies of authority, it has dominated theoretical developments in the sociology of religion, as well as the empirical study

of existing churches. A fourth type of authority has often been proposed, that of the specialist who has acquired a certain prestige through his competence but who does not enjoy any charismatic power in Weber’s sense.

e) *Authority in Discussions among the Churches.* The Catholic and Anglican Churches have issued a document entitled *Authority in the Church*, in which Holy Scripture is defined as “the normative statement of the authentic foundations of faith... It is through these written words that the authority of the word of God is transmitted” (op. cit., 2). The authority of the church is here placed first, yet it is Jesus Christ who constitutes “the authentic foundation,” not Scripture itself. Dialogue arises, not from individual interpretations, but from “common faith,” the yardstick by which each person tests the truth of his own belief. This common faith presupposes a community, a *koinonia* (op. cit., 4). Thus, the *koinonia* becomes a guarantee for the authority of Scripture. Within this community, people can also exercise authority. Certain persons, “by the internal quality of their lives,” inspire a respect “that permits them to speak with authority in the name of Christ.” Other people receive their authority from the ordained ministry*, which is “intrinsic to the structure of the church” and constitutes “another form of authority.” Thus, “the perception of God’s will for his church does not belong to the ordained ministry alone; it is shared by all its members” (op. cit., 4–6).

Rome did not approve this document, but this dialogue illustrates the way in which the question of authority has been addressed in numerous contemporary churches: it has been given traits that are simultaneously charismatic (the interior quality of life), traditional, and legal (the ordained ministry). The authority of Scripture, as well as that of persons, is rooted in a community that maintains the “common faith” as a criterion of truth. The modern notion of individual autonomy is taken into consideration in the form of the idea that each person, through the interior quality of his life, can have a share in authority.

It is the question of the authority of the pope over the bishops and the whole of the *koinonia* that presents the most difficult problem for the concrete reality of *oikoumene*. On this question, the dialogues have not produced any definitive results. In his encyclical *Ut unum sint* (1995), Pope John Paul II starts from the notion that the bishop of Rome must secure the communion* of all the churches “by the power and the authority without which this function would be illusory.” In this sense, the function of the papacy still presupposes real power and authority, and cannot be purely symbolic.

Despite the difficulties that have been encountered, important convergences have become evident in recent times with regard to the way in which the churches understand the authority of the ordained ministry. The depth of this agreement is attested in the document *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry*, published by the Commission on Faith and Constitution of the World Council of Churches. According to this text, the authority of the ministry is founded upon Jesus Christ: "authority has the character of a responsibility before God and is exercised with the participation of the whole community" (15). Although this authority comes from Christ, the authority of Christ remains unique. Yet it provides a normative model for the church: "authority in the church can be authentic only if it seeks to conform itself to this model" (16).

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See also Council; Holy Scripture; Indefectibility of the Church; Infallibility; Magisterium; Ministry

B. Political Authority

Every theory of political authority must give an account of its purpose, the source of this authority, and the structure and limits of its actions. A *theological* account takes its bearings from Christian faith* in God's work of creation*, providence*, and salvation*. The diversity of theological accounts, past and present, is traceable to differing interpretations of the moments or phases of this divine work, and of the relationship of political authority to them.

a) Theological Positions and Their Historical Transformations. The main theological issue concerns the nature and extent of the involvement of political authority in the divine work of salvation. On this issue, there are broadly two positions. One presents political authority as belonging to God's preservation of his creation in the present conditions of humanity after the Fall. This preservation is the condition of his salvific action, but does not define it. Following the "two cities" schema of Augustine* and Luther*, this position stresses the unnatural, volitional basis of political authority, its entanglement with sinful strivings for power, the limited scope of its power, and the merely external (only indirectly moral) character of the social order upheld by it. The other position presents political authority as participating in the redemption of communal life, as both the object and the instrument of God's redeeming love*. In line with classical political thought, and authoritatively systematized by Thomas* Aquinas, this position stresses the naturalness and legitimacy of political authority that creates an order with moral and spiritual power, and strengthens social bonds.

However, the opposition between these ideas has not always been maintained with all desirable clarity over the historical course of Christian political thought. For example, the "political Augustinianism" (to use Arquillière's phrase) of the medieval Latin church* strictly subjected secular rule to ecclesiastical rule, converting morally ambiguous and nonsalvific political activity into a function of the church, the community of salvation. Luther's Augustinian revival, by contrast, placed the community of salvation beyond the political reach, thus facilitating the absorption of the visible church into the state. On the Thomist side, the 19th century saw the Catholic Aristotelian vision of a harmonious society* united by political authority turn into the sociological vision of a functionally unified society that could do without political authority.

Such paradoxical transformations were due in part to the interaction between ecclesial and civil political concepts. These notions are linked to the established relationship between the law of the gospel and the law of creation, between love and justice, supernatural and natural virtues*, reason and revelation*. Generally speaking, the greater the opposition between these notions, the more church and state have divergent political theories. The weaker the opposition, the closer are the church and state political theories. Historically, the pressures for theoretical and practical parallelism have predominated: the Latin church and the Western empire, for example, engaged in ceaseless mutual plundering of each other's political ideology, organization, and political operations. Although religion became a private matter in the modern era, the trend toward in-

stitutional homogeneity still dominates: today, church and state alike must conform to the prevailing liberal and democratic political ethos. The more radical theological dualisms, with their antithetical constructions of ecclesial and civil community, have tended to be historical undercurrents that periodically erupt into challenges to the status quo.

b) Purposes of Political Authority. The New Testament portrays rulers as appointed by God to judge, punish, and reward (Rom 13:2–4; 1 Pt 2:13–14). It was to such texts that theologians up to the 13th century, and the Protestants of the 16th and 17th centuries, constantly referred in order to consider political authority in a theological manner. Thus, the Latin Fathers*, under Stoic influence (e.g., Ambrosiaster [fourth century], Ambrose*, Augustine) saw political authority as a postlapsarian divine ordinance that simultaneously expresses God’s wrath against sinful humanity and his merciful will to protect the fragility of the social bond from wayward human passions*: it is a means of limiting inevitable punishment*. Accordingly, political action presupposes a common conscience of good and evil, of order and disorder, of individual good and the common good, according to which justice may be rendered. There is thus an objectivity of justice, law, and common good, recognized but not created by the ruler. Until the 17th century, it was commonly thought that the authoritative articulation of what was good and fair was found in Scripture*, preeminently in the two great commandments (Mt 22:36–40; Mk 12:28–31) and in the Decalogue, which specifies in more detail what is owed to God and to our neighbor. This forms the substance of justice or natural law (*lex naturae, ius naturale*). One should not, however, understand this notion too simply, for there are at least four “natures”—human nature as it was created, fallen nature, redeemed nature, and nature in the state of perfection—each of which has a distinct legal determination.

In the Augustinian tradition, society before the Fall was based on natural law: sexual union, procreation, education of children, common possession of material goods, equality, and unrestrained freedom. After the Fall, however, society was based on *ius gentium* (law of people) and *ius civile* (civil law), which, as inferior expressions of the natural law, establish private property*, the inequality of master and slave, of ruler and ruled, and the positive legal curtailment of individual freedom. The redeemed society is based on the gospel law of faith, hope*, and love. However, in an eschatological perspective, the penitential laws referring to purgatorial punishment played an increasing role over time. Traditionally, the secular jurisdiction* was modeled after, without being coterminous with, the institutions and laws of fallen nature, preoccupied with the protection

of the property* and privileges of all and guaranteeing the safety and satisfaction of all needs. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, for its part, extended to those institutions and societies based on natural and divine law: marriage* and family*, monastic communities, religious fraternities, churches, and charitable and educational institutions. This division was not always clear, for it was constantly challenged from the temporal side by the theocratic aspirations of kings and emperors. Inspired by Israelite monarchy and the Roman Empire, they claimed a universal jurisdiction that encompassed all matters of common interest (*communis utilitas*), including the entire visible organization of the church (doctrinal, administrative, and disciplinary).

Such claims were not imposed until the late 13th and early 14th centuries, when the consolidation of territorial polities was expedited by the appearance of a number of favorable factors: the revival of Roman law, the reception of Aristotelian political philosophy, and the resurgence of classical patriotism and republicanism. The outcome of these movements was a vision of the city founded within nature and reason, autonomous and unified by a single political and legal authority. This political authority, whether hereditary or elected, was thus conceived increasingly in terms of broader legislative and administrative functions, rather than as a simple juridical power. This conceptual change both reflected and reinforced the increasing importance of the nation on every level (economic, financial, legal, religious); and this was to produce modern European states. The unwitting contribution of the church to this development was formidable. By 1300, a succession of jurist-popes (e.g., Alexander III, Innocent III, Gregory IX) had welded the visible church into an organized hierarchy, integrated by a systematized body of canon law and by obedience to the supremacy of the pope, therein furnishing a relatively efficient model of the unitary state. Further, the ecclesiastical synthesis of corporational, imperial, feudal, and theocratic principles laid the foundations of the absolutist states of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Despite the Machiavellian tendency of the 16th and 17th centuries to make the stability and aggrandizement of the state the chief purpose of political authority, they were, nevertheless, the seedbeds of modern liberal conceptions. It was the social fact of religious divisions, together with the individualist and voluntarist strains in the Reformation, that offered fertile soil for the growth of ideas of personal rights and freedoms, voluntary community, active citizenship, representation, and self-government. The seeds were supplied by earlier generations: the Aristotelian ideal of a free and autonomous city, Christianized by Aquinas; the concepts of natural, ideas of natural law prior to the creation of states, and the notion of com-

pact between individuals developed by Duns* Scotus, William of Ockham (c. 1285–1387), the Parisian nominalists, Pierre D'Ailly (1352–1420), Gerson (1363–1429), and, later, Almain (c. 1480–1515) and Mair (c. 1468–1550); and, finally, the principle of the jurisdictional supremacy of the community, supported by the conciliarists against papal absolutism, which entailed its rights to elect rulers, to consent to laws, and to be represented by an assembly. For these ideas, the rise of Protestant and, later, Catholic dissent supplied an urgent use; but, more importantly, it supplied the different theological underpinnings that gave them new directions. Most notably, the central Reformation (especially Lutheran) doctrine of the individual's faith as the unifying principle of the believing community gave to the concept of subjective right (both individual and collective) a foundation in radical spiritual freedom. Similarly, the Calvinist emphasis on the dependence of the political community on the Covenant* between God and humanity, on the model of God's successive covenants with Israel*, gave a religious and moral substance to the concepts of social contract, collective jurisdiction, political consent, and political participation. On the other hand, the revitalized Augustinian association of government with restraint, the coercive settling of conflicts, and the ordering of merely material benefits underscored the unnatural basis of political authority in the contractual agreement of calculating wills.

The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed a reaction against this conception of the external, unnatural, and coercive character of political authority, which had been perfectly expressed by Hobbes (1588–1679) and Spinoza (1632–77), with their concept of a formal legal mechanism of concentration of power. There was an interest in replacing the principle of outward conformity to a divinely ordained sovereign will with an organic and independent principle of social order. However, society was no longer defined in the classical Christian manner by a common theological and ethical rationality. In the deistic theodicy of the liberal economists and English utilitarians (e.g., Adam Smith [1723–90], David Hume [1711–76], J. S. Mill [1806–73], and Jeremy Bentham [1748–1832]), it is the spontaneous operation of market forces that best serves the natural end of society, namely, economic security. In a system in which the operation of these forces is acceptable because it is impersonal, democratic, and nonviolent, the role of political authority is restricted to the enforcement of property rights. Liberalism may have glorified the pursuit of happiness, but it had to acknowledge that the individual conscience needs to take society into account for fear of anarchy (Wolin 1960). By contrast, the sociological reaction against the formalism of political power began with the socialized conscience, which

makes individuals susceptible of scientific study and social manipulation. According to the theocratic Catholicism of counterrevolutionary French writers (Joseph de Maistre [1753–1821] and Louis de Bonald [1754–1840]), society owes its unity to a mysterious divine *mythos* whose cultural and institutional forms are revealed before being unified by a conscious political and economic effort. It is not political authority alone, but the whole social hierarchy culminating in king and pope that embodies the unified common will. Later, Saint-Simon (1760–1825), Comte (1798–1857), Durkheim (1858–1917), and Marx* converted this theological socializing of the divine into a profane and scientific socializing of what transcends individuals. Thus the active principle of social cohesion is found, according to Durkheim, in “collective representations” or, according to Saint-Simon, in industrial organization. From this viewpoint, political authority has little purpose other than setting up a harmonious, self-functioning social system, or occasionally helping the administration of experts.

Contemporary theological conceptualizations of the purpose of political authority continue to reflect the somewhat tense interactions of the Thomistic-Aristotelian and Augustinian traditions bequeathed by the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. At the core of both Catholic and Protestant thought is the notion of human rights, transpolitically rooted in subjectivity. For Protestant thought, heir to the liberalism of Locke (1632–1704) and the economists, political authority has the restricted mandate of securing the fundamental rights to life, liberty, and property. In the tradition of Augustinian realism, refined by post-Kantian pluralism (of which Reinhold Niebuhr [1892–1971] is representative), the competence of the state is limited to the securing of the rights of every person and to the arbitration of conflicts of interest, even though it also needs to create the moral consensus required for justice in the city. However, modern technological development, with all the ensuing possibilities, leads even the most classical liberals to sanction increased intervention by political authority to ensure equality of rights. Thus, there has been a partial rapprochement between contractarian liberalism and the Catholic tradition, which has always accorded to political authority a more comprehensive mandate to define, create, and sustain both the spiritual and material common good of society. Modern Catholic philosophers such as Etienne Gilson (1884–1978) or Jacques Maritain (1883–1973), along with Protestant natural-law thinkers such as Emil Brunner (1889–1966), have no difficulty in extending human rights to include certain social rights. Maritain and Gilson have more difficulty in sustaining the attribution of independent rights to collectivities, whether natural or supernatural, as

was characteristic of earlier Catholic thought (see Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* or Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno*). Today, it is not so much the rights of families, churches, or guilds that political authority is responsible for safeguarding as the rights of persons*, by means of a plurality of institutional involvements. Hence, the complex governmental apparatus for administering the provision of goods and services does little to advance the integrity and harmonization of the community so central to the Thomist vision. Current theological emphasis on the church's prophetic and critical role, as in both liberal and Marxist versions of liberation* theology, is accompanied by a deemphasizing of her political structure* of authority and discipline, and of her role as public educator.

c) *Sources of Political Authority.* For the most part, the Christian political tradition has presented a dual-source theory of political authority: divine election and human election. Until the late 13th century, the Pauline premise of God's ordination of rule and rulers held sway. God's continuing sovereignty in the human community requires that rulers be considered as delegates or representatives of God, "images" of "the divine majesty," "earthly substitutes for his hand," exhibiting universally "his justice and his mercy" (John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 4, 1). From Carolingian times onward, the designation of both temporal and spiritual rulers as "vicars" of God or of Christ was intended to convey the strict feudal subordination of vassal to lord, and the divine liege-lord's power to remove the title to rule from a rebellious vassal. As medieval coronation ceremonies reveal, communal consent in the institution of monarchs largely amounted to recognition of God's appointment of the ruler, albeit the divine election operated through legal traditions of royal lineage or hereditary succession. Not until the absorption of Aristotle, and the revival of Roman law and a republican culture, was the people's essential role in the election of political authority widely acknowledged.

The theory of popular election, as developed in the late Middle Ages, was that God, from whom all political authority originates, invests all self-sufficient and independent, or "perfect," human associations with the right to establish a political authority to serve the common good. Scotist and Ockhamist voluntarism* introduced an individualist leaning into the idea of natural community by basing it on a pact (*pactum*) of individuals endowed with natural rights anterior to the creation of the state. Common to both Thomistic and nominalist thought, especially as mediated to the 16th and 17th centuries by the Parisian conciliarist tradition, was the notion that political authority owes its legitimacy to God, who uses the human institutions.

Introducing the biblical theme of the Covenant into the question of choosing a government reinforced the prominence of divine institution. In the most celebrated of these theories, found in a Huguenot pamphlet entitled *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, God grants equal authority to both contractual parties, in return for promises of obedience to God's law, each having responsibility for its own and the other's compliance with the terms. However, while the more theocratic (Protestant and later Catholic) conceptions of the Covenant thus gave way to the divine will, rival secular conceptions derived the "fundamental law" of the political covenant exclusively from the communal will, identifying it with the ancient custom of the realm. The 17th century was dominated by the polarization of two absolutized political wills: the unlimited divine right of hereditary monarchs and the parliamentary repositories of popular sovereignty. Nevertheless, despite the extreme voluntarism of Hobbes, Spinoza, and Pufendorf (1632–94), the Scholastic natural-law tradition was revitalized in both Catholic circles, by Vitoria (c. 1483–1546), de Soto (1495–1560), Molina (1535–1600), and Suarez* (1548–1627), and Protestant circles, by Grotius (1583–1645) and Althusius (1557–1638). Although indebted to individualist and voluntarist currents, these theorists thought that governmental or popular political will had to take into account certain constraints, such as man's social and reasonable nature, the objectivity of God's commandments, or the existence of a universal moral community and immutable justice.

One momentous contribution of this Scholastic revival was the basis it provided for international law by avoiding systems of thought in which there is no political right beyond the state. Drawing on the concept of universality developed by Roman civil and canon law—the universality of empire, of reason, of papal jurisdiction—these theorists articulated the idea of an international activity of lawmaking and law-abiding infused with intimations of a natural community of divine law. Throughout the era of sovereign nation-states, this idea of the foundation of international relations has been the only one that has permitted opposition to the more pervasive view of an international moral vacuum in which relations of force are qualified only by treaties and agreements. It is not coincidental that in our own time the Catholic natural-law tradition has supported both the idea of just war and the enterprise of international political authority, whether the United Nations or the European Union. True to its Thomistic and Aristotelian inspiration (in, e.g., Gilson, Maritain, John XXIII), Catholic thought has generally entertained high expectations of the competence of free and equal states to construct and administer the international common good.

d) Structure and Limits of Political Authority. The older view of political authority, with its biblical, Stoic, and patristic roots, emphasized the ruler's judicial role and assimilated his legislative and administrative role into it. Until the late 12th century, even the promulgation of a new law had a judicial character, being presented always as the interpretation, clarification, restoration, or reduction to writing of ancient custom. The proliferation of statute law, together with the extension of royal administration to new domains, provoked a concern with the problem of limiting governmental powers. The idea of the separation of powers, or of their division among numerous centers, came to the fore. This federalist idea was based on the Aristotelian description of political society as a composite whole made up of smaller units, defined by the experience of corporations. Such a pluralistic vision had two unsurpassed exponents in Nicholas* of Cusa and Althusius. A conciliarist steeped in Christian Platonism*, Nicholas of Cusa depicted the church, and analogously the empire, as a mystical hierarchy of corporate bodies and representative authorities, each constituted by and acting through divine will and human collective will. Two centuries later, Althusius conceived political society as an association of lesser associations, both private and public, each a political community formed by contract according to natural, divine, and positive laws. The German tradition of political, legal, and social pluralism, descending through Hegel* and the historical school of philosophical jurisprudence, has left its mark on all subsequent Christian pluralist theories. Common to Dutch neo-Calvinist, Swiss Reformed, and Catholic social philosophies, and their applications by Christian political parties throughout Europe, has been the endeavor to combine traditional Christian social and political principles (whether articulated as laws of nature or as divine ordinances) with a concept of historical dynamics. They all envisage the historical unfolding of differentiated structures and institutions of society according to divinely given interior norms, the state being only one structure among many, limited by the rights of the others. Today, Dutch neo-Calvinism (represented by Herman Dooyeweerd [1894–1977] and his followers) and Catholicism (represented by postwar Thomism) are the most optimistic about the harmonious integration of society on Christian principles. By contrast, the Swiss Reformed tradition (represented by Brunner) retains more Lutheran pessimism about the politically and socially achievable good. Brunner's stronger emphasis on the irreducible disordered state of fallen community, and the gulf between earthly justice and divine charity, distances him from the hopes for the spiritual transformation of society entertained by the Calvinist and Thomist approaches. These latter, however, differ in their con-

ceptions of social structure and the state in relation to it. From the Dutch viewpoint, society comprises a set of intersecting spheres on the same plane, the state sphere being sharply defined by its public and legal aspect; from the Catholic viewpoint, society comprises a hierarchy of natural and voluntary communities, the state being the most inclusive, powerful, and broadly competent. Thus, despite the extensive development by Catholic social philosophy of the principle of "subsidiarity," requiring that greater communities respect the integrity and competence of the lesser communities embraced by them, Catholic thinkers still exhibit more willingness than their Calvinist contemporaries to endow the most universal authority with a broader, integrative social role.

Traditionally, however, Catholic social teaching has rigorously qualified state authority by the church's magisterium*. Until its concessions to democracy in the wake of World War II, the Catholic hierarchy upheld medieval Gelasian dualism, modified to accommodate the reality of modern states. This doctrine no longer distinguished, as had Pope Gelasius (492–96), between two orders of authority—spiritual and temporal—within the single ecclesial community, but rather distinguished two separate, self-sufficient, and self-governing communities of church and commonwealth. Protestant thought has, by contrast, tended to cement the church's link to the state, either by subjecting the church to the secular power (as in Lutheran and Anglican established churches), or by merging the civil and ecclesiastical aspects of political authority (as in Swiss, Dutch, or Scottish Calvinism). Lutheranism*, by virtue of its radically spiritual conception of the church as constituted by God's free word* of grace*, is theoretically more disposed toward political subversion and opposition. In the Dutch Reformed tradition, the church benefits from the self-regulation accorded to all institutional "spheres" but imposes no special limitations on the action of political authority.

The contemporary political creed of liberal democratic pluralism that has become the civil religion of most developed polities since the end of World War II seriously challenges the traditional theological circumscriptions of political authority. Its central tenet is that the political common good consists in an indefinitely extendable set of individual rights and freedoms, the securing of which is the purpose and justification of political authority. These rights and freedoms, required for the self-determination of persons, do not permit the public expression or legal protection of institutions and prerogatives that operate to limit them. Hence, it seems that no effective theoretical limitations of political authority can now proceed from Catholic or Protestant circles—not from the Catholic concept of the

church as a superior *societas perfecta*, nor from the Calvinist principle of the sovereignty of each in his own “sphere,” nor from the Lutheran ideal of radical Christian freedom, at least without critical reappraisal of political individualism and the dominant discourse of human rights.

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See also **Aristotelianism; Christian; Augustinianism; Church and State; City; Conciliarism; Political Theology; Rome; Sin, Original; Stoicism, Christian; Traditionalism**

Average Science. *See* **Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Knowledge, Divine**

Averroism. *See* **Naturalism; Truth**

Awakening. *See* **Edwards, Jonathan; Methodism**

B

Baianism. *See* Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism

Balthasar, Hans Urs von

1905–88

More than any other contemporary theologian, Hans Urs von Balthasar encouraged theology* to rediscover the vital essence of its strictly scientific thinking. No one has been more insistent about the need to recover the long-lost unity of theology and holiness*, in the sense of a full and total opening of the spirit to God*'s revelation*. Guided by Anselm*, Balthasar understood how important to an authentic theology was the *adoratio* of one who understands with all his powers of reason* that the mystery* is beyond understanding. The invitation of *Dei Verbum* to make "Scripture*...the soul of theology" (DV 24) is applicable to little 20th-century theology. Even though Balthasar often preferred to take account of the four senses of Scripture rather than following the strict rules of historical and critical exegesis*, the reader of his work is nonetheless offered an intimate engagement with the Bible*.

A large part of his childhood was devoted to music*, for which he had real talent and which was to play an important part in his theological output. At the same

time, he undertook research in philosophy* and literature (German doctoral thesis: *Apokalypse der deutschen Seele*). He entered the Society of Jesus and studied philosophy and theology at Pullach, then at Lyons. These years of deep friendship with E. Przywara (1889–1972), Lubac*, H. Bouillard, J. Daniélou (1905–74), and D. Mollat gave him the opportunity to immerse himself not only in the Church Fathers* and the masters of the Middle Ages, but also in the work of modern thinkers such as G. Bernanos and C. Péguy. In 1940 he met Adrienne von Speyr, whom he received into the Catholic Church: she was to influence the most decisive stages of his life (such as his leaving the Society of Jesus in 1950). Balthasar wrote of her: "Her work and mine cannot be separated, either on psychological or on philological grounds: they are two halves of a whole that, at its center, has a single foundation." Through her agency he made contact with Barth*. The deep influence of his dialogue with the Calvinist theologian would be seen in the texts collected in a volume

of theological essays, *Verbum Caro*, in *Theologie der Geschichte*, and in *Glaubhaft ist nur Liebe*, introduction to *The Glory of the Lord*.

Balthasar was not called to participate directly in the work of Vatican* II, an exclusion mitigated by his appointment by Paul VI to the International Commission on Theology. A profoundly open man and a stubborn defender of tradition*, Balthasar was made a cardinal in 1988. Averse to public celebration, he had an intuition that he would never don the cardinal's vestments: he died two days before his public elevation to the College of Cardinals, on 26 June 1988.

With the *Epilog* of 1987, Balthasar concluded his 15-volume synthesis of theology. Few, least of all the author, believed that it could be brought to completion. Taking the form of a trilogy, it is based on the theological use of two transcendentals (beauty* 2, c), the True (*verum*) and the Good (*bonum*), and of a third concept to which he also accorded the status of transcendental, the Beautiful (*pulchrum*). The order of these concepts is reversed to give first place to the *pulchrum*, and they form the basis, respectively, of a theological esthetics, a theo-dramatics and a theo-logic. Two works offer a guide to the logical construction of the trilogy: the first being *Rechenschaft* (1965), with the later addition of *Noch ein Jahrzehnt* (1978), and the second being *Epilog*. While in *Rechenschaft* Balthasar sets out the key points of his theological output, *Epilog* offers more of a testament that links in retrospect the fundamental ideas found in the triptych. The trilogy sets out to show that the center of revelation is still today the one wholly meaningful reality. Paradoxical as it may seem, given the complexity of the subject matter and the difficulties it offers the reader, Balthasar sets out to present his contemporaries simply with the “reasons for hope*” in Christianity (see 1 P 3, 15) and can be seen as one of the long line of apologists who, over the centuries, have presented the center of the Christian faith*.

a) *Theological Esthetics*. For too long, Balthasar has been regarded as an esthete, and he is in danger of being remembered for even longer only as the author of *Herrlichkeit*. Such a partial reading is unjustified and threatens to get in the way of an understanding of his theology. *Herrlichkeit: Eine theologische Ästhetik* must be considered as the first part of the system, complete and organic in itself, but also and simultaneously as a first step toward the overall presentation of the mystery. Revelation, in Balthasar's scheme, does not arrive solely by way of the *pulchrum*, which presents the first act by which it may be discerned; it must be continued and integrated into the *bonum* and the *verum*.

This part of the work is therefore entitled *Herrlichkeit* (glory*): the philosophical *pulchrum* is studied in the context of the Biblical *kabod* and the Johannine *doxa*. Glory is the irradiation of being* itself, which presents itself thus, *sic et simpliciter*, with no outward covering. In its free revelation, glory is gratuitous and transcendent; it is the first expression of God's opening toward the world*. The theological esthetic can be understood with the help of several keys to interpretation.

One may first distinguish between the perception of glory and the rapture or ecstasy that follows it. The “perception” is the object of fundamental* theology; dogmatics*, meanwhile, deals with the “ecstasy”. The *Erblickungslehre*, as a doctrine of perception, studies the double movement that constitutes the evidence of revelation. The objective movement consists of the manifestation of the phenomenon, which carries within itself the reasons for its essence and existence, while the subjective movement relates to knowledge* by faith. According to Balthasar, perception is possible insofar as God reveals his *Gestalt*. This is the expression of the absolute, the revelation that begins from itself but “refers back” to its constituent essence and depth. And in this revelation, the content (*Gehalt*) is identical to the figure that expresses it (*Gestalt*). With these assertions Balthasar anticipates the closing pages of *Herrlichkeit*, where he will in fact emphasize that the New Testament gives the *Gestalt* its whole meaning: the mystery of God's incarnation* visually perceived by the believer in Jesus*' self-presentation. The stage of perception is followed by that of subjective evidence, by which a fitting knowledge of the *Gestalt* is obtained. The subject still moves toward the object; but in this case God offers both an object to be perceived and the means to receive this object properly. To the richness of the *Gestalt*—to the objective evidence that fully expresses the divine *doxa*—there must therefore be added a corresponding faith, in other words, the simplicity of a cognitive act whose capacity for receiving truth (*Wahrnehmung*) enables it to give full expression to the meaning of the perception. What is given in theological terms, in short, is the primacy of a *fides quae* that enables the *fides qua* to be understood as an act whose content is already, in itself, rich in the fullness of the mystery. So, in its self-presentation, the manifestation of glory reveals at the same time its form and its content (envisaged as a constant referral beyond the form itself), on the one hand; and on the other hand faith, as an adequate and coherent understanding of the content as much as of the form.

A second stage gives content to the *pulchrum*: this is the rapture or ecstasy engendered by receptiveness to an ever growing sense of wonder (a receptiveness that

itself results from man's first astonishment when confronted with the mystery). In this case the ego goes beyond itself, breaks with its individuality and allows itself to be absorbed by the *Gestalt*; and the demands of the glory that appears and promises personal participation in the mystery of the divine life, then lead to a behavior approaching *Gelassenheit*, in other words, to a complete and total relinquishment of the self to the mystery. This philosophical perspective is clearly dependent on Eckhart (1260–1328) and Heidegger*, although to understand its full significance it must be considered in the context of Ignatius Loyola (Ignatian spirituality*). Balthasar was always influenced by Loyola's viewpoint, and in his writing *Gelassenheit* initially implies total obedience, a laissez-faire attitude toward the actions of others, a renunciation that results from the believer's radical receptiveness and openness toward God's will. Whoever wishes to enter into God's revelation (*Selbstausslegung Gottes*) thus has no other path to take but that of the overall figure (*Gesamtgestalt*) revealed by God's incarnation. Balthasar is thus able to forge an unbreakable link between the historical revelation of Jesus* of Nazareth, the true heart of revelation, and its mediation or historical continuation through the presence of the church*, the context for every authentic act of faith.

The particular nature of Balthasar's Christology* may be seen here, as expressed in the category of obedience, and culminating in kenosis*, interpreted in the Johannine* sense of glory and love. Indeed Balthasar continually emphasizes that love is a necessary condition for any action of the Trinity. For him this love, the essence of the divine nature itself, keeps nothing back; it is not measured by the standard of human love, but is determined only by the free initiative of God. This analysis allows Balthasar to avoid christological representations predetermined by anthropology*. The act of loving, of which the Son's kenosis offers the only full realization, is on the one hand the condition that allows God to retain his freedom*, and, on the other hand, the one "transcendental" condition needed in order to participate in the mystery of his revelation.

The church is analyzed in the same manner in several of Balthasar's writings (see *Sponsa Verbi*, *Der antirömische Affekt* or *Schleifung der Bastionem*). Considered as the "body" of Christ, and above all as his "bride," the church contains in essence the complexity of the mystery: it is both a reality dependent on its "head" and a free agent capable of choice. The church expresses the logic of mediation, revealed principally in Christ, that invites us to understand faith simultaneously as a human and a divine act. It is indeed the church of Mary, and thus a pure *fiat* of obedience toward its Lord; but it is also the church of Peter*, and

so a ministry* with the aim of developing the community. Balthasar is thus able to set out an ecclesiology* based, on the one hand, on the act of welcoming the gift of grace*—whose theological paradigm is provided by Mary*'s "passivity"—and on the other hand, on concrete decisiveness and action, as exemplified by Peter's ministry. This ecclesiology, moreover, exposes a rather independent tone, especially in its insistence on the theological interpretation of womanhood (woman*) or of the ministry.

b) Theological Dramatics. Theological dramatics establishes and ensures a coherent progress from the *pulchrum* to the *verum*. Between "seeing" and "speaking" there must be placed a *bonum*, which reveals on the one hand God's pure and freely given gift to the world, and, on the other hand, mankind's free and responsible reply. The term *dramatics* here has a meaning close to the theatrical sense: it concerns that dynamic by which the public and the actor encounter one another, by which the spectator can be aware of himself as a participant inasmuch as he is immersed in the heart of the logic of representation, and by means of which, finally, we find ourselves fundamentally engaged in questions that involve not one moment of life, but existence itself. Thus the very nature of theology demands that it contain a dramatic narrative—its object, indeed, is the drama that is played out in the relationship between God and humanity. The special characteristic of drama is to "transform an event into a visual image," and to force a consideration of personal existence in the light of a "role" and a "mission*" that shatters the image of the self as the outcome of pure chance. So, in the face of the evidence of earthly being, the framework of existence is constructed with an awareness of this *mission* and this *role*; and it is by understanding them with reference to the existence of the man Jesus, which can itself be interpreted in terms of pure mission and pure obedience to the Father, that one can allow this mission and this role to unfold fully.

The volume entitled *Prolegomena* sketches in the axes along which Balthasar's anthropology* is to develop—an anthropology that takes shape and evolves in the light of, and along the trajectory of, the self-expression of the *Gestalt Christi*. Balthasar's anthropology, indeed, is not based on any self-unfolding of human subjectivity, but is composed solely on the basis of the objectivity of the *Gestalt Christi*, since this contains the true reasons that can account for the subject who receives it. The drama is therefore formed of God's engagement with humanity, and from the basis of God's very power of action.

The starting point of Balthasar's thinking here is the theology of the Incarnation, inasmuch as it presents in

concrete form a relationship between mankind and God (*Mit-Einander*) by which man becomes essentially a participant (*Mitspieler*). The question of mankind is thus expressed in terms of two fundamental themes: the formulation of the role and the mission, and the relationship between finite and infinite* liberty. With the definition of the first, the subject discovers that he can be God's partner in a dramatic action. The second allows him to glimpse, on a formal level, the development of the drama. The latter enacts the fundamental question that constitutes personal existence—"Who am I?"—and no one can answer this question without identifying himself, at least implicitly, with a "role." Scripture, for its part, obliges us to see ourselves each as receiving a "mission," summoned and sent forth by the Father* in the image of Jesus Christ. Inevitably, the question of personal liberty then arises: only an *analogia libertatis* (analogy*) is capable of setting down and explaining the relationship between mankind's finite liberty and the region of infinite liberty to which he is summoned.

Because it is created, personal liberty gives rise to a dramatic existence: according to our decisions, the "being-toward-another" (*Zu-Einander*) may become a "being-for-another" (*Für-Einander*) or equally a "being-against-another" (*Gegen-Einander*). The liberty of the subject, in consequence, does not begin by confronting another finite liberty, but rather by opening immediately onto an absolute liberty—and even, in the light of revelation, onto a "triune" liberty. In the "experience of liberty," the subject understands himself to be constantly approaching this liberty, and is perhaps even aware that he is only free insofar as he is traveling toward it. This discovery further reveals to the human subject the absolutely unshareable nature of his "very being" (*Ichsein*) and the unlimited extent to which being* may be shared.

The essential problem remains, however: "Who is man?" The answer is clear: *imago Dei*. This Biblically modeled anthropology sees in the theme of God's image the fullest expression of what man is, because it is directly linked to the act of the Creator God (creation*). Man is the reflection (*Abbild*) of an archetype (*Urbild*), and is enveloped by the mystery that grants him, as an essential dimension, the ability to attain full self-realization in freedom. Balthasar's debt to Irenaeus* is very clear at this point.

The *Theodramatik* also studies the problem of the meaning of the death on the cross as a sign of the love of the Trinity. God reveals himself here in his intimate nature: he is a God who approaches death as a loving God. The quotation from Kierkegaard that appears as an epigraph to the final volume of the *Theodramatik* makes all the clearer the project and the aim underlying

ing the whole second part of the trilogy: the cross and the death of the innocent are "the pure expression of the Trinity's eternal vitality." Pain, suffering, the cross, and death are the ultimate expressions of God's love: they constitute a unique sign that allows us to see how far God can go when he expresses himself in the essence of his being, which is love. The absolute uniqueness and singularity of Jesus of Nazareth are therefore crucial: indeed, they reveal not only the soteriological value (salvation*) of this death, but also the fact that this event alone is a concrete demonstration of God's action. "One of the Trinity* has suffered" (*DS* 401, 432) is the leitmotiv running through this set of themes. The event of the Crucifixion can already be discerned in the event of the Incarnation: Jesus, in a constant and "progressive" kenosis, breaks with the glory of divinity, assumes human flesh*, and finally encounters death and the experience of the tomb. These pages betray the great fascination that, consciously or otherwise, Adrienne von Speyr held for the theologian of Basel.

Kenosis in Balthasar's work is to be taken as the last word*, expressed in human language, that makes credible God's manifestation to humanity. The hymn to the Philippians (Phil 2:6–11) undoubtedly offers a basis for this theology. In this christological hymn, indeed, it is the intertrinitarian origin of kenosis that is highlighted: it is always seen as a constant, eternal movement of renunciation based on obedience. It can, moreover, be said of the Father that he performs a first, original "kenosis" when he begets the Son: freely but totally, he empties himself of his divinity and passes it in its entirety to the Son. Thus is clarified by the meaning of the words by which Jesus expresses his awareness of his relationship with the Father: "All that is mine is yours" (Jn 17:10). The same free and total giving, by which the Father becomes a "father" and the Son a "son," is also manifest in the Holy* Spirit, which guarantees that this act of dispossession is indeed based on love. Balthasar attempts, by way of this divine self-dispossession, to situate in the immanent Trinity each of the further possible "separations" that can be seen in the economic Trinity. The Son's abandonment on the cross—the extreme expression of separation—is possible only because it is already implicit in the first, insurmountable separation that produces the Trinitarian impulse. In this way the cross expresses in human terms (with an analogy whose correspondence is imparted exclusively by Jesus himself) what is confirmed within the Trinity—the act of total and absolute giving in love. The Trinity is thus defined as a "Person*" in the act by which God gives himself utterly as the Father, and receives himself utterly as the Son. Such a definition implies that the total separation of Father and Son, in Jesus' death, could

be achieved only in a total intimacy between one and the other (engendering). The unity experienced by the divine Persons in their relations within the Trinity is thus the basis of the unity and singularity achieved by death when it separates the Son from the Father. Obedience to the Father's will and obedience to the Holy Spirit henceforth constitute the hermeneutic* keys that allow the Crucifixion to be read as a death by love and in the name of love. On this depends love for the Father, understood as a fulfillment of his will that is received in a pure and simple acceptance that goes as far as death. So this viewpoint transforms the event of death into a Trinitarian event: the whole Trinity is engaged and involved in Jesus Christ. In the light of Christology, the "death of God" becomes for Balthasar the fundamental point toward which revelation itself leads—as the Bible* itself testifies. This death, moreover, is also the moment at which the soteriological meaning of the sufferings endured for us by the innocent man is revealed. The Christ who becomes "sin*" and on whom God wreaks his "anger" at the sins of the world is none other than the Son who freely accepts the "pain" felt by God at mankind's refusal of love. The traditional theme of vicarious substitution must then arise; and from Balthasar's standpoint its appearance only serves to highlight "the omnipotent impotence of God's love" (divine omnipotence*). The Son refused and forsaken by the Father is actually a Son forever welcome, since his life is bound up with that of his Father. This Son therefore bears the sins of the world (Rom 9:22f.), and dies on the cross so that nobody after him may die with God's approval. In this way, nothing that occurs is brought to pass by the world, and everything displays the constant and fundamental difference that exists between this action of God's and every possible human realization.

God's Trinitarian love upon the cross is therefore not, as it would be in a Plotinian reading, an impoverishment of all love. On the contrary, this moment reveals precisely the very essence of God and indeed allows us to understand truly what it means to love "until the end" (Jn 13:1). While death represents the limit beyond which man cannot go, and while the suffering of the innocent man may make us empathize with Dostoyevsky's doubt and may lead us to cry scandal* at the mention of God's love, still it must equally be maintained that God has not remained immune to this scandal and this limit. On the contrary, he has accepted them into himself: it is only in this way that they can be decisively conquered and seen to have a meaning. When death becomes the expression of infinite love, one can still speak of a mystery, but only through the paradox of the cross, the last real victory in a drama that does not end in tragedy.

c) *Theological Logic.* The *Gestalt Christi*, which has been encountered in the context of "glory," where it was offered to a faithful contemplation, and then in the "drama," to make mankind capable of involving himself in the divine action and thus experiencing his own liberty to the full, now reaches the last act: the definitive form of truth*. The *Theologik* is largely concerned with analyzing the relationship between divine truth and created truth: can the Truth of revelation be expressed within the structure of created reality? The key questions that take shape over the three volumes of the *Theologik* attempt to express the "fundamental mystery" (*Grundgeheimnis*) of the Christian faith: how is it ontologically possible for a human logos to possess the divine Logos within itself? The logos is therefore at the heart of the *Theologik*—not in its transcendental precomprehension as *verum*, but rather in what goes beyond this, as *alètheia*, in the sense of John's Gospel*. Indeed, John's vision determines Balthasar's understanding of truth: John 1:18 opens his christological considerations (in *Wahrheit Gottes*), and John 16:13 concludes his interpretation of truth (in *Der Geist der Wahrheit*) in pneumatological terms. Jesus of Nazareth is the Father's exegete, but it is the Holy Spirit that opens the eyes of believers so that they can see the truth in its entirety.

The understanding of the concept of truth and of its links with the *bonum* and the *pulchrum* serves here as a preamble to strictly theological analysis. The first volume of the *Theologik*, *Wahrheit der Welt*, reuses unaltered a work that first appeared in 1947. There was good reason for placing this text at the start of the *Theologik*, since it clearly points up latent intuitions that slowly took shape later on, leaving their mark on *Herrlichkeit* as much as the *Theodramatik*. It is in this volume that the relationship between the *Gestalt* and the *Grund* is analyzed in depth; and one can recognize in it with hindsight the origin of the remarkable developments of the first volume of *Herrlichkeit*.

What is truth? A simple answer in terms of metaphysical thought would immediately fall short, for while the *verum* is certainly "a property of being in its manifestation," such a definition must nonetheless be supplemented by the many connotations of the Biblical term '*emet*'. For Balthasar, truth is a disclosure of being, and this disclosure is by its nature an offering. It could be argued that the *Theologik's* original intuition lies in its recognition of the *mystery of being*. Not only absolute being, but all being, partakes of the mysterious, and it is the mystery of liberty and knowledge themselves that force us constantly to go beyond each finite form of liberty and knowledge. For Balthasar, however, the mystery is not something incomprehensible: on the contrary, it is a reality that one

may experience, and which becomes manifest through images and words. Images, because they refer constantly to the root of the manifestation and mark the beginning of an encounter between subject and object; words, because they give a stable form to the dialogue between the *I* and the *Thou* and facilitate an understanding of the self and the world.

The interpretation of the mystery allows other characteristics of truth to be defined, first and foremost freedom. Truth, indeed, is given in a dynamic movement that refers appearance back to the fundamental essence of which it is the expression; thus one can only arrive at truth to the extent that the essence is revealed in its mystical nature. This implies that the truth of being will always be determined by a dialectic of “disclosure and dissimulation” (*Enthüllung-Verhüllung*); this relationship allows the identity of being to be discovered, not merely as “being-in-self” (*An-Sich-sein*) but also and above all as “being-for-self” (*Für-Sich-sein*).

Existence is the mode of being of truth, and it is up to this essential freedom, which is unconditional and therefore supreme, to choose to reveal its own foundation. So, while the act of knowing gives truth its final connotation, nevertheless knowledge does not derive from the subject, but rather from being, which freely decides to open itself and reveal the foundation of its own existence. Thus truth acquires the full sense of *alètheia*: it is simple revelation, the pure manifestation of being, which “eludes all meanings and systematizations” and which expresses itself ultimately as love. It is therefore the responsibility of truth to be believable and shared.

Just as in the case of Beauty and Goodness, the content of Truth, which Balthasar identifies with its foundation, cannot be “defined” by human reason. Its nature is such that its essence transcends historical existence. And if one must then have recourse to another logic, it can only be that of love, since it allows us to apprehend the true dimensions of the eternal mystery.

Balthasar was certainly not gifted with concision: his output over half a century consists of more than a thousand items (monographs, articles, commentaries, translations, introductions to various works, critical editions, etc.). However, one short phrase, written almost on the spur of the moment, may be taken as the kernel of his whole theological oeuvre: “To make the Christian message credible and acceptable to the world.” These words summarize Balthasar’s theological project, which finds its best and most audacious expression in *Glaubhaft ist nur Liebe* (*Love Alone*), the essential starting point for anyone wishing to come to grips with his work.

It is impossible to approach without a certain sadness the image in the *Epilog* with which Balthasar de-

scribes his work: a bottle thrown into the sea, which floats on until, perhaps, somebody may find it. Contemporary theology has not yet had the courage to face up to Balthasar or to plunge into his enormous output. For all its fascination and appeal, this is difficult theology. Poetry, theater, music, art, and philosophy take their places beside a reading of Scripture in the tradition of the Fathers, the master theologians and the saints, to make up a unique whole that offers an assurance of hope*—a hope that consists of a certainty of God’s free and merciful love. In this context, Balthasar was able to express his conviction that hell* might be empty. This viewpoint does not imply a hereafter without a hell; rather it involves a responsible conception of a believer’s present, offered to his contemporaries in the true light of revelation—to show God’s face in a crucified man brought back to life.

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See also **Analogy; Barth, Karl; Beauty; Bultmann, Rudolph; Descent into Hell; Glory of God; Johannine Theology; Kenosis; Lubac, Henri Sonier de; Mystery; Rahner, Karl; Revelation; Theology; Truth**

Bañezianism–Molinism–Baianism

a) Definitions. These terms designate three theological systems and trends that came to light in the 16th century and were inspired respectively by the writings of Domingo Bañez (1528–1604), Luis de Molina (1535–1600) and Baius (Michel de Bay, 1519–89). Each of these theologians claimed he was able to give a rational basis to the relations between grace and freedom, as well as to questions related to divine science* and to God*'s determination of future contingents. These attempts took place in a particular context: on one side there was the fight against the Lutheran and Calvinist negation of free will; on the other side, the effort to avoid the pitfall of Pelagianism*. The reaction provoked within Catholic theology* by Protestant notions stirred one of the liveliest debates it had ever experienced on the role of freedom in supernatural* acts.

The Society of Jesus found itself at the center of these controversies, since Molina himself was a Jesuit and since his colleagues were determined to defend Molinism against its various adversaries. In any case, the Jesuits were not as faithful to the ideas defended by Molina as to the fundamental inspiration of Molinism, which consisted in asserting the role of freedom in supernatural acts in a manner that was in full agreement with the instructions of Ignatius of Loyola (17th orthodoxy rule in the *Constitutions*; Ignatian spirituality*); and also, most probably, with the humanistic pedagogy brought into play in Jesuit colleges. This inspiration of Molinism placed it in opposition both to Baianism and to Bañezianism, whose theories stated that free will could not refuse grace as long as it is an effective grace. Bañezianism quickly became the official doctrine of the Dominicans. As for Baianism, it was initially the theory of a handful of Lovanist theologians

but took on a new lease of life in the 17th century, when it was paradoxically revived by the *Augustinus* (1640) and the Jansenist movement.

b) History of the Controversies. The background to these debates is the Council of Trent*'s decree on justification*, dated 13 January 1547 (session VI, chap. V, *COD* 671–81, *DS* 1525–80). According to this decree, justification goes beyond the unaided forces of man and requires prevenient grace, through which God helps man to convert without any merit on man's own part. But according to that same decree, man does not receive that grace passively, without any cooperation on his part, and this means he is given a chance to refuse it rather than accept it.

The first conflict on the question of the agreement between grace and freedom occurred in January 1582. It was, therefore, a good deal earlier than the publication of Molina's *Concordia*. Bañez, a Spanish Dominican, was confessor to Teresa of Avila (Carmel*). From 1581 he occupied the first chair in theology at the University of Salamanca, where he opposed what has been called a "pre-Molinist" tendency. This happened on the occasion of a dispute defended in Salamanca by the Jesuit Prudencio de Montemayor, who held that Jesus Christ* would not have died freely, and would have procured no merit, if he had received from his Father* the command to die. Discussions followed, on both predestination* and justification: these discussions pitted Bañez, on the one side, against the Augustinian Luis de León, a defender of the Jesuit, on the other. The tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition in Valladolid refused to condemn Luis de León's theses, but it did decide, on 5 February 1584, to forbid him to teach them in public or in private.

On the other hand, starting in 1585 the Jesuit Leonard Lessius (1554–1623) inaugurated his professorate in Louvain by combating the theses of Chancellor Michel de Bay, whom he accused of getting dangerously close to Pelagianism in his refutation of “Calvin*’s Manicheism*.” When Lessius intervened, Baius had already been engaged (since 1567) in a long exchange with the pontifical authorities, on account of his notion of original gifts. He thought that, although these gifts were not natural, they were due to the integrity of nature*, so that “God could not, in the beginning, have created man as he is born today”: that is, willing to do good*, but incapable of this without divine help (*DS* 1901 *Sq*). This has been called the thesis of the impossibility of the state of pure nature. In 1586 Lessius published his *Theses theologicae*, which denounced Baius’s doctrine. They were censored in 1587 by the Faculty of Louvain (*censura lovaniensis*), which accused them of semi-Pelagianism. Lessius appealed to Pope* Sixtus V, who cancelled the censorship in 1588 with the reassurance that Lessius’s doctrine was sound.

The theses that set Lessius and the Faculty of Theology in opposition to each other were as follows. According to Baius and his defenders, it is God* who determines the will, so that effective grace is a grace that cannot be rejected, with Providence* and predestination not taking into account either the determination of secondary causes or each individual’s merit. For his part, Lessius defends the notion that in the determination of will, the role of divine grace is only one of cooperation, because will is determined on its own, even in the supernatural order. Grace is therefore not effective on its own but only insofar as the will accepts it and cooperates with it. Providence and predestination take into account the secondary causes as well as the merit of each individual, which means that they bring into play divine prescience of conditional futures.

The controversy took a new meaning again in 1588 with the publication of Molina’s *Concordia* in Lisbon. Molina was a Spanish Jesuit who was teaching theology in Evora during that time. His *Concordia* dealt with divine science and will, with Providence and with predestination (see Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* Ia, q. 14, 19, 22 and 23), and it endeavored above all to reconcile these with human freedom (which explains the title), by means of a theory fairly close to that of Lessius. The Portuguese Dominicans were disturbed to recognize in the book some of the theses defended in 1581 by Montemayor. Cardinal Albert of Austria, the Inquisitor General in Portugal, suspended the sale of the book and consulted Bañez, who uncovered in the *Concordia* some 10 propositions, the teaching of which

had already been forbidden to Luis de León. He condensed his criticism in three objections, but Molina refuted these and as a consequence the suspension of the book was reversed in July 1589. In an appendix of a new edition of the *Concordia*, Molina wrote his answer to Bañez’s objections.

However, the controversies surrounding the *Concordia* did not then cease. They pursued their course in Rome*, at the time of the “congregations *de auxiliis*,” which were consultative theological debates for the study of Molina’s book. Initiated by Clement VIII, these explored the problem of the infallibility of effective grace (is it irresistible? Does it produce its effect as a matter of necessity?). The Dominicans Diego Alvarez, P. Beccaria, and Thomas de Lemos distinguished themselves in these debates, as did the Jesuits Robert Bellarmine*, Claudio Aquaviva, Michel Vasquez, Pierre Arrubal, and Gregory of Valencia. The two great Jesuit theologians Francisco Suarez* and Gabriel Vasquez did not participate in any of these congregations, but their influence on them was considerable. The congregations were spaced out between 1598 and 1607, and Paul V brought them to a close on 28 August 1607. In accordance with the opinion of the bishop* of Geneva, Francis de Sales (1567–1622), whom he had consulted, Paul declared that the “physical premotion” of the Dominicans was not Calvinist, and that the “simultaneous help” and “average science” of the Jesuits did not fall under the accusation of Pelagianism. He also forbade anyone from censoring either opinion as long as the Holy See did not find it opportune to make a definitive decision regarding the controversy (*DS* 1997)—something he never did. The quarrel went on in spite of this ban, so that in 1611 Paul V forbade the publication of any work on the subject of grace that had not received the authorization of the Inquisition. The ban was reiterated by Urban VIII.

The controversy was revived later with Cornelius Jansen, or Jansenius (1585–1638), a former student of Jacques Jansson, himself a former student of Baius, and one who had been entrusted in Louvain with the investigation into Lessius. Jansenius obtained his doctor’s degree at Louvain in 1619. His *Augustinus* (published posthumously in 1640) was intended to oppose the position defended by the Jesuits in the congregations *de auxiliis*, a position that fell, according to him, under the accusation of semi-Pelagianism. His doctrine on grace was later defended against the Molinists by Antoine Arnauld and Blaise Pascal*, in particular in the second of the latter’s *Provinciales* (1656), which was devoted to the subject of sufficient grace and effective grace. (For the controversy that brought the Molinists and Jansenists into opposition, see Jansenism*.)

c) *Average Science, Physical Premotion, and Predetermination.* The core of the debate between Dominicans and Jesuits is an alternative between two concepts, that of physical premotion and predetermination and that of average science. The major stakes are the relations between freedom and grace and the relations between primary cause and secondary causes; the role of the knowledge of future contingencies (notably the forecasting of merits) in divine preordination (involving questions about Providence and predestination); the definition of effective grace and sufficient grace; the foundation of the infallibility of divine grace and science; and finally, the nature of freedom.

Molinism is a theory of the simultaneous participation of grace and free will: once human will is elevated through grace to the capability of accomplishing supernatural acts, it freely produces those supernatural acts. In this regard, Molinism is opposed to the Dominicans' majority thesis, according to which grace not only cooperates with will but, on top of the influx that makes the will capable of supernatural acts, also exerts upon it a motion that causes it to perform these acts. So it is not so much a question of a cooperation between grace and free will as of a subordination of free will to divine causality. This "premotion" is called "physical" in order to express the fact that the motion of grace is not merely moral, and to show that in this case, free will does not possess the power to thwart it. A physical determination, in fact, is a determination *ad unum*. In the theory of simultaneous participation, on the other hand, the motion exerted by grace upon the will is of a moral nature only and is such that its effect depends on the cooperation of the will, which could very well choose not to cooperate. The question raised by both doctrines is therefore that of the principle that causes the will to produce supernatural acts. Does this determination come totally under grace? In other words, is the will able or unable to withhold its consent to grace? And how can one establish the difference between sufficient grace and effective grace, on the one hand, and between prevenient grace and cooperating grace, on the other? Does one designate that the intrinsic characteristics of graces that have different natures (as the Dominicans would like), or rather the determinations that manifest the relationship between grace and a will which is free to consent to it or not (as the Jesuits want)? For the Molinists, it is the cooperation of the will that renders divine help efficient, and this divine help is not of a different nature when the will does not consent to it. Whether it gives its assent or not, the will is at the source of what characterizes the same grace as effective or sufficient, prevenient or cooperating.

As for the theory of physical premotion and effective grace, it allowed the Dominicans to establish the infallibility of divine science on a simple principle: God determines reality in accordance with his decrees. For Molina, this meant annihilating the freedom of creatures. That was why he took up a theory of the Jesuit Pierre Fonseca (1528–99), who had already influenced Lessius. According to Fonseca's theory, besides the natural science (of the possible) and the free science (of the real, a science that takes into account the divine decrees through which God has decided on such state of things rather than another), one should see in God a third science, through which he knows what the free will would do in all the circumstances in which it might find itself. And since this average science (*scientia media*), as Molina calls it, distinguishes itself from free science and thus anticipates the determination of divine will, it allows the determination of created wills to have some independence with regard to the divine decrees, while maintaining the infallibility of the divine prescience. Indeed, it is sufficient for God to know the real circumstances where created wills are (which falls under free science) in order to know what they will in fact do. In this way the theory of average science allows for a bringing together of divine prescience and the self-determination of created wills. It refuses an infallibility founded on a grace acting *ab intrinseco*, subscribing instead to the idea of an infallibility that rests on a grace acting *ab extrinseco*. The Dominican view, therefore, opposed to this a divine knowledge of conditional futures through free science; the view on predetermination thus served to show the anteriority of the divine decrees over the divine knowledge of future contingencies. The alternative, average science or free science, thus had as its principal theological stake the role held by the forecasting of merits in predestination: it was therefore a matter of solving a question left undecided by the cautious formulation of the Tridentine decree of 1547.

d) *Historical Impact of These Debates.* The controversy was so far-reaching that no one was able to avoid it altogether, and most of the great thinkers of the 17th century had to confront it one way or another. This was the case for Arnauld and Pascal, of course, but also for Descartes*—whose concept of human freedom has been shown by Gilson to owe, on the purely philosophical level, a debt to the theological controversies of his time. Even Malebranche addressed it, in his *Réflexions sur la prémotion physique* of 1715. There he intended to criticize the Thomist understanding of the connection between freedom and grace, a misconception which could, he claimed, be solved with recourse to his

own system. The quarrel did not completely fade away during the 18th century and the French Revolution. Indeed it was revived in the course of the 19th century, after the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of Leo XIII (4 August 1879) made a call to reestablish Catholic teaching on the basis of Thomas Aquinas's thought. The Thomists saw in this an implicit approval of the doctrine of Bañez. As for the Jesuits, who had always identified with Thomas Aquinas, they applied themselves to showing the agreement between Molinism and Thomism*, and to distinguishing Banezianism from Thomism. At the forefront of the polemic were T. de Régnon, defender of Molinism, and H. Gayraud, who championed Banezianism. The debate continued into the early 20th century, placing on opposing sides the Molinist A. d'Alès and the Banezian R. Garrigou-Lagrange. As a matter of fact, it was only at the beginning of the 20th century that the two religious orders involved in these controversies ceased to demand of their respective members that they conform to their official position on these questions (see letter no. 1 by P.G. Smith, S. J., to Father de Lubac*, and no. 3, in *Lettres de monsieur Étienne Gilson au Père de Lubac*, Paris, 1986). However, these doctrines did not disappear, a fact attested to by J.-H. Nicolas's polemic against J. Maritain, who had proposed to introduce into the problematics of evil* the concept of *breakable divine motion*, and who thus came up against the opposition of what he himself called a "neo-Banezianism."

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LAURENCE RENAULT

See also Bellarmine, Robert; Calvinism; Conversion; Grace; Jansenism; Justification; Knowledge, Divine; Liberty; Pascal, Blaise; Pelagianism; Predestination; Providence; Spirituality, Ignatian; Supernatural; Trent, Council of

Baptism

I. In Scripture

1. Terminology

The verb *baptizein*, from *baptein*, which had only secular usage, means “to submerge, to baptize.” It is used in this general sense in the Septuagint (2 Kgs 5:14). The New Testament also contains this usage (Mk 10:38), but uses the word principally to designate Christian baptism. Hence came the nouns *baptismos* (the act of immersion, which from the third century came more frequently to designate baptism) and *baptisma*, baptism.

2. Jewish World

The Old Testament mentions the use of water for ritual purification (Lv 14–15; see Mk 7:1–5). The members of the Qumran community advocated daily ablutions in their intense desire to purify themselves (1QSIII, 3–11). Toward the first century, in addition to circumcision, the baptism of converts developed, as something designed for the purification of pagans who wished to become Jews. Extant sources do not permit a precise dating of its appearance, and current scholarship tends to the view that it had no influence on Christian baptism (Légasse 1993).

3. New Testament

The presentation of baptism in the New Testament is not uniform. It underwent an evolution and has reached us via differing traditions.

a) Baptism of John the Baptist. What was usually called the Baptist movement (Thomas 1935) is now seen as an array of different trends, and there is a tendency to situate John the Baptist’s action within its singularity. The Gospels* and the Acts take pains to harmonize their respective traditions concerning John and Jesus*. They make the former the precursor of the latter, regardless of the conflicts between the two groups, and distinguish their respective baptisms by means of the opposition between water and spirit (Mt 3:11 and parallel passages). John “proclaimed a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins” (Mk 1:4; see Lk 3:3). Matthew, who restricts the remission of sins to the person of Jesus (1:21, 26:28), speaks with

respect to John only of a “baptism of repentance” (3:11) and thereby indicates the efficacy attributed by other witnesses to the baptism of John. The latter had several characteristics. First was the active role of the baptizer: unlike ablutions, when one washes oneself, baptism was administered by another person. Second, it was a unique act, open to all willing to convert. It was finally an eschatological task, carried out by the prophet* of the last days, and a way to “flee from the wrath to come” (Mt 3:7). The ritual is not precisely described: water was used, but nothing indicates total immersion.

b) Baptism of Jesus by John. The fact is attested to, even though it has seemed shocking that Jesus received a baptism for the remission of sins. Matthew explains that he had in this way to “fulfill all righteousness” (3:15). The texts hardly describe the baptism itself. Rather, they tell of the prophetic investiture (Perrot 1979) of Jesus, on whom the Holy* Spirit descends like a dove, and the inauguration of his ministry*. The scene is Christianized to the point that it later served as a model for the baptism of Christians. By the same token, the characteristics of the baptism of John were transferred onto Christian baptism—with the essential difference, however, that the latter involved a relationship with Jesus.

c) Jesus the Baptist. The current tendency is to accept the testimony of John 3:22f., even though a gloss specifies that “Jesus himself did not baptize, but only his disciples” (Jn 4:2). There is no later mention of these early days of Jesus as a Baptist, perhaps for theological motives. On the one hand, John specifies that the Holy Spirit had not yet been given (Jn 7:39), while on the other hand, all the actions of Jesus tend to show that salvation* comes less from a ritual gesture than from his very person.

d) Baptism of Christians and Its Meanings. The New Testament writings give evidence of theological work on the meaning of baptism (lists of pericopes, or brief passages, in Guillet 1985). The earliest information is provided by Paul, who already speaks of baptism as a received tradition* (1 Cor 1:11–17). But we lack information for the period separating the baptism of John

(c. 30) and the earliest writings of Paul (c. 55). We therefore do not know whether the first Christians abandoned circumcision, which Pauline circles were already placing in opposition to baptism (Col 2:11ff.), nor why they adopted baptism as a rite of adherence (Acts 2:41) to Christ and to his body. The baptism received by Jesus himself probably had nothing to do with it.

Paul developed the theology* of baptism in a very original way by deepening the relationship between the baptized and Jesus, going so far as to assert that “all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death” (Rom 6:3). The pneumatological and ecclesiastical meaning of baptism is nonetheless affirmed, because “in one Spirit we were all baptized into one body” (1 Cor 12:13). Colossians, which constitutes an admirable baptismal catechesis*, elaborated still further the relationship to the Resurrection at a later stage of the tradition (2:12).

In the synoptic Gospels, baptism is presented as a rite of water that Jesus himself received, with the Holy Spirit, at the beginning of his mission.

As for Acts, this book poses in particular the problem of the relationship of baptism to the Holy Spirit. According to Acts 2:38 and 10:47, baptism is accompanied by the gift of the Holy Spirit (after or before). According to Acts 8:15 f. and 19:2–6, the laying* on of hands is added to the baptismal rite with a view to the gift of the Holy Spirit. Attempts have been made to distinguish these two traditions by the formulations used: baptism in (or on) the name of Jesus Christ (Lucan tradition, with the gift of the Holy Spirit); baptism for the name of the Lord Jesus (Pauline tradition, with the laying on of hands; see Quesnel 1985). According to Légasse (1993), the second expression is the older one. Initially indicating only the relationship to Jesus, it acquired a stronger theological sense by following the evolution of Christology*. As for the relationship between baptism and the Holy Spirit, the tradition is ambivalent.

John 3:5 reaffirms this relationship and sets out the necessity of baptism in order to enter into the kingdom* of God*, an affirmation that later took on great significance. 1 John 5:6ff. leads toward a synthesis in attesting that Jesus Christ came not with water alone (John), nor blood (Paul), nor by the Holy Spirit of pneumatology, but that these three move toward the One, the Christ*, the wound in whose side let flow blood and water before he gave up the spirit (Jn 19:30–34).

The most complete presentations of baptism are found in the conclusions of Matthew and Mark, which belong to later textual strata. In both, the risen Christ solemnly sends his apostles on a mission. Mark 16:16

establishes a link between baptism and faith*, whereas Matthew 28:19 presents a Trinitarian formulation whose success was later evident in baptismal liturgies.

Beyond the diversity of its traditions, the New Testament thus ends by presenting baptism as a unique act with water (Eph 4:5), carried out by the church* in the name of the Trinity* to join the baptized to the community. As for the rite, it is nowhere described precisely. Acts 8:38 indicates that Philip and the eunuch go down “into the water,” while verse 37 (Western tradition) points to a christological profession of faith.

II. In History

1. First Four Centuries

The diversity of traditions encountered in the New Testament continued, since Christian baptism did not refer back to an originating biblical text, as the Eucharist* did to the Last Supper. And although the baptismal ritual expanded during Christian antiquity, there was only a single celebration of Christian initiation*. Unity came more from a general understanding of baptism as a Trinitarian celebration of entry into the Church than from a (nonexistent) ritual uniformity.

Evidence from the second century is scant (Benoît 1953). Chapter seven of the *Didache* presents baptism after the instruction of the first six chapters. It mentions baptism in the name of the three divine Persons*, but also in the name of the Lord (9, 5). It provides details on the use of water, possibly only by sprinkling, and on the fasting that was counseled for all those who were able. Justin added in the middle of the century that the meaning of baptism is an illumination (*phôtismos*), and he noted that the celebration leads to the Eucharist (*I Apol.* 61, 65).

The third century saw significant expansion of ritual (exorcisms, holy* oils, laying on of hands) which basically derived from Scripture*, even though this expansion found support in practices of the ancient world. Tertullian* was the first to provide a treatise on baptism (early third century). The *Apostolic Tradition* (in Rome c. 215) offers the first ritual worthy of the name. It begins with a catechesis (numbers 15–20), which might last for three years, and is presented as an ordeal with many exorcisms. Baptism takes place after a vigil (probably at Easter). After the renunciation of Satan and a first anointing by the presbyter* with the oil of exorcism, the naked candidates go down into the pool with a deacon*, for a threefold profession of faith by means of questions and answers and a threefold submersion in the water. There follows a christological anointing by the presbyter with chrism, reclathing, and entry into the church. There the bishop* lays his hands

on each person while making a prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit. Then he performs a third, Trinitarian, anointing, and gives each person the kiss of peace. There follows a general prayer and the bringing of gifts for the Eucharist. This very ample ritual influenced the entire Western tradition. Its ecclesiastical sense should be emphasized: having become Christians on their entry into the catechumenate, and chosen (*electi*) in the final phase, the baptized become worshipers by receiving the sacrament of faith and thereby truly enter into the Christian community. The celebration is carried out by the bishop, accompanied by deacons and presbyters, and it is crowned by the Eucharist.

One cannot generalize on the basis of this information, however, particularly with respect to the Eastern Church, in which various traditions were present. In Syria, for example, the Acts of Thomas (Syriac, early third century) linked the gift of the Holy Spirit to a pre-baptismal anointing (the seal), and this was still the case with John Chrysostom*: they contained neither a profession of faith nor an act of renunciation. In Alexandria baptism took place at the Epiphany, the feast of the baptism of Christ and hence of Christians. The Coptic liturgy developed a baptismal theology along the lines of the synoptic Gospels. Like Jesus, the Christian was baptized at the outset of his existence, thus receiving the Holy Spirit in view of his mission. Forty days later there took place a presentation at the temple*.

The second half of the fourth century saw a flowering of major baptismal and mystagogical catechesis* that reflected the importance attributed to Christian initiation by the bishops of the time: Cyril (or John) of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose. They provide plentiful information on baptismal theology and rites (Camelot 1963), which at the time tended to be communicated from one church to another. They indicate the greater importance attached to the Pauline* theology of baptism, as a passing through the death and Resurrection of Christ. This notion, infrequently represented before this time, helped to give the gift of the Holy Spirit a more prominent place, in parallel with the Council of Constantinople* of 381. Postbaptismal rites also appeared where they had not existed earlier.

Baptism of infants is mentioned explicitly for the first time by Tertullian in the early third century, in order to express his opposition ("Yes, let them come, but when they are older, old enough to be taught," *De baptismo* 18, 4. The *Apostolic Tradition* indicates clearly, moreover, that there was no question, as in later practice, of baptizing children alone. They were baptized with their parents (a probable continuation of the "household" baptism mentioned in Acts 16:15). Thereafter, in the fourth century, we can observe a wave of

delay in baptism. The Cappadocians, John Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine*, and others, born of Christian parents, were baptized as adults, perhaps for reasons relating to penitential discipline (Jeremias 1967), but once they had become bishops, they declared themselves in favor of infant baptism.

Theological difficulties arose with the appearance of Novatianism*. The disciples of Novatian rebaptized Christians wishing to join their movement. In the church as a whole there were two traditions on this point: Africa and Asia Minor also rebaptized, whereas Rome* and Egypt were satisfied with a laying on of hands. There was a vigorous controversy between Africa and Rome in the mid-third century. Several African councils met to consider the question, and Cyprian wrote his letters 69 through 74 on the subject. Pope* Stephen held to the principle: *Nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illis imponatur in paenitentiam* (Ep. 74. 2. 2–3): "Let there be no innovation, but let us merely follow the tradition by a laying on of hands as a sign of penance*." Cyprian, for his part, argued that there was only one baptism, the one conferred by the central church, for there was only one Church and only one Holy Spirit, and no one could have God as a Father* if he did not have the Church as a mother (Ep. 74. 7. 2). Moreover, "outside the Church, there is no salvation" (Ep. 73. 21. 2). In baptism, the church transmitted what belonged to it. The so-called baptism of heretics was nothing but an aquatic rite.

This position was not maintained. The Council of Arles in 314 adopted the Roman idea and affirmed that the value of baptism depended on the content of the faith professed (can. 8). The Council of Nicaea* in 325 ratified these views (cans. 8 and 19).

The controversy continued against Donatism*, in the form of a conflict that Augustine succeeded in resolving by moving from Cyprian's ecclesiological concept of baptism to a christological one. Baptism did not belong in the first instance to the church, but to God and to Christ. Whoever the minister, it was always Christ who baptized (Jn 1:33), hence the celebrated sentence: "If Peter baptizes, he [Christ] baptizes; if Paul baptizes, he baptizes; if Judas baptizes, he baptizes" (*Commentary on John* VI. 5–8, CChr.SL 36. 56–57). In this context arose the technical notion of minister of a sacrament. Augustine distinguished the *potestas* of baptism (which belonged only to Christ) from the *ministerium* of the minister. The latter did not give of himself (Cyprian), he was only the servant of Christ. From that point on, it has been accepted in the West that, in case of emergency, anyone can baptize, even someone who has not been baptized, provided he intends to do what the Church does (*DS* 1315, 1617).

The critique of Pelagianism* provided the occasion for further refinements. The Pelagians did baptize infants, but on account of the innocence of infants, the Pelagians denied that they received baptism for the remission of sins. Augustine made the objection that their baptism itself indicated that they had to be saved. "From what, if not from death, from vices, from the bonds, the slavery, the darkness of sin? As their age prevents them from having committed any personally, there remains original sin" (*On the Merits of Sins and Their Remissions, and on the Baptism of Little Children* 412, I. 26. 39, PL 44, 131).

We can thus see the development of the doctrine of original sin in Augustine, under the dual presupposition of the personal innocence of children (presupposed by the argument) and the already accepted baptism of infants that was bestowed "for the remission of sin." Once asserted, the doctrine in turn became a motive for baptizing children. Infant baptism later prevailed in the West, to the point of obscuring the positive values of baptism asserted, for example, by John Chrysostom (*Baptismal Catecheses* III. 5–6).

In the Donatist controversy Augustine further developed the features of what was to become the doctrine of the character of baptism (*DS* 1609). Wishing in fact to emphasize the definitive aspect of the sacrament, he spoke of *sacramentum manens*. Among the images used to explain its reality was that of the sheep marked with its owner's brand.

From the second half of the fourth century on, the majority of the Mediterranean population became Christian. This success brought about changes in the sociological composition of the Church, as witnessed by the letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio, showing the consequences of this new situation for baptism and confirmation, the Eucharist, and the ministries*. As for Christian initiation, East and West took separate paths. The former gave pride of place to the unity of initiation and granted to presbyters the right to confer it in its entirety. The West maintained for confirmation* a link to the bishop, which led to a gradual dissociation between baptism and confirmation.

2. High Middle Ages in the West

In the fifth century infant baptism became more frequent than baptism of adults. In episcopal cities baptism was still administered at Easter by the bishop, who performed confirmation and gave the Eucharist in the same ceremony. In rural areas priests increasingly baptized children at birth and gave them Communion with the sacred blood. On rare occasions Communion was delayed until a visit by the bishop.

Liturgical books of the eighth century, after providing questions and answers on faith, added a baptismal

formula modeled on Matthew 28:19, which, it may be assumed, was already known in the West two centuries earlier (De Clerck 1990). The relationship between faith and baptism was thereby modified. One was no longer baptized by professing one's faith, and the pattern of questions and answers can be seen as a kind of preliminary condition for baptism, which was itself performed by the minister with the help of a formula designating precisely him as subject of the action ("I baptize you"). This formula became the pattern for other sacraments*.

3. Middle Ages in the West

It can be said that from the 12th century the West practiced baptism *quam primum*: that is, administered it as soon as possible after birth. This represented a complete break with paschal baptism, and also with First Communion*, which was postponed around this time until the age of reason. Thus, each of the three sacraments of Christian initiation, once parts of a single celebration, became autonomous. In the list of the sacramental septenary established in 1150, baptism, confirmation, and the Eucharist are listed separately. For their part, the Scholastic theologians systematized the teaching received, as can be seen, for example, in the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas* Aquinas, IIIa. q. 66–71.

The question also arose of children who died without baptism, a pressing question in a society with high infant mortality and where the theology of baptism was dominated by the consideration of original sin. There was a refinement of the theory of the "limbo*" (intermediate place) of children." Not having been baptized, they could not enter the kingdom of God, according to John 3:5. On the other hand, their innocence made it repugnant to think of them as damned. According to Thomas (*Sent.* II. d. 33, q. 2), these children were deprived of the beatific* vision, but because nature was not in itself turned toward the supernatural*, they did not suffer from this loss: "There is no sadness in being deprived of a good to which one is not suited" (Boissard 1974). This theology, softer than Augustinian views, was never adopted as a doctrine of the church. It nevertheless had a great deal of influence and did not dispel all fears. In this connection there were "sanctuaries of respite," places of pilgrimage* where children who had died without baptism were carried and placed on the altar, where some of them seemed to recover a brief moment of life, which was taken as an opportunity to baptize them.

4. Reformation and Modern Times

The major figures of the Reformation challenged neither baptism as such nor infant baptism in particular. Criticism came from the Anabaptists*, who opposed

infant baptism on the biblical premise that the New Testament requires faith for baptism; as well as on the ecclesiological premise that the Church can be made up only of those who confess their faith. The Anabaptists were the precursors of the 17th-century Baptists*, who professed the same theology of baptism and administered it through immersion.

5. 20th Century

This century is marked by two major events, the ecumenical movement and the Second Vatican* Council*.

a) The constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* of Vatican II devotes numbers 64 to 70 to baptism. Number 64 decides on the restoration of the adult catechuminate, to be accomplished in stages. Number 66 calls for the revision of the rite of infant baptism in order “to adapt it to the real situation of the very young.” Number 69 proposes, for a child baptized in an emergency, the composition of a rite of welcome into the community (*see* chap. VI of the Rite of the Baptism of Little Children) and, for people baptized in other faiths, a rite of admission into full communion with the Church (in the Ritual of the Christian Initiation of Adults).

These proposals were carried out by the Consilium for the realization of the constitution. The Ritual of the Baptism of Little Children was published in Latin in 1969, and the same year in a provisional French translation. The French text was finally approved in 1984. It contains important “doctrinal and pastoral Notes” that provide a key for the ritual part. The principal modifications are of two kinds. On the one hand, baptism has again become a liturgy of the Word*. On the other, this was the first time in the history of the church that it published a ritual “adapted to the real situation of the very young,” a fact that permits the assertion that in the consciousness of the church the theological model of baptism is indeed that of adults. This adaptation also means that parents, and not godparents, are now in the forefront. They “exercise a true ministry*” (Notes, no. 40) when they request baptism for their child and themselves profess the faith of the church. The Ritual for the Christian Initiation of Adults was published in Latin in 1972, in a provisional French edition in 1974, and an approved edition in 1997. The notion of Christian initiation, rediscovered by L. Duchesne in the late 19th century, was adopted by Vatican II and heads all rituals. The Ritual for the Christian Initiation of Adults is a large book that, in addition to “doctrinal and pastoral Notes,” contains the ritual of catechesis, which may last as long as three years, and the ritual of the sacraments of initiation. It is structured in four periods (first evangelization, catechesis, final fast, and mystagogy), and three celebrations (entry into catechesis,

decisive call and inscription of the name, and the sacraments themselves). The sacraments are customarily celebrated during the Easter vigil by the bishop, or else by the priest, who in this case may himself confirm the newly baptized (no. 228; *see* LG no. 26, stipulating that the bishop is the originating minister of confirmation). This prescription is the exact opposite of that of the High Middle Ages, and thus does away with the principal cause of the dispersal of Christian initiation through several rituals.

b) The ecumenical movement has obviously been concerned with baptism. From its first conference in Lausanne in 1927, “Faith and Constitution” placed on the agenda the question of a document of doctrinal convergence on baptism. It went through various versions before being published in Lima in 1982 under the title of *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry (BEM)*, so that it might be examined by various churches, whose responses led to a report published in 1991.

These advances have allowed for mutual recognition by churches of baptisms celebrated within each one, in particular in Belgium (1971), France (1972), and Germany (Concord of Leuenberg, 1973) (Sicard 1991). The CIC now favors the validity of non-Catholic baptism; it stipulates: “People baptized in a non-Catholic church community must not be baptized conditionally, unless there is a serious reason to doubt the validity of the baptism, considering both the matter and the formula used for its administration, as well as the intention of the adult who has been baptized and the minister who has done the baptizing” (can. 869 §2).

III. Theology of Baptism

The Christian initiation of adults constitutes the model of baptism. It best realizes its ritual expression and offers the best basis for theological reflection. Indeed, it is on the basis of the initiation of adults that an understanding of the particular case of infant baptism can be attained.

1. Baptism and Personal Fate

Baptism, whether of children or adults, constitutes the basis of the personal identity of the Christian. In the case of infant baptism, its principal sign is the bestowal of the name, which begins the ritual procedure. For the adult, this identity is received in the midst of the tragic course of his existence. It is a deliberate choice, on the one hand against the evil* that he has experienced in his former life (renunciation), and on the other, in favor of God, his Christ, and the Holy Spirit, whose love is stronger than any form of death (profession of faith).

2. *Meaning of the Baptism of Adults*

All baptisms are carried out through the mediation of a Christian community, but this is not the ultimate purpose of the ritual. The questions asked immediately before the administration of the water concern faith in the Trinitarian God. This expresses the sacramental value of the event as an act of God, carried out by his Church, and not merely a rite of belonging. This sacramental logic leads naturally to a consideration first of the ecclesiastical relations established by baptism, followed by a contemplation of the Trinitarian relations in which baptismal grace* resides.

a) Baptism as the Establishment of a Relation to the Church. According to Acts 2:41, “there were added that day about three thousand souls”; and since the verb has no object, it can be understood that the newly baptized were added to Christ, in whose name they were baptized, as well as to the community. Verse 47 supports this interpretation: certain variants name the Church. Every baptism is carried out by the Church and one of its ministers (bishop, priest, or deacon) in the Church (for “no one can have God as a Father if he does not have the Church as a Mother” Cyprian, Ep. 74. 7), with a view toward establishing the Church. What church does the baptized person join? Not only the local community, because moving to another community does not involve rebaptism. The sacramental dimension of baptism and the recent agreements for interchurch recognition of baptism encourage the assertion that the baptized are joined to the Church of God. But this is necessarily accomplished through the mediation of a particular church. And because all churches are not in communion with one another, it must be recognized that although the baptized are joined to the Church of God, at the same time they become members of a denominational church, although the Catholic Church, for one, considers that there “subsists” in it the fullness of “churchness.” Under the heading of Incorporation into the Body of Christ, the *BEM* writes: “Celebrated in obedience to our Lord, baptism is a sign and a seal of our engagement as disciples. Through their own baptism, Christians are led to union with Christ, with every other Christian, and with the Church of all times and places. Our common baptism, which unites us to Christ in faith, is thus a fundamental bond of unity*. We are one people and we are called to confess and to serve one Lord, in every place and throughout the world. The union with Christ that we share through baptism has important implications for Christian unity: ‘There is...one baptism, one God and Father of all’ (Eph 4:4–6). When baptismal unity is realized in the one holy, Catholic, and apostolic Church, an authentic Christian witness may be rendered to the love of God

that cures and reconciles. This is why our single baptism in Christ constitutes an appeal to the churches for them to overcome their divisions and to visibly manifest their communion” (no. 6). Baptism indeed constitutes the foundation of the unity of Christians, within a Church of which one becomes a member by an act of Christ (and not by the cooptation of other members), as well as among churches that find in that unity the reason for their ecumenical efforts.

Baptism establishes a relationship to God through the mediation of a church, but it does not exclude other paths to salvation by Christ, for “all things were created through him and for him” (Col 1:16), and “God our Savior...desires all people to be saved” (1 Tm 2:4). For although it is correct to say that baptism in faith does save, it is more accurate to assert that it is God who saves through baptism, or through other means of his mercy*. According to classical theology, the necessity of baptism is as a precept*, and not as a means, for “God has not tied his power to the sacraments” (Thomas Aquinas, *ST* IIIa, q. 64, a. 7). The necessity for baptism is felt by anyone who perceives in the sacrament the realization of a covenant* with God.

b) Baptism as the Establishment of Trinitarian Relationships. The relationship to Christ, chronologically the first (Acts 2:38; 1 Cor 1:13), also turns out to be the most fundamental (Rom 6:3–11). This is corroborated by the first gesture of the celebration, the making of the sign of the cross, and by the Western tradition of celebrating baptism at Easter. From the point of view of the baptized, in fact, baptism consists of passing into the death of Christ in order to rise with him and “walk in newness of life” (Rom 6:4). From the point of view of Christ, baptism is the act through which he commits his faithfulness to those who have given him their faith, and this is affirmed in other terms by the doctrine of baptismal character (*DS* 1609). We can thus see a structure of reciprocity governing the logic of the sacramental act. The intention of God in Christ is received by people who answer him in the Holy Spirit, with a view to building the Church. In baptism Christians receive their vocation. As the prayer accompanying the anointing with chrism states: “Henceforth, you are one of His people, you are members of the body of Christ, and you participate in his dignity as priest, prophet, and king.” This vocation is elaborated in *Lumen Gentium* 34–36. Read in this way, the Christian life is from beginning to end a baptismal life.

The relationship to the Holy Spirit is affirmed in the New Testament. For Luke it is the strength of God received for mission*, while for Paul the emphasis is on inward transformation and sanctification. Even though there is a specific gift of the Holy Spirit at confirma-

tion, its absence at baptism does not follow, since baptism is given in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The gift of the Holy Spirit is the remission of sins (Jn 20:22f.). To be baptized is thus to receive a Spirit different from one's own and to be called to bear its fruits (Gal 5:22) in a "spiritual" life*.

"All who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God" (Rom 8:14). The outcome of the baptismal process is the relationship to God, recognized as Father and Creator, with the confident existence that this relationship provides, for "If God is for us, who can be against us?" (Rom 8:31–39).

3. Particular Meaning of Infant Baptism

a) Justification for Infant Baptism. Since baptism is a sacrament of faith, how can we accept the validity of a true baptism celebrated at an age that in principle excludes any personal expression of faith? The answer consists in asserting the need for a substitution, a vicarious faith that the tradition of the Church locates at two levels. On the one hand, there is the faith of the Church, in which every sacrament (and not only infant baptism) is celebrated. This compels the recognition that the expression "baptism, a sacrament of faith" has not only a subjective meaning (the baptized must give their answer of faith), but also an objective meaning: by baptizing, the Church establishes the sacramental figure of its faith in the salvation of God. This permits us to understand that the subject of faith is not primarily an individual, but the Church, the people of God. In other words, the existence of infant baptism also brings to the fore the dimensions of faith itself.

On the other hand, the faith of others (*fides aliena*) is required, in the sense that the faith of the Church must be transmitted by concrete individuals. In the view of theologians who accept it, infant baptism is justified when it is requested by believers (Thomas Aquinas, *ST* IIIa, q. 68), and these do not necessarily have to be the child's own parents.

b) Reasons for Infant Baptism. Among the theological reasons for infant baptism, first place must be given to God's will for universal salvation, which is also applied to little children. The very existence of infant baptism demonstrates that they matter in the eyes of God. Another reason is original sin. Even though no current sin is clearly imputable to infants, they are nevertheless born into a world in which human beings have immemorially needed to be saved by God (*DS* 1514). Moreover, infant baptism is a perfect image of the gratuitous nature of salvation: even before children can possibly respond, God's initiative is celebrated for their benefit. This is the reason for the prevenient grace that is

of such importance to Lutherans. It can be elaborated along more existential lines by showing how infant baptism comes together with the very mystery of human existence. Humankind in fact has little mastery over its own life. In any event, no individual initiates his own coming into existence. Infant baptism represents a symbolic reduplication of this fact, which probably explains its persistence through history, despite constant criticism. Finally, infant baptism offers a paradigm of ecclesiastical solidarity, because it would have no meaning if salvation were only individual. Here too, then, it brings to the fore various dimensions of faith.

c) Objections to Infant Baptism. These have often been expressed and are summed up in the Instruction on the Baptism of Little Children promulgated by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in October 1980. In addition to the impossibility of a profession of faith already mentioned, the two principal objections concern the kind of Church to which infant baptism leads, and the question of liberty*.

The critique of the multitudinist Church to which the practice of infant baptism leads has often been voiced during the second half of the 20th century. This voice has also been heard, and many churches have taken measures in the face of "generalized infant baptism" (J.-J. von Allmen 1967), in particular regarding the preparation of parents. Social and ecclesiastical changes in the West have brought about a more open position with respect to infant baptism (Gisel 1994).

The most frequently heard objection concerns the liberty of children and a sectarian conception of the baptism of little children. Whatever may have been true in the past, the new Catholic rite is addressed to the parents, and it is they who are invited to profess their own faith at the baptism of their child. The child is of course the one who is baptized, but a possible later withdrawal by the child cannot be considered an apostasy, insofar as the child has not yet personally adhered to the faith of the baptism. Moreover, the objection can be refuted by a philosophical reflection on liberty, which is not, in fact, to be confused with perpetual caprice, but represents the power to make choices and to register them throughout life. One might equally ask if this objection does not also reveal some uncertainty on the part of the parents regarding their own practices of faith.

d) Particularities of the Baptism of Adults and Children. We can hold to the traditional assertion according to which there is only one baptism (Eph 4:4) if we clearly bring out the different logical bases of infant baptism and adult baptism. The differences between the two forms of baptism are obvious. They concern

the subjects (adults—little children), the minister (bishop—priest or deacon), and the ritual sequence (three years—a single celebration). Beyond these differences, there are two distinct models. In the Christian initiation of adults, numerous elements of the approach to faith precede baptism. Baptism is celebrated on Easter night along with confirmation and the Eucharist (see RCIA, no. 34), which initiate the time of mystagogy. When it comes to infant baptism, the model is exactly the reverse: everything that precedes baptism for adults comes after it for children. We are thus confronted with two different logical bases for the same baptism, a logic of conversion* for adults, and a logic of ongoing education for children (De Clerck 1991).

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PAUL DE CLERCK

See also Anointing of the Sick; Confirmation; Eucharist; Marriage; Ordination/Order; Sacrament

Baptists

Baptists believe that only those who make a personal profession of faith* in Jesus Christ should be baptized, and that baptism* should be by immersion. They believe, furthermore, that every member of a local church should participate in the government of that church, and that no external authority, ecclesiastical or political, should interfere in its affairs.

a) Origins. There were two kinds of Baptism in England in the 17th century: these were known as General Baptism and Particular Baptism. The former group carried the conviction, inspired by Arminianism (Calvinism*), that redemption was “general” and that all men could be saved. It was at first an extreme form of Puritanism*. Some of the members of this group sought refuge in Amsterdam where, under the influence of the Anabaptist* movement, they became convinced that baptism should be reserved for believers. In 1609 their spiritual leader, John Smyth (c. 1554–1612), baptized himself before baptizing his companions. In a treatise written the same year (*Parallels, Censures, Observations*) he defended the idea that each “federal community,” or community of covenant*, constituted a church in which ecclesiastical authority* fully inhered.

In 1612 Thomas Helwis (c. 1550–c. 1616) took part of the group back to England and published an appeal for complete religious toleration, *The Mystery of Iniquity*. From this group sprang others that would, in time, baptize only by immersion. Particular Baptism, on the other hand, held to the strict Calvinist doctrine that Christ* had died only for the “particular” group of the elect. This current formed in London in the 1630s by separating from Congregationalism*. Its 1644 creed* holds that baptism is only for those who have faith, relying in part on Matthew 28:18 f. (McBeth 1990). Another confession, published in 1689, long remained the touchstone of orthodoxy in this group.

b) 18th Century. The rationalism* of the 18th century led most Baptists of the first group to adopt a Christology* that was more or less close to Arianism*. By 1719 a majority of them refused to reaffirm their belief in the Trinity*, and at the end of the century some of them were very close to Unitarianism*. The second group, in contrast, adopted a strengthened

Calvinism. Its best theologian, John Gill, was a resolute defender of the doctrine of election* (*The Cause of God and Truth*, 1735–38). In the second half of the century, under the influence of the Great Awakening, a more moderate version of Calvinism gradually came to predominate, placing on believers the obligation to proclaim the gospel. Expounded by Andrew Fuller (1754–1815) in *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation* (1785), this more moderate Calvinism gave impetus to the creation of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792). In North America the “Separate” Baptists, products of the Great Awakening, swelled the ranks of the Particular (also called “Regular”) Baptists. There were also General Baptists (known as “Freewill” Baptists) in England and the United States. Some of their North American leaders, including Isaac Backus and John Leland, helped to impose the idea of a separation between church* and state.

c) 19th Century. The number of Baptists increased in the 19th century, and theological precision came to count for less than the expansion of the church. In 1833 the New Hampshire Confession, widely adopted in the United States, was deliberately silent on the points of disagreement between the Regular and Freewill Baptists (who had opposing views on predestination*). In England Robert Hall (1764–1831) succeeded in persuading his coreligionists to admit to Communion Christians who had not been given the baptism of believers. The Baptists who did not agree with this development formed separate groups: the “Anti-Mission” Baptists in the United States, the “Strict and Particular” Baptists in England. In the southern United States, which had formed a separate convention since 1845, the “Landmark” movement became distinctly sectarian by deciding in the 1850s that baptism was valid only when it was administered by Baptists. In 1887–88 in England, the beginnings of a certain theological liberalism came under attack from Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834–92), the greatest English-language preacher of the time. The Baptist Union, which absorbed the General Baptists in 1891, maintained a very conservative Protestantism*. During this time, Baptism had established a foothold in Europe, largely due to J.G. Oncken (1800–84), and in other parts of the world due to foreign missions.

d) *20th Century*. In the early 20th century North American Baptism produced an eminent representative of social Christianity, Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918), and a modernist* theologian, Shailer Mathews. Fundamentalism* nevertheless predominated between the wars, with such writers as W.B. Riley, J. Frank Norris, and T.T. Shields, for whom orthodoxy consisted in believing in the imminence of the Second Coming of Christ (Parousia*). The resulting debate provoked the secession of a large number of Baptists and the formation of new groups, who still called themselves Baptists but had a visceral distrust of biblical criticism and any other symptom of liberalism. This debate had repercussions outside North America, but theological polarization was generally less pronounced. Later, the ecumenical movement (although supported by the English historian Ernest Payne) was regarded with suspicion, especially out of fear of a compromise with Catholicism*. Since 1979 the Southern Baptist Convention, the largest Protestant denomination in the United States, has been torn by quarrels over the inerrancy of the Bible*. Undoubtedly, the most well-known Baptists of the modern era have been Billy Graham (1918–) and Martin Luther King (1929–68).

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DAVID W. BEBBINGTON

See also Anabaptists; Calvinism; Congregationalism; Fundamentalism; Protestantism; Puritanism

Barth, Karl

1886–1968

Karl Barth was certainly the most influential Protestant theologian (Protestantism*) since Schleiermacher*, leaving a body of writing that has been the subject of constant debate. His major work, *Die Kirchliche Dogmatik* (*Church Dogmatics*), could be compared to a cathedral of theological thought.

I. Life and Work

Barth was born in Basel in 1886, to a family of theologians. In turn he studied theology with the leading representatives of 19th-century liberal theology*: A. von Harnack (1851–1930), H. Gunkel (1862–1932), and W. Herrmann (1846–1922). In Geneva he became familiar with Calvin*'s work. Then he was appointed pastor at Safenwill parish in Aargau, where the social

structure led him to join the movement for social Christianity and encouraged him to join the battle for social justice geared toward the coming of the kingdom of God*.

The war of 1914–18 had a profound and decisive impact on Barth: the conformist stance taken by many of his teachers brought him to question the very foundations of their thought. He therefore focused on the Epistle to the Romans in order to try to find an answer to the questions that weighed on him. As a result he wrote *Commentary*, of which both editions (1919, 1922) acted as a sign of contradiction in the German theological heaven, and, along with a few lectures, marked the emergence of what is known as “crisis” or “dialectical” theology.

Barth was appointed to teach in Germany, at Göttin-

gen, Münster, and then Bonn. With several young colleagues (F. Gogarten, E. Thurneysen, E. Brunner, G. Merz, and R. Bultmann*), he traced the fundamental features of dialectical theology, which found its main organ of expression in the magazine *Zwischen den Zeiten*. After a first unfinished essay (1927) he began writing his brilliant work *Die Kirchliche Dogmatik*. This work took almost 30 years to complete and finally consisted of no fewer than 26 volumes.

Adamantly opposed to the rise of Nazism, Barth was one of the main actors in *Kirchenkampf*, in the founding of the church, and the primary writer of the *Barmen Theological Declaration* in 1934. This last contrasts the service of Christ* alone to that of secular ideologies and powers. He was subsequently denied his chair in Bonn and took refuge in Basel, where he taught until 1962, and worked tirelessly on the construction of the theological edifice that would bring him worldwide fame. In the meantime he continued to formalize his vision of the relationship between church and state (church* and state) in *Christian Community, Civil Community* (1935), and produced a magisterial commentary on the Credo. He also gave a more “human” dimension to his project by offering the *Humanity of God* (1956) as a starting point for all theological thought, and during his last semester of teaching he summarized what seemed to him to be essential for all theological approaches in *Introduction to Evangelical Theology*. Once again, Barth played a decisive role in the formation of the Ecumenical Council* of Churches (Amsterdam, 1948). He was never willing to accept that Nazi totalitarianism and communist totalitarianism were basically equivalent, and after the Second World War he continued to sympathize with socialism. Solicited during Vatican* II, he related his reflections in *Ad Limina Apostolorum* (1966). A great music lover and admirer of Mozart, Barth died in Basel on 10 December 1968.

II. Theological Work

Marked by tremendous scholarship (the excursions extracted from *Dogmatics* can at times be like small monographs), Barth’s thinking did not develop in a strictly systematic way. Rather, in its presence, one feels as if it is the free course of a huge river, swelling as it merges with all the bodies of water it meets. Nevertheless, what unifies the whole is its tremendous capacity always to start from the point of view of God in order to properly speak of men and to promote the idea that this God is never so much God as in the revelation* of God: Jesus Christ. Three periods can be distinguished in the expression of this impressive thought: early stages (until 1919), the period of Barth’s dialecti-

cal theology (1920–1932), and after 1932, the mature thinking of *Dogmatics*.

1. Early Stages

The early stages of Barthian theology are marked by his liberal training—according to which it was appropriate to find the paths to the best possible “adaptation” of the spirit of Christianity to the realities of modern culture. Moreover, moved by the difficulties of working-class life, the young pastor at Safenwill was influenced by the thinkers of social Christianity (H. Kutter and L. Ragaz) and by the social eschatology of Blumhardt, father and son, which led him to join the Swiss Social-Democratic party in 1915.

Moreover, all his life he remained convinced that preaching was the fundamental *loci theologici*; he did not hesitate to preach regularly, would qualify his great word as “ecclesial” (*Kirchliche Dogmatik*), and could admit that: “I was always more inclined... to concern myself with the pastoral problem par excellence, the problem of preaching. I sought to pave my way between the problem of human life and the contents of the Bible*. As a pastor*, I had to speak to men faced with the contradictions of life, and speak to them about the incredible message of the Bible.... Often these two splendors, life and the Bible, gave me the impression—and still, no?—of being Scylla and Charybdis. If this was it, the origin and goal of Christian preaching, I said to myself, who then can be, who then must be, pastor and preacher?... It is this critical situation that made me discover the essence of all theology” (*Word of God and the Word of Man*).

With the First World War striking Barth as the failure and collapse of liberal theology, he returned to the Word* of God; the first commentary on *The Epistle to the Romans* (1919) launched a way of reading Biblical texts that would reveal “God as God.” God escapes all human speculation but, in Jesus Christ, offers to pronounce a formal and definitive *yes* over the sinful world. Thus, in the Gospel, there is the “revolution* of God,” which “breaks all the dependent ties to this world” and which, because it comes from God, is “even the revolution of everything that the world can call revolution.”

2. Dialectical Theology

At the same time the school of theology known as dialectical emerged. Its major themes were especially expressed through the magazine *Zwischen den Zeiten*, the second edition of *Römerbrief* (1922), and the studies that appeared in French in *Word of God and Word of Man*. Here, God is essentially presented as the

“wholly Other”; God alone is God, infinitely different from his creature, who cannot, alone, have access to God. But what man cannot attain by himself, God will give him through his Word, through which God can be revealed, and put within human reach. However, the word thus pronounced in Jesus Christ on humanity is none other than an unshakeable “yes,” overcoming all the “no’s” that nevertheless call, as if by the essence, nature, and sin of men. The theology that tries to recognize this God and this “yes” can only be dialectical; it develops in the never resolved tension that lies between the might and the truth of God and the human weakness and error, which the former—in Jesus Christ—nevertheless never ceases to invest and subvert: “During the Resurrection*, the new world of the Holy Spirit* touches the old world of the flesh*. Nevertheless, it touches it—like the tangent of a circle—without touching it; and while it doesn’t touch it, it touches it like the new world” (*Epistle to the Romans*). This is why dialectical theology also appears like a theology of crisis, for the investing and subversion of the revelation puts the humanity of humans in permanent “crisis” (etymologically, “in judgment”). The eschatology* thus invests the present through the Word of God pronounced on it and makes it into a time “between time”; “the destiny of our generation is to find itself between two eras. Perhaps one day we will belong to time coming? . . . We find ourselves in the very middle. In this empty space. . . . The space has opened for the question of God” (Gogarten).

The group of theologians who recognized each other in this movement were soon to disband under the pressure of centrifugal force and their magazine ceased to be published in 1933. But Barth had already begun *Dogmatics*.

3. Dogmatic Theology

The first volume of *Dogmatics* was published in 1932, a year that marked the beginning of an intense period of literary production that lasted almost until Barth’s death*. It was marked by the appearance of 26 volumes of this large work (almost 10,000 densely packed pages), which nevertheless was not finished, as well as by several independent books. *Dogmatics* systematizes and deepens the major notions of dialectical theology: God is God, and only God can make it known who God is; the objective truth about the world and humans (created, reconciled and saved by God) is not grasped through the subjective perception that they may have but through the revelation that God gives. *Dogmatics* therefore is divided into five major parts: 1) the prolegomena, which presents the Word of God, through which the only access to God is possible; 2) the doctrine of God, in which we see the God of Jesus Christ

revealed as Trinity*; 3) the doctrine of creation* (corresponding to the work of the Father*); 4) the doctrine of reconciliation (*Versöhnung*), indicating the work of the Son—incomplete; 5) the doctrine of the final redemption (*Erlösung*), which more specifically bears on the work of the Holy Spirit—and which Barth did not have a chance to start.

a) *Divine Revelation and Analogia Fidei*. Two methodological principles dominate the huge structure of *Dogmatics*: on one hand, the challenge, at the base of all theological undertaking, of the play of *analogia entis* (analogy of being*) in favor of an *analogia fidei* (analogy of faith); and on the other hand, a pronounced christological focus. The first of these principles corresponds to Barth’s constantly reiterated point concerning the qualitative difference separating God from the world and humans and the fact that, because only God is able to speak about God, we cannot have access to God except through his revelation. The idea of founding theology on some kind of continuity of being between the world and humanity on the one hand, and God, on the other, is dismissed; the Thomist theologies (Thomas* Aquinas, Thomism*) and Scholastics* are blamed for doing so in the name of the principle of *analogia entis*. This is what Barth begins to show in his commentary on Anselm* of Canterbury’s *Proslogion*—on the proofs of the existence* of God—published in 1931 under the title *Fides Quaerens Intellectum* (Faith in Search of Its Intelligence): theology cannot be understood as a philosophical (philosophy*) kind of undertaking, developing “natural” knowledge of God, starting from an analysis of the world or the human condition to get to being; it only counts in terms of the self-comprehension of faith in search of its own intelligence. Of course, theology cannot speak of God except through analogy, even if analogy can only stem from the domain of faith (*analogia fidei*) and not being. Hence, the famous declaration from the prolegomena of *Dogmatics*: “I regard *analogia entis* as an invention of the Antichrist and I believe that it is because of this that one cannot become Catholic. To this I will add that all the other reasons that one may have for not becoming Catholic seem childish and not very substantial” (*KD* I, 1, p. XII).

From this perspective, theology was to develop as a kind of commentary on the Word of God, the prolegomena of which (“doctrine on the Word of God”) shows that it evolves and pronounces itself in three forms: 1) the preaching* of the Church; 2) itself, submitted and subjected to the written work of biblical accounts; 3) Jesus Christ in person, the Word of the true God, heart of the Gospel and measure of all interpretation (hermeneutic*) of the Scriptures* and thereby

also of all preaching. Moreover, from the same drive that rejected *analogia entis*, Barth—combining critiques of religion, especially those of Marx*, Nietzsche*, and Freud*—denied that there was any theological value in religion as religion, which was understood as a human attempt to appropriate God, and contrasted the “descending” movement of faith to it.

b) Trinitarian God and Christological Focus. The second characteristic trait of Barth’s theology involves the christological focus that it carries out: “An ecclesiastical dogmatic* theology must be christological in its fundamental structure as in all of its parts, if it is true that its only criterion is the revealed Word of God, evidenced by the Scriptures and preached by the Church, and if it is true that this revealed Word of God is identical to Jesus Christ. A dogmatic theology that does not, from the beginning, seek to be a Christology* is under a foreign yoke and very nearly no longer serves the Church. . . . Christology must be everywhere in theology. . . . Christology is everything or nothing” (*KD I/2*, p. 114 §15.1). This christological emphasis led Barth to solve several fundamental theological questions in a specific way: the Trinitarian notion of God that marks his entire oeuvre does not come from any particular metaphysical speculation, but from the revelation of God who is only unveiled through the work of Christ and his Spirit; the Creation doctrine is not understood as an objective presentation of the “natural” fact, but as the very place of God’s Covenant* with the world and humans (*KD III*, 1–4); the notion of predestination* is perceived only as the extension of the doctrine on choice*, the heart of which is Christ.

Through the years and pages, the radical thoughts of the early period gradually gave way to an approach that was more attentive to the depth of the human condition. This is what the 1956 programmatic lecture on the *Humanity of God* translated in condensed fashion: “With Jesus Christ, as the Bible shows, we are not dealing with man in an abstract manner: this is not a man who thinks he is self-sufficient with a little religion and religious morality, thus becoming God himself; at the same time, this is not an abstract God, that is, separated from man by his divinity, distant and foreign and therefore not human, but in some way, inhuman. . . . In his person, Jesus Christ is precisely the true God to man, and as true man, the faithful partner of God; He is both the Lord who lowers himself to communicate with man, and the Servant*, raised to the point of communion* with God. . . . Thus he announces and assures man of the free grace of God, as he also attests and assures God about man, and, at the same time, the right of man before God. . . . What God is in truth, as what is man, is something we don’t have to

search blindly for or invent; it is to be discovered where the truth about one and the other reside: in Jesus Christ, where, the fullness of their coexistence and their Covenant* is presented to us” (*Humanity of God*, 1956).

The various points thus referred to are particularly developed in the last, only partially written part of *Dogmatics*. The outline of this part, in relation to the work of reconciliation carried out by Christ, was to include three stages: the Lord as servant (*vere Deus*), the servant as Lord (*vere homo*), the veritable witness. The last two volumes concern baptism*—understood as the human act* of receiving grace, and excluding from this fact the baptism of small children—and the ethic presented as prayer* and as invocation.

c) Ethics: The Law, Form of the Gospel. For Barth, Christian ethics depend completely on the revelation of God to which those ethics respond. Each part of *Dogmatics* thus leads to a series of ethical questions. In the doctrine of God (*KD II/1* and 2, v. 6–9), the essay on choice and grace is followed by a presentation of the “commandment of God*.” The law is presented in an original way, not as separate from the announcement of the gospel, but as its “form.” Barth thus distances himself from Luther*. He asserts that his doctrine of the “two reigns,” separating the religious domain from the political one and connected to an overly radical distinction between law and gospel, may have led to the blindness of the German protestant Churches before the rise of Nazism. However, to obey God’s commandment is to attest that one lives well from and under the grace of God; to conform to the commandments of the law is to concretely translate the reality of the “yes” pronounced on this world by the gospel. In the same way, the questions connected to sexual ethics* or to life—biological, social, or professional—are discussed at the end of the part devoted to the doctrine of creation and influenced by liberty* (*KD III*). Lastly, in analyses that are more strictly christological (*KD IV*), ethics take the form of commentary on Our Father: to obey the commandment of God therefore means invoking God in a practical and concrete manner and to be ever more influenced by God’s paternity.

Barth’s Influence

Barth’s influence was as immense as his oeuvre, and his disciples came from all parts of the theological scene: some developed the almost sacred transcendence of God, while others insisted that faith needed to make a political commitment. In fact, Barth’s remarkable success favored the conjunction of two a priori independent movements that are nevertheless

convergent: his rigorous defense of the autonomy of God and of the “scientific nature” of theology, on the one hand, and his opposition to Hitler and his defense of the underdog, on the other. In fact, it was as a herald of extreme causes and contested and threatened dignities, nevertheless demanded and defended with vigor, that Barth perhaps, without really knowing, most marked his era. This being the case, he combined, in a most dialectical way, the “no” and the “yes”: God’s “no” to the sinning world, condemned and rejected, and yet at the same time irrevocably accepted in Jesus Christ; “no” to Nazism, but also—on another level entirely—to E. Brunner’s natural* theology, nevertheless accompanied and subverted by the “yes” of this prolific author, who considered the simple acquiescence of God’s commitment to the world the height of faith and theology. It is expressed by the sigh, “*Ach, ja!*”—“Well, yes!”

Barth’s posterity comes in many shapes: “on the right,” it includes certain forms of orthodoxy that insist on the need to return to the Scriptures, on referring to reformers and the urgency of organizing theological thought in systematic fashion. But there are also various kinds of “leftist Barthianism” (F. Marquardt, G. Casalis), which promote theology’s essential commitment and are interpreted in many ways (P. Maury, J. L. Leuba, R. Mehl, H. J. Iwand, H. Vogel, O. Weber, W. Kreck). Barth’s Catholic audience was large and did manage to renew several problems (Balthasar*, H. Bouillard, H. Küng). However, generally speaking Barth did not have any real successors. Perhaps he was too big; although anyone studying theology today must study his thought, his very radical character and his rejection of certain problems, which sometimes goes as far as denying the existence of these problems—notably that which touches on the particular substance of the world and the humanity of humans—make it difficult for it to confront the challenges that constantly lie before theology in the present and future.

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JEAN-FRANÇOIS COLLANGE

See also Balthasar, Hans Urs von; Bonhoeffer, Dietrich; Bultmann, Rudolf; Lonergan, Bernard John Francis; Lubac, Henri Sonier de; Tillich, Paul

Basel-Ferrara-Florence, Council of

1431–45

The Council* of Basel-Ferrara-Florence was the 17th ecumenical council of the Catholic Church*. It brought together two councils that differed in context, orientations, and to some extent in participants: Basel represented the continuation of Constance* and of conciliarism* (and is considered ecumenical by Catholics only with regard to its first 25 sessions, before the breaking off of relations with the pope*); Ferrara-Florence was led by the pope and devoted to union with the Greeks.

1. Council of Basel (1431–49)

a) Convening and Chronology. The *Frequens* decree of Constance had provided for the regular convening of a council. In conformity with the decisions taken at Pavia-Siena (1423–24), Martin V convened a general council in Basel at the beginning of 1431 and appointed Cardinal Cesarini as president (Mansi 29, 11–12; Cardinal Aleman succeeded him in 1438).

That council held 45 sessions in Basel (1431–48) and five in Lausanne (1448–49). Eugenius IV, who succeeded Martin V in March 1431, dissolved it in December 1431 in order to transfer it to Bologna (Mansi 29, 564–67). He then revoked his decision in 1433 when faced with the council's resistance (Mansi 29, 78–79), dissolved the council again in September 1437, with its transferral to Ferrara (*Concilium Florentinum*... I-1, 91–99) confirmed at the end of December (ibid., 111–12). In spite of the opening of the new council in Ferrara, Basel continued to consider itself as the sole legitimate council and as superior in power to the pope. Indeed, it deposed him in June 1439 (Mansi 29, 179–81), replacing him in November with the antipope Felix V. The latter resigned in April 1449, thus dealing its death blow to the assembly of Basel-Lausanne.

b) Activity of the Council. During its first session, in December 1431 (*COD* 456, 14–22), the council decided to adopt three objectives: rooting out heresy*, establishing peace* among all Christians, and reform of the church. The Hussite heresy was not eradicated (Hus*), but the diplomatic action taken by the council was certainly important. As for the attempts made to

reform the church, these did produce some results (which a number of national concordats ratified), but such attempts were transformed into a fight to impose upon Eugenius IV the authority* of the council. That authority, however, did gradually weaken, (political support, for it was in decline, but it should also be mentioned that there were fewer bishops* than clerics* in the assembly and that each of its members had a vote). Not only did the council fail in its attempt to reform the church, but it also failed to bring about a successful union with the Greeks, although some contacts were established. Its final theological result was slim, despite the historical importance of what was an important gathering place for the climate of a newly burgeoning humanism.

2. Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–45)

a) Chronology. The council opened in Ferrara on 8 January 1438 under the chairmanship of Cardinal Albergati (*COD* 513–17). The Greeks arrived in March, but although the solemn inauguration of the council took place on 9 April, they did not want to broach the essential point (that of adding the *Filioque** to the creed) for several months. The first question to be raised was that of purgatory*, in June-July, while the eight sessions devoted to the *Filioque* took place from October to December. Because of the plague, the council was transferred to Florence by Eugenius IV on 10 January 1439, with the agreement of the Greeks and the Latin synod (*COD* 523). Eight dogmatic sessions were held there in March. After this there were some partial meetings and a few other sessions until 6 July, when a solemn session marked the celebration of union with the Greeks. The council continued its meetings after the departure of the Greeks, and on 14 October 1443 was transferred to Rome* (*COD* 583–586), where it closed some time in 1445 (Hofmann 1949).

b) Activity of the Council. Conducted by Eugenius IV in the presence of the patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph II, and of the Byzantine emperor, John VIII, this council made it its task to achieve union with the Greeks by discussing, in sequence, all the contentious points: the procession of the Holy Spirit and the

principle of its addition to the creed, purgatory, the primacy of the pope, the Eucharist* (which part of the anaphora accomplishes the consecration?), the liturgical use of unleavened versus leavened bread, and the vision of God* in beatitude*. Once union was achieved with the Greeks, Eugenius IV endeavored to extend it to other Eastern churches.

Ferrara devoted its discussions of the summer of 1438 to the question of purgatory, although without achieving any results (Greek doctrine was very vague on this point, but the Greeks rejected the Latin idea of a purifying fire). Discussions in the autumn of 1438 dealt with the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople and with the meaning of the interdicts that Ephesus* and Chalcedon* had imposed on any addition. The Latins claimed that the *Filioque* was not an addition but an explanation required by the circumstances. On this occasion, the Greeks encountered considerable dialectical artfulness of the Latins. But for their own part—notably through their principal spokesman, Mark Eugenikos—they insisted on traditional argument. This put them in an inferior position during the discussions, which they were tempted several times to break off. It was in Florence in March 1439 that the important dogmatic sessions on the procession of the Holy Spirit took place. Mark Eugenikos, for the Greek side, confronted the Dominican Jean de Montenero, for the Latin side.

In these exchanges there was a very generous use of biblical and patristic florilegia (often prepared in advance, florilegia dealing with the *Filioque* represented a literary genre in their own right). The Church Fathers* most in demand were Basil* of Caesarea, Cyril* of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Didymaea, and, on the Latin side, Augustine*. The Greeks preferred this patristic approach to dialectics, even if the quotations were subsequently exploited by Montenero in a Scholastic* manner. Montenero relied on a humanist of the first order, Ambrose Traversari, general of the Camaldolese order, to find and translate the Greek texts.

This method, which was intended to shed light on the harmony between the Greek and Latin Fathers, won over some important Greek delegates (Bessarion, Isidore of Kiev, George Scholarios), who were able to influence their own camp (except for a few irreducible followers who grouped around Mark Eugenikos) in favor of union. Several months, however, were required in order to get to that point. The Latin dialectics was not to the liking of the Greeks, and the patristic texts were not sufficiently precise on the contentious points (does the Spirit proceed *from* the Son or *through* the Son?). An agreement was reached, however, on 8 June. The decree of union, *Laetentur*

caeli (6 July 1439), stipulates that both expressions concern the same faith*, which is the following: “the Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father* and the Son, it gets its essence and its living being from both Father and Son, and it proceeds eternally from the former and the latter as if from one sole principle and from a single inspiration” (COD 526, 39–45). The definition makes room for the two languages, Greek and Latin, by naming the Son “cause” or “principle” of the Spirit with the Father (ibid., 527, 6–10), and it makes it clear that it is from the Father that the Son receives all, including the fact that the Spirit proceeds from him (ibid., 11–16).

Following this agreement, which brought a solution to the most difficult point, the other matters were dealt with in less than a month (continuation of the decree on union, COD 527, 17–528, 43). The addition of the *Filioque* to the creed was declared legitimate; the use of unleavened bread and that of risen bread were declared equally valid, according to the tradition* of each church; the soul* could be purified after death* by punishment in purgatory, and souls were assisted by the prayers of the living; the blessed contemplated God as he is in himself (but in varying degrees according to merit: the Greeks were insistent on having this clarification; on the Greek position, see Alberigo 1991); finally, the Roman pontiff, successor of Peter*, held preeminence over the whole universe, with all the other patriarchs keeping their privileges and rights (patriarchate*, jurisdiction*). (As far as the Eucharist was concerned, the question of the “form” of the sacrament* (the consecrating words) had been reserved for an oral agreement.) On all these points, the procedure that was followed involved the use of *cedulae*, or written texts put forward in advance by the Latins, who therefore had an advantage. The problem of the primacy of the pope was one of the most difficult to settle, in particular because it put at stake the power to convene a council*, which the emperor did not want to give away to the pope. As a result, this issue did not figure in the text of the decree.

Encouraged by the success of the union and by the decree stating the primacy of the pope, Eugenius IV launched another attack against the council of Basel (*Moyses vir Dei*, 4 September 1439, COD 529–34). He then sent all the Eastern churches the text of the decree confirming union and asked for their support. They answered favorably, and other unions were thus concluded. First, union with the Armenians, who had been invited to the council and who had arrived there in August 1439 (COD 534–59); the definition of Chalcedon*, which they had never received, was passed on to them, as was, in addition, the Latin teaching on the sacraments. Union with the Copts came on 4 February

1442. The Copts were called “Jacobites” because they were monophysitic (monophysitism*) (*COD* 567–83): the decree contained a Trinitarian account, the canon* both of the Old and New Testaments, and a christological account, as well as an explanation of salvation*, and of rites and sacraments. On 30 November 1444 there followed union with the Syrians (*COD* 586–89); they were supplied with details on the procession of the Holy Spirit, the two natures of Christ* and the two expressions of his will (with quotation from Chalcedon and Constantinople* II; see monothelism*). Finally, on 7 August 1445, a union with the Chaldeans, Nestorian obedience, and the Maronites of Cyprus, who had a reputation for being monothelites (*COD* 589–91), completed Eugenius IV’s unifying work.

c) *How the Council Was Received.* There is still an explanation to be given regarding “the failure of this success,” to use Gill’s expression. The Orthodox people never accepted the union, and accused their bishops of having betrayed their faith. These very bishops, once they were back home, had the impression they had been operating under duress in Florence: the precariousness of their situation, their isolation from home, the emperor’s eagerness to conclude the union in order to obtain the pope’s help against the Turks and save Constantinople, all these considerations contributed to a strengthening of that feeling (even though, in the course of the discussions, the emperor had exercised no pressure and the pope no blackmail). The circumstances were ambiguous, and the union was concluded too quickly (for an example of misunderstanding, with the Copts, on the matters of primacy and dogma, see P. Luisier, *OCP* 60, 1994). Furthermore, Popes Martin V and Eugenius IV, in contradistinction to the council of Basel (Alberigo, 1991), considered union above all as a return to the Roman Church. As a result, instead of leading to the communion* of churches that others desired, their approach ended up more often than not as a uniatism, de-

nounced as representing the annexationist ambitions of Rome.

It can be added that the Latin theological methods had not succeeded in convincing the Greeks (except Bessarion or Isidore, who became cardinals of the Roman Church), and that the council, kept much too busy with the objective of quickly finding an acceptable text for the union, had neglected other factors that were essential for the lasting success of the agreement: for example, the question of liturgical communion between the two parties (Alberigo 1991).

- Acts: Mansi 29–31.
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See also Conciliarism; Constance, Council of; Filioque; Humanism, Christian; Pope; Schism; Structures, Ecclesial; Unity of the Church

Basil (The Great) of Caesarea

C. A.D. 329–79

a) Life. Basil of Caesarea was the oldest of many children in a patrician Christian family in Cappadocia. Among his brothers and sisters were two bishops (Gregory* of Nyssa and Peter of Sebastea), an ascetic, and a virgin. Basil was a good student in Caesarea and later in Constantinople and Athens, where he studied with famous rhetoricians. He made the acquaintance of Gregory* of Nazianzus who became his dearest friend. Gregory's education took place at the confluence of Christian faith* and the finest Hellenistic culture. Charmed by the gospel, he gave up the profession of rhetorician, had himself baptized, and decided to enter the monastic life. But he soon became concerned with the affairs of the church* at Caesarea. He helped his bishop*, was ordained as a priest* in 362 or 364, and was elected bishop of Caesarea in 370. Over the course of a few years, Basil carried out intense doctrinal and ecclesiastical activity. He died while still young—in 379, according to tradition, or perhaps in 378.

Basil was a man of the church and a man of action, a key figure of his age and an organizer and leader of men, but he was also a man of the heart, fragile, and sensitive. Even though he was afflicted with ill health, Basil was active in many domains, including theology*, monastic life, preaching*, politics, social action, the defense of justice*, and the liturgy*.

b) The Theologian. Confronted with the second generation of Arians, represented by Aetius and Eunomius, Basil concerned himself with three major doctrinal questions touching mystery of the Trinity*.

DIVINITY OF THE SON. Basil's first theological work, *Contra Eunomium* (*Against Eunomius*), dismantles the calm rational argument with which his adversary wished to establish, on the basis of an analysis of language, the created nature of the Son. Eunomius called the Son “offspring,” and used the unique and incommunicable term “unengendered” to express the substance of God*. The essential point of Basil's speculative analysis is to establish the distinction between essential and relative attributes* in God and to show that the latter imply no proliferation of a single and identical substance. The names Father* and Son,

then, are relative names (*Contra Eunomium*). With this work, Basil inaugurated the shift that allowed the term *hypostasis* to move from its original meaning of “substance” to that of “act of persisting in substance” or “subsistence.”

DEVELOPMENT OF TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE Throughout his life, Basil sought to reconcile the churches of the East. This reconciliation depended on the reconciliation of Trinitarian formulations used by the various churches: The Nicenes, who upheld that the Persons of the Trinity* were consubstantial*, sometimes with an ambiguity as to its mode, had to resolve this ambiguity by clearly affirming the three divine hypostases. For their part, those who upheld the three hypostases had to wholeheartedly accept the consubstantial in order to avoid being suspected of believing in three hypostases that were unequal in substance. The unilateral formulations of both camps would thus complete and balance one another. The result of this work was to settle the dogma* of the Trinity, which was affirmed in the East following the First Council of Constantinople*.

DIVINITY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT Basil's major doctrinal work was the treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*, in which he attacked both the radical Arianism* of Aetius and Eunomius and the position of the Macedonians at the First Council of Constantinople. The occasion for the treatise was a challenge concerning the liturgical doxology used by Basil: “Glory to the Father, with the Son and the Holy Spirit,” his adversaries preferring the doxology “through the Son and in the Holy Spirit.” Behind these nuances among prepositions lay hidden the question of the equality or dissimilarity of the three divine Persons*. Against the adage of his adversaries, who argued from the difference of language that there was a difference in nature, Basil showed that Scripture uses all these prepositions for all three Persons, and he asserted that this lexical resemblance expresses the identity of their common nature. Then, relying on the Trinitarian baptismal formula, the author set forth a long doctrinal argument on the basis of the biblical names of the Holy* Spirit, the Spirit's activities, and the Spirit's gifts for our salvation* in order to show

that the Holy Spirit must be “co-numbered” with the Father and the Son and receive the same honor (*homo-timie*) as they.

c) *Basil's Other Fields of Action.* Basil was not the inventor of Eastern monasticism*, but he was a major maker of rules for it. His *Moral Rules* classify 1,542 verses of the New Testament under 80 headings and present a practical exegesis* of biblical teachings for those who wish to live the gospel in a community. The author addresses not only monks but also lay* persons belonging to a movement of Christian reform that was attempting to impose itself on the faithful as a whole. The *Large* and *Small Rules* are a gathering of questions raised by disciples on the different aspects of religious life, and Basil always seeks to give answers taken from Scripture. Basil was also a major liturgical reformer. The Eastern tradition* attributes to him a *Liturgy* that is still being used in the churches of the East.

Removed early from monastic life in order to concern himself with the church and the problems of his time, Basil was primarily an eloquent and effective preacher. His homilies on wealth were as radical as the later ones of John Chrysostom*. Basil severely condemned lending at interest (understood as lending for consumption). He took initiatives in favor of the poor, “opening the granary of the rich,” struggling against the “black market” during a famine, and organizing soup kitchens from which pagans and Jews also benefited. Finally, he was an innovator in creating in his city an immense hospital, the Basiliad.

Basil left a large correspondence (around 360 letters) in which can be found his strategy for the government* of churches, his doctrinal struggles in the East, the contradictions he encountered, his attitude toward Rome, his courageous opposition to the Arian emperor

Valens, and, finally, a network of deep and moving friendships.

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See also Arianism; Constantinople I, Council of; Liturgy; Modalism

Beatification. *See Holiness*

Beatitude

A. Historical Theology

The concept of beatitude is limited to the ancient and medieval world; it was definitively replaced by the concept of happiness in the 18th century. The shift from the ancient philosophical to the medieval theological concept of beatitude is, however, subject to discussion, and to some degree it raises the question of the nature of the relationship between Christian theology* and ancient philosophy*. Finally, the shift from beatitude to happiness has yet to be examined. This discussion will be confined to these two points, providing for the latter only a brief outline.

The concept of beatitude is central for a theological determination of the aim of human action. To the extent that the revelation given to Abraham prescribes for humankind, in the three monotheistic religions, a renunciation of any purely earthly happiness (“Go from your country and your kindred and your father’s house to the land that I will show you”; Gn 12:1), beatitude designates in part the state of the soul after death. The concept of beatitude can be broken down into three categories: earthly beatitude (the existence of which is questionable), the aim of human action; the heavenly beatitude of the blessed; and the intermediate beatitude obtained by the fulfillment of salvation, which is neither purely earthly (on this earth but not of this earth), nor yet fully heavenly, because it is experienced by an earthly being. It is this problematic status of beatitude, worked out in developments based on the ancient philosophical concept, that is worth considering.

The concept of beatitude has three principal sources: a) biblical, b) philosophical (largely Aristotelian and Stoic), and c) Augustinian. The Augustinian concept is a revision of the philosophical concept on the basis of biblical revelation*.

1. Sources

a) Biblical Sources. The happiness promised by God* in the Pentateuch is tied to the grant of a country to his people and to the prolongation of earthly life (see Deuteronomy): It is a *good* land that our Lord gave us. Israel* ought to find *happiness*...the two words are related in Hebrew (Ecumenical Translation of the Bible). This happiness is linked to obedience to

the Law* (Dt 5:16); it is an earthly beatitude summed up by the possession of a family, a house, and a vineyard, in an ideal of security and prosperity (Dt 28:30). The Book of Job would show the limits of this Deuteronomic conception of beatitude but not radically challenge it. The failure of the conception is such that the hypothesis of divine sadism is seriously considered (Jb 10:13–17, 16:14, 30:21), and is contradicted only by the hope of resurrection* (Jb 19:26; see Ez 37:1–14). The choice seems clear: either life is limited to this earth and it is impossible to speak of beatitude (impurity of man, universal iniquity, absence of God), or else a resurrection* is possible, and the beatitude that is bound to it with the promise of a contemplation of God is of an eschatological order. Everything concerning beatitude is summed up in these words: “But when I hoped for good, evil came; and when I waited for light, darkness came” (Jb 30:26). The two speeches of YHWH and the two answers of Job contain nothing, on either earthly beatitude or beatitude after death, that can attenuate this recognition.

Eschatological beatitude, which takes the form of a messianic joy in the prophetic literature (Is 9:2, 35:10, 55:12, 65:18), is realized in the New Testament in the form of a participation in the joy of the resurrection manifested in Christ: “that my joy may be in you, and that your joy may be full” (Jn 15:11). In the Epistle to the Romans Paul uses the term *makarismos*, often translated as “blessing,” to express beatitude in a context in which happiness is linked to the forgiveness of sin: “So also David pronounces a blessing [*makarismos*] upon the man to whom God reckons righteousness apart from works” (Rom 4:6). *Makarios* is frequently used in the Gospels*, particularly (13 times) in the text of the Beatitudes (Mt 5:3–11; Lk 6:20–26). This text articulates nothing about the character of beatitude; it is a sequence of declarations of thanksgiving setting out the paradoxical conditions for an entry into the kingdom* of God.

b) Philosophical Sources. According to Democritus, the noun *eudaimonia* expresses the fact that beatitude has its seat in the soul*, which is also the location of

the *daimôn* (Dem. B 171). Euripides defines beatitude as the government of the soul by a good *daimôn* (*Orestes*, line 677). With Plato and Aristotle, beatitude is connected to philosophy, which observes that all men seek beatitude, but only philosophy can obtain it. For Plato, happy is the man who is just and good, unhappy the man who is unjust and wicked (*Republic* 353e–354a). Only the philosopher succeeds in seeing through every good the source of all of them, the Good* itself. Beatitude is the fruit of a conversion* toward the Good; it belongs to whoever flees the multiplicity of goods to move toward the One, toward the Good beyond essence. Socrates is the image of the wise man, of whom Xenophon asserts that he is the “happiest” (*Memoirs* IV. 8) and whom Plato considers “the most just of all men” (*Phaedo*).

Aristotle states an axiological axiom: “Everyone acts for a good that represents the supreme Good” (*Politics* 1252a 2–3). Beatitude is thus health for the sick or subsistence for the poor. For Aristotle, the prefix *eu* of *eudaimonia* means “to live well and to act well” (“*to eu zèn kai to eu praktein*,” *Nicomachean Ethics* 1095a 19–20). Beatitude is sought as a good, and a good that is an end in itself, a *teleion agathon* (ibid. 1097b 8). Beatitude is further an autarchic state; there can be no beatitude without self-sufficiency: “a complete and autarchic state, beatitude is the end of all activity”—*ton prakton* (ibid. 1097b 20–21); *prakton* was later interpreted as “active life.” It is appropriate to make a distinction between this beatitude, which is at least the implicit aim of any practical activity, and the beatitude specific to the theoretical life, the beatitude of the philosopher, a beatitude that is possible only because something divine, the intellect, is contained in man (ibid. 1177b 26–28).

The beatitude of the philosopher is distinguished from that of the common man only by the reflexive element that it borrows from divine intelligence. Therefore, we cannot really speak of “philosophical beatitude” but, at most, of “intellectual beatitude,” meaning the reflexive beatitude of the man who discovers in the theoretical life the greatest beatitude. Intellectual beatitude is thus not superimposed on beatitude in general; their relations are more complex. Intellectual beatitude presupposes beatitude in general, but cannot be reduced to it. More precisely, intellectual beatitude comes as an addition to beatitude in general. Christianity was to break this relationship of supplement by setting out an ideal of eschatological beatitude that presupposes the correctness of Job’s recognition of the impossibility of earthly happiness defined in terms of security and prosperity. This ideal of beatitude took shape in various forms of asceticism and hermitic life, providing anticipatory confirmation for Nietzsche’s notion of “hatred of life.”

The Aristotelian doctrine nevertheless leads to an aporia, insofar as the articulation between the two types of beatitude leaves open the question of the exact connection between intellectual beatitude and contemplation (*theoria*). At least two paths opened up to overcome this aporia. The Christian path and the emanationist interpretation derived from the 11th-century Islamic philosopher-scientist as Avicenna. Avicenna made intellectual beatitude into a divinization of the *pars melior nostri* (Spinoza), the intellect. The physicalist and naturalist interpretation derived from the 12th-century Islamic philosopher Averroes left this ideal of intellectual beatitude intact while emptying it of any mystical* and visionary element. The church* fought against this ideal in the name of the personal character of salvation*, for to conceive of intellectual beatitude as the exercise of an intellect as a common agent leads to a kind of suprapersonal incorporation, or indeed to a pantheist absorption into pure intellectuality.

c) *The Augustinian Source.* Augustine* accomplished a synthesis of the two preceding sources from the beginning of his intellectual career (386–91), and this synthesis, which remained unchanged, makes up a kind of foundation for his Trinitarian and historical-political speculation. even though, particularly under the influence of his theology of grace*, he later corrected its voluntarist intellectualism. Augustine translates *eudaimonia* by *felicitas* and blends the two conceptions of beatitude, the ancient and the Christian, into a synthesis of *eudaimonia* and *makarismos*. He identifies as *esse cum Deo* life according to reason* and *vita beata*, the happy life (*De ord.* II. 2. 4–10). He establishes a hierarchy of goods at the summit of which stands the supreme Good (*summum bonum*), definable as supreme Truth* and supreme Beauty. This hierarchy is constructed on the basis of two principles. The first is “Everything that is is good,” or in another form, “Nature as nature is good,” *omnis natura in quantum natura est, bona est* (*De Lib. Arb.* III. 13. 36). The second principle holds that life and the search for truth are distinguishing criteria, which means that a horse is better than a stone and a man better than a horse, even if his will is perverted. Beatitude thus consists of the knowledge of truth: “Because the supreme Good is known and preserved in the truth, and because that truth is wisdom*, let us discern in it and let us preserve the supreme Good, and let us take joy in it. . . . For this truth reveals to us all the goods that are true” (ibid. II. 13. 36).

The best commentary on these passages from Augustine is provided by Pascal*: “The soul* goes forth in search of the true Good. It understands that the good

must have these two qualities: that it lasts as long as the soul and can only be taken away from the soul with the soul's consent, and that there is nothing more worthy of love.... The soul traverses all created beings and cannot cease its journey until it has reached the throne of God, in which it begins to find its rest" (*On the Conversion of the Sinner*). Pascal is also Augustinian in his contempt for philosophy. The Platonist philosophers are the closest to the truth insofar as they emphasize the contemplative search for the supreme Good by the soul, closer in particular than the Stoics, who count only on their own resources, while the Platonists count on participation in the supreme Good, but they lack the virtue of humility (which is all the more lacking in the Stoics).

2. Medieval Development of Beatitude

The development of the notion of beatitude in the Middle Ages was extremely complex and remains largely uninvestigated. The part that has been most studied concerns Thomas* Aquinas. The interpretation of thinkers like Dante* or Meister Eckhart remains extremely open and is still problematic.

a) *Before the Translation of the Nicomachean Ethics (1246–47)*. In the *Cur Deus Homo*, Anselm* proceeds along Augustinian lines, and makes beatitude the center of his ethical reflection. Similarly, for Abelard*, in the *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum*, the true ethics is the one that discovers the beatitudes, an ethics in conformity with the Beatitudes of the Gospels, which is thus not an earthly ethics. The *Sentences* (c. 1155–58) of Peter Lombard (†1160) present a discussion of ethics that remains in part centered on the nature of beatitude, particularly in relation to the *desiderium naturale* (op. cit. IV. d. 49, 1). Lombard wrote shortly before the translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which was to change the manner in which the problem was considered.

b) *Albert the Great and Aquinas as Readers of the Nicomachean Ethics*. The translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* by Robert Grosseteste, because it made commentary on the text possible, brought about a profound change in the understanding of Aristotle. The first attempt at a synthesis of the ancient and Christian doctrines of beatitude, that of Augustine, then came into rivalry with a second attempt, carried out chiefly in two stages within the Dominican school by Albert* the Great and Thomas Aquinas, while the first continued to inspire in part the debate on ethics in the Franciscan school. The debate between Augustinians and Thomists was thus a debate between Franciscans and Dominicans—that is, between mendicants

and preachers. It is customary to contrast the voluntarism of the Augustinian Franciscans (through Duns* Scotus up to Luther*) to the intellectualism* of the Aristotelian Thomists. But this schematization is superficial. Franciscan teachers such as Alexander of Hales (1165–1245) used Aristotle positively, and German Dominicans were very strongly influenced by the Neoplatonism of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite in a way that substantially changed their reception of Aristotle and introduced significant nuances into their intellectualism (in the end, voluntarism does not necessarily imply anti-intellectualism). Albert the Great wrote two commentaries on the *Nicomachean Ethics*—the first in Köln in 1248–52, immediately after the complete translation of the text, and the second in 1268–70. However, it was Thomas Aquinas who drew from the text all the resources that it offered for a Christian theological deepening of the notion of beatitude.

Thomas came up against a whole series of difficulties. The most immediate were that, on the one hand, Aristotle defines only one beatitude for this life, and even though he mentions beatitude as linked to the theoretical life, it is not certain that he accepts the possibility of a continuation of this state of intellectual beatitude in a hypothetical survival of the divine element of man. On the other hand, Thomas does not raise the question of divine beatitude (in Aristotelian theology, the Prime Mover does not experience beatitude). With respect to the latter point, the solemn doxology of 1 Timothy 6:15 mentions “the blessed and only Sovereign” (see 1 Tm 1:11: “the blessed God”) and thus places on the same level the oneness, transcendence, and beatitude of God. Thomas shows both that beatitude, in the Aristotelian sense, is in fact humanly inaccessible and that being-with-God, in which beatitude after this life consists, is the fruit of grace. Beatitude is nothing other than possession of the supreme Good, and this can only be anticipated in this life.

Dante systematized this separation by distinguishing, within this first distinction between the beatitude of mortal life and the beatitude of eternal life*, three types of beatitude: 1) beatitude of active mortal life, 2) beatitude linked with the contemplative life, and 3) beatitude of eternal life. There is a hierarchy: the third is at the summit, as it is the supreme beatitude, the fruition of the supreme Good (*fruitio Dei*); the second is almost perfect; and the first is almost imperfect (*Convivio* II. iv. 10; IV. xvii. 9): “Our beatitude... we may find in some imperfect way in active life—that is, in the operations of the moral virtues*—and then in an almost perfect way in the exercise of the intellectual virtues” (ibid. IV. xxii. 18). Dante thus does two

things: he confines truly human beatitude to beatitude in the first sense, which is the fruit of the practical intellect, and simultaneously accepts a supreme felicity (*somma felicitate*) linked to speculation. He was anticipated on this point by Thomas Aquinas, who strongly emphasized the absolute superiority of “speculative felicity” (*felicitas speculativa*) (*Exp. EN X. lect. XII, s116 ff., see CG III, 37*).

3. Later Times: The Concept of Happiness and the Critique of Theology

While the medieval development is complex, the shift from the concept of beatitude to the modern concept of happiness is even more obscure. A first cause of a break appeared in the 13th century, among nontheological thinkers (e.g., in the Faculty of Arts in Paris, Siger de Brabant and Boethius of Dacia). These men reappropriated the Aristotelian concepts of beatitude and the philosophical life by bracketing the Christian bond between beatitude and eschatological hope; but philosophical felicity did not yet exclude the existence of a theological beatitude. Some Renaissance texts, on the other hand, provide a vivid sense of the moment of passage from the thought of beatitude to the thought of happiness, with surprising forms of compromise. For example, Valla writes, “Who can doubt that beatitude is identical to and can be given no better name than pleasure?” (*De Voluptate* III. ix, fol. 977). Cassirer comments: “Christianity, according to Valla’s argument, is not hostile to Epicureanism; it is itself nothing but an elevated and so to speak sublime Epicureanism” (1927).

Thomas Aquinas had emphasized the fact that delectation (*delectatio*) is necessary for contemplative beatitude, but only in a concomitant fashion (*ST Ia IIae, q. 180, a.7*). The critique of theology and the development of hedonism challenged this subjection of delectation and allowed for a revaluation of pleasure and even of sensuality. The concept of happiness, from this point of view, can be considered as resulting from a secularization of the concept of beatitude, or at least of that part of the concept that has to do with “natural beatitude,” as distinct from “supernatural* beatitude”

(a distinction contrary to the ancient and medieval spirit). The relation (whether teleological or dependent) between these two types of beatitude was thus deeply compromised. For example, Spinoza identified one with the other and even reversed the Thomist relationship: “We delight (*delectamur*) in whatever we understand by the third kind of knowledge, and our delight is accompanied with the idea of God as its cause” (*Ethics V, prop. XXXII*). The claim for autonomy of natural beatitude was thus linked to a critique of theology. Natural beatitude underwent a mutation and was transformed into a happiness that contained pleasure as a component. Supernatural beatitude, detached from natural beatitude, thereby became an autonomous object, whose reason for being lay in the brutal certainty of the impossibility of human happiness (demonstrated by Kant*). This provided weapons for the critics of theology. The concept of happiness could then take on not only a critical, but a subversive meaning: “Happiness is a new idea in Europe” (Saint-Just).

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FRÉDÉRIC NEF

B. Systematic Theology

Secularized and transmuted into happiness, beatitude thus seems to need to be rethought in new terms and to be hoped for again. The question of happiness, more-

over, seems to require being given theological coordinates. In any event, the historical and theoretical facts are relatively clear.

There can be no doubt that the eclipse of beatitude is the index of a certain death of hope. The systems of thought through which the metaphysical fate of the West has been carried out have been numerous, but they all have in common at least either the realization of the *eschaton* in history (Hegel), or a rigorous discrediting of the eschatological problem (Nietzsche*). And they implicitly consent to a reign of death over man (and over the access to meaning), of which Heidegger* has provided two expositions, in the period of *Being and Time* through a meditation on being-for-death, and in the “late” texts through a meditation on “serenity” that provides “mortals” with their proper existential relationship to being*. Philosophical references, on the other hand, should not conceal the fact that the crisis of hope is also an intratheological crisis. The return to prominence of the eschatological problem has certainly (since J. Weiss) been the principal distinctive characteristic of theology*. This return to prominence is, however, ambivalent. In the more traditional theologies, it may point to the reunion of man with the beyond. But it may also be expressed in the form of eschatologies* carried out during the course of history (Bultmann*), or in the form of a neomillennarianism for which the future provides “a new paradigm of transcendence” (J. Moltmann). A world for which it was essential that its form “is passing away” (1 Cor 7:31) seems to have been replaced, in more than one field of theological research, by a world in which it would be required (in the very name of eschatological critiques) to build a dwelling for man (J.B. Metz, et al.). And the existence of Christians who profess the creed in its entirety with the exception of the last article is not a case of theological teratology, but demonstrates that the shadow of nihilism can cover even a part of the Church*.

Beatitude, as distinguished from happiness, might therefore provide a major conceptual tool for a theological critique of nihilism. This critique would require the performance of a work of genealogy. Did the appearance of the concept of “pure nature*” and the repression of the “natural desire for the beatific* vision” lay the groundwork, from within theology, for the secularizing work of modernity (Lacoste 1995 *b*)? Was what came to light in Hegel, Nietzsche, and Heidegger a certain real fulfillment of what theologians had previously accomplished in the realm of the hypothetical, the reduction of man to the present conditions of the exercise of his humanity? Is God* “dead” because men wished to satisfy themselves with their *present* experience* of God? These questions describe in brief the distance that has to be traveled in order to deconstruct the despairing concepts of the humanity of man.

An eschatological reality, beatitude is not on the

scale of Heidegger’s *Dasein* or “mortals,” nor on the scale of the Nietzschean superman, nor that of Hegel’s wise man who has reached the fruition of absolute knowledge. In order to be thought and desired, it therefore requires the dissolution of the relationships of representation according to which *Dasein*, or the “mortals,” and similar notions, stand for a true manifestation of the humanity of man. The task is thus to establish an eschatological position on the question of man, permitting the destruction of any equation between being and being-in-the-world, or being and being-in-history. And the paradoxical concept of the “natural” desire for the “supernatural*” clearly authorizes this destruction by forcing us to think of man on the basis of his absolute future, and to measure according to that absolute future any present experience that we have of ourselves and of God. Happiness, in this way, would be worthy of man only by being simultaneously incapable of fulfilling man, in the recognition that it is not beatitude. The critical authority for any form of happiness, beatitude would thus allow granting to human finitude the only horizon—infinite*—on the basis of which man exists in the theological truth of his being; it would allow us to think of what we are *in fact* on the basis of what we are *by vocation*.

Criticizing happiness does not amount to denying it, but would well and truly permit the establishment of the conditions for a Christian eudaemonism. The experience of the world, taken in the strict sense, is perhaps the pathetic experience of precarious joys lived under the rule of death. But if the world is not the Creation* and nothing more, it is not the opposite of Creation either, and it maintains enough of its created reality for the desire for happiness not to be contemptible (or impious). The Old Testament representations of the happy life lived in the land given by God must therefore maintain a certain validity after the work of undermining to which they were subjected by the New Testament promises* of beatitude. The experience of happiness must involve an element of discomfort, for happiness is only happiness. This experience, however, must be able to take place without the hoped-for beatitude giving a taste of ashes to the happiness possessed. Happiness has its theological secret, which is to stand as a memory of Creation in the history of the world. This memory cannot claim to erase the world-becoming of the Creation, or put in parentheses the eschatological challenge of happiness by beatitude, but its right to exist is incontestable. The world is not man’s homeland, and any logic of dwelling stumbles against the more primordial quality of nondwelling, *Unzuhause* (Heidegger). It is possible, however, in the world or at least at its edges, without shame, and without the suspicion of a touch of any kind of “inauthen-

ticity,” to have the experience of a well-being there (Lacoste 1995 *b*). Thus defined, happiness no longer stands in opposition to beatitude as a secular reality to a theological reality; the tension between happiness and beatitude is in fact an intratheological tension. Happiness, therefore, no longer appears as a denial of hope; it is a sabbatical experience, in which man lives from the blessings* pronounced by God in the first days on the work of his hands.

The subversive force of the promises of beatitude cannot, however, be obfuscated, nor can the fact that beatitude is an eschatological experience that can be anticipated in the time of history. The words of beatitude addressed to the poor, the meek, and the persecuted in Matthew and Luke are not words of happiness, and are intelligible only when cast against the background of the anthropological displacement that sees a humiliated and crucified Messiah* become the most exact witness of the humanity of man. “Perfect joy” is not found where a theory of happiness would locate it, but is, in fact, bound up intrinsically with modes of being properly kenosised (kenosis*). The time before the end, the preeschatological time of the Church*, is under the sign of “tribulation” (*thlipsis*). This time is devoid of neither the joys of contemplation* nor the joys of the liturgy*, and can thus shelter experiences that must be interpreted as icons of eternal beatitude. But it is inseparably a time lived under the sign of the cross, in which the blessed life lies in the paradoxical acts of the *imitatio Christi*. This time is indeed pre-eschatological, and the joy of being

saved must be its dominant tone. This time is, however, pre-eschatological, and cannot bestow the fruition of the goods of the kingdom*, but puts them at man’s disposal only in a paradoxical mode, which requires us to keep our distance with respect to any logic of happiness while not entering into possession of a beatitude that remains an object of hope. Dominated and criticized by beatitude, happiness is also dominated by the kenotic activities of the one who prepares himself to welcome beatitude by welcoming the biblical word of the Beatitudes. The humanity of man, in a world that is saved but remains worldly, would thus be to inhabit the space between happiness and beatitude.

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See also Aristotelianism, Christian; Contemplation; Ethics; Life, Eternal; Naturalism; Secularization; Vision, Beatific

Beauty

1. Antiquity and the Middle Ages

a) Divine Beauty. There is no biblical theology* of beauty, and yet the Fathers of the Church, Augustine* and the Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite in particular, speak of divine beauty. Of course, the Platonic, or Neoplatonic, climate in which Christianity developed does play a role, but it cannot explain everything, for Plato had put his finger on an essential element of human experience that must have made complete sense to Christians. In describing the revelation of ideal

Beauty in perceptible beauty, “the most obvious (*ekphanestaton*) and attractive” of all the images of Ideas of this world (*Phaedrus* 250 d), and the elevation of the soul* of beauties to Beauty, Plato, and afterwards Plotinus, did indeed introduce, with unprecedented strength, the theme of the supremely desirable nature of the Absolute.

The Beauty of which Plato speaks is far from being, like Kantian beauty, the object of “disinterested” pleasure—that is, without desire (AA V, 203–210). Rather, it gives rise to Eros by definition (*Symposium* 203 c,

204 b). The experience of beauties “mixed” with this world, says in *Enneads* (I. 6. 7; V. 8. 7), wakens love* of “Beauty in itself in all its purity” (I. 6. 7) and sets the soul* in motion toward its “home” (I. 6. 8). It is still necessary to go to the end. If the particular feature of beauty is indeed a “call to oneself” (*vocare ad se*), as Albert* the Great repeats in *De pulchro et bono* (Of the Beautiful and the Good, q. 6, a. 1; see Pseudo-Dionysius, *Divine Names* IV, 7), all finite and moral beauty (Jüngel 1984, citing Schiller) nevertheless runs the risk, if one is deaf to the call of supreme Beauty, of becoming that “bitter” beauty that Rimbaud cursed.

It is undoubtedly easier to hear this call than to follow it, as Augustine* shows when he tells how he found himself enchanted by divine beauty and taken from himself, “ravished” in the literal sense—“ravished to you by your beauty” (*rapiebar ad te decore tuo*; *Confessions* VII. xvii)—yet was still a prisoner of earthly beauties: “I loved you very late, beauty so old and so new” (*sero te amavi pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam nova*, *ibid.* X. xxvii). Pseudo-Dionysius, on the other hand, describes the end, or goal, of ascension. By identifying the Beautiful with the Good*, he pronounces a hymn to the beauty of God* (*Divine Names* IV, especially 7 and 10, but also 14, 18) in genuine “liturgical rapture.” The Platonic erotic element is then adopted again, but in a subversive manner, with help from a completely different but closely related theme—that of hope*. It is in connection to promises of eschatological beatitude* (the “life of the world to come”) that desire is determined.

To speak of divine beauty, as is done in ancient theology, is not to say that Beauty is God and thus make it absolute. “God is not God because he is beautiful, he is beautiful because he is God,” says Karl Barth* transposing Augustine’s suggestion on the objectivity of beauty in *Kirchliche Dogmatik* (1932; vol. II). Nor is it to define something in God that we would know exactly; it is rather to express a fervor, as can be seen in the language of the mystics*. There are many examples. John* of the Cross writes, “I know there could not be a more beautiful thing” (“I Know the Source,” v. 4; see *Spiritual Canticle* 5, 7, 24, 35). The English poet George Herbert (1593–1633), expresses it in “Dulnes,” a poem from *The Temple*, by stating: “Thou art my lovelines, my light, my life/ Beautie alone to mee.”

b) Beauty in the World and Concept of Beauty. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the ancient and medieval theologians give content to the idea of beauty, they extract it from the experience of beauty in the cosmos* and from everything that it contains, rather than from the experience of art. In their eyes, art is not the source of

beauty. A beautiful piece of art does not belong to the scale of beauties referred to in the *Symposium*, and Plato is able to condemn art without contradicting himself (e.g., in *Republic* X). Of course, Christian antiquity and the Middle Ages created major art, but undoubtedly not for itself, and without any clear consciousness of the specificity of the fine arts (Eco 1987). Love of the beauty of God’s house (see Ps 26:8) fills church builders, but it is not a love of “pure” beauty. When Suger (c. 1081–1151) had the abbey church of Saint Denis built and decorated, he was more spell-bound by the sparkle of the gold and gems, and especially by the light streaming into the church, symbol of divine light, than conscious of a specific beauty of Gothic architecture (Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, 1957). Suger was not the only one to perceive above all the beauty of the world, created reality that allows one to imagine the Beauty of the Creator and to which not one single human creation can compare. The Fathers had already reinterpreted the Stoic and Neoplatonic themes of cosmic beauty in light of Genesis and saw in this beauty a gift from God. For Augustine, God spreads beauty over the world abundantly, for he “is not jealous of any beauty,” as he states in *De musica* (On Music, VI, §56). For the Pseudo-Dionysius, “the superessential Beauty” makes the outpouring of this radiant source that springs up from itself shine forth upon all things to adorn them in beauty (*Divine Names* IV, 7). And the perception of these two beauties is linked, as is shown by the formula with which Thomas* Aquinas sums up the Pseudo-Dionysius on this subject: Dionysius “says that God is beautiful inasmuch as he is the cause of the clarity (*claritatis*) and harmony (*consonantiae*) of the world” (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 145, a. 2).

Claritas, clarity or light, and *consonantia*, harmony or proportion, are the elements that classically entered into the definition of beauty during the Middle Ages. (See *De musica* VI, §58, in which Augustine writes that the beauty of the world is due to the harmony of the four elements; and *De divisione naturae* III, PL 122, 638A, in which John the Scot Eriugena [c. 805–77] describes this beauty as stemming from the harmony between the different natures that compose the world. For examples of the “esthetics of light,” see Eco 1987, chaps. 3 and 4.) These elements can also be found in the criteria of beauty—*claritatis*, *consonantia*, and *integritas*—specified by Aquinas (*ST* Ia, q. 39, a. 8), who is therefore not original on this point (the *integritas*, or perfection, which appears in this passage only, is not explained). Moreover, Aquinas never examined the esthetic question for itself, and one cannot ramble on about these criteria by isolating them from their context (Eco 1970), inasmuch as it does not in-

volve a general theory of beauty, but a theory of Beauty of the Son, *consonantia* in terms of image of the Father* and *claritas* in terms of the Word*, *lux* and *splendor intellectus*.

Even when Aquinas takes a more direct look at beauty, it is again through a question on another subject that he introduces his famous definition, *pulchra enim dicuntur quae visa placent*, or “beautiful things are those that are pleasing to look at” (*ST* Ia, q. 5, a. 4, ad 1). This should not imply naïve indulgence in the pleasure of seeing or hearing, but rather the idea that beauty results from a judgment and even a “disinterested” judgment. This formula does explain a principle that has just been introduced: “The beautiful concerns knowledge” (*respicit vim cognoscitivam*). For Aquinas, the beautiful does not give rise to desire directly, like the Good; it is even through this relationship to knowledge that the idea of the beautiful distinguishes itself from that of the Good (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 27, a. 1, ad 3). The beautiful is what is pleasing about simple knowledge—*cuius ipsa apprehensio placet* (*ibid.*; see Eco 1970; 1987).

2. Modern Times

a) *Reformation*. Criticizing Roman statuary, Bernard* of Clairvaux said that he admired its beauty rather than respected its sacred character (*mirantur pulchra quam venerantur sacra*, PL, 182, 915). Aquinas thought that musical instruments should not be used in divine ceremony, for they gave pleasure rather than encouraged good interior disposition (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 91, a. 3, ad 4). The reformers felt the same way, but in much more systematic fashion. For Hegel, “religious representation retreated from the perceptible element and entered into the interiority of the soul and thought” (*Aesthetics*, *ThWA* 13, 142). Furthermore, the reformers’ rejection of the Catholic use of images*, which they considered idolatrous, led them to doubt “religious” beauty, and even, in the case of Reformed churches, the use of music* in worship (see Söhngen 1967).

The Calvinist and Zwinglian liturgies, therefore, excluded all music except for the singing of psalms*. Some iconoclasts even destroyed organs along with statues (Cottin 1995). Luther*, on the contrary, had theological reasons for considering music “ranked right behind theology” (*WA* 30/2, 696). For him, music was not invented by man. Rather, it was God’s creation that filled the whole world—*invenies musicam inditam seu concreatam creaturis universis* (*ibid.*). It was a precious gift that soothed the soul and chased away the demon* (*ibid.*; see *WA.B* 5, 639). It therefore had an entirely natural place in worship (Söhngen 1967) in all its forms and not only in the form of singing in unison.

Even today, although some theologians hope that Protestantism* will steer away from its excessive “liturgical fast” (Cottin 1995), others don’t want to forget “that beauty, especially the religious kind... can be a trap” (Gagnebin 1995). The Catholic Reform movement, on the other hand, was in full support of the object of baroque beauty, glorifying the glory* of God.

b) *Philosophy*. Beauty rejected or accepted in this way does not belong to the world, but to art, and this is the beauty that will be the goal of modern esthetics, or esthetics in general. (The term *esthetics* appeared for the first time in 1750, in A.G. Baumgarten’s *Aesthetica*.) Kant* even preferred nature’s beauty to the beauty of art (*Critique of Judgment*, §42, AA V, 298–303), but Hegel began his *Aesthetics* by “excluding” “natural beauty” because it was foreign to the spirit (Introduction, *ThWA* 13, 13). Just as the spirit is above nature, artistic beauty is above natural beauty (*ThWA* 13, 14; see 27). This change in perspective is not different from the theological point of view, for the focus of attention is thus shifted from God to man. The idea of a nature foreign to the spirit is no longer the idea of creation*, in which the preceding centuries saw the work of divine art; the only work in which one can recognize the spirit is human art. In the perceptible form, of course, the spirit is still alienated, and art is but the first stage in its self-blooming—a stage that is skipped today (*ibid.*, 25), since spiritual beauty cannot be represented by beautiful form (*ThWA* 14, 128–29) and the Christian God can only be expressed in all the depth of the concept through exterior form (*ThWA* 13, 103). But inasmuch as art belongs to the same sphere as religion and philosophy*, in terms of the perceptible presentation of truth* (*ThWA* 13, 21–22) and the “manner... of expressing the divine” (*ibid.* 21), it thus acquires a dignity that it never had and that it retains in our culture, no matter how we consider it. Even in Nietzsche*’s work, where the anti-Platonic stance divides truth from beauty, there are “ugly” truths—*Zur Genealogie der Morale* (1887). Even “truth” itself “is ugly,” Nietzsche holds in *Kritische Studienausgabe* (XIII), and while the contrast between a “real world” and a world of appearances is an illusion, he writes in *Götzendämmerung* (1889; “Twilight of the Idols,” *KSA* VI), it is art, the extolling of vital power, that shatters this illusion. Beauty is the sign of this power (*ibid.*); Socrates’s ugliness, a sign of “decadence,” refutes the value of his thought, Nietzsche holds in “The Problem of Socrates” (§3, *ibid.*). And although Heidegger* neither contemplates beauty nor forms an esthetic, all viewers are indeed absent from the essay, “The Origin of the Work of Art.” Nevertheless, Heidegger grants a power to art, that of calling forth and

expressing “truth.” This pushes the major trends in the philosophies of art to an extreme.

c) *Theology.* This absolute approach to art and beauty was reluctantly received by theologians, who only acknowledged one veritable expression of Truth, divine revelation* (Jüngel 1984). Thus, Kierkegaard* radically separated the esthetic domain from the domain of faith*. The esthetic relationship to Christianity in no way involves the fact of living. The Christian, “apostle,” or “martyr of truth,” is not a poet of the religious.

This point of view could perhaps be useful when considering the problem of beauty in the liturgy*. In the liturgy the beauty of the music, objects, and architecture “are oriented toward the infinite* beauty of God” in certain ways (Vatican* II, SC, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, chap. 7, art. 122). Objects used in worship must be beautiful, “so as to signify and symbolize celestial realities” (ibid.); exterior forms are made to “arouse contemplation” of the heart of things (Council of Trent*, session 22, chap. 5). It is therefore appropriate for the liturgy to be beautiful—or at least not ugly, so as not to distract attention. The focus should not be on the forms of the ceremony, but, obviously, it does not involve procuring an esthetic experience. It is not beauty in itself that gives access to God, and the liturgy is prepared in the midst of a sacramental presence that is in no way immediately perceptible or immediately desirable. C. S. Lewis writes: “This bread, this wine: no beauty we could desire” (*Poems*, 124). And in the poem “Consécration,” Claudel writes: “*Cet objet entre les fleurs de papier sec, c’est cela qui est la suprême beauté*”—that is, “This object between the dried-paper flowers—this is what supreme beauty is” (*La messe là-bas*).

The passages that Barth devoted to divine beauty and included in the definition of the glory of God provide a good example of this reluctance to apply the idea of beauty to God. Barth holds that beauty is not a “major notion” or a divine attribute* to be placed on the same level as the others, and that, above all, one must not fall into “estheticism” (*Kirchliche Dogmatik*, II). A theology that is loyal to what God reveals of himself must nevertheless acknowledge that “God is beautiful” (*Gott... auch schön ist*), source of joy and object of desire. In fact, Barth uses very strong expressions in this sense. Therefore, three aspects of divine beauty can be distinguished: the beauty of the fullness of divine essence, the beauty of the Trinity* of God, which is “the mystery* of his beauty,” and the paradoxical beauty of Jesus Christ, who “had no form or comeliness that we should look at him, and no beauty that we should desire him” (Is 53:2), but who nevertheless reveals all the beauty and all the glory of God.

The Swiss theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar* (1905–88) formally acknowledges Barth for recognizing divine beauty (*Herrlichkeit*, I), but he wants to go much further and “develop” this notion, as he already says in the first sentence of *Herrlichkeit*, “Christian theology in the light of the third transcendental”—that is, Beauty.

By thus naming Beauty “the third transcendental,” Balthasar also carries out a genuine “theoretical coup” (Lacoste 1986), already initiated by E. Przywara. The Beautiful does not, indeed, belong to the classic list of those general properties of Being* that “transcend” the limits of categories and that the Scholastics* called transcendental. Nor is there a fixed number of them. When there are only three, these involve Being, Truth, and Good, and not beauty. The thing (*res*) and the something (*aliquid*) can also be cited. Nevertheless, the identity of the Beautiful and the Good, which differ only in notion (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 27, a. 1, ad 3), allowed some to think that the Beautiful should be added to the list. Jacques Maritain (1935) firmly supported this position. Not only is the Beautiful transcendental, but it is “the splendor of a total of all that is transcendental” (see also Coreth, *Metaphysik*, Innsbruck, 1963). Eco (1987) only acknowledges “an implicit integration of the beautiful into the transcendental.” He thinks it happened progressively and discretely in medieval thought.

Be that as it may, the reason for this decision is obvious. It clearly calls for distinguishing the work of founding a theological esthetics, from all that would be considered a theology of esthetics (*H I*) and, therefore, not confusing “the transcendental Beauty of revelation” with “secular beauty”—for example, as Chateaubriand does. The task of this theology of esthetics (a theological doctrine of perception) is precise. It is to decipher the “configuration” (*Gestalt*) of God, that is revealed in the story of salvation*, and eminently in Christ*, “center of the configuration of revelation” (*H III, C*). Although the nonsecular esthetic experience in which he perceives the appearance of divine glory in the finite configuration, the unique and absolutely privileged figure of Jesus, must be analogous* to all experience of beauty, it is also in the “unconfiguration” (*Ungestalt*) of the Crucified One that God allows himself to be known, and this recognition does not have a secular analogue. And although the nonsecular esthetic experience through which one perceives the appearance of divine glory—in the finite, unique, and absolutely privileged figure of Jesus—must be analogous (analogy) to all experience of Beauty, it is also in the *Ungestalt* of the Crucified One that God allows himself to be known, and this recognition does not have a secular analogue.

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See also **Glory of God; Idolatry; Images; Liturgy; Love; Platonism, Christian**

Beghards. *See* **Beguines; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism**

Beguines

The diversity of forms of life considered by historians as “Beguinal” and the variety of terms that designated such experiences in the late Middle Ages make any definition of the phenomenon difficult. The Beguine

movement can at least be placed in a precise context. Beginning in the late 12th century, throughout the West, new religious experiences developed that associated the laity with a life made up of penitence and

contemplation*. Women (woman*) were particularly likely to adopt this way of life; they entered upon the service of God* without taking monastic vows or accepting the constraints of communal living or a rule approved by the ecclesiastical hierarchy*. Living as nuns, they remained secular. These “semi-nuns,” as many historians now characterize them, were at first designated by the term *mulieres religiosae* (religious women). But in the northern half of Europe, they were soon given the name *beguinae*. Elsewhere, the same experiences received other names. According to Jacques de Vitry (†1240), one of the first to write about the movement, “they are called *béguines* in Flanders and Brabant, *papelardes* in France, *humiliées* in Lombardy, *bizokes* in Italy, and *coquenunnes* in Germany.”

It was in urban settings that the Beguine experience proliferated. Some Beguines lived alone, leading an itinerant existence or living under the family roof; others gathered together in a house; still others resided in “courts,” called “Beguinaes.” Veritable villages within the city, these Beguinaes were made up of several houses or convents, which were provided with a chapel, a hospital, and other common buildings. The Beguines lived on charity and the work* of their hands. By the 13th century, numerous cities sheltered several dozen Beguine communities, but it is impossible to give precise numbers or to provide a map for the Beguine movement. Many Beguines lived in solitude and, in contrast to traditional convents, many communities left no documentary traces. The phenomenon was nonetheless widespread and substantial. A demographic imbalance characterized by an excess of women, very high among populations emigrating to cities, and a certain resistance of traditional religious orders to new spiritual tendencies go some way toward explaining its magnitude.

In the beginning, *Beguine* was a deprecatory term, a synonym for *heretic*, for the movement had many detractors. To be sure, the pope had approved the Beguine communities in 1216, “not only in the diocese of Liège, but in the kingdom of France and in the empire” (according to a letter by Jacques de Vitry). In addition, a bull of 1233 had granted them pontifical protection. However, many churchmen had difficulty in accepting the intermediate situation (*Zwischenstand*) of the Beguines, which implicitly called into question the distinction between clergy* and laity that had been reaffirmed by the Gregorian reform, as well as all the social and legal classifications familiar to the church*. Because they did not know where to locate them, the laity reproached the Beguines for their “hypocrisy,” whereas the secular clergy were hostile to the privileged relations that often bound them to the mendicants (Franciscan spirituality*) and removed them

from the jurisdiction of the clergy. In addition, the networks of informal social relations in which the Beguines participated could only trouble the institution of the church.

Even outside their communities, the Beguines met, prayed together, and discussed their experiences. Above all they read, used writing, and appropriated the sacred texts and translated them into the vernacular languages. Some of them composed treatises, as evidenced by the mystical works of Beatrice of Nazareth (†1268), Hadewijch of Antwerp (c. 1240), and Margaret Porette (†1310). The immediate relationship that some maintained with God in contemplation* and ecstasy left no role for priestly mediation. Moreover, several English historians consider the mystical adventures of the Beguines as a kind of refuge for women who felt excluded from a church controlled by men. It would, however, be inappropriate to reduce the Beguine movement purely and simply to the mystical* element, which engaged probably only a small number of Beguines. Similarly, there was never a spirituality (and still less a theology*) particular to the Beguine movement.

In dealing with the Beguines, the institutional church adopted two different attitudes. Sometimes it rejected the Beguines; at other times it tried to assimilate them.

In rejecting the Beguines, the church identified them as heretics*. This was particularly true in the Rhineland, where the Beguines were persecuted as early as the 13th century. Then, at the Council of Vienna* of 1311–12, a major condemnation was delivered against some Beguines in the decrees *Cum de quibusdam mulieribus* and *Ad nostrum*. These decrees were promulgated in 1317–18 by John XXII, who in a new decree, *Sancta Romana*, grouped the Beguines together with the Fraticeli. First mentioned in 1311 in a pontifical brief, “The Sect of the Free Spirit,” to which Beguines and Beghards were accused of belonging, never had any substance except in the mind of inquisitors (and for some uncritical historians). The heresy of the “Free Spirit” denounced in Vienna was, in fact, essentially the result of a compilation produced on the basis of quotations extracted from *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, the banned treatise of the Beguine Margaret Porette, who was declared a heretic and burned in Paris in 1310.

Conversely, in attempting to assimilate the Beguines, the church forced some Beguines to adopt the rule of Saint Augustine* or to join a third order. In the diocese of Liège and in Flanders, the church authorities and the civil government carried out a kind of enclosure of the Beguines. Those who were isolated were assembled in particular places, called “Beguinaes,” which from

then on were the only authorized form of association for the Beguines. Adherents were given rules and regularly visited by priests* who were specifically assigned to them. While the Beguine movement faded elsewhere, the large Beguinages in the north survived the crisis of the first quarter of the 14th century.

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See also Priesthood; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism; Woman

Being

Ontology is a term that appeared late (in Goclenius's 1613 *Lexicon philosophicum*); and the philosophical tradition from Plato to Meinong and beyond speaks of objects said to be located beyond being (the Good* or the One in Platonism and Neoplatonism), or beyond being and nonbeing (Meinong's "nonexistent objects"). Notwithstanding these two reservations, the term *ontological* may be applied to any ordered inventory of those things to which a reality is attributed. Theology deals with objects whose reality it is not alone in asserting (God*, evil*), and with objects whose reality it alone asserts (intradivine relations), but it always claims to name those objects in an order that corresponds to their reality. As a result, theological discourse is impossible without articulated ontological decisions, and that discourse must necessarily situate itself in relation to ontological decisions that are made within nontheological frames of reference.

a) *Divine Substance, Logos, and Metaphysics.* Choosing the God of the philosophers against the gods of paganism was one of the major decisions of the early church* (Ratzinger 1968; see also Pannenberg 1967, Stead 1986). The choice of *logos* over *muthos*, the conception of Christianity as "true philosophy*" and of pagan philosophy as a "preparation for the gospel," and the development of a Christology* that

linked the Johannine Word/Logos to the Hellenistic Logos/Reason are all factors showing how Christianity developed its doctrines (its canonical interpretation of the foundational texts, whose authority* it based on the authority of God) by making use of the conceptual resources offered by Greece. On the other hand the intellectual climate of late antiquity, characterized by an eclectic practice of philosophy, a frequently religious conception of the philosophical life, and the dissemination of doctrines in a "popular" form (see Nock 1964, e.g.), explains the style of the Christian use of Greek words and ideas. This took the form of isolated borrowings rather than the adoption of theories, and the theological appropriateness of these borrowings sometimes concealed spectacular philosophical blunders and imprecisions.

The entry of Greek concepts into Christian language was solemnly ratified when the Council* of Nicaea* inserted into its confession of faith* a nonbiblical word, *homoousios*, "consubstantial*" (from *ousia*, "essence" or "substance*"), in order to affirm the divinity of Jesus Christ, while simultaneously denying, against Arius, that he was *an* (intermediate) god born from the supreme God. Because the Nicene formulation made it possible to name what God the Father* and Jesus Christ are in common (what Aristotle calls "primary substance," *Cat.* 5, 2a 11–19), but not to

name what each one possesses uniquely, the future would belong to new conceptualizations that originated in both Greek and Latin: the introduction of the concepts of *hupostasis* and *prosôpon/persona* (respectively, “hypostasis” and “persons”). But the orthodoxy that was thus constituted, with the dual goal of evangelizing the empire and replying to formulations that were considered inadequate, set itself up as the correct reading of the founding events of Christianity only by partially substituting the language of *being* for the language of history* and narrative*. This assertion must, of course, be qualified. On the one hand, any question about the identity of God or of Jesus* could be answered by reference to the many names and titles contained in the biblical text. On the other, the establishment of a theology interested primarily in the being of God and Christ* (this interest defined in the strict sense what Greek patristics called *theologia* from the fourth century; see Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE* I. 1. 7) would never be an obstacle to the proclamation of the great deeds of God and of everything called in Greek the “economy” (*oikonomia*) of the Covenant* and of salvation*. A complex system of cross-references, lastly, would always unite “theological” and “economic” concerns, with the latter never being fully absorbed by the former. But a displacement had in fact taken place.

In saying of the *homoousios* of Nicaea that it made it possible to “grasp the coherence of the intrinsic ontology of the gospel,” Torrance’s argument in favor of the patristic theology of the first four centuries (1988, 144; cautious discussion in Lehmann 1973) expressed an idea held by the patristic era and by medieval theology. But there is another characteristically modern idea according to which there was an inherently corrupting element in the Greek *logos*. The idea was developed starting with Luther*’s polemic against Scholasticism*, which he considered a modern counterpart to Augustine*’s struggle against Pelagianism*. Against a theology based on the belief that one could not become a theologian without studying Aristotle, Luther proposed a theology born from experience* (WA 1. 226. §43 f.; WA 5. 163. 28: *Vivendo, immo moriendo et damnando fit theologus, non intelligendo, legendo aut speculando*; “one becomes a theologian by living, or rather by dying and being condemned, not by understanding, reading, or speculating”). Against the classic concepts of Christology (dogmatic interest in the *being* of Christ), he set up the primacy of soteriology and the believer’s living relation to Jesus as his savior: “Christ is not called Christ because he has two natures. What difference does that make to me? But he bears the magnificent and consoling name of Christ because of the ministry* and the burden that he took up; that is

what gives him his name*. That he is by nature man and God is a matter that concerns him. But the fact that he devoted his ministry and poured forth his love* to become my savior and redeemer is where I find my consolation and my good” (*Commentary on Exodus*, WA 16. 217–18). The polemic was ritually repeated and amplified in Protestantism* after the Reformation (see *Le platonisme des Pères dévoilé* by M. Souverain [1700], a French Huguenot who converted to Anglicanism*), and Luther’s tone reappears in the rejection of “metaphysics” in favor of ethics formulated by Ritschl in his magnum opus on justification* (1870–74). The sharpest form of objection, however, derived from theoretical developments occurring outside theology. 1) The linguistic theory of W. von Humboldt (1767–1835) was the first of these developments. By saying that every language carried out a prismatic decomposition of the world and then conducted a sui generis organization of reality, Humboldt (On the Kawi Language of the Island of Java,” *GS* VII/1) in fact laid out the bases for a linguistic critique of ontological categories (see, e.g., Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale* 1, Paris, 1966; see C. H. Kahn, *The Verb “Be” in Ancient Greek*, Dordrecht-Boston, 1973). It then became possible to ask each language to reveal its vision of the world, and thereby its philosophy. A discipline, “ethnophilosophy,” was created with the work of P. Tempels S. J. (1906–77) on the implicit ontology of the Bantu language (*La philosophie bantoue*, 2nd Ed., Paris, 1948; see also A. Kagame, *La philosophie bantu-rwandaise de l’être*, Brussels, 1956). And it also became possible to identify a new object, “Hebrew thought,” and methodically to distinguish it from another object that was called “Greek thought.” In its fully developed form (T. Boman, *Das hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem Griechischen*, 2nd Ed., Göttingen, 1954), this led to the identification of a dynamic kind of thought as opposed to a static one. In the dynamic kind of thought (Hebrew), appearance is reality, as opposed to a thought concerned with what lies beneath appearances; it is a thought concerned with history, not ignorant of it; a thought of concrete totality as opposed to an abstracting and individualizing thought. The philological merit of J. Barr was in showing (*Semantics of Biblical Language*, Oxford, 1961) that this involved an unjustified identification. What had been attributed to a language was not rooted in the structure of that language but in what the biblical writers using it had wanted to say. But even after such a refutation, the question of a biblical *experience* of the world, unquestionably different from that of Hellenism, remains open. 2) The second theoretical development was the appearance of a philosophical critique of Hellenism, from Nietzsche* to

Heidegger* and beyond. In Nietzsche the attack on Christianity is carried out as an adjunct to the attack on Platonism*: for the use of the “people,” Christianity had doctrinally adopted a Platonic rejection of movement, time*, and the reality of things as they are in the here and now. In Heidegger a new object was identified under the name of *metaphysics*, by which must be understood a finite manner of thinking (“closure of metaphysics”), one born (in Greece) and mortal, governed by presuppositions that it cannot itself criticize (e.g., a certain rule of *presence*, a certain *forgetting of being* in favor of the existent), and living thought has the task of “overcoming” (*überwinden*) it (“Das Ende der Philosophie und die Aufgabe des Denkens,” in *Zur Sache des Denkens*, Tübingen, 1969). And because any discourse linked to the Greek *logos* was metaphysical during the time of metaphysics, it goes without saying that the task assigned to “thought” in general by Heidegger is also assigned ipso facto to any theology that wishes to survive metaphysics.

Recent scholarship has thus seen a replacement of the theological polemic against the Hellenization* of Christianity by a theological critique of metaphysics, often intensified under the influence of objections formulated by E. Levinas, in the name of the “question of the other,” against any thought of being (including Heidegger’s). In a realm characterized more by projects than actual realizations, several directions are open. If the terms of metaphysics are all obsolete, what texts can be found to enable theology to perform its role? 1) As an initial response we can assert the urgency of a rigorous *reading* of the biblical text. And in a cultural climate marked by the development of *sciences of the text*, the desire to preserve intact the exigencies of theological method might lead to attributing to those sciences (because they are dignified by the name sciences) the capacity to provide theology with conceptual tools free of metaphysical contamination. Structural linguistics thus appears (G. Lafon, CFi 96; A. Delzant, CFi 92; see also M. Costantini *Com(F)* I/7, 40–54) as a new *organon* for theology. 2) In response to the presumed exhaustion of the key words of metaphysics, it was necessary to call on that which metaphysics had left unthought. A theology asserting the death of the concept of substance would thus attempt to respect the signifying intention that guided the adoption of *consubstantial* at Nicaea by moving from the language of substance to the language of love—the agape of Jesus is one with the agape of the Father, *homoagape* (Hick 1966; but see Mackinnon 1972). A theology concerned with maintaining its distance from a representation of God on the Greek model of *noûs* (adopted by Philo), or on the modern model of subjectivity, would find in the biblical lexicon of *spirit*

(*ruach-pneuma*) the basis for attempting a new language (Lampe 1977 [but one that leads to a unitarian theology]; Pannenberg, 1980, *Syst. Theol.* I, Göttingen, 1988; see Stead 1995).

3) Beyond fragmentary conceptual rearrangements, the idea of a theological overtaking of metaphysics (Marion 1977; Milbank 1997) is congruent with the hypothetical assertion that metaphysics had already been overtaken in the time of metaphysics (“a nonchronological exit from metaphysics,” Carraud 1992), or that certain forms of thought (“spirituality” according to Martineau 1980) have, by their essence, a capacity for avoiding metaphysics. What is left unthought by Heideggerian “destruction” is, therefore, just as important as what is left unthought by metaphysics. And if it is true that the history of metaphysics still remains to be written after the fragmentary indications supplied by Heidegger (for an outline, see H. Boeder *Topologie der Metaphysik*, Freiburg, 1980), a history of the nonmetaphysical moments or tendencies of Christian discourse has also yet to be written. 4) Assuming that the late 20th century has experienced “the end of philosophy,” theology is not alone in confronting the “task of thought,” and a theology with postmetaphysical intentions cannot be indifferent to other forms of discourse with similar intentions. Substituting a thought of the gift for a thought of the object in order to reject the naming of the human person as a *subject* (J.-L. Marion, *Étant donné*, Paris, 1997); conceiving of an “ontology with a human face” (Chapelle 1982 or C. Bruaire); rooting the meaning of human experiences in a “metahistory” (M. Müller)—these ways of talking about human beings are close enough to discourse about God for the interest of theology in such approaches to be obvious. And when theology also recognizes that its mission includes a universalizing contemplation of the meaning of being (Balthasar*, *Herrlichkeit* III/1, 974–83), this involves in addition a theological contribution to the task of thought and to the survival of thought in an age of nihilism.

During the same period, more than one historical issue has been subject to a reexamination that has led to significant conclusions (see E.P. Meijering, *ThR* 36 [1971], 303–20; A.M. Ritter, *ThR* 49 [1984], 31–56). Studied on the basis of Greek theories of substance, and then with reference to the theological struggles that led to its adoption, the *homoousios* of Nicaea appears in fact as the product of a desire for meaning surpassing any philosophical conditioning, so that its use, and the confession of belief in it, remain possible regardless of the fate of Greek concepts of *ousia* when they are considered with philosophical rigor (Stead 1977, 1985; Grillmeier 1978; Hanson 1988; Barnes and Williams 1993).

Patristic studies have produced a good deal of evidence that the Christian restructuring of Platonism* (Ivanka 1964; see Waszink 1955; E.P. Meijering, *VigChr* 28 [1974], 15–28) produced more than merely a new Platonism. In this regard we can cite Gregory* of Nyssa's construction of a concept of the infinite that owes nothing to Greek metaphysics (Mühlenberg 1967); the development from Pseudo-Dionysius* through Gregory* Palamas of theories of participation in God that subvert the entire Greek ontology of participation (survey in Karayiannis 1993); and Augustine's insertion of relation at the heart of substance (see below). Christian dogma* and its language no longer appear as “a work of the Greek spirit on the ground of the Gospel” (Harnack, *Lehrbuch*, 4th Ed., 1909; repr. Darmstadt, 1983) but as the fruit of a kerygmatic effort carried out with the help of Greek words whose conceptual charge was changed in the process as a general rule (e.g., with reference to the definition of Chalcedon, A. Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* I, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1979).

Hence, whatever the relevance of an interrogation of the meaning of being in the dimensions of universal history (Heidegger), and whatever usefulness its theological reception might have, it should perhaps become apparent that the question of the links to be established between Christianity and Hellenism/metaphysics is primarily a hermeneutical* question.

The technical language of theology is an interpretive language, and its interpretation is carried out with reference to the biblical text. The words chosen for the process of interpretation are available words, selected because they are endowed with a meaning that permits inserting them into true propositions. Because words with meanings do not exist in isolation but within languages and, in the case of concepts, within theories (whether established in rigid form, as in the case of the Aristotelian theory of *ousia*, or more flexibly, as with the general ideas about *ousia* in the philosophical *koinè* of late antiquity), no terminology can of course enter theological usage without carrying traces of its pretheological usage, with the latter perhaps having some influence on the former. But because theological usage itself is established by reference to the biblical text, the first question must concern the elementary logical or ontological requirements of the Christian faith as these emerge from the reading of the Bible. Thus, the *homoousios* of Nicaea articulates in a rigorous form what is already said in John 10:30—“I and the Father are one.”

Theology speaks of its particular objects in a language that has been used for naming other objects. The biblical text itself is not written in a sacred language that has been created for the naming only of theologi-

cally significant realities. It is therefore a work of piety—of theological critique—to analyze the nontheological implications carried by theological words and concepts. The deep symbolism of the Pentecost narrative (Acts 2:1–13), however, shows that the “wonders of God” can be expressed in, or translated into, any language. In the hermeneutic terms derived from Gadamer and Ricoeur, fusion is always possible between the perspectives of the biblical text and the perspectives of any present moment, and the “world of the text” of the Bible is always accessible to any individual, no matter which “world” his own language and *epistèmè* make him an inhabitant of.

The history of theology should be read as a history of meaning—of a will to interpret—bound up with a *capacity to speak*. Meaning exceeds what is said, in this domain more than any other (on this excess as a general law of hermeneutics, see J. Grondin, *L'universalité de l'herméneutique*, Paris, 1993), and the idea of the final word is foreign to the forms of logic that should preside over the work of theology, which are forms of logic of present interpretation (J.-Y. Lacoste *RPL* 92, 1994, 254–80). Present interpretation obviously cannot find its conceptual tools in just any pretheological or theologically neutral ontology. But in order to name rigorously the realities it has the task of discussing, theology may draw on the resources provided by more than one philosophical inventory of reality. And of the three principal procedures adopted by the philosophy of the present time to question the reality of reality—first the “question of being” and the “destruction of metaphysics,” second ontology as hermeneutics, and finally analytic philosophy and the “theory of objects”—it seems clear that each one can contribute to the precise formulation of a Christian discourse that wishes to express the “excess of God” in relation to any metaphysical sense (Marion 1977; Corbin 1997); or to the continuity of a provision of meaning within the discontinuity of the ages of thought; or, finally, can provide the basic grammar that must govern any use of Christian words that seeks an exact reference to the objects of faith (e.g., Mackinnon 1972).

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b) God and Being. It was in the very text of its Scriptures* that Christianity found the suggestion of a thought of God as being. Exodus 3:14, in the Septuagint, says in effect "I am the existent" (*egô eimi ho ôn*). The translation is hardly defensible philologically (see Caquot in Coll. 1978, 17–26); Aquila and Theodotion translated it closer to the Hebrew, "I will be who I will be" (*esomai hos esomai*), and so did the Vulgate "I am the one that I am," "I am the one that I am" (*Ego sum qui sum*). But as soon as a theological language with conceptual characteristics began to take shape alongside biblical language, and in order to provide biblical language with added precision, the Septuagint version of Exodus 3:14 unfailingly provided a major biblical anchor for the idea of a God who, before all, *is*—an idea it had already supplied to Philo. (Other

biblical references were adduced: the claims of authority by the Christ of John ["I am"]; Rom 4:17: God "calls into existence the things that do not exist"; Rev 1:8: "[God] who is.")

It has been said of Latin patristics that, from the first use of Exodus 3:14 (by Novatian), "the ontological meaning of the name* revealed to Moses caused no difficulty for anyone" (G. Madec in Coll. 1978, 139). In this tradition* Augustine provided a classic interpretation of the theological primacy of being (but he also referred to Ps 4:9 and 121:3, in order to express the *sum qui sum*, an expression that he used in a technical sense and that does not articulate being: the *idipsum* [see *Conf.* IX. iv. 11; *De Trin.* III. iii. 8; *En. Ps.* 121]). The God of Augustine reveals himself under two names, his "substantial name" (*nomen substantiae: sum qui sum*) and his "name of mercy*" (*nomen misericordiae: God of Abraham and Isaac*). If God *is*, however, then man, inhabitant of the "region of unlikeness" (*Conf.* VII. x. 16, himself seems to be one who is not. Contemplated in God, being is immutability* and eternity*. In that case, being can be attributed to man only with reservations. Defined as the one who changes and passes, man is also the one of whom it can be said that he "is" not. He is defined by his sin* as "the one who goes far away from being [and] travels toward nonbeing" (*En. Ps.* 38. 22; CChr.SL 38, 422). He is also the one who truly is only at the conclusion of a conversion*. Augustine's contemporary, Jerome, also affirmed that God alone truly *is*, and further believed that the name given in Exodus 3:14 revealed the divine essence (*Ep.* 15. 4. 2, CSEL 54. 65. 12–18).

Greek theology also affirmed the being of God. Despite his knowledge of Hebrew, Origen* continually quoted the Septuagint version of Exodus 3:14; and this was the text he relied on to develop the notion of God's relationship to created beings as a relationship between the one who "truly is" to something that is by participation. In Gregory* of Nazianzus, God is an "infinite and undetermined ocean of essence" (*Or.* 38. 7, *ousia*), and John of Damascus quoted this blend of a concept and an image, with reference to the name revealed to Moses, by saying that God had "totally gathered *ousia* into himself, like an ocean" (*Fid. Orth.* I. 9). However, the influence of Platonism on the Greek Fathers* qualified these assertions. The Good, according to Plato "transcends essence," *epekeina tês ousias* (*Republic* VI, 509b), and the One of Plotinus transcends intellect and being (e.g., *Enneads* VI. 9. 3; on the history of this theory before Plotinus, see J. Whitaker, *VigChr* 23, 1969). The idea of a God who is not, or who does more than be, was an idea that could be, and was in fact, formulated in a radical way by the Gnostic Basilides: "The God who is not," *ho ouk ôn*

theos (Hippolytus, *Ref.* VII. 20). And although the Fathers did not formulate it in a radical way, there was enough Neoplatonism in Pseudo-Dionysius that his God was not being but the “demiurge of being” (*Divine Names* V. 817 C), and that *anonymity* was seen to be better suited to God than any name, including the name of being, and that everything belonging to the realm of being issued from God as *absolute goodness* (ibid., 820 C). Another Platonist, Marius Victorinus, was also the only Latin Father to assert that God—the Father—transcends being.

It was left to Byzantine theology, and especially to Gregory* Palamas, to specify the terms of a theory of participation in God. If the absolute future of man must be thought of under the figure of “divinization,” *theôsis*, in accordance with 2 Peter 1:4, then God (or at least his “nature,” *phusis*) must be open to participation. To indicate that a doctrine of divinization does not undermine the doctrine of divine transcendence, Pseudo-Dionysius had proposed a paradoxical formulation: God is “the unshareable shared,” *ametekhtôs metekhetai*. In Gregory Palamas the already classic distinction (e.g., Basil, PG 32, 869 AB) between divine energies (open to participation, the *dunamis* of Pseudo-Dionysius) and essence (not open to participation, the *henôseis* of Pseudo-Dionysius) provides a coherent solution to the problem. The prerogatives of apophysis are preserved, because the divine essence (or “superessence,” *hyperosiotês*) remains strictly incomprehensible. But the prerogatives of an ontology of the divine are also preserved. By forcing the development of an eschatological doctrine of the humanity of man, the concept of divinization also makes it necessary to speak of a God who is—with the qualification, of course, that “if it was necessary to distinguish in God between essence and what is not essence, this is precisely because God is not limited by his essence” (V. Lossky, *A l’image et à la ressemblance de Dieu*, Paris, 1967).

Two theories were thus bequeathed to the Latin Middle Ages: the Dionysian primacy of the Good and the Augustinian primacy of Being. Although there was no lack of nuances and intermediate positions, several distinct positions can be identified. 1) His teacher, Albert* the Great, had passed on to Thomas* Aquinas a thought of the anteriority of being in respect to goodness which simultaneously preserved the unknowability and anonymity of the divine being. The two directions were preserved by Thomas within an impressive orchestration. On the one hand, the primacy of being is the keystone of the entire theological-philosophical edifice. God is “pure act of being,” *actus purus essendi* (hence nothing in him exists in the mode of the possible), and he is “subsistent being itself,” *ipsum esse subsistens*.

Hence the Absolute does not appear as an *existent* but as being in the infinitive sense (the distinction between *esse* and *existens* was probably transmitted to the Latin Middle Ages by Boethius*; see Hadot in Coll. 1978). The epistemology of Thomas Aquinas is not, however, governed by the exegesis* of Exodus 3:14, but by that of Romans 1:20 (“his [God’s] invisible attributes, namely, his eternal power and divine nature, have been clearly perceived, ever since the creation of the world, in the things that have been made”). And since God is knowable through creation, the omnimodal perfection of the divine *esse* is set forth only at the conclusion of a conceptual ascent for which the existents given to perceptual experience provide both a point of departure and a direction. On the other hand, in order to preserve divine unknowability within the very conceptual structure that binds the Creator to creation, Thomas attributes to the concept of being the modality of analogy: being is not understood of God in the way it is understood of creation. And by postulating that the real difference between essence and *esse*, which applies to all created beings, does not apply to the Creator, he preserves the transcendence of God by affirming his *simplicity**. 2) Bonaventure* responded to the Augustinianism* of Thomas by a reaffirmation of Dionysian theology. The *Itinerarium* records the movement from a metaphysics of divine being to a thought of the Good that locates its scriptural basis in Luke 18:19 (“No one is good except God alone”) and Matthew 19:17. And to an inductive ontology for which created beings provide the first steps in the reasoning process, Bonaventure responds with an ontology that attempts to apprehend all existents in the light of the Trinitarian mystery* (see d below). 3) Another ontology was constructed by another Franciscan, Duns* Scotus, and based on a univocal concept of being that led him to see in the *infinite* the sign of the divinity of God. Recalled in the prayer* that opens the *De primo principio*, the revelation* of the divine name in Exodus 3:14 is taken as an invitation to seek God through reason in the historical present of experience. Scotist theology aims, however, to be a *practical* science oriented toward charity: the speculative primacy of being is therefore limited. 4) The attempt to reconcile the Dionysian and Augustinian viewpoints was the distinctive characteristic of the Rhineland-Flemish theology derived from Albert the Great (see Libera 1984). “Purity of being,” *puritas essendi*, divine life understood as “bubbling,” *bullitio*, are the words Eckhart used to create a mystical* ontology of divine being. This mystical ontology achieved its pure form in the work of Ulrich of Strasbourg. It has God alone as object, and because it speaks of being in a sense that belongs only to God, it can see being as a specific name of God. Later spiritual tradition fre-

quently followed a similar approach. For example, God showed himself to Catherine of Siena while saying to her that he is the one who is, and she is the one who is not (Martène and Durand, *Amplissima collectio*, vol. 6, col. 1354, Paris, 1729). We might also mention the representative of another school, the Dionysian Thomas Gallus (Thomas of Verceil, †1246), a theologian of Saint-Victor, author of a mystical reading of Exodus 3:14. Instead of appearing as an “intelligible name,” intended to open the path to rational inquiry, the name given to Moses is a “unitive name,” a name whose meaning is reached only in the *unitio* of the soul* with God.

If *ontology* is a modern word, this is because modernity unquestionably strove to think of God only within the context of being, as the first thinkable entity, and it did so by subverting the Augustinian point of view. For example, Suarez* replaced a God of whom it must be admitted that he is because he says that that is his name, with a God about whom, before asking what he is, metaphysics sets out beforehand all the logic of what being means. The *primus ens, seu Deus*, does not appear until the 30th of the *Disputationes metaphysicae*, and neither his infinity, nor his status as first cause call into question the meaning of being. There was thus established in the 17th century (see Wundt 1939), and fully developed in the 18th by C. Wolff (1679–1754) and his students, a general science of the *ens in latitudine sumptum* which made of *theologikè epistèmè* a *special science*, “dealing with a particular region of the existent as a whole, while the primacy of that singular existent . . . neither enclosed nor any longer contained within itself any possibility of a correlative universalization of its field” (Courtine 1990).

The reaction against the God of Suarez and Wolff came first from Hegel*, for whom God is not an existent but the existent itself—*Gott ist das Seyende selbst*. This thesis, the preeminent speculative thesis, makes it possible to make the unveiling of the meaning of being dependent on the unveiling of divine life. Reaction also came from Schelling*, who says that God is not an existent but the “Lord of being,” the “superexistent” (*das Überseiende*), defined first by his liberty* (Ex 3:14 translated as “I will be whom I will”). He is not the God of an ontology but of a “meta-ontology” (Courtine in Libera and Zum Brunn 1986; see also Hemmerle 1968). Lastly, Kierkegaard*’s reaction: separated from all created beings by an “infinite qualitative difference,” revealed to man in the form of an “absolute paradox” (the *morphè doulou* of Jesus Christ), God ceases to be an object of thought and the confession of his mercy makes any discourse on his being unnecessary. Of these currents, Kierkegaard was the first to be accepted by contemporary theology, in

which he presided over “dialectical” thought, the thought “of the crisis,” organized by Barth* and his followers. Probably derived from R. Otto (*Das Heilige*, 1917; but already in the *valde, valde aliud* of Augustine, *Confessions* VII. x), the idea of a God “wholly other” (*das ganz Andere*; see *Römerbrief*, 1921) recapitulates an old hyperbolic affirmation of divine transcendence, that of God as “nothingness*.” Barth later modified it (as early as the studies of Anselm* published in 1931) with more positive statements. A constant remained, however, which was the concern to prohibit theology from containing a discourse on God made up of philosophical or ontological elements; and Exodus 3:14 was therefore subjected to a disontological exegesis that read it as a revelation of God’s faithfulness.

But the strongest critiques of ontological language were to come from within philosophy. Devoted to raising a question—the question of the “meaning of being”—that the metaphysical tradition was said to have forgotten, Heidegger’s enterprise led him to postulate: 1) that metaphysics had neglected being to interest itself in the idea of supreme existent (and had granted to God this status of supreme existent); and 2) that the God who had come into philosophy, as guarantor of the “onto-theological constitution of metaphysics,” was ipso facto a God sentenced to death. Even though he says why the “God of the philosophers” is dead, Heidegger nevertheless does not suggest another way of speaking of God, and limits himself to asserting the absolute heterogeneity of language about being versus language about God: “Being and God are not identical, and I would never attempt to think of the essence of God by means of being. . . . If I were still obliged to set out a theology in writing—which I am sometimes inclined to do—then the term *being* could not possibly ever enter into it. Faith has no need of the thought of being. When faith relies on it, it is no longer faith” (*Poésie* 13, 60–61). Theological consequences inevitably followed. A theological interest in God, for example, led to the assertion (Marion in Bourg, et al. 1986) that making being the first name of God condemned God, “in every form of metaphysics, to submit himself to the new demands imposed on him by philosophy.” And if it is thus necessary to think of God “without being,” or (Levinas 1982) of a God “not contaminated by being,” the critique of onto-theological idols can then assume its positive face in a theory of divine names for which the Good (charity, agape) possesses absolute primacy (Marion 1982). Exodus 3:14 must then be given an apophatic reading, and the naming of God finds its canon in 1 John 4:7 and parallel passages, the duty to think of God as *actus parus amandi* or *caritas ipsa subsistens*.

Other tendencies exist. The Neoplatonic conception of a Principle of existents which itself does not have to be is not dead, whether it leaves open the possibility of an affirmation of God (e.g., I. Leclerc, *RelSt* 20, 63–78; see S. Breton, *Du principe*, Paris, 1971) or combines the influence of Plotinus with that of Meinong to think of an Absolute that perhaps does not exist (Findley 1982). It is just in regard to divine being that, defended by the thesis “Being that is only spirit is being that is only being” (Bruaire 1983), the recent posterity of Hegel inquires about the meaning of being. Having learned from Heidegger that God is not an existent, but wishing to maintain a theological usage of the lexicon of being, we may also speak of God as “sanctity of being,” *holy Being* (J. Macquarrie, *Principles of Christian Theology*, London, 1977). For Tillich, God appears as *Being-itself* (*Systematic Theology* 1, 264–65), and this is so in order to provide theology with its only nonsymbolic assertion. It is finally a characteristic of recent scholarship that Protestant theology has begun to exorcise its fear of being and to acknowledge the ontological implications of Christian discourse (Dalferth 1984).

The 20th century has also witnessed a notable renewal of the Thomist metaphysics of *esse*. Indeed, it was Gilson who coined the expression “metaphysics of Exodus” to designate the ontological interpretation of Exodus 3:14. In response to Heidegger’s hypothesis of a metaphysical “forgetting” of being, German interpreters of Thomas (Siewerth 1959; Lotz 1975; et al.) have asserted that the God of Aquinas is not the sovereign existent of onto-theology (a point conceded also finally by J.-L. Marion, *RThom* 95, 31–66), and that the onto-theological constitution of metaphysics perhaps also grew out of a forgetting of *esse*. At the same time, interpretation attempted to grasp once again the Thomist doctrine of analogy*, which had long been obscured by the distortions of Cajetan (Montagnes 1963). Despite the repercussions of Barth’s protestations (*KD* I/1, VIII, 40, 138, 178–80), in which he attacks *analogia entis* as the pure and simple invention of the Antichrist, asserting rather that Creator and created being can enter into a relationship of analogy only in the eyes of faith (*analogia fidei*), the Przywara’s meditation on analogy has certainly provided conceptual tools for thinking about the transcendence of God (see the canon of Lateran* IV that Przywara has set at the center of his investigation: “Between Creator and created being, we may not make note of a likeness without at the same time noting an even greater unlikeness” [*DS* 806]).

Let us lastly mention that the recent Jewish translations and readings of Exodus 3:14 (H. Cohen, the revelation of “the being who is an I”; F. Rosenzweig, revelation of the name as promise* to be there with the people*; M. Buber, a God who promises his presence

and whom it is not necessary to evoke as one evokes the gods of Egypt) have had some effect on Christian writers who no longer read the Old Testament in the Septuagint and one of whose principal concerns is to substitute historical for metaphysical categories. Although the *nomen substantiae* has recently been vigorously debated—and the debate remains open—it is certainly the *nomen misericordiae* that has received the most attention.

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c) *Eucharistic Conversion*. “This is my body, this is my blood”: The theology of the words of the Eucharist spoken over the bread and wine necessarily

called upon concepts charged with naming the process during which what was bread and wine becomes the body and blood of Christ. After long being satisfied with saying that bread and wine “become” the body and blood of Christ (Irenaeus*, *Adv. Haer.* V. 2. 3), Greek patristics proposed a long list of verbs, all of which expressed the notion of change without presenting any real conceptual differences between them (Betz 1957): *metaballein* (Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. ex Theod.* 82 [GCS III, 132, 12]; Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.* 4, 2; 5, 7 [SC 126, 136, and 154]; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Fragment on Matthew* 26:26 [PG 66: 713]; Theodoret, *Eranistes* dial. I [PG 83: 53, 57]; liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*); *metapoiein* (Gregory of Nyssa, *Or. cat.* 37, 3 [Strawley, 143, 149]; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Fragment on 1 Corinthians* 10:3 f. [Staab, 186]; Cyril* of Alexandria, *Fragment on Matthew* 26:26 [TU 61: 255]); John of Damascus, *De fide orth.* 4, 13, [PG 94, 114]; *methistanai* (Gregory of Nyssa, *Or. cat.* 37, 2 [Strawley, 147], Cyril of Alexandria, *Fragment on Matthew* 26:26 [TU 61: 255]); *metarrhuthmizein* (John Chrysostom, *Hom. de prod. Judae* 1, 6 [PG 49: 380]); *metaskeuazein* (John Chrysostom, *In Matthias Hom.* 82, 5 [PG 55:744]; John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam* [PG 96: 1032]); *metastoi kheioun* (Gregory of Nyssa, *Or. cat.* 37, 3 [Strawley, 152]); and *metaplassein* (Cyril of Alexandria, *Fragment on Matthew* 26:26 [TU 61: 255]). Ambrose*, the principal Latin exponent of a theology of eucharistic conversion, used a fairly rich vocabulary, in which *mutare*, *convertere*, and *transfigurare* named the event of the Eucharist (*mutare*: *Sacr.* 5. 4. 15, 16, 17; 6. 1. 3; *Myst.* 9. 50, 52; *convertere*: *Sacr.* 4. 5. 23; 6. 1. 3; *transfigurare*: *De Fide* IV. 10. 124; *De incarn.* 4. 23). To name the eucharistic conversion is not to theorize it, and the terms employed bear little conceptual weight. And when they wanted to integrate the Eucharist into a larger theological framework, the Fathers frequently set up an analogy between the Eucharist and the Incarnation* (already in Justin, *Apol.* I. 66. 2 and in Irenaeus), the birth of what would become the doctrine of *im-pa-nation* (Betz: “sacramental incarnation”).

As they were seeking to name the event of the Eucharist, the Fathers were simultaneously seeking to name the relationship that the bread and wine of the Eucharist maintained with the glorified Christ sitting at the right hand of the Father. In the *Eucologue* of Serapion, the bread and wine are the *homoïôma* of the body and blood of Christ (Funk II, 174, 10–24); in the *Dialogus de recta in Deum fide* (c. 300), Adamantius speaks of *eikones*; in Theodore of Mopsuestia, the categories are those of “image” and “symbol” (*Hom. cat.* 16. 30; Tonneau-Devreese 581–83); while in Pseudo-Dionysius, the mystical participation in Christ in the

Eucharist takes place in the order of meaning (*sè-mainetai kai metekhetai*, PG 3: 447C). *Tupos* and *anti-tupos* were frequently used. From Tertullian* on, the Latin Fathers frequently relied on the vocabulary of *figura* to deal with the question: Gaudencius of Brescia saw in the Eucharist an “image,” *imago*, of the Passion* of Christ; and in Augustine, *signum* and *similitudo* are the most frequent terms. But this lexicon is intelligible only if it is interpreted within the framework of an *epistèmè* in which the symbol really participates in what is symbolized and the image participates in the reality of what it represents. The language of conversion (“metabolic” language) and “symbolic” language do not at all challenge one another.

However, once Ratramne (†868) decided to contrast *in figura* and *in veritate*, the balance between symbolism and metabolism was destroyed; and in the two debates on the Eucharist in the Latin Middle Ages, from the refutation of Ratramne to that of Bérenger (†1088) and beyond, a new lexicon was to appear and become predominant, that of *substance*. The concepts later used by Scholasticism were already present in Lanfranc, probably the first theologian to investigate the Eucharist using a primarily ontological approach: substance, essence, conversion (PL 150: 430B). Guitmond of Aversa spoke of “substantial transmutation,” *substantialiter transmutari* (PL 149: 1467B, 1481B). In 1140–42, the author of the *Sentences of Roland* coined the neologism *transubstantiation*, which was accepted by the Church in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council (COD 230, 35–37).

It was during the unionist debates of the 13th century that *metousiôsis* got the technical meaning of a Greek equivalent for *transsubstantiatio*. It was not until the confession of faith of Dositheus of Jerusalem (1672) that it became commonly used in an Orthodox theology that was then broadly Latinized (modern and contemporary Orthodoxy*). But it played only a marginal role (reactions provoked by the confession of faith of Cyril Lukaris) in discussions of the Eucharist arising out of the Reformation.

It was before the appearance of Aristotle’s *Physics* and *Metaphysics* on the Western intellectual stage that Latin theology gave prominent status to the concepts of “substantial conversion” and “transubstantiation.” And although it is true that Aristotle’s philosophy of nature provided a pair of terms (*substance/accident*) to express the mystery of the bread and wine that remain phenomenally bread and wine while their deepest “being” has become the body and blood of the risen Christ, the concept of transubstantiation clearly appeared as something unthinkable within Aristotelianism. Proof that the concept of transubstantiation was not a contradiction in terms, that the thing was metaphysically possible, thus required that Thomas

Aquinas redefine accidents so that they might exist without a subject, only to be accused by the Averroist philosophers of using a monstrous notion (see R. Imbach, *RSPTh* 77, 1993, 175–94). From its appearance to its development by Thomas, a term that probably at the outset said nothing more than the compounds with *meta-* of Greek patristics was thus encumbered with a large burden of description and explanation. Thomas Aquinas's theorization was not universally accepted, and the status of “eucharistic accidents” (see F. Jansen, *DThC* 5/2, 1368–1452, still indispensable) was a preoccupation of (Western and Catholic) theology until the 20th century, during the course of many debates in which there regularly reappeared (as with Wycliffe and Hus*, among others) an empiricist conception of the “nature” or “substance” of things that necessarily led to a eucharistic theology of *consubstantiation* (*impanation*, the substance of the bread and wine remain, after the consecration, united to the body and blood of Christ). Nor was acceptance of an ontology of nature at two levels, substantial and accidental, sufficient to impose the idea of substantial *conversion*. Hence, Duns Scotus held to a description that postulated an *adduction* of the body and blood of Christ that does not produce a new substance but a new *presence*.

In the meantime a term already used by Ambrose (*Myst.* 3. 8, CSEL 73: 91 ff.) and Gaudentius of Brescia (*Tractatus* 2. 30, CSEL 68: 31), *praesentia*, was taken up by the theologians of Saint-Victor (see Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis* 11. 8. 13, PL 176:470–71, on the distinction between “corporeal presence” and “spiritual presence”). Bonaventure (*In Sent.* IV, d. 12, a. 1, q. 1), and William of Auvergne (*De Sacramento Eucharistiae*, Venice, 1591), frequently used the notion of *praesentia corporalis* with reference to the Eucharist. Thomas Aquinas, on the other hand, showed some reluctance, because the idea of presence seemed to him linked to that of localization. For this reason the *praesentia in terris* of the Eucharist was not a dominant element in the Office of Corpus Christi promulgated in 1264 by the bull *Transiturus*, and was Thomas's work (Gy 1990). *Praesentia* appeared in one of the errors of Wycliffe, the condemnation of which was ratified by the Council of Constance* in 1415 (*DS* 1153).

From the 13th to the 15th century the identity of words could not conceal the shift in meanings, and the metaphysical concept of substance tended more and more to become a physical concept—a concept for which nominalist thinkers had no need. A fear of annexing the gift of the Eucharist to the sphere of worldly realities, the refusal to use superfluous entities, and the rejection of any takeover by philosophy of theology, all help to explain Luther's rejection of tran-

substantiation (after a first stage in which he saw it as a mere academic hypothesis, WA6: 456, 508; WA B10: 331). The *Formula of Concord* provided the official explanation of this rejection (*BSLK* 801: 5–11). Confession of belief in presence, on the other hand, remained complete (*vere et substantialiter*, CA 10, *Apol* CA 10), and Luther supplied a theory for it that had two aspects. On the one hand, he postulated that the risen Jesus can be present in the bread and wine insofar as he takes part in the ubiquity of the Word by virtue of the communication of idioms (“ubiquism”). On the other hand, recourse to the patristic model of the “eucharistic theology of incarnation” and to the Stoic model of the complete interpenetration of bodies, *velut ferrum ignitum* (WA6: 510), allowed him to affirm the combined gift in the sacrament* of the substance of the bread and the substance of the body and blood of Christ (*BSLK* 983: 37–44). Hence, there is both *impanation* and *consubstantiation*, although it appears that Luther never used the second term (the concept does not necessarily imply a formal negation of Catholic transubstantiation, since “substance” is not understood univocally in the two cases; see J. Ratzinger, *ThQ* 147 [1967], 129–58, especially p. 153).

Calvin's understanding is not as clear. On the one hand, he frequently used the notions of *figura*, *signum* (distinguished from its *res*), *imago*, and *symbolum*. But on the other hand, he saw the sign as “linked to the mysteries,” *mysteriis . . . quodammodo annexa* (*Inst.* IV. 17. 30), and rejected all strictly symbolic interpretation (see his *Petit Traicté de la Sainte Cene de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ* of 1541). The idea of corporal, somatic presence is rejected. But against Lutheran ubiquism is set a pneumatological hypothesis that makes it possible not to conclude from this rejection that the risen Christ is absent: “Given that the body of Jesus Christ is in heaven, and we are on this earthly pilgrimage,” how can the body of Christ possibly be given in Communion? “It is through the incomprehensible virtue of his Spirit, which joins well together things separated by distance” (*Geneva Catechism* of 1542, §354). It would thence be possible to confess that, “by the secret and incomprehensible virtue of his Spirit, [Christ] nourishes us and gives us life with the substance of his body and his blood” (*Confession de foy* of 1559, §36).

Zwingli*, on the other hand, held to a strict symbolism: “believing is eating” (*SW* 3: 441), and the bread and wine perform a labor of meaning just as an inn's sign announces the wine on sale (see G.H. Potter, *Zwingli*, Cambridge, 1976). Anglicanism rejects the notion of transubstantiation. It confesses that “the body of Christ is given, received, and eaten at Communion, but in a celestial and spiritual manner,” and its

lex orandi prohibits the worship of the consecrated bread and wine (Article XXVIII; see the “Black Rubric” that concludes the “Order for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper” in the Book of Common Prayer: “The bread and wine of the sacrament remain still in their very natural substances and thus may not be worshipped”).

Reaffirmed at the Council of Trent* (which also used the language of presence, *DS* 1636) and considered at the time “very apt” for naming the eucharistic conversion (*DS* 1652; see also 1642), the concept of transubstantiation was not called into question within Catholicism* before the 20th century. Protestant doctrines experienced no significant developments during the same period, which saw above all a considerable marginalization of the practice of the Eucharist in the churches born of the Reformation (except for the Anglican Church). On the other hand, the post-Tridentine period saw sustained philosophical interest in the problem of the eucharistic conversion, in two ways: 1) With new ontologies of the thing, there were new ways of saying that the nature of things (physics) did not make the Eucharist absurd. Thus, Descartes, Malebranche, and Leibniz attempted to prove that the expression of faith in the Eucharist was not compromised by philosophies of nature in which the substance of bodies was reduced to extension (Descartes), in which only metaphysical atoms possessed reality in the last instance (Leibniz), and so on (see Armogathe 1977; Tilliette 1983). 2) At the very time that philosophy was supposedly separate from theology, the questions raised by the eucharistic conversion also provoked thought among philosophers. From Leibniz to Blondel*, taking in F. von Baader and Rosmini (three of whose theses were challenged after his death by the Roman magisterium* in 1887, *DS* 3229–31) along the way, the eucharistic misadventures of substance have shown that they were not limited to defying logic and metaphysics but that they had a genuine capacity to enrich thought.

Hegel (*Encyclopedia* §552) is important here for having incidentally inserted a critique of the Catholic theory of the Eucharist in the framework of a general critique of Catholicism, which he accuses of revealing its lack of inwardness when, in the host, it offers God up for worship with the external aspect of the thing (*als äußerliches Ding*). This foreshadowed the way in which classic conceptualizations would be called into question by recent speculation, in the last debate devoted to the Eucharistic conversion. In a time when there were hardly any theologians who asserted that the eucharistic conversion was a *physical* process (but see F. Selvaggi, *Greg.* 30 [1949], 7–45 and 37 [1956], 16–33), after the ground-breaking work of J. de Ba-

ciocchi (1955, 1959) and in the sphere of influence of Dutch theologians (P. Schoonenberg [e.g., *Verbum* 26 (1959), 148–57, 314–27; 31 (1964), 395–415]; E. Schillebeeckx 1967), as well as of the member of the Swiss Reformed Church Leenhardt (1955), it was against any philosophy of nature and not simply Aristotelian-Thomist hylemorphism, that objections were commonly raised in the 1960s. Philosophy of nature was held to be incapable of giving a true account of the eucharistic conversion. An ontology of the thing was said to be inadequate, or to have become inadequate (Gerken 1973, bibl.; see W. Beinert, *ThPh*, 1971, 342–63). And in the programmatic framework of an existential ontology, a relational ontology, or an ontology of the sign, new names were proposed—“transignification,” “transfinalization”—to express the newness that comes about when the bread and wine are consecrated (to complete the concept of transubstantiation, J. Monchanin had already coined the words “transituation” and “transtemporalization”).

We can summarize what has been accomplished by this discussion, now finished. 1) Having made its appearance before the establishment of Scholastic Aristotelianism, the concept of transubstantiation is not necessarily destined to disappear simply because Scholastic Aristotelianism is dead. Thus it has been said that the concept contained nothing more than a “logical” explanation of the words of the sacrament taken literally (Rahner 1960); and Anscombe, a disciple of Wittgenstein, proposed her own defense of the concept (1981; see Cassidy 1994). 2) The fate of the concept of being is not tied to that of substance (Welte 1965; on contemporary questions linked to substance, see Loux 1978 and *HMO* 871–73), which was the reason Schillebeeckx proposed replacing transubstantiation with the neologism *transentatio*. Each particular ontology, on the other hand, is not equally capable of expressing the eucharistic conversion. There are realities whose being is identical to the meaning they have for human beings (money, according to Anscombe, the flag, according to Welte), but it is not certain that an ontology of the sign or an ontology of finalization, whatever their good intentions, can fully express the eucharistic conversion (see, e.g., the critiques of C.J. de Vogel *ZKTh* 97, 1975, 389–414; reply by Gerken, *ibid.*, 415–29; summing up by J. Wohlmuth, *ibid.*, 430–40). *Bread* and *wine* designate more than physical-chemical objects, but they do not designate less (see E. Pousset, *RSR* 54 [1966], 177–212). 3) Not very determinate when it began to be commonly used in eucharistic theology, the concept of “presence” in recent philosophy and theology has acquired determinations that have enriched its use and have preserved the idea of *real* presence from any danger of connoting a reification. In its enriched contempo-

rary sense, presence is a mode of being of the person* in relation. (But it should perhaps be recalled that Durand de Saint-Pourçain was already speaking of the “relational presence” of Christ in the Eucharist, and that in the 19th century G. Peronne and A. Knoll gave privileged status to relation in their interpretation of the Eucharist.) Within the sphere of influence of the *Mysterienlehre*, on the other hand, the eucharistic conversion probably requires integration into a broader economy of the presence of Christ: *current* presence of salvation* in the liturgical celebration and *real* presence of the body and blood of Christ cannot be dissociated from one another (see Betz, *MySal* 4/2, 263–311; broad agreement in Pannenberg 1993; see also Lies 1997). Lastly, the clearer understanding of the link between memory and anamnesis (e.g., A. Darlap *ZKTh* 97 [1975], 80–86) makes it possible to organize a fully theological concept of presence and its specific temporality (e.g., R. Lachenschmidt, *ThPh* 44 [1966], 211–25; J.-Y. Lacoste, *Note sur le temps*, Paris, 1990), and thus to present arguments that leave no openings for Heideggerian critiques of “metaphysics” (Marion 1982).

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d) *Being, Relation, and Communion.* The reasons for theological interest in the being of relation are obvious. In fact, theology’s first task was, and remains, to elucidate a relation, that between Jesus of Nazareth and the God of Israel*. The one who is called “Lord,” and who thereby participates in the sphere of existence of YHWH, is also “Son” and “Servant.” And when Nicaea* I defined the consubstantiality of God the Father and the Son, Christianity thereby recognized an intradivine reality in relation. Against Arianism* it was said that the engendering of the Son was not an opening of the divine onto the nondivine, but an eternal event coming to pass in God alone. And against any form of modalism* it was thus said that Father, Son, and Holy* Spirit were not only *names* designating ways in which God had made himself knowable, but that the divine monad contained in fact an eternal triplicity. The development of Trinitarian and later of christological dogma thus occurred through the articulation of paradoxes. To affirm the irreducibility in God of the being-Father, the being-Son, and the being-Spirit, the Cappadocian Fathers coined a formulation that was to be accepted by the entire church: the unity of essence (*ousia*) in God contains a triplicity of hypostases (*hupostaseis*) or persons (*prosôpa*). And when it was necessary to affirm the radical unity of the human and the divine in Jesus, another formulation was created, it was not as widely accepted: in the single hypostasis/Person of the Son, divine nature (*phusis*) and human nature are united. Some conclusions followed from this: 1) If, on the one hand, nothing exists in God in the mode of *accident*, and if, on the other, the being-God (the divine *substance*) is common to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and finally, if nothing else is specific to each one but the mode in which he possesses divinity, then relation (*ad aliquid*) is indeed internal to God (Augustine, *De Trin.* IV. V. 5–6; IX. xii. 17). This led Thomas Aquinas to formulate the unprecedented concept of *subsistent relations* (*ST* Ia, q. 30, a. 2; q. 41, a. 6; *CG* IV. c. 24. 3606, 3612). The detailed construction of the paradox according to which relation is in God a *res subsistens* was the major contribution of the Latin Middle Ages to Trinitarian theology (see Krempel 1952, *DThC* 15, 1810 ff.; Henninger 1989). 2) And if the christological

mystery is not that a divine hypostasis is united in Jesus to a human hypostasis, but that a human nature is united to divine nature in the single hypostasis of the Son, or Word, then the humanity of Christ is paradoxically an an-hypostatic, a-personal humanity, a lexicon worked out in detail by “neo-Chalcedonian” theology in the sixth century.

Decisions made by theologians and councils did not bear on the being of relation in general, but on the being of certain relations. The Latin Middle Ages, which carried out a Trinitarian glorification of the *esse ad*, also used a general ontology in which the *esse ad* was qualified only as an *esse minimum* (see Breton 1951). And it was in fact a definition of the person, the letter of which did not take into account the most remarkable thing that theology had to say concerning what “person” means in regard to God—namely, Boethius’s definition (the person is an “individual substance with a rational nature”)—which carried the most weight in what the Christian West thought concerning the person (but see Dussel 1967 on the theological context that shows the full meaning of the definition, and C.J. de Vogel, *ZKTh* 97 [1975], 400–414, on the real implications of a metaphysics of rational substance). What was developed under the pressure of the internal necessities of Trinitarian theology and Christology was nevertheless destined to find a broader application. Stoicism* saw in man a being of communion, *zōon koinōnikon* (Chrysippus), but when patristics meditated on the bond of communion* that should prevail in the Church, it formulated the explanation in reference to Trinitarian unity (Cyprian*, CSEL 3: 285; see the eighth preface for Sundays per annum of the Roman Missal of 1969). Divine transcendence is unceasingly affirmed in Christian discourse (going as far as the extreme forms taken by the proclamation of a God who is “entirely other”), but Christian discourse also proclaims the absolute future of the human person in terms of a participation in the divine nature (divinization, *theōsis*; see 2 Pt 1:4). The Protestant tradition is alone in raising objections to this, suspecting a desire to be God in the place of God, a refusal that God be God, something that Luther sees as the secret of sinful man (see the *Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam* of 1517, WA 1: 225, §17, and Jüngel 1980). Between God/Christ and human beings, moreover, a relation of imitation, *mimēsis*, is presented as necessary and possible as early as the writings of Paul. However modest a place is held in the Scripture by the theologumen of the creation in the *image* and *likeness* of God (see *DBS* 10: 365–403; *TRE* 6: 491–98), it is nonetheless omnipresent in patristic and later literature.

That the human modalities of being maintain a relationship of image to model with the divine and christo-

logical modalities of being, and that being-in-relation is in this connection a decisive factor, have only been clearly set out in recent theory. Certainly, from Augustine onward theological descriptions have had ternary rhythms (e.g., in Augustine, the triad of memory, intelligence, and will) that set them in a relation to the Trinitarian rhythm of divine life. The theologians of the 12th century made frequent use of this convention, and the interpretation of the creation by reference to *vestiges* of the Trinity* was impressively developed by Bonaventure and gave off its final glimmers in Nicholas* of Cusa (“every created thing... is a bearer of an image of the Trinity,” *De pace fidei* VIII). Equally, since the patristic era the central place of a logic of love in Christianity conferred a key position on the interpretation of the relation to others (e.g., Gregory* the Great, PL 76: 1139), to the point that Richard of Saint-Victor attempted a construction of the Trinity following the human model of loving interpersonality. But if the human person exists as an image of God, the great majority of patristic writings, as well as the medieval theologians, saw the best evidence for this elsewhere: in the being of spirit that is specific to human beings in the midst of creation or in an incomprehensibility that human beings share with God. Neither Trinitarian relations nor the mystery of the humanity of Christ was dealt with by the different theories and practices of analogy developed from the 13th century onward. For example, Suarez had a theology of divine relations but conceived of “real created relations” (*Disp. Met.* 27) in a way that owed nothing to theology. Neoscholasticism hardened the terms, but it was certainly faithful to a general orientation. “No doubt... the cause imprints its likeness on what it produces, but if this effect is inadequate, the likeness as well is deficient; thus the created being and God do not fit univocally in any perfection; and those perfections that are analogically common to them are entirely general properties of being, among which—barring the assertion of a more or less generic resemblance between the first cause and its effect—it is not possible to include the vital exchanges that faith sees within the divine” (M.T.-L. Penido, *Le rôle de l’analogie en théologie dogmatique*, Paris, 1931). Between human person and divine Person “a minimum of (proportional) unity of meaning” is of course guaranteed. On either side the being-person is substantiality and incommunicability (*ibid.*). But one thesis admits of no restriction: “There is no analogy between the created personality and the ‘subsistent relation’ that theology discovers in God” (*ibid.*).

In order for this thesis to cease being self-evident, two conditions had to be fulfilled: a philosophical acceptance of Trinitarian and christological reasoning,

and the appearance of an ontological vulgate in which the *esse ad* was no longer the most tenuous of entities but the fulfillment of being. 1) Hegel was certainly the first thinker to methodically allow Christology and the logic of divine life to carry out a labor of reorganization on the *logos* of ontology. *The Phenomenology of Mind* is placed under the protection of an Absolute that is conceived both in Trinitarian terms (“interplay of love with itself”) and christological terms (an interplay that experiences “seriousness, patience, pain, and the work of the negative”). The system assembled in the *Encyclopedia* includes a Christology (see Brito 1983), and finally an anonymous Christology and triadology preside over the unfolding of the *Science of Logic*. The theological ambitions of the system were obscured by the Hegelian Left’s production of a partial Hegelianism* that retained the dialectic while dismissing Absolute Spirit. Another philosophy that chose to know the absolute only by thinking of the “positive” content of its revelation, the later philosophy of Schelling, had no real influence on the theology of its time. By refusing to dissociate discourse on the One God from discourse on the Triune God, both philosophies, in any event, sounded the knell for any separation between theology and ontology. 2) The philosophical glorification of relation (which, in the end, meant barely more than interpersonal relation) took several forms. In the popular form that it assumed in philosophies of dialogue (M. Buber, F. Ebner; see Theunissen 1965; Böckenhoff 1970) it consisted in denying the possibility of giving an account of the human ego in terms of a substantial identity with itself (“adseity”) and to situate the concrete advent of the *I* in the encounter with the *Thou*. In the cautious form it assumed in Heidegger, the determination of being-in-the-world as “being-with,” *Mitsein* (*Sein und Zeit*, §25–27), is an existential determination, an a priori element of existence. In G. Marcel it was in the guise of the priority of the *we* and of communion that *Mitsein* assumed a preeminent place in Francophone philosophy. And there is a long list—the project of a “metaphysics of charity” in Laberthonnière, the *Ordo amoris* of Scheler (*GW* 10: 345–76), G. Madinier (*Conscience et amour*, Paris, 1938), D. von Hildebrand, among others—of contemporary thinkers who could have taken as their own the words of C. Secrétan describing a reign of love that would produce “the most perfect conceivable unity, the living unity of converging, intertwined wills which, reciprocally penetrating one another, mutually affirm one another and come together in a single will” (*Le principe de la morale*, Paris, 1884).

Taken on by theology, such themes could not fail to receive an exuberant welcome. 1) An ontology in which the meaning of *esse* remains unperceived as

long as the *esse ad* is not thematized necessarily had an influence on ecclesiology*. As early as the *Catholicisme* of Lubac* (1938), reliance was placed on an existential ontology to think of the “social aspects of the dogma.” On the one hand, the Church appeared to be the location of fully “personal” existence; on the other, “the supreme flourishing of the personality... in the Being of which every being is a reflection” (op. cit., 256) was called on to illuminate the “personal” meaning of belonging to the Church. The *newness* out of which Christian experience claims to live could then be thought of as the gift of an ecclesial mode of existence (or “ecclesial hypostasis”) that a phenomenology of the eucharistic celebration had the task of describing (Zizioulas 1985). The pairing “visible” and “invisible,” or “empirical Church” and “essential Church” (Bonhoeffer*), thereby ceased to govern interpretation. The essential in fact (the definitive, the eschatological) is really given within the empirical Church in the liturgical acts where its total identity is manifested, but the essential (a fully ecclesial and a fully personal existence) has a presence in the mode of anticipation, in the mode of a meaning that takes possession of the present on the basis of an absolute future (Zizioulas). Being thus ceases to manifest its meaning only in the order of the factual; the being of fact is determined by the being of vocation (Lacoste 1994). 2) A redistribution of reasons then occurred, in which the concept of person has presided over a back-and-forth between anthropology and Trinitarian theology. On the one hand, a concept of person refined by intersubjective experience has served to project onto the mystery of God an insight acquired by the work of philosophical anthropology (e.g., Brunner 1976), and this has restored currency to the question of anthropomorphism* (see Jüngel 1990). On the other hand, notions developed to express divine life have been called on to serve (half descriptively, half prescriptively) to express the being of man. In hyperbolic formulations, J. Monchanin (1895–1957; fragmentary work scattered in *De l’esthétique à la mystique*, Paris, 1957; *Mystique de l’Inde, Mystère chrétien*, Paris, 1974; *Théologie et spiritualité missionnaire*, Paris 1985), for example, writes that “we have to live in circumincession with our brothers” (*TSM*, 37). Indeed: “There is... a profound analogy between human person and divine Person, *subsistent* relations.... Both are *esse alterius*.... Is this analogy not required by the creation of man *ad imaginem Dei*? What is deepest in him, the personality, cannot be *essentially* other in him than in God” (*TSM*, 55). 3) This intellectual climate thus made possible the program of a “Trinitarian ontology.” To the observation that “never in the history of Christianity did Christian specificity (*das unterscheidend Christ-*

liche) determine newly in a durable way the precomprehension of the meaning of being and the point of departure of ontology” (Hemmerle 1976), the reply was given that “if love is what remains, then the emphasis shifts from the same to the other, then it is movement... then it is relation that occupy the center” (ibid., 38). It has also been asserted that “communion constitutes life. Existence is an event of communion. The ‘cause’ of existence and the ‘source’ of life are not being in itself... it is the divine Trinitarian communion that personalizes being as an event of life” (C. Yannaras, *La liberté de la morale*, Geneva, 1982). The ecclesiology of communion is also fulfilled here: “If by nature the being of God is relational... should we not then conclude, almost inevitably, that given the final character of the being of God for every ontology, substance, insofar as it indicates the final character of being, can be conceived only as communion?” (Zizioulas 1985; see Lossky already in 1967).

The *imago Trinitatis* is consequently not only the secret of the human person, but purely and simply the secret of being, an argument defended in investigations begun by T. Haecker, followed by C. Kaliba (1952) (a student of Heidegger influenced by Siewerth), and including H.E. Hengstenberg (1940) (to whom we owe the formulation “Trinitarian metaphysics”). With Balthasar (1983) the theme is integrated into the general history of Christian concepts (summary in Oeing-Hanhoff 1984). H. Beck has provided the leitmotif for these investigations: “If every finite existent is a divine creation, and if this creation necessarily bears a resemblance to and a participation in its creator, then every existent is an image of the Trinity: *analogia entis ultimam est analogia trinitatis*” (*SJP* 25, 1980). It was also in the divine life—the Trinitarian life of absolute spirit—that C. Bruaire (1983), on the basis of a new reading of Hegel, saw the unfolding of a logic of the gift that revealed all the secrets of being (“ontodology”). 4) While remaining at a distance from these discussions and programs, Protestant theology has not, however, been entirely absent from them. Long suspicious of the lexicon of being, it has recently learned again how to use it. In the work of Ebeling (1979), it is indeed in the framework of an ontology of relation, and in order to provide a theological contribution to ontology, that theological anthropology thinks of the being-before-God, the “*coram* relation.” In Jüngel, the eschatological existence that the new man lives in faith is a mode of *being*, in the strict sense, and man is *ontologically* determined by the relation that makes him “hearer of a word* that essentially constitutes him” (1980). With entirely different philosophical tools, Dalferth works toward the same juncture of the reasons of being and the reasons of the *eschaton* (1984). Much

less dominated by the pathos of absolute otherness than were his early works, Barth’s *Dogmatik* already proposed more than one link between Trinitarian theology, Christology, and theological anthropology (see, e.g., Jüngel, *Barth-Studien*, ÖTh 9, 127–79, 210–45; see also Torrance 1996). And despite all its vagueness, the theory of the *new Being* proposed by Tillich (*Systematic Theology* 2: 78–96, 118–36, 165–80; 3: 138–60) in its way performed a similar service. A Catholicism that conceives of the relations between theology and philosophy more subtly, a Protestantism that is no longer afraid of philosophy, and an Orthodoxy* working toward the marriage of patristic thought with some modern themes—the three branches of Christianity now seem to be treating as a common task the development of a theological ontology.

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JEAN-YVES LACOSTE

See also **Aristotelianism; Christian; Communion; Eucharist; Nothingness; Philosophy; Platonism, Christian; Theology**

Bellarmino, Robert

1542–1621

a) Life. Francesco Roberto Bellarmino was born in Montepulciano, and was the nephew of Cardinal Cervini, who chaired the Council* of Trent* during several sessions and reigned as pope, under the name of Marcellus II, for a few weeks in 1555. The young Bellarmine joined the Society of Jesus in 1560, and after his studies at the Roman College he was entrusted with the charge of various commissions in Italy, where he revealed his talents as a poet and a preacher. Delegated to Louvain in the spring of 1569 in order to preach against the Protestants, he started there with the teaching of theology*.

It was the beginning of a long teaching career, with an inclination toward controversy. In fact, it was for teaching controversial matters to the English and German students that the fourth general of the Jesuits, Everard Mercurian, called him back to the Roman College in 1576. These controversial courses were published under the title *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei* in Ingolstadt in 1586–93 and in Venice in 1596. In 1589–90 Bellarmine accompanied Cardinal Henri Cajetan in France as theological counselor. He was appointed rector of the Roman College in 1592, and became the theologian of Clement VIII (1592–1605), who made him cardinal in 1599.

After a brief interval as archbishop of Capua (1602–5), Bellarmine came back for good to Rome*, where he was asked to conduct some complex and dangerous affairs for the papacy. They included an "Interdict" ruled by Paul V in 1606 against Venice, following some detrimental measures it had just taken against the church and the clergy; affairs regarding En-

gland in 1607–9 because of the oath imposed by King James I on all Catholics; the Gallican controversies of 1610–12, including the anonymous publication in 1609 of the *De potestate papae* by William Barclay; and Bellarmine's reply, in 1610, with the *De potestate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus* (see Gallicanism*). Bellarmine's functions at the Holy Office and his intellectual curiosity made him the privileged discussion partner of Galileo, who dedicated to him his discourse on floating objects (August 1612) and to whom he had to announce the condemnation of 1616.

In his late years, Bellarmine devoted himself to commentary on the Psalms*, *In omnes psalmos dilucida expositio* (Rome, 1611), and to the composition of treatises on piety, among which the most famous is the *De ascensione mentis in Deum* (Rome, 1615). He died almost an octogenarian in 1621. His posthumous fortunes are linked to the history of the Society of Jesus. The matter of his beatification, which started as early as 1627, was stopped and relaunched several times and did not come to a successful end until the 20th century (1923; canonization, 1930).

b) Works. The works of Bellarmine are surrounded by controversy, and so are closely associated to the circumstances of his life and to the needs of the church* at that time: among other things, Bellarmine was connected to the condemnation of Giordano Bruno in 1600 and to the trial of Thomas Campanella in 1603. Bellarmine's works revolve around two main areas: biblical criticism and ecclesiology*—along with the political philosophy* that is closely related to it. In the internal quarrels

on grace* Bellarmine's attitude was always moderate, both in Louvain with Baius and his disciples and in Rome, where in 1602 he dissuaded Clement VIII from engaging his authority in this matter (Bañezianism*). While the Society of Jesus endeavored to support the middle-course position of Luis de Molina's *Concordia* (1588), Bellarmine remained in the background, and he even had to intervene in 1614 to moderate the positions of his former student Leonard Lessius (1554–1623). The particular nature of Bellarmine's task often allowed him to propose compromises, when facing Protestant theologians, and a middle-of-the-road approach concerning the questions being disputed.

Regarding the sources of revelation*, in his *Controversia* (1590), Bellarmine underscores that the Word* of God* may be written or nonwritten. The first three of the work's four volumes are on *The Written Word of God*. Volume I covers the list of the canonical books, volume II examines the different versions and translations, and volume III is concerned with the elements of interpretation. With regard to biblical inspiration, Bellarmine opts for a position in favor of a simple *assistance* from the Holy* Spirit, and not for a direct and permanent *inspiration* of the Scriptures*. Bellarmine holds that God did not reveal himself in the Scriptures only, but also in traditions*. He then proceeds to carefully sort out divine, apostolic, and ecclesiastical traditions and those traditions touching on faith* and customs. Making distinctions among the traditions allows a better understanding of the criteria of validity and the degrees of authority* that come into play. Borrowing certain points from Augustine*'s treaty *De Doctrina Christiana*, Bellarmine establishes rules for a better distinction between the false traditions, which are to be discarded, and traditions that are really necessary for Revelation (*Controversia*, vol. IV, *The Unwritten Word of God*). As for the meanings of passages, Bellarmine asserts quite strongly that the judge of the Scriptures is the church.

The other point discussed is that of political power and of its relation to ecclesiastical power, in particular with the pope*'s (3a *Controversia*, *De summo pontifice*). Facing the Venetian, Anglican, and Gallican theologians, Bellarmine resorts to a fundamental political analysis: no civil authority can rightly claim a divine right. Rather, political power is dependent on the right of the people, and public officials should be chosen by the majority of the people, who can therefore modify the shape of the government. Things are different, however, in the ecclesiastical regime, which is divinely established like a monarchy tempered by the aristocracy (the bishops are real ministers* and princes in the particular churches*). The relationship between

the two authorities rests on their respective orders. Bellarmine borrows from tradition the thesis of an indirect authority held by the Roman pontiff (which is to be understood from its object, not from its mode), that allows him to intervene in temporal affairs, not directly in their quality as temporal, but when it is relevant to save or protect spiritual interests.

Bellarmino's doctrine on the relationship between political and ecclesiastical authority is based on an ecclesiology that revealed itself to be a determining factor in two ways. He defined the church as a *societas iuridice perfecta*, a juridically complete society* (Congar), since it possesses indeed its own aims, members capable of reaching those aims, and an authority* that ensures the relationship that makes them into a society. The lengthy and strong analyses made by Bellarmine were not merely of capital importance to post-Tridentine ecclesiology, but they also largely influenced modern political thought, mainly with those who, opposed to Bellarmine on the question of the relation between church* and state, have attempted to transfer Bellarmine's definition of the church onto the state itself (Hobbes, primarily).

A learned exegete aware of the intellectual responsibilities that fall on the shoulders of a Roman pontiff whose authority he exalted, Bellarmine showed the cautious side of his character at the beginning of Galileo's difficulties. Although in the anti-Protestant controversies he was anxious to protect the literal interpretation of the Bible, he was not an adversary of the new physics. In his letters to Federico Cesi, founder of the Academy of Lynxes, and to the Carmelite Foscarini (1615), a defender of Copernicus, he recommended proposing heliocentrism as a hypothesis (*ex suppositione*) and not in an absolute manner. The importance of his works and the positions he held make him the initiator of choice presented by the Society of Jesus, between Scholastics and "innovators," in the different realms of ecclesiology*, political philosophy*, exegesis*, and the new science.

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JEAN-ROBERT ARMOGATHE

See also **Augustinianism; Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Church and State; Ecclesiology; Gallicanism; Pope; Society**

Benedict of Nursia. *See* **Monasticism**

Berengarius of Tours. *See* **Eucharist**

Bernard of Chartres. *See* **Chartres, School of**

Bernard of Clairvaux

1090–1153

1. Life

Born at Fontaine-lès-Dijon, Bernard was a member of the Burgundian nobility. He received his first instruction from the canons of Saint-Vorles de Châtillon. In 1113, accompanied by his brothers and a number of his friends whom he had persuaded to accompany him, he

entered Cîteaux, the new monastery founded in 1098, to follow the Rule of Saint Benedict more strictly than was the case under traditional monasticism*. In 1115 he was sent out to found Clairvaux, of which he would be abbot until his death. The monastery developed very rapidly under his energetic leadership, and from

1118 on, other monastic foundations began to proliferate from it. During the first years of his abbacy Bernard enjoyed the friendship and teaching of William of Champeaux, founder of the Abbey of Saint-Victor and latterly bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, and was thus able to complete his intellectual training. He also befriended another William, the Benedictine abbot of Saint-Thierry, near Reims, with whom he studied the Song of Songs and the commentary on it by Origen. Bernard rapidly made a name for himself as a spiritual master. His written work, which he began around 1124 with the treatise *On the Degrees of Humility and Pride* and the homilies *Super missus est*, revealed from the outset a remarkable literary talent. He was to maintain this all his life with a variety of treatises, numerous liturgical sermons, the series of 86 *Sermons on the Song of Songs* (generally recognized as his masterpiece), and a correspondence of which more than 500 letters survive.

The extraordinary rise of the Cistercian order during the first half of the 12th century brought conflict with the monks of Cluny, and Bernard was forced to justify himself in the *Apology*. His desire for reform was not limited to monasticism, but extended to the life of the clergy and the bishops, and to the church as a whole. Bernard therefore found himself rapidly caught up in matters which were then troubling the church—in the affair of the schism of Anacletus, he took Innocent II's side and had him recognized as the rightful pope (1130–38)—and he was obliged to travel throughout Western Europe. In 1140, urged on by William of Saint-Thierry, he opposed Abelard and obtained his condemnation at the Council of Sens. He intervened again in 1148 at Reims against Gilbert de la Porrée (c. 1075–1154), though the latter was not condemned. In 1145 one of his disciples was elected pope under the name Eugenius III, and Bernard continued to advise him, in particular addressing to him the five letters which compose the treatise *De consideratione* (1148–52). Eugenius III sent him to the Languedoc to preach against the Cathars. It was again at Eugenius's behest that he preached the Second Crusade, for the failure of which he was held partly to blame.

Bernard died at Clairvaux on 20 August 1153. A controversial and much-criticized figure, though highly influential, he was widely considered a saint while he was still alive (it was in such terms that William of Saint-Thierry began to write his biography between 1145 and 1148), and was canonized in 1174. The 12th century was the golden age of the Cistercians, a monastic order distinguished by numerous writers of great literary, theological, and spiritual worth, all of whom had come under Bernard's influence. We will mention here only those who, along with

Bernard, have been called “the four evangelists of Cîteaux”: William of Saint-Thierry (c. 1075–1148), who forsook his abbacy and the Benedictine order in 1135 to become an ordinary Cistercian monk at Signy, Guerric d'Igny (1070?–1157), and Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–67). While they had a common doctrine, each presented it with an individual style and nuance, helping to make this century an exceptionally fruitful period.

2. A Monastic Theology

“Chimera of his age,” as he called himself (*Letter* 250, 4), adviser to popes, spiritual master—Bernard was all these, but was he a theologian? Since the appearance of Gilson's study (1934) this question seems to have been settled. Yet Bernard would probably have rejected the term for himself, since he uses the words *theologus* and *theologia* only with reference to Abelard and his work. While a few of his own writings, such as *Grace and Free Will*, *Letter* 77 on baptism, or Book V of *De consideratione* do have a clear theological content, many are devoted to monastic and spiritual instruction. It is this dual aspect of Bernard's work, however, which allows us to understand the special status of his thought. He never sets out to deal with theological questions for their own sake, but is always seeking how a meeting between humankind and God may take place. It is very much in this context that he comes to consider the relations within the Trinity or the Word's union with humanity in Christ. So in *De consideratione*, after asking himself five times in succession what God is, and replying in a variety of ways, he repeats the question and answers it thus: “What he is to himself, he alone knows” (V. 24). While he shows himself to be not insensitive to this kind of questioning, and even demonstrates some virtuosity in his handling of it, it is not his habitual register and he prefers to leave it alone. The final formula referred to above is more a nonanswer than an evocation of God's transcendence, since what interests Bernard is not the definition of the divine essence but the fact that God reveals himself as both an interlocutor with humanity and its final goal.

This fundamental tendency in Bernard's thought makes it impossible to distinguish the “theological” (speculative) element in his work from the spiritual or ascetic part. The *pro nobis* that is God's special characteristic keeps Bernard from becoming mired in speculation, and focuses his thoughts on mankind's turning—or turning back—toward God, a process that culminates in mystical and beatific union. Bernard's habitual concern is with the history of salvation in all its aspects. In this context he plays constantly on the twin identities of the “bride” spoken of in the Song

of Songs—she is at once the Church and the individual soul*—and hence comes to see the history of salvation as the history of all humanity. Knowing is an activity of tasting for oneself what one has discovered from God. Understood in these terms, theology* involves not only anthropology* and the liturgy*, but also asceticism*, obedience, and so on. It is only authentic when put into practice, and in such a way as to bring about an increase in charity. The theologian is not, therefore, one who has studied under eminent teachers, but the one who allows himself to be taught by the Holy* Spirit itself in the course of his daily work, as Bernard wrote to Aelred of Rievaulx—in other words, he who has experienced God’s goodness and can thus evoke that experience in his readers or listeners (*Letter* 523). In this way a return is possible to the early sense of *theologian*, which is to be encountered especially in monastic literature and in particular in the work of Evagrius Ponticus (c. 345–99). In order to distinguish it from the academic variety, theology of this kind is referred to as “monastic theology,” by which is meant a theology based on experience* (Leclercq 1957; Gastaldelli in *Aci*, 1990, 25–63)—a practical theology encompassing the whole of existence (Hardelin 1987).

3. Teachings

a) Humility. In his first work, *The Degrees of Humility and Pride*, Bernard defines three degrees of truth*: humility, charity, and contemplation*. The primary impetus of that theology which strives after union with God is anthropological. It consists of self-knowledge: in other words, knowledge of one’s own nothingness*. Man is only a creature. While he is superior to the animals, who lack reason*, he is inferior to the angels*. Above all, he has failed to maintain his original state, and that failure has estranged him both from God and from himself, placing him in a “region of difference.” It is through humility that he may return to himself and achieve self-knowledge, stripping himself of everything with which pride has covered him. Humility is therefore the first degree of truth because it allows one to know what one is: nothing. “When I did not yet know the truth, I believed that I was something, while in fact I was nothing” (*Humility* IV, 15). Elsewhere Bernard emphasizes the “miracle” that is man, this being in whom opposites meet: reason* and death, nothing and something—or better, nothing and something great, since God magnifies this nothing. But even as it leads man back to himself, humility is already leading him back to God, too. Indeed, the humble man, who is only himself, renounces the possession of something unique to himself that would define him; and by abandoning all *proprium*, he opens in himself the space in

which God can act. Humility leads back to the pure form in which man was created. Man is nothing (in his own right) because his being* is to be the image and likeness of God. He fulfills himself in this openness to God.

From here it can be seen what direction Bernard’s Christology* will take. The Word is both that which gave man his form, in the beginning, and that which now re-forms him in the image of Jesus Christ. The Word is a constant mediator between God and man, both as an image of the divine substance and as an example of perfect humility. Bernard firmly insists upon the exemplary nature of Christ’s humanity. But he points out that Christ did not come solely to offer an example to be followed (as he criticizes Abelard for saying): he is in himself the Savior. He is not merely the way and the truth, he is also the life: “Great indeed, and most necessary, is the example of humility, great and deserving of welcome is the example of charity, but neither one nor the other has any foundation, nor in consequence any solidity, if redemption is lacking. With all my strength I wish to follow the humble Jesus*; I wish to kiss him, to render love* for love to him who has loved me and given himself for me, but I must also eat the Paschal lamb” (*Against the Errors of Abelard* 25). Much has been said (admittedly largely on the basis of ill-attributed texts) of the devotion of Bernard and the Cistercians to Christ’s humanity. But it has not always been noticed what lies at the root of this devotion: the restoration of the image and likeness, understood as a reformation—in other words, as a conformation to him who is the true Image. Man’s salvation, from this point, proceeds by way of participation in Christ’s Passion* and the cross. Following the Epistle to the Romans, Bernard sees this participation as fulfilled in baptism*, and then in monastic profession understood as a second baptism (*On Precept and Dispensation* XVII, 54).

Liturgy* plays an essential role here in that it represents the various moments of the life of Christ by means of monstration and actualization (“Just as in a sense he is sacrificed again each day when we proclaim his death, so he seems to be born again when we have visualized [*repraesentavimus*] his birth with faith”; *Sermon* 6 for the Christmas Vigil, 6); and this act of making present in turn implies imitation*. Aelred of Rievaulx would develop this theme at more length.

b) Charity. “Our Savior wished to suffer so as to be able to sympathize, to become unfortunate so as to learn to be merciful, in order that, just as it is written of him” (Heb 5:8). “So might he also learn mercy*. Not that he did not know beforehand how to be merciful,

but what he had known by nature through all eternity*, he now learned within time* through experience” (*Humility* III, 6). Because it is the divine act which truly takes account of human suffering and death, the Incarnation* therefore exemplifies a charity that is the second degree of truth. Charity can be attained only under the influence of the Spirit, which purifies the will and enables mankind to persevere in its conversion*. The pinnacle of charity is the fusion of man’s will with that of God—a fusion in which the reality of love is clearly manifest. The theme of the prescription of charity is central to Bernard and the other Cistercians. This is especially so for Aelred, who approaches it in his *Mirror of Charity* with the image of the “three Sabbaths*,” which stand for three progressive loves: love of self, love of one’s neighbor, and love of God. In his *Spiritual Friendship*, Aelred further describes the progress from friendship with one’s neighbor to friendship with God.

c) *Contemplation*. The third degree of truth represents humanity’s realization of its destiny: union with God. But is this *unitas spiritus* equivalent to the union of Father* and Son in the Trinity*? Bernard refuses to make this identification (*On the Song* 71), but William of Saint-Thierry and Aelred maintain it, and in doing so propose a daring theology of deification (sanctity, in Bernard’s terms). Such an identification is possible when the Spirit “becomes in its own way, for man’s relationship with God, exactly what it is, in consubstantial* unity, for the Son’s relationship with the Father or for the Father’s with the Son; . . . when in an ineffable, inconceivable manner the man of God deserves to become, not God, but what God is: man becomes by grace what God is by nature*” (William, *Letter* 263). Mystical phenomena such as ecstasy anticipate the eternal union of God and man. But the latter is already encountered in much more frequent experiences—daily even, according to Bernard—in which the individual person is visited by the Word or the Spirit. This leads Bernard (followed by Gueric d’Igny and Aelred) to posit an intermediate advent of Christ between his coming in the flesh and his coming in glory*. This second advent consists of the indwelling of the Trinity* in man, and is more beneficial than the first advent since, according to Bernard, Christians should not restrict themselves to contemplating Christ’s humanity, but go beyond knowledge* “according to the flesh*,” which is normally the preserve of the novice. This striving toward something beyond Christ’s flesh is expressed by the recurring quotation in Lamentations 4:20, “Under his shadow we shall live among the nations,” where “shadow” denotes the incarnation. Christ’s flesh thus has a didactic value to those who are still “carnal” or

children (*On the Song* 20, 6–7; William, *Oration* X), who recognize in it the nearness of God and who rely on it to convert their desire. So Bernard and William, but above all Aelred, do not hesitate to put imagination into the service of meditation.

It should be added that the three degrees of truth are implicated in one, and in particular that the exercise of charity is already a union with God and may be presented as an anticipation of eschatology. This would at least be so in the case of William and Aelred, although rather than anticipation, for them, it is more a matter of a temporality governed by what Gregory* of Nyssa termed *epektasis*, an infinite progression toward union with God. Moreover, the practical and the contemplative life are intimately connected, and for this reason the principle of union is man’s conformation to Christ (“I am united when I am conformed”; *On the Song* 71). Bernard’s mysticism* is inseparably spousal and communitarian.

d) *A Theological Aesthetic*. The idea of form is central to Bernard, and by extension it is able to express the central tenets of Cistercian thought: humanity being alienated from God in the land of unlikeness (deformation), redemption (reformation), and the life of conversion (conformation) that leads to union with God. At the heart of this process is the notion of Christ as the creating and re-creating Form. The same category, furthermore, serves to express the truth of everything that is, in other words the appropriateness of each thing to its form, and hence the beauty* (*formositas*, *species*) of each thing. Bernard rails against “the deformed beauty and beautiful deformity” (*deformis formositas ac formosa deformitas*) of the sculptures in some cloisters (*Apology* XII, 29); and the austerity of Cistercian architecture* was an attempt to convey only the purity of form. Everything that obscures form distances us from truth and similarly from beauty. In general terms, “he is wise for whom things have the taste of what they are” (*Miscellaneous Sermons* 18, 1). The concept of form also guides the whole quest for simplicity characteristic of the monastic and Cistercian ideal, and leads Bernard and his disciples to talk of the beauty of the saints. Only humility transforms the individual being into a theophany*.

e) *Mariology*. While Bernard has the reputation of being a “Marian doctor,” he owes this largely to texts that have been wrongly attributed to him. He is in any case against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin (*Letter* 174), and says nothing on the subject of her bodily assumption (Amadeus of Lausanne [c. 1110–59] and Aelred were the first two Cistercians to maintain the latter doctrine). But while he

talks less about Mary* than others do, he remains nonetheless one of her most inspired eulogists.

f) *Sources.* Bernard's main source, and that of his disciples, is Scripture*. All their works are steeped in it. To Scripture are added the Latin Fathers*, especially Augustine* and Gregory* the Great. The influence of the Greek Fathers remains controversial except for that of Origen, which is undisputed. Ancient monastic literature, such as Cassian, the *Vitae Patrum* and so on, represents another important source.

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PHILIPPE NOUZILLE

See also **Abelard, Peter; Beauty; Love; Mary; Monasticism; Mysticism**

Bernard Sylvester. *See* Chartres, School of

Bérulle, Pierre de

1575–1629

a) *Life.* Pierre de Bérulle was born on 4 February 1575 at the castle of Sérilly, in the province of Champagne, to a family that belonged to the *noblesse de robe* owing to its role in the magistracy. He received his early schooling at the *collège* of Boncourt, then at the *collège* of Bourgogne, and finally, from 1590 on, with the Jesuits at the *collège* of Clermont. When he

returned to his mother's home he came into contact with the circle of devout individuals around his cousin Marie Acarie (1566–1618), Benet of Canfield (1562–1610), Father Coton (1564–1626), Michel de Marillac (1563–1632) and Pacifique de Souzy. The following year Bérulle he gave up his law* studies and turned instead to the study of theology* at the *collège*

of Clermont, then at the Sorbonne, since the Jesuits had been expelled from the kingdom. He was ordained priest* in 1599 and appointed king's chaplain. In that capacity he assisted Du Perron (1556–1618), bishop* of Évreux and future cardinal, at the Conference of Fontainebleau (4 May 1600), against the protestant Du Plessis Mornay (1549–1623), author of the *Traité sur l'Eucharistie* (1598) in which he attacked the doctrine of the real presence and identified the pope* as the Antichrist. The broad culture of the young Pierre de Bérulle made him, on that occasion, a polemicist of great value. In 1602, after showing some hesitation about joining the Society of Jesus, he devoted his energies to the reform of Catholic institutions in France. Bérulle was active in the coming to France of the Carmelites, recently reformed by Teresa of Avila (1515–82). He remained, until his death, their Father Superior and their Perpetual Visitor. By imposing on the Carmelites of Châlons (1615) a vow of servitude to Mary*, Bérulle started a violent conflict with the Carmelites, who attempted in vain to take over the government of the nuns. The spiritual renewal of France required also a profound reform of the clergy. In 1611, at the request of the bishop of Paris, Bérulle founded the Oratory of Jesus, a society of priests following the model of the Oratory of Philippe Néri (1515–95). The Oratorians put themselves at the disposal of the ordinaries (local bishops) while remaining exempt juridically. They did not take religious vows. Like the Jesuits, they took on the management of colleges more often than parishes or seminaries. Bérulle was also a diplomat. In 1619 he forced the queen mother, who had fled to Angoulême, to make peace with Louis XIII, and in 1624 he obtained from Urban VIII (1623–44) the required dispensations for the marriage* of Henrietta of France, the king's sister, to the future king of England, Charles I. Being pro-Spanish, Bérulle came into conflict with Richelieu's policy, which favored an alliance with England, and he thus fell from grace. Urban VIII made him cardinal in 1627. He died on 1 October 1629.

b) *Writings.* *Bref discours sur l'abnégation intérieure* (1597); *Traité des énergumènes* (1599); *Trois discours de controverses (sur la mission des pasteurs*, le sacrifice* et la présence réelle)* (1609); *Discours de l'état et de la grandeur de Jésus* (1623); *Vie de Jésus* (1629); *Élévation à Jésus-Christ Notre-Seigneur sur la conduite de son esprit et de sa grâce vers Madeleine* (1627); *Opuscules de piété (OP)*; *Lettres*. These works were published by Bourgoing in 1644.

c) *Theological Ideas.* The path followed by Bérulle's thought took him from a theology of the insignificance

of creatures to a christological anthropology*, via a meditation on the humanity of Jesus*. Bérulle's first work was the *Bref discours de l'abnégation intérieure*. He took inspiration from the *Breve compendio intorno a la perfezione cristiana* composed by Isabelle Bellinzaga, most probably under the guidance of the Jesuit Father Gagliardi (1538–1607). Already discernible here is one of Bérulle's fundamental notions: Christian perfection consists in driving away by means of *abnegation* the self-love that forms an obstacle to the love* of God*; and the double foundation of that abnegation is the inseparable knowledge* of God and of oneself. Consciousness of the greatness of God, a consciousness of having no existence by oneself but only according to the manner of a created being, and finally, a consciousness that the creature cannot concern itself with its Creator without admitting hyperbolically that this creature himself exists according to the manner nothingness* rather than on that of being*: all this produces abnegation and makes it the gate through which spiritual experience* must find its way. One must indeed “consent to one's origin,” and human beings cannot have recollection of their creation, cannot accept what they are before God, without denying or renouncing whatever gives them the appearance of being: that is, without rooting themselves in an essential nothingness.

The theme of annihilation thus brings Bérulle close to Benet of Canfield, an Englishman converted from Anglicanism*, who had already suggested that it was by means of annihilation that human beings pass from natural to supernatural* existence. There is, undoubtedly, a difference of emphasis: with Canfield, the annihilation is effected through meditation on the suffering Christ* and through exterior actions*, whereas in Bérulle we do not as yet find the explicit reference to Christ. In any case, however, it is via Canfield that Bérulle found a language and overtones close to the *Théologie mystique* by Harphius (1400–1477), to Ruusbroec (1393–1481), and to Alphonse de Madrid (†1535).

Proceeding from a thoroughly Augustinian acknowledgment of the nothingness of man, Bérulle next concentrated on a second annihilation, the divine kenosis* of Philippians 2:6–11. Then came the major discovery, brought about by the *Audi filia* (1574) of John of Avila (1499–1569): if the humanity of Jesus has its “subsistence” in God's Word*, this means that it does not have its subsistence in a human being*. The anhypostasis* of the humanity of Christ thus gives the example of the most radical type of abnegation, a self-denial lodged in the very core of the human being. The aim of spiritual life became then, for Bérulle, a matter of living one's “servitude” in the image of Christ the

“slave,” taking part in the *morphè doulou*. Received as a grace*, while at the same time being integrated into a logic of choice, servitude is both ontologically revealing and offers a pattern for actual living. Man is nothingness striving toward nothingness (Duns* Scotus). “We have nothing, if not our nothingness and our sin” (*Collationes*, Sept. 1615), and sin is “a second nothingness that is worse than the first” (*OP*, 228). Ratifying in servitude, however, what makes the creature (and a fortiori the sinning creature) a nothingness rather than a being is paradoxically the experience that allows man to remain a being; and that experience speaks the double language of a theology of Creation* and a theology of Incarnation*.

Bérulle does not approach the Incarnation by the path of imagination, but rather via the divine idea, closer to the Platonic thought of the Rhineland*-Flemish mystics. Following Gabriel Biel (1425–95), Benet of Canfield’s *Rule of Perfection* (1593) defined the spiritual* life with a maxim: the will of God is God himself. Bérulle was consistent with this tradition. According to him, in fact, the possession of God happens through knowledge of his will, and knowledge of the divine will is carried out in the renunciation of self-will. Henceforth, the Incarnation, that “divine invention” whereby God has mysteriously joined the created and the uncreated, reveals the ultimate meaning of such a renunciation. The secret of this “new mystery” is, in fact, “the destitution that the humanity of Jesus* feels in renouncing its own and ordinary subsistence in order to be clad in a foreign and extraordinary subsistence... what is renounced is the divine subsistence, the actual Person of the Son” (*Grandeurs* II, X). So the logic of nothingness and abnegation is not nihilistic. On the contrary, it is the logic of a greater real intimacy between Creator and creature.

On the *motive* of Incarnation, Bérulle’s Christology* fluctuates between the views of Duns Scotus and Thomas* Aquinas. The Scotist thesis stated that Incarnation would have taken place even if man had not sinned; Bérulle’s early writings did in fact frequently present Christ as completion; the idea was also the underlying theme of Christ as the “true worshipper” (*OP*, 190). At the time of *Grandeurs* (1620), however, Bérulle’s emphasis was on the theme “for our salvation*” (the *propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem* of the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople), and he thus aligned himself with the Thomist position: the Incarnation is first of all considered a work of salvation*. From the Trinitarian decree of the Incarnation (“the will of God to send his Son on earth”), Bérulle’s contemplation* of the mystery* of Christ went next to the “being of Jesus... who offered himself”: the Christology of the Incarnation then opened out into a Chris-

tology of sacrifice*, all the more necessary since the sacrifice of the cross was already entirely present at the moment of the Incarnation (Heb 10:5). And because the sacrifice offered by Christ was indicative, to the highest degree, of him being the “monk of God,” Bérulle’s Christology led to a real sacerdotal anthropology, allowing the creation of a theology of priesthood that sustained for a long time the post-Tridentine clergy.

The “mysteries of Jesus” developed as a new theme. After the solemnity of Jesus (1615), Bérulle initiated a feast celebrating “Jesus among men” (1625), in which a sacred court gravitated around Christ, composed of the saints who were closest to him during his “itinerant” life: the Virgin Mary*, the Apostles*, Mary Magdalene, John the Baptist. In 1615 Bérulle drew all the possible spiritual consequences from a Chalcedonian and post-Chalcedonian Christology of the nonsubsistence of the humanity of Christ, whereas in 1625 he was primarily contemplating God made man in all the concrete relations he had entered into with humanity. From the substance of mystery, Bérulle went on to its economy. This shift gives the clearest indication of his change from a Scotist perspective to a Thomist one.

The Incarnation, therefore, inaugurates a new type of relationship with God, expressed through the servitude of Christ himself, and expressed also in an exemplary manner by Mary, who supplied Bérulle with a model. Servitude is “essential” for Bérulle because it achieves a just relationship between God and creature, between “being and nothingness”; and that is why the upholding of being can be truly real in human beings only in the “substance in Jesus” (*OP*, 226). The man Jesus, in perfect abnegation, does not subsist in himself but in the Word. Likewise, human beings must subsist in God with Jesus: “Man is sanctified outside of himself” (*OP*, 244). Bérulle said also, in Johannine* terms, that one must subsist in Jesus as Jesus subsists in the Father*. And in terms closer to Thomas Aquinas he also spoke of relation, of “relation toward” Jesus (*OP*, 249). The notion of “cohesion” means, in this context, voluntary adhesion to the Son, subsistence in him.

Bérulle’s influence was considerable, first of all on the Oratorians: on Charles de Condren (1588–1641), for example, who developed the Berullian notion of the sacrifice and abnegation of Christ in the Eucharist*; and on Guillaume Gibieuf (1580–1650), who continued with the Marian devotion of the founder of the Oratory. Carmelites such as Madeleine de Saint-Joseph (1578–1637) also felt Bérulle’s influence, as did important figures such as Vincent de Paul (1581–1660), who learned from him the role of the priest as being at the service of all, and Jean Duvergier

de Hauranne (1581–1643) (Jansenism*). Bérulle's theology of the priesthood* had an impact on seminaries run by the Eudists, the Lazarists, and the priests of Saint-Sulpice, which had been founded by Monsieur Olier (1608–57). At the beginning of the century, Henri Bremond, referring to Bérulle, spoke of a “French school” of spirituality. Today, the notion of a Berullian school is preferred.

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See also Anhypostasy; Carmel; Descartes, René; Devotio moderna; Nothingness; Platonism, Christian; Priesthood

Bible

Jews and Christians give the whole of their sacred writings the name of Bible, from the Greek *biblia*, meaning “books*.” The Jews traditionally give their 24 holy books the name of *Tanakh*, which is an acronym of *Torah* (Law*), *Nevi'im* (Prophets*), *Ketuvim* (Writings). The Christian Bible consists of the Old Testament—39 books in the Protestant canon* (the same books as in the Jewish Scriptures, though differently divided) plus seven deuterocanonical books in the Catholic canon—and the 27 books of the New Testament. At the beginning of our era, despite their common origin, Samaritans, Jews, and Christians did not have the same collections of books for their Holy* Scriptures. The present notion of the Bible, a fixed list of books, with the codex showing them in a well-determined order, did not really appear until the third or fourth century. What the New Testament calls “the Scriptures” is the Old Testament. The term *New Testament* (*testament* or *covenant**, Greek *diathèkè*) comes from the prediction by Jeremiah of a “new covenant”

(Jer 31:31–34). The pair Old Testament/New Testament has its origin in the fact the Christians repeated Jeremiah's prophecy* (*see* 1 Cor 11:25; Lk 22:20; 2 Cor 3:5–14; Heb 8:7–13, 9:15, and 12:24).

1. Old Testament

At the beginning of our era, the order of the biblical books was, as follows, for the rabbis: Pentateuch, Prophets (Former and Latter), Writings; for the Christians, following the Septuagint and Vulgate translations: Pentateuch, Historical Books, Books of Wisdom*, Prophets. The final spot thus assigned to the Prophets was due to the belief in the fulfillment, by Christ*, of their oracles (Scripture*, fulfillment of).

The composition of the Old Testament is spread out over the first millennium B.C. The main Hebrew manuscripts that served as sources for the modern translations go back to the 10th and 11th centuries. Some earlier translations (essentially the Septuagint, a work done by Jews whose language was Greek,

second century B.C.), as well as the Hebrew and Aramean biblical texts from Qumran (first century B.C.) and other sites, have confirmed the essential fidelity of the Hebrew textual tradition.

A large part of the Old Testament is made up of works of great length, in which the main periods of the history* of Israel* are reflected, and in which it is possible to distinguish the following periods: the period of the Twelve Tribes (or the period of the Judges, or the Pre-Monarchical period, c. 1220 B.C.–1020 B.C.); the United Monarchy (Saul, David, and Solomon); the Divided Monarchy (c. 922 B.C.–587 B.C.), with the Northern Kingdom of Israel (c. 922 B.C.–721 B.C.) and the Southern Kingdom of Judah (c. 922 B.C.–587 B.C.); the Babylonian Exile (587 B.C.–539 B.C.); the postexilic period, or period of the Second Temple*, also called Persian period (539 B.C.–333 B.C.); the Hellenistic period (333 B.C.–63 B.C.); and, finally, the Roman period, starting in 63 B.C.

The last edition of the major literary series is now generally believed to date from the period of the Second Temple, but the core of these works is older; it grew as a response to historical events.

a) Pentateuch. The history proper of Israel started with the conquest of Canaan, c. 1220 B.C. National identity started then, with the help of an oral narrative: the God of nations and of Israel (universalism*) created the world (creation*), called the patriarchs, and made their descendants, the Hebrews, go from slavery in Egypt to his service in Canaan. The anomalies that do not allow attributing authorship of the Pentateuch to Moses were accounted for, starting in the 18th century, but it was not until the 19th century, above all in Germany, that there appeared the hypotheses that classified the sources according to their period. The most famous of their proponents was Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918). More recent scholarship has not invalidated his reconstruction of the Bible's history, which still serves as a basis for numerous research endeavors. Wellhausen presented his findings as follows:

A first narrative was written in prose at the time of the United Monarchy, from a monarchical point of view. It is known as the J, or Yahwist, source because it singles out YHWH, or Yahweh (*Jahweh* in German), as a divine name*. One century later, there was another version in the Northern Kingdom, the E (Elohist) source, which favors the divine name of Elohim. That source is now often considered to be a mere supplement of J. Finally, J and E were combined and gradually completed. The Pentateuch reached its present state during the exile, thanks most probably to a third source, the P, or priestly, source, which added some

material made up of laws and archives while reorganizing the previous traditions.

The conclusion of the five books of the Torah, leaving the Israelites in the plains of Moab, at the doorstep of Canaan, of which they had not yet taken possession, was adapted particularly for people living in exile. However, in spite of all the additions brought about during four centuries, the basic pattern of the Pentateuch was still faithful to the first narrative: Creation of the world, election of Israel, liberation from Egypt, serving God in the Promised Land.

b) Historical Books. The fifth book of the Pentateuch, Deuteronomy or “Second Law,” is independent from sources J, E, and P, and stands out somehow from the narrative rhythm of the first four, which it concludes, for it is connected to the Book of Numbers (Dt 1–3). In its latest form, it presents four speeches addressed by Moses to Israel as the people are getting ready to cross the Jordan River and enter Canaan. The core of the book is said to be, according to many critics, Deuteronomy 5–26, in other words the “Book of Law” discovered in 622 B.C. by King Josiah, who made it the basis of his reform (2 Kgs 22–23). While concluding the Pentateuch, Deuteronomy connects it to the part of history that came later. That “Deuteronomist” part of history (Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings) stretches from the time of Moses (13th century B.C.) to the death of King Josiah (609 B.C.); it emphasizes the Sinai Covenant (Mount Sinai is called “Horeb” in this version) and the Davidic Covenant. Obeying the word of YHWH brings about the blessings* promised by the Covenant, whereas disobedience brings about curses, in particular the loss of the Promised Land.

A resumption of older traditions thus ended up with a unified whole, most likely in two steps. There was first a narrative dating back to the seventh century to support Josiah's reform. That narrative presents Josiah as the worthy successor of Moses and David. A revision (at the latest in 561 B.C., the date when Joachin was given a reprieve by the king of Babylon) adapted the text for the somber reality of the exile (2 Kgs 21:10–15 and 23:25b–25:30). The Book of Chronicles is more recent; it covers approximately the same span of time as the earlier books, but the dominant point of view is the reconstruction of the Second Temple, after the exile. Esdras and Nehemiah, which also date back to the fifth or fourth century B.C., although most probably from another author, extend the Book of Chronicles to the Persian period. Facing Hellenization, 1 and 2 Maccabees (deuterocanonical books) tell the story of the successes of the Jews' resistance and of the unforeseen turn of events in the seizure of power. The First

Book of the Maccabees uses again the narrative patterns of Joshua's conquests; the Second Book thematizes the theological interpretation of the conflict. All these works, dating back to the period of the Second Temple, often resort to the process of systematically rereading and reusing expressions, images, and patterns borrowed from earlier narrations.

c) The Wisdom Literature. The Song of Solomon, a collection of love* poems, is part of this literature and is attributed to Solomon, the sage par excellence (see Song 1:1, 3:7, 3:9, 3:11, and 8:11). These works represent literary* genres that are well known in Middle-Eastern court literature—instructions given by a father to his sons, dialogues on justice* and suffering, royal autobiographies, essays in verse—but they all bear the mark of faith in YHWH, the God of Israel. Except for the Wisdom of Sirach (written c. 200 B.C.–175 B.C.), it is possible only to speculate about the dates of the Books of Wisdom*, since they do not make reference to history. A great part of the Book of Proverbs is from a preexilic period; Job, with the trauma of exile as its background text, is from the sixth century; Ecclesiastes corresponds well to the crisis caused by the Hellenistic ideas of the third century B.C.; finally, the Wisdom of Solomon dates from the first century B.C.

It is usual to classify the 150 Psalms* in the same category of works. Through the conventions of their form (corresponding to their liturgical use) the depth of human sensitivity expresses itself. A good third of the Psalms are individual laments; the remaining psalms fall into the categories of community laments, hymns, expressions of thanksgiving, royal psalms, and canticles from Zion.

d) The Prophets. The prophets, who were said to be active “writers” under the Divided Monarchy, during the Exile, and during the Restoration (c. 750–450 B.C.) are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel (the four “major” prophets), and Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (the “minor” Prophets, this adjective being used on account of the brevity of their surviving texts). The Lamentations, traditionally attributed to Jeremiah, are a collection of liturgical pieces devoted to the ruin of the Temple. These books contain the constant themes present from the eighth century on in prophetic predication: the apostasy of Israel brought about the breaking off of the first relation that united God and his people; the judgment* of God, which will be executed by human agents (pagan nations); and, finally, the reestablishment of the Jewish people on its land—this last theme becoming more

marked and definitely clearer after the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of 587.

The words and actions of the prophets were recorded in books, sometimes with narratives, that were developed in such a way that they would be applicable to Israel at all times. As a consequence, the books were often revised and augmented with prophecies from a time subsequent to that of the prophet whose name they bear. The deuterocanonical Baruch is a reflection on the meaning of exile and of the restoration of Israel.

e) Other Writings. Some books can hardly be considered to belong to one of the preceding four categories. They are brief narrations composed with art (Ruth, Esther, and the deuterocanonical Tobit and Judith), whose heroes are exemplary individuals, rather than rulers, and are often women (woman*). With the possible exception of Ruth (which is significant for David's genealogy), these narratives date from the Second Temple.

The last impetus of literary fertility in the Old Testament arose from the Jewish resistance to the Seleucid tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.–164 B.C.). The book of Daniel bears the name of its hero, whom it places during the Babylonian Exile (to be decoded as “Seleucid domination”). The visions of Daniel 7–12 constitute the first upsurge, in the Old Testament, of an apocalypse in the full sense of the word. These texts give the people of the Almighty and Daniel's party the assurance of victory and of eternal* life. This literary genre, already announced in Ezekiel, Isaiah 24–27 and 40–66, and Zechariah, reaches its peak with the first Judaism* and the New Testament.

2. New Testament

The four Gospels*, the Acts of the Apostles*, the 13 Pauline Letters, the Letter to the Hebrews, the seven so-called catholic, or universal, letters, and the Revelation to John—these are the 27 Books of the New Testament. They were all written in Greek (the Greek of the *koinè*), around the Mediterranean, between A.D. 50 and the beginning of the second century. The oldest written documents are fragments of papyrus from the second and third centuries. The oldest of the documents that are complete are written on parchment, and are spread out from the fourth to the ninth centuries.

a) Letters of Paul. The seven “authentic” letters of Paul (in other words, those whose attribution is not contested) are the oldest documents of the New Testament, even though they do mention earlier Christian traditions (e.g., Rom 1:3–4, 3:25–26; 1 Cor 15: 3–4; Phil 2:6–11; and Gal 3:28). Paul wrote these letters

when he was performing his duties as pastor* and theologian, and so they fit the situations in the communities that he had founded or knew.

In the First Letter to the Thessalonians (A.D. 51–52), Paul reestablishes friendly relations with the community and speaks up on various subjects, above all on the “second coming” of Christ. In the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul says that Christians who have converted from paganism* do not have to conform to such Jewish observances as circumcision. The First Letter to the Corinthians gives the apostle’s opinion on the divisions in the community, on a case of incest, on trials, on marriage* and virginity, on the food offered to idols, on the assembly of the community, and on resurrection*. The Letter to the Philippians and the Second Letter to the Corinthians have as their themes the attacks endured by Paul in the course of his ministry*, financial problems, life after death*, and the obstacles brought against Gentile Christians by the Judeo-Christian missionaries. The Letter to Philemon is a petition addressed to the head of a Christian family to have him greet, once more, in his home, Onesimus, his runaway slave. The Letter to the Romans (A.D. 58), the last and longest of Paul’s letters, teaches that both Jews and Gentiles have equal need for the justice* of God to be revealed to them in Christ; it teaches that faith* is what gives access to the benefits of this revelation*, that the death and Resurrection of Jesus have brought freedom* (liberation from sin*, from death, and from law*) and make life possible according to the Spirit, that the rejection of the gospel by Israel is neither total nor definitive, that the tensions between “strong” and “weak” in the community may find a resolution inspired by the pattern of the future reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles.

b) Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. The first three Gospels are called “synoptic” because it is possible to draw parallels among their respective versions on the life, death, and Resurrection of Jesus. The patristic tradition’s claims that the four Evangelists were eyewitnesses to the events they were relating are not, in all likelihood, very plausible. The Evangelists most probably worked on the basis of written traditions and perhaps oral ones. Writing shortly before or shortly after the destruction of the Second Temple (A.D. 70), and within a climate of imminent or present persecution, Mark was the first one to make use of the traditions that reported on the teaching of Jesus (including parables*, controversies, and proverbs), on his healing* powers, and on his Passion*. Mark gives his writings the form of an unbroken narrative, in which Jesus appears as a master, a healer, and a suffering Messiah*. The narrative stops suddenly at 16:8. In 16:9–20, the Gospel of Mark is an abstract of some accounts of ap-

paritions borrowed from the other Gospels (second century). In about A.D. 90 Matthew and Luke seem to have made use (independently of each other) of the Gospel of Mark, a collection of *logia* or “pronouncements” by Jesus called the Q Source (from the German *Quelle*, or “source”), and some other traditions.

Matthew tries to show to his community, where the Judeo-Christian element was dominant, that God’s promises to Israel have been realized with the coming of Jesus, and that it is the permanent presence of Christ that henceforth must found the existence of the people of God.

Luke addresses his Gospel (and the Acts of the Apostles) to Theophilus (meaning “friend of God”), who may have been either a real person or a typical reader. For the use of Gentile Christians, Luke presents the ministry* of Jesus (prophet, martyr, and role model) as a new era in the history of salvation*, and the Twelve Apostles as the link between Jesus and the Church* led by the Spirit.

John brings in a chronology and different characters; he puts long speeches in Jesus’ mouth. This fourth Gospel is the outcome of a whole process in the Johannine “school,” bearing the traces of independent sources, including the hymn of John 1:1–18, a series of seven “signs,” the farewell speech, and the Passion narrative. The moment when the Christian Jews were expelled from the synagogues was perhaps the opportunity to write it up in its final version (*see* Jn 9:22, 12:42, and 16:2). The essential mission* of the Johannine Jesus is to reveal his divine Father*. Far from being a defeat, the cross represents the exaltation of Jesus, the “hour” toward which all his life and all his teaching were aiming, the beginning of eternal life for the believers.

The Acts of the Apostles is a continuation of the Gospel of Luke and is by the same author. Acts is devoted to the activities of Peter* and Paul, and relates the spreading of the gospel from Jerusalem* to Rome* under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Luke has a tendency to idealize the life of the Christian community and presents a portrait of Paul that is different from the one found in Paul’s own letters. Luke wants to show that, in spite of the opposition to which they are subjected by the Jews and the pagans, the Christians do not represent a political threat for the Romans, and they never ceased to be guided by the Spirit.

c) Deutero-Pauline Letters. There are six letters that are traditionally attributed to Paul, but whose attribution is contested to varying degrees. The historical context of these letters is from around the year 100. Their authors—admirers, or perhaps disciples, of Paul—wished to keep his spirit alive and to respond to new situations in the way he would have done so him-

self, or in the way he ought to have responded, according to them. Pseudepigraphy was, at the time, a common and accepted practice.

The Second Letter to the Thessalonians recommends caution regarding the speculations on the Parousia* and their consequences on the evaluation of human activity. The Letter to the Colossians stresses the unique fulfillment of the new life that only Christ can bring to us. The Letter to the Ephesians, which assimilated the substance of the Letter to the Colossians, develops the main Pauline themes and sets forth the designs of God: the Gentiles are now part of the people of God, in equal terms with the Judeo-Christians, in a quasi-preexistent Church. The Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Timothy and Titus) give instructions on ecclesiastical life and discipline, and exhort the Christians to practice the virtues* that are appropriate for good citizens of the Roman Empire.

d) Other Letters. Intended for the Judeo-Christians who lose their courage, the Letter to the Hebrews has as its main themes Christ as grand priest, the perfect effectiveness of his sacrificial death, and the celestial cult* thus established. Strangers and travelers on earth, Christians have in Jesus a chief and a guide for their pilgrimage*.

The universal, or catholic, letters have titles that associate them with apostles' names, but in all likelihood these are borrowed pseudonyms. Of these, James's Epistle gives practical instructions for everyday life and warns against a radical interpretation of the Pauline doctrine, which would enhance faith to the detriment of good works. The First Letter of Peter is concerned with the social alienation of the Christians of Asia Minor, who have come from paganism*, and reminds them of their dignity as chosen people. Jude stigmatizes the perversion that turns the gift of God's grace* into license to such an extent as renouncing Christ. The Second Letter of Peter declares that the Parousia will come in due time, and implies that the faithful were misled by a wrong interpretation of the Pauline doctrine.

The three Letters of John reflect the history of the Johannine community, which a split over the matter of the humanity of Jesus seems to have torn apart.

e) Revelation to John. This book is simultaneously epistle, prophecy, and apocalypse; it is intended for the Christians of Asia Minor at the time when the authorities wanted to force them to take part in the cult of the deified emperor, toward the end of Domitian's reign (A.D. 95–96). An author by the name of John (who does not claim to be the apostle or the evangelist) conveys a message to the seven churches of Asia. The clairvoyant uses images from Ezekiel, Daniel, and the

Jewish apocalypses to urge these churches to hold out, because the victory already won by the Resurrection of Jesus will soon manifest itself to the whole world. The faithful will then live in beatitude* with Christ, the Lamb* of God, in the New Jerusalem.

The author's hostile attitude toward Rome and its representatives is totally different from the cooperative attitude recommended by Paul, the Pastoral Letters, and 1 Peter. One may wonder about the Book of Revelation's general movement: does it describe a linear process directed toward a peak, or does it keep coming back to the same events under slightly different guises? That debate is an old one; whatever the interpretation, a fundamentalist, or literal, reading does not do justice either to the historical design or to the literary strength of the work.

3. Two Testaments

The Old Testament focuses on narrating the stories of the Creation, the election of Israel, and the Exodus and conquest and on relating the service of God. The New Testament's core is Jesus' kerygma. It announces his death and his Resurrection "in conformity with the Scriptures" (1 Cor 15:3–4).

a) Fulfillment. The authors of the New Testament all had in common the certainty that the promises of the Jewish Scriptures had been fulfilled in Jesus Christ (Scripture*, fulfillment of). Speaking of "fulfillment" does not imply in the least the end or the revocation of the Old Testament. The early Christians, including those who came from paganism, considered the Old Testament to be still valid in its scope as God's Word*.

Considered this way, Jesus is the new Moses, the mediator of the New Covenant, the long-awaited Davidic king. With his coming, the Holy Spirit has finally spread.

There is no book in the New Testament that is not saturated with references to or borrowings from the Scriptures (e.g., Is 61:1–2 is cited in Lk 4:18–19), that does not reuse Old Testament metaphors (the Royal Pastor in Jer 23 and Ez 34 is used in Jn 10), that does not use Old Testament stylistic devices, such as Christ a spouting rock (1 Cor 10:4) or a new Adam* (Rom 5:14). Jesus appears as the new Elijah (1 Kgs 17:17–24; Lk 7:11–17; 2 Kgs 4:42–44; and Mt 14:13–21), as Wisdom dispensing life (Prv 8:22, 9:1–6 and Jn 6), as the Creator (Gn 1:1–5 and Jn 1:1–18), and as the just one condemned and rehabilitated, according to the pattern of the plaintive Psalms, in the Passion narratives (notably, the use of Ps 22 in Mt 26–27).

New contents are assigned to such venerable Old Testament terms as *law*, *justice*, and *life* because "at many times and in many ways, God spoke to our

fathers by the prophets, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son" (Heb 1:1–2).

The structure of fulfillment is well attested within the Old Testament proper. In it God is seen fully involved in human history*, being faithful to his Word, which is in command of this history. The New Testament has merely radicalized what the Old Testament had always done. To that effect, a key period of the Old Testament has served as a model to the New Testament. The sixth-century exile and the return from exile were indeed interpreted as a new exodus, a repeat of that founding moment when the people of Israel, liberated from Egypt, entered the Promised Land. The first Christians lived their experience as a renewal of the same type, even though there was no common measure between their circumstances and the preceding ones.

Some of the aspects of the Jewish Scriptures were, however, considered unsuitable for the novelty of proclaiming Our Lord Jesus as sole authority. The Law started to be reinterpreted (Mt 5–7, Gal, and Rom). A contrast was emphasized, through which the new prevailed over the old (Heb 8:8–13, 9:15, and 12:24). Designating the Jewish Scriptures under the name of Old Testament, or Old Covenant (2 Cor 3:14; *see also* 2 Cor 3:6), became common toward the end of the second century (Melito of Sardis in Eusebius, *HE*, 4, 26, 14). The Christian interpretation thereafter oscillated between two poles: continuity and discontinuity.

b) Interaction. A certain consciousness of problems of terminology raised by the expressions *Old Testament* and *New Testament* becomes manifest today. The pejorative connotation of the word *old*, when it tends to mean "outdated," is being felt. As for the word *testament*, it no longer has any connection, as far as we are concerned, with the notion of the Covenant. To talk about "Jewish Scriptures," as has been suggested, runs the risk of neglecting the Deuterocanonicals, which, though completely Jewish, even when written first in Greek, are absent from the Jewish Bible. Other designations have been tried, such as "First Testament" (an ancient solution was *prius Testamentum*, but this has never been adopted for good). However, neither *second* in relation to *first*, nor *new* in relation to *old* has any chance of being accepted. In any case, the usage has not changed much.

It is at a deeper level that the question of the Christian attitude toward the revelation transmitted by Old Israel arises. In the second century, Marcion proposed the elimination of the Old Testament. It has always been maintained, however, in the Christian Bible. How is it to be understood? Is it a collection of religious writings to be read for their own sake? Is it there in preparation for learning the gospel, or is it merely a necessary prerequisite for understanding the New Testament?

Christians, of course, have to read the Old Testament by piecing together, with the help of history, the author's communication with his contemporaries, which amounts, at least as a first step, to not referring him immediately to the New Testament or to the Christian faith. Other readers will be sensitive to the human and religious values of the texts, as well as to the literary genius of the authors. But since, to a lesser degree, the Christian Bible is not exactly the same whether the Deuterocanonicals books are included in it or not, the presence, beside the Old Testament, of the New Testament, cannot be without impact on our reading of the former.

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See also **Apocalyptic Literature; Apocrypha; Book; Canon of Scriptures; Exegesis; History; Intertestament; Jesus, Historical; Johannine Theology; Judaism; Law and Christianity; Literary Genres in Scripture; Myth; Narrative; Pauline Theology; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Scripture, Senses of; Tradition; Translations of the Bible, Ancient**

Biblical Theology

Introduction

Biblical theology: this expression might seem like a pleonasm in Christianity; and yet, biblical theology does have its own mission to fulfill: to give a rational account of the outward way Christian faith* is expressed today, to evaluate how faithful it is to biblical writings, and to rejuvenate this fidelity. Exegesis* and theology* are not reducible to one another: biblical theology's function is to articulate them with each other. The problem is an old one: "Will we reach the point of being unable to do anything without you?" (*ut tu solus necessarius videaris*), wrote the bishop*-theologian Augustine* (PL 22, letter 104) to the exegete Jerome. Biblical theology does not have its own definite boundaries in academia. The majority of endeavors in biblical theology do not show under that field's label. The most recognizable form, with a didactic end, is called either "theology of the Old Testament," or "theology of the New Testament." A theology of the two Testaments is called upon to show what kind of connection unites them. We will adopt here the latter perspective. A farthermost goal, yet an old one.

In 1956, R. de Vaux wrote that a biblical theology "founded on both Testaments" is "the final outcome of our studies" (ZAW 68, 225). In 1960, G. von Rad considered that a biblical theology that "will overcome the dualism" between a treatment of the "arbitrarily separated" Old Testament and New Testament is "the still more distant aim of our efforts." In 1962, P. Grelot presented his *Sens chrétien de l'Ancien Testament* as an "outline" (see P. Beauchamp, *L'un et l'autre Testament: Essai de Lecture*, 1976).

No one underestimates the difficulties. The final aim, which gives value to partial attempts and unites scholars, relies on a fact. The first bearers of the biblical books* are the communities of observant Jews for the Old Testament, and Christians for both Testaments. From the beginning, these communities bring together both knowledge* and faith*, on account of the fact they are assembled for celebration (liturgy*) around the Book. This reading is articulated with preaching*, instruction, and prayer*. If it works well, then biblical theology will also. At the same time, the Bible not being the exclusive property of any group, the language the believers use about it must be intelligible to all. Biblical theology teaches how to abandon *prejudice*,

verifies whether the *presuppositions* given by doctrine bear fruit or not: there is nothing there to isolate the discipline.

1. Problem of the Unity of the Bible

The project of a biblical theology, thus conceived, presupposes that the notion of a unity of the Bible is acceptable; but then, that notion is not purely and simply imposed from the outside by the limits of the canon*: rather, it is a notion that has presided over the phases of its composition, and it has even left some traces. The Bible is often called a "library rather than a book." This pedagogical formula should not replace one kind of naivety with another. Commentators discover in the Old Testament a "library" where certain books communicate with each other because writers and editors have attempted to harmonize them.

If we detect these transversal interventions, it is thanks to the commentators: "deuteronomic revisions" (e.g., prophecy*-fulfillment), "sacerdotal resumptions" (covenants of Noah and Abraham), repetition of the kings' story by the Chronicler (the lineage Adam-Moses-David), narrative thread of the Gospels* linking units previously independent of one another, and so forth. Other processes are less artificial: narrative surveys, summaries such as those that von Rad called "Credos"; globalizations: "all the prophets*" (Jer 7:25, 28:8; Ez 38:17; 2 Chr 6:15); repetition of Isaiah and of all the revelations* of the past in the "Deutero-Isaiah" (Is 41:22, 43:8–13, 44:7); or summaries in the latest Wisdom* literature: Wisdom 10:1–11:4; Sirach 44–49. It was necessary, when going from age to age, that the heavy mass bequeathed by previous generations should be made "portable" and readily remembered. The sustained series of resumptions is indicative of the fact diversity was welcome. Finally, and above all, there is the same function in the New Testament, which is "also a theology of the Old Testament" (E. Jacob 1968): a claim to fulfill "law and prophets" (Mt 5:17), a recourse to "all the Scriptures*" (Lk 18:31; see also Lk 24:44; Acts 3:18; Jn 19:28, etc.).

One learns thus that there is no appropriation of the Bible by one community without those risky shortcuts that have recurred at every stage and continue to do so today. The phase of deconstruction is not invalidated for that. It contributed to the discovery of multiple

meanings (Clavier 1976) by using instruments that lose their effectiveness in one particular direction: why, then, should one be surprised that they do not lead toward it? In matters of faithfulness to a certain heritage (here, a cultural and spiritual genealogy), faith is not the only approach in which interpreting is equivalent to making a choice.

It has been said that the Bible, as a literary work, has no center. That is no longer valid if it is considered the basic book for all communities. Celebrations of Easter or of Atonement, catechesis*, and preaching order ways of interpreting. Biblical theology is not free, for instance, to turn away from the account of Christ's Passover* to Israel's Passover, nor is it free to elude the confrontation between Paul and the law* of Moses. Granted that Christ's cross is the center of both Testaments, the paths that are opened are numerous.

The concept of unity (one of the names of transcendence) crumbles if unity is accomplished by smoothing over the outlines of what is being assembled. This applies to all levels, but above all to the line (union and separation) that goes in between the two testaments. Within each one, the tensions are not all loaded with equal meaning.

The pair Law/Prophets is signaled by the canonical form of the book, said to be at once unified and divided. The multiple transversal interventions show what is done between these two areas (Deuteronomy between Law and Prophets). A third one (Writings, Psalms, and Wisdoms) bears the words of man (unrevealed experience, questions, requests) whereas Law and Prophets bear the Word* of God.

The poles are there only to help toward an exchange in movement. Let us note here that the Old Testament can and must be considered first within its own perimeter, whereas the New Testament can in no case be understood without the former.

2. Biblical Theology and the Sciences

The critical requirements concern the state of the text, its circumstances, and the conditions of its production. Efforts expended in these areas open up, in terms of the search for meaning, a space that is not always occupied; but biblical theology cannot rush immediately into it. Criteria must be found in a reflection of a philosophical nature. Assuming, said Augustine, that I can get to Moses, "how would I know that he is saying the truth?" (*Confessions* XI. iii. 5). The Bible, wrote M-J. Lagrange in 1904, "depends no more exclusively on history* than it does on philosophy*" (*La Méthode historique*, xv); this is a way of saying that, separated from one another, neither history (taken as encompassing all the sciences of man), nor philosophy can sus-

tain theology. In that very same year, Maurice Blondel published his essay "Histoire et dogme: Les lacunes philosophiques de l'exégèse moderne," in *La Quinzaine*, 1904 (repr. in Blondel's *OC* 2, Paris, 1997).

Given below is only a brief outline of the principal itineraries possible.

a) *Language*. "The grammatical is the theological" (*Primo grammatica videamus, verum ea theologica*), declares Luther* at the opening of the 1519 *Operationes in Psalmos* (Jena Ed., 1600). The very first step of biblical theology consists in going to concepts through the paths of words, those of the biblical Hebrew and Greek, an indispensable path to the feeling of cultural unfamiliarity and the reclassifying of ideas. G. Kittel (Tübingen) is the author of the best-known work on the Greek words of the New Testament; these words are preceded by the treatment of their usage in their environment and in the Old Testament (*ThWNT*: 1933–73).

Invited to write a few pages in Kittel's work (1964), Cardinal A. Bea hailed it as "the most important achievement of contemporary Protestant exegesis in the entire world," and he also expressed the wish that some day a single author would do the same thing, "in the same spirit" for both Testaments. He remarked, in passing, on the "undeniable inconvenience" of separating them in their teaching. From another viewpoint, J. Barr had already expressed some scathing criticisms of this work, among which the following: "The nonreligious language of the Bible has as much *theological* importance [emphasis added] as its religious language" (*The Semantics of Biblical Language*, Oxford, 1961).

Since then, Kittel's work has been followed by other glossaries (for the Old Testament, Botterweck and Ringgren, *ThWAT*, 1973–). There are innumerable studies on "themes" (with a more or less complex lexical content) that supply us with the components of a biblical theology.

b) *Literary Form*. The study of literary form has asserted its rights since Richard Simon, who blamed the theologians, in 1678, for "not having done sufficient thinking on the different manners of speaking about the Scripture" (*Critical History* III, 21). He recognized that setting this point straight is a way of sparing theology from making errors, but it does not sustain it: the grammarians "do explain the history of the Old Testament, but they do not contribute to a better knowledge of religion" (III, 8). This "way" of talking comes from society* (the "Republic of the Hebrews"). The mid-18th-century book by Bishop R. Lowth (1710–87), *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Prelectiones* (Oxford, 1753),

is an achievement that stands out in history: it suggests a purely stylistic study of the Bible and expresses reservations regarding *theologiae sacrae* (*Praelectio* II). That particular work influenced J.G. Herder (1744–1803), a humanist, philosopher, and preacher who attached importance to the value of esthetics in enhancing knowledge, and who refused to put poetry and truth* in opposition to each other. H. Gunkel (1862–1932), founder of the *Gattungsgeschichte* (history of literary* genres, also called *Formgeschichte*), inherited the same spirit. He aimed at selecting the most archaic spots of enunciation (preliterary), but also at recognizing, with the *Sitz Im Leben* (life-situation) of textual units, the communicative contracts to which their forms (preliterary or literary) belonged. Already “the work’s intention” tends to supplant “the author’s intention.” This method occupies an intermediate position between linguistics and the social sciences. Today exegesis more distinctly perceives that the message of faith is entrusted also to the sensitivity of the addressee, thanks to images, rhythms, and symbols, and thanks as well to the power of representation radiated by a narrative*. An esthetic theology (beauty*) was thus launched.

c) *Social Sciences*. The *Formgeschichte* scarcely inquired into the social body: progress in this direction is a challenge of present research, triangulated around the individual body, the social body, and words. Formerly dominated by history, the position of the social sciences has gradually been reversed, and from there, these sciences can be raised to a higher level through an exploration of the “mystery of society” (G. Fessard), enlightened by the Bible and enlightening it in return.

1) The theme of covenant* comes not only under the comparatist’s domain (political treaties in the ancient Near East), but also under the theory of contracts in a philosophy* of law that contributes to the intelligibility of history. 2) The internal and external relations of Israel went through successive phases leading to the phase of the first church*, whose social model concerns the Bible (political theology*). 3) History is interested not only in change, but also in long periods. The history of Israel is that of a culture. The Word* could not become flesh in man unless it existed in a culture: therefore, biblical theology records the significance of that concept.

3. Shifts in Biblical Theology

a) *Beginnings*. “Far from being a novelty, biblical theology was the original form of theology” (F. Prat 1907). The allocution form (sermons, apologies, cate-

cheses) is dominant. The nascent biblical theology was relaying the dialogue between the gospel and the Old Testament. It was not only a matter of legitimizing the social status of a religion, nor was it merely a strategy or an expedient to convince or to defend oneself. It was meant to renew in oneself “the constant passage, thanks to Christ, from the Old Testament to the New Testament,” in which Origen* (†253–54) saw, with reason, “a fundamental characteristic of Christianity, and somehow its birth certificate forever being renewed in people’s minds” (H. de Lubac*, *Histoire et Esprit*, 1950). This passage is renewed because the depth of its origins signifies its constant presence.

Passage: this word allows a choice among several meanings: continuity, progress, leap, and at the limit, rupture. The fact that this passage is “constant” means, in any case, that the point of arrival never exhausts the resources of the point of departure. Irenaeus* (†195), facing the awe-inspiring arguments of Marcionism*, had honored the notion of pedagogy, in continuity. When Trinitarian (Trinity*) theology assumed its full importance, it needed the space of both Testaments to present itself according to the economy of revelation: “The Old Testament manifested the Father*, the Son (filiation*) *more obscurely*. The New Testament manifested the Son and allowed a *glimpse* of the divinity of the Holy* Spirit. Today, the Spirit is among us and it lets itself be known *more clearly*” (Gregory* of Nazianzus, PG 36, 161).

Being a determining factor for the theological use of the Bible, this relationship between obscurity and clarity gets various treatments. It is the simple relationship of the visible to the invisible, of the terrestrial to the celestial; or it is the disclosure of the meaning of a first obscure event, thanks to the impact of a subsequent event. That later event is the coming of Christ, to whom the eyes owe their healing*: the range of meanings in the Scriptures (Scripture*, senses of) fluctuates among these orientations. A point of capital importance, the theme of obscurity is rooted in the gospel itself: the parables* are obscure; the eyes and the heart* are blind, even to the life of Jesus*, and finally to the whole Scripture (Mt 13:15, 13:34 f.).

b) *Theology As Science*. When the Middle Ages made it their task to have a theology that would be a real discipline, there was an obstacle; it was brought about by the *poetic* writing of the Bible, which constituted an obstacle to the systematic expression of truth. Thomas* Aquinas’s *Summa Theologica* faced that obstacle; and it was eventually overcome with the help of Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite. Precisely because they are the “lowest” (*infima*) forms of knowledge,

images and representations are the best suited to lead to such a high level of knowledge that it is above our understanding (*ST* Ia, q. 1, a. 9, ad 3). The esthetics that cares for figures of style is therefore welcome right away, but it is a secondary principle that passes on its style to the doctrine: the Bible formulates in the literal sense all the truths that are necessary to faith (Ia, q. 1, a. 10, ad 1). By this, Aquinas refers to that which is “necessary to exhibit it without error” (*fides quae*).

c) *Turning Point of the Reformation.* The Renaissance introduced an entirely new form of obscurity, first with more requirements in philology, and gradually with less credulity in matters of history. Tradition* no longer being received in the same capacity as the Bible as a source of revelation, the clarity of the Scriptures (*perspicuitas*), which tradition had obscured, was asserted. Out of this came simultaneously: an unprecedented new energy allowing for a maximum of critical certainty, and a strong intensity of theological investment in exegesis. As a theologian, Luther maintained that the opposition of Law and gospel (*Gesetz und Evangelium*), already present in the Old Testament, did not disappear from the New. His method was not typological: faith opens directly the words of the Old Testament to their Christic meaning. Distrusting allegories as Luther had done, Calvin* gave more importance to typology, a mode of reading that recognizes in the realities of the Old Testament a veiled presence of the Christian mystery*. A new crisis eventually occurred, with the questioning of the credibility* of the Scriptures as historical document.

d) *Richard Simon and Pascal.* With the *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678, 5th Ed. 1685), Richard Simon (see 2 b above) opened debates with the Protestants. He denied that the Scriptures were clear, and he was pleased to see that tradition was trying to find a cure for their obscurity. Pascal* (†1662) had placed the discussion on a different field. The *Pensées* are what Pascal left of a project centered on biblical theology: he used, in writing them, the style of an allocution, which had been used in very early works of theology; he assembled notations on the biblical “manners” of speaking, deductive reasoning leading to decision making, a Christian anthropology*, and hermeneutics* inspired by the gospel. The obscurity of the prophecies, of rhetorical figures, and of Jesus’ miracles*, can be clarified only with a change occurring in the heart* that they had previously disturbed: everything takes a meaning in the “order of charity.” Inclined to take too much advantage of the miseries of man, with a view to convincing him, Pascal was indifferent to the historical problems raised by Richard Si-

mon; he nonetheless succeeded in bringing about a revival of the old hermeneutics for use in the modern age.

e) *Liberal Exegesis and Theologies.* In fact, the gap between the scholars’ interests within Protestantism* was increasing. Scholars studying history and science would be the first to show a greater creativity, which would emancipate them to varying degrees from a theology less than sensitive to biblical modality (it had become closer to it, e.g., with J. Cocceius; see covenant*). J.-P. Gabler (1787, in Strecker 1975) stands out for assigning separate titles to two theologies, the biblical and the dogmatic*. The object of the latter is to “philosophize on divine matters,” but as far as biblical theology is concerned, there is no suggestion that it should philosophize: it belongs to the realm of history, and is supposed to teach “the thoughts of holy writers of the past on matters of a divine character” (ibid., p. 35). The tendency of this type of biblical theology made it impossible to distinguish it from the history of religions. In a university where theology never lost its place, it appealed to some philosophers (such as Schleiermacher*, then Hegel*), detached from dogma*, but more open to religious matters than the philosophers of the Enlightenment. From the 19th to the 20th century, the task to be accomplished involved recognizing the stalemates of liberalism and collecting the benefits associated with it. J. Wellhausen (1844–1918), a writer and researcher of exceptional brilliance, extremely productive in history but increasingly unfamiliar with theology, went far in his separation of the two Testaments. The Old Testament is, in his opinion, the account of decadence, starting from beginnings that had been brilliant, and the gospel serves above all as an internal norm for human beings. For A. Harnack (1851–1930), a prominent figure in erudite liberal circles, the churches show their paralysis by delaying their separation from the Old Testament: the very same reasons that had led the church, when it faced Marcionism*, to accept the Old Testament, should lead the church of today to dissociate itself from it. The propensity (which had its political implications) to see in the variety of cultures separate essences lends further weight to the “Athens versus Jerusalem*” stereotype. Because of the specialization of disciplines, focus is on the respective environments of the Old and of the New Testaments rather than on what connects them. A. Schweitzer (1875–1965), musicologist, physician, exegete, and writer, celebrated 150 years of “The Lives of Jesus” by concluding: “We have the right to detach Jesus from his period” (*Das Messianitäts- und Leidensge-*

heimnis: Eine Skizze des Lebens Jesu, 1901, 3rd Ed. 1956, Tübingen), because his expectation of an end to the world, the key to his biography, cannot be repeated. The secret of his life is his heroic fidelity to the oracles of the Servant*. We have to join him through a decision “of will to will.” Elaborated away from dogma*, in a sort of semi-rupture with liberalism, Schweitzer’s contribution counts.

f) *Renaissance of Protestant Theology*. His contribution counts for Bultmann* (1884–1976). With the Lutheran Bultmann and the Calvinist K. Barth* (1886–1968), we witness a Renaissance of the founders’ theology. Kierkegaard* (1813–55) had already prepared that revival. Both Bultmann and Barth agree to break away from a biblical theology, which would be reduced to mere scientific description. Bultmann, however, values it greatly. He “demythologizes” (myth*) in order to suppress this “false scandal*” that hurts the sciences* of nature, but he considers this approach of science to be merely the condition allowing it to better hold to “the true scandal of faith” (P. Ricœur). He understands this faith according to Luther, in a doctrine of a vigorous economy. His concept of the connection between decision and knowledge lies within the framework that he finds in Heidegger*. His theology of the New Testament explores Paul and John in particular: “He does not take sufficiently into account the synoptic tradition” (Conzelmann). Correlatively, the function of the narration (narrative* theology) is severely reduced in his works. The Old Testament is necessary only to show that since man is accountable to the Law, he is also in a position to be accountable to the gospel. The synoptic narrative fades away in favor of the kerygma. Even Kant* gives more importance to factors affecting sensibility and to esthetics. The primacy of charity receives its rightful place, but its ecclesial forms are not theologically relevant. Bultmann’s itinerary as a theologian starts with exegesis. As for Barth, he is an exegete only when it comes to theology. His commentary on Romans aims to bring out “the concepts’ internal tension” present in the text (*Römerbrief*, 2nd Ed. 1922), and even if it means “being severely blamed,” it also means striving to go to the “very core of the enigma rather than merely be content with the document. . . . I am absolutely overwhelmed by the desire to do so!” (ibid.). At a considerable remove from Bultmann, his reading of the Old Testament is truly christological. He dismisses allegory, but he occasionally practices an audacious typology (*KD III/1: Christ and the Church Read in Genesis 2*). This work, rich and vigorous, involved in the tragedies of that time, has been given dimensions that are in proportion to the

Bible itself. Always under the authority of the absolute alternatives, its perspective is not hermeneutic.

g) *Old Testament As Opening Point*. Instead of revealing the “truths” of the Old Testament, G. von Rad (1957, 1960) prefers to classify its “traditions,” which are superimposed and combined versions of history. Their relevance for biblical theology is not their objective content, but the beliefs (the Credos) they encourage on the gracious gift; he orders each version around his declaration or kerygma, in sequence, and he infers the ritual setting (*Sitz im Leben*). That is how the capacity for “creative reinterpretation” of the narrative is measured in the Old Testament, and how much appeal the book will have in the future. Von Rad can conclude: the reinterpretation of the Old Testament by the New is radical, but interdependent with a series, which invites the theologian to rethink the problem of the unity of the Testaments. This work, which is in Bultmann’s sphere of influence, has been judged hardly sensitive to the radical discontinuities (Conzelmann 1964). Its repeated defense of typology, even if it gives few examples of it, has met with reservations. On the other hand this work, for not having highlighted wisdom and apocalyptic* writings, has drawn the criticism (Pannenberg) of giving too narrow a basis to a Christology* that wants to be coextensive to the duration of the universe, a basis that the Old Testament should have supplied. Any biblical theology reopens questions on the connection between the carnal fact and the Word*.

h) *Catholic Exegesis Today*. It often presents, in its task, the deficit and the advantage of a smaller theological investment. “The study of the Holy Scripture must be like the soul of theology”: this maxim from Vatican* II (*DV 6, 24*) reinforces a wish expressed by Benedict XV (1920, *EnchB 483*), who quoted Leo XIII (1893, *ibid.*, 114). In spite of the obvious character of this maxim, practicing it is not easy. The norms of the magisterium* that were most noticed in modern times have more than once restrained the fruitfulness of exegesis, but their bearing was exercised more often on the narrative than directly on biblical theology. Present-day biblical theology gets its material in several ways. First of all, through living tradition, including through the spiritual writers, old and recent, that are closest to the biblical source. The renewal of interest for patristic literature (SC 1942–) will sooner or later benefit exegesis, inasmuch as the exercise of hermeneutics teaches us to find inspiration in ancient writers without actually reproducing them. The Catholic exegetes of today are becoming more sensitive to the theological implications of the studies carried out

by Protestant exegetes. Catholic exegetes have often evaluated the works of their Protestant counterparts only from the point of view of the historian. Protestant exegetes have obtained results that the Catholics could not obtain for themselves, the reason being that they did not have the freedom to push their research very far; but things having settled down for a century and a half, today's Catholic exegetes are indebted to the Protestants for their good work. Historical-critical exegesis is now incorporated for good in the norms and in the history of Catholic tradition*, and it is not fair to blame it for its limits. If those limits were better recognized, they could lead to articulate exegesis to other practices. In 1943, Pius XII (*Divino Afflante Spiritu*) gave biblical exegesis a place of honor that he certainly would not grant to "spiritual meaning" (Scripture*, senses of). By way of compensation, this major document contained provisions that gave it its balance: it assigned as first objective (*potissimum*) to exegesis the elucidation of the "theological doctrine" of the texts (*EnchB* 551). This directive was not what attracted the greatest attention. The object of the constitution *Dei Verbum* of Vatican* II (1965) was wider. It asserted the parity and the tight union between Scripture and tradition*. It further stated that "it was not only from the Scripture that the Church took its certainty on all the points of the revelation*" (*DV* II, 9): with this point concerning "certainty" according to faith, junction of Scripture and tradition, the field of biblical theology is defined, as well as the risks it entails. This same document enhances without fuss a typological reading (*DV* IV); but, on the other hand, inasmuch as "theological studies and fraternal dialogues" bring Christians and Jews closer to each other, as recommended by *Nostra Aetate* (1965, no. 4), biblical theology is encouraged to respect the specificity of the Old Testament and to find the spiritual scope of its "literal meaning."

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For additional bibliographic references see *Scriptures, Senses of*.

PAUL BEAUCHAMP

See also Bible; Canon of Scriptures; Exegesis; Hermeneutics; History; Holy Scripture; Jesus, Historical; Johannine Theology; Literary Genres in Scripture; Narrative; Narrative Theology; Pauline Theology; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Scripture, Senses of

Biel, Gabriel. *See* Nominalism

Bishop

1. New Testament

a) Definitions. There are five different usages of the word *episkopos* in the New Testament. It is the title of Jesus Christ* in 1 Peter 2:25, and it designates Christians in charge of a ministry* of vigilance in Acts 20:28; Philippians 1:1; 1 Timothy 3:2; and Titus 1:7. In Ephesus, the expression is used for elders designated by the Holy* Spirit as pastors* of the Church* of God* (Acts 20:28).

This term, which was already secular in the Septuagint, was borrowed from the profane Greek, and that does not exclude the influence of the synagogal model, which sees the *arkhisunagôgos* being assisted by the *huperetês*, like the episcopate being assisted by the deacons*. The influence of the *mebaqqer* of Qumran on the origins of the episcopate does not seem plausible.

b) Episcopate. In charge of a local church*, the bishops are distinct from the apostles*, prophets* and doctors*—itinerant and charismatic—and also from the deacons, their collaborators. On the other hand, it is not possible to distinguish them in any other way than through the vocabulary of the *presbyterium* who occupy the same functions in communities that are more Judeo-Christian (Acts 20:17 and 28 place them in the same category). They are always mentioned in the plural (the singular of 1 Tm 3:2 and Ti 1:7 is generic, like *presbuteros* in 1 Tm 5:1). They are also presidents (Rom 12:8; 1 Thes 5:12; 1 Tm 5:17) and pastors (Eph 4:11).

In the Pastorals, the episcopate is being entrusted with the teaching ministry regarding prophets and doctors (1 Tm 3:2: *didaktikos*, 4:11, 6:2; Ti 1:9), which is what *Didache* 15, 1–2. says explicitly. Faith is left in their custody (1 Tm 6:20; 2 Tm 1:12, 14, and 4:2; Ti 1:13). They are required (1 Tm 3:1–7) to have solid Christian qualities, a good family life (“the husband of

one wife...with all dignity keeping his children submissive”) and good standing in society (“he must be well thought of by outsiders, a statement of good character from people in the community”).

2. Classical Profile of the Bishop

a) Monoepiscopate. In the *Didache* (98) and the writings of Clement (96?), which reflect the context of Corinth and of Rome* (and it was probably the same in Alexandria), the *épiskopè* is exercised collegially (1 Clem. 44, 1. 4–5). The letters of Ignatius of Antioch (110–150?) are the first clear evidence of the monoepiscopate (for Syria) and of a subordinate articulation of priests* and deacons. Monoepiscopate and tripartition of the ordained ministry are not therefore scriptural: Vatican* II mentioned tripartition as being *ab antiquo* (LG 28). In any event, the uniqueness of the bishop and the territoriality of his jurisdiction represent signs and safeguards regarding the actual catholicity of the eucharistic and ecclesial assembly (“Wherever the bishop appears... the Catholic Church is present,” Ignatius, *Sm.* 8, 2; *see also* Nicaea*, can. 8, COD 9–10); bishops without a well-determined seat and territory and auxiliary bishops are unknown (coadjutors are extremely rare). As for chorebishops in charge of rural districts, they would be downgraded and called *presbyterium* after the Peace* of the Church.

Monoepiscopate does not mean monarchical episcopate: the bishop must be elected with the support of his church; he must have the benefit of reception*, in his church as well as from his colleagues, in order to keep his office. As attested by Cyprian*, he deals with his colleagues, but also with his people* (*Ep* 14, 4; 34, 4).

b) Election. Election is necessary, but it is not sufficient for obtaining the office: also needed is the

laying* on of hands of all the bishops of the region (at least three, Nicaea, can. 4, *COD* 7), which is accompanied, for the ordained, by the gift of the Holy* Spirit.

c) Apostolic Succession. Clement (1 Clem. 44, 2–4) invokes already the rule of the apostolic* succession. Irenaeus* (180) reproduces the Roman list, which comes from Hegesippus (150?). Peter* is not mentioned at the top of the list, because bishops do not take the place of the apostles* and they only in part succeed them; the succession is not established according to the uninterrupted chain of the laying on of hands, but according to the presidency of a local* church, which expresses the link uniting the apostolic faith* of all and the apostolic ministry of a few.

Succession lists—which later on would start with the mention of the founding apostle—were established everywhere (Antioch, Alexandria, etc.) according to the same principles.

d) President of the Local Church and Link with the Catholic Communion. Established symbolically by the whole group of his colleagues, the local bishop represents, in his church, the faith and the communion of all the Church. He is thus ordained to preside over the service of the word* and of the sacraments* (baptism*, Eucharist*, reconciliation). Both elected and received, simultaneously, by his church, he can represent it in its relationship with all the others. He is the link par excellence of the ecclesial communion*. This provides the basis for the ecclesiological weight of the regional and ecumenical councils*.

e) The Metropolitan. Established in the regional capitals, the Metropolitan also presides over the councils under his jurisdiction. Canons 4 and 6 of Nicaea (*COD* 7, 8–9) back his customary role (future patriarchate*), to the point that an episcopal ordination* is null and void without his consent: the sacramental power of the ordained bishop is regulated by the higher power of the ecclesial communion.

In the preceding stipulations, the Catholic bishop (or the present-day Orthodox bishop) sees the classical role of his ministry as pastor and celebrant, with the major responsibility of announcing the apostolic faith as well as the communion in his church and among the churches. Without corresponding literally to the absolute will of Jesus Christ*, this role appears, however, to be a faithful transcription of it, for which there is no prescription in spite of numerous historical vicissitudes.

3. Subsequent Evolution

In the East, Justinian imposed celibacy on the bishops (*CIC (B). C* 2, 25–26), who until recent times were re-

cruited among the monks or widowers. Popular participation in the election of the bishops has survived only in Cyprus and in Antioch: the Byzantine emperors, then the czars, eliminated it elsewhere. Finally, for want of an effective primate, among other factors, the Orthodox bishops have not met in ecumenical council* since A.D. 787.

In the West, despite numerous holy bishops, and attempts at reform *in capite et in membris*, the vicissitudes of the episcopate were much more serious following its integration into feudal structures, then later into those of the ancien régime. In spite of the general law, political authorities quite often controlled the election of bishops; they were even able to get the right to do so by obtaining a concordat from Francis I. The Germanic principalities and the Italian peninsula during the Renaissance witnessed the gravest kinds of abuses: holding more than one bishopric, failing to reside in the diocese, nonordained bishops (because of the split between order and jurisdiction*), monopoly exercised by the nobility, lack of reaction against the Reformation. In spite of the Council of Trent*, it was only the fall of the ancien régime that brought an end to such abuses, which were still being practiced at the time.

While frequently keeping an *episkopè* that was larger than the local pastorate and was endowed with a different kind of base, the Reformation often had to reject an episcopate that was hardly credible evangelically. The German Lutherans transferred that function to the temporal authority of the prince, on the basis of *praecipuum membrum ecclesiae*.

4. Theology of the Episcopate after Vatican II

Completing the work of Vatican* I, which had remained unfinished, Vatican* II presented the episcopate against the background of the communion of the local churches, by establishing its foundation on its sacramentality and to a degree renewing its relationship with the Roman primacy. Four orientations are notable:

a) Pastoral service is again at the forefront (*LG* 18, 1; *LG* 24, “the task has been entrusted to the pastors... a true service following the Scripture*”; *LG* 27, “to be of service”). As a consequence, the benefice system is abolished for good.

b) Sacramentally Based. Based on Jerome’s opinion (*Ep.* 146), the medieval thesis (P. Lombard, *IV Sent.* 24, PL 192, 904) according to which the episcopate distinguishes itself from the presbyterate only for a matter of jurisdiction has been corrected: “the episcopal ordination confers fulfillment of the sacrament of

the order*"; furthermore, "as it confers the task of sanctifying, it also bestows that of teaching and governing" (LG 21). As matters of principle, order and jurisdiction are reunited, with orthodox theology* are rekindled, and the episcopate becomes again a full-fledged ministry: "the pastoral charge...is fully entrusted to the bishops; they should not be considered as the vicars of the Roman pontiffs, because they do exercise their own power, a power that is theirs...and that is not at all obliterated by the superior and universal authority; on the contrary, it is strengthened, reinforced, and defended by it" (LG 27).

c) Exercising the Triple Ministry of the Word, the Sacraments, and the Pastorate. Vatican II (LG 25–27) specifically states the mutual inclusion, in the episcopate, of the pastorate (organizing concept), the ministry of sacraments, and the ministry of the word*, by granting the latter a privilege: "preaching* the gospel is the first responsibility of the bishops" (LG 23).

d) Forming a College with Peter's Successor at Their Head, the Bishops Have in Their Charge the Whole Church. "The order of the bishops that succeeds the apostolic college in the magisterium* and in the pastoral government*...constitutes, in union with the Roman pontiff, its head, and never without its head, the subject of a supreme and plenary authority over the whole church" (LG 22). The institution of the episcopal conferences is strengthened by this, as well as the existence of the regional churches within the whole church. But the college as such is not empowered to act without the pope's authorization (authority*).

5. Ecumenical Requests

a) Growing Consensus Regarding the Episkopè. For the Orthodox Christians, who have only a regional primate, the relationship between bishop and pope remains a problem. The Anglican Church has kept the episcopate along with the presbyterate and the diaconate, but it hesitates to see in this a condition of the church's *esse*. The Lutherans officially accept entering into communion with the "historical" episcopate, but they enhance that according to their tradition*. The Reformed are more reticent. The Lima document (BEM) recommends in any case that all churches accept the episcopate, on the condition that it be linked together with collegial and synodal responsibility.

In 1982, this document, emanating from the ecumenical Faith and Constitution Commission of the Church of England (a commission of which the Catholic Church is a member), took up again a suggestion that had already been made in Lausanne in 1927: "In the constitution of

the early church one finds the episcopal commission as well as the council of elders and the community of believers. Each of the three systems of church organization (episcopalism, presbyterianism, and congregationalism*) has been accepted in the past for centuries, and is still accepted by important portions of Christendom. Each of them is considered by its supporters as being essential to the church's good working order. Consequently, we consider that, under certain conditions, to be stated more clearly, the three systems will have to take their respective places simultaneously in the organization of the reunited Church" (BEM, no. 26).

b) Possible Contributions of Catholic Ecclesiology. Certain kinds of progress are possible here, as long as the divine right of the episcopate is better circumscribed and episcopocentrism is toned down by showing that the episcopate is at the service of realities that are more decisive than itself—the Holy Spirit, the gospel, the Eucharist, the people* of God (CD 11)—and by linking it in a better way with local synodality (synods* and councils). Collegiality* can become acceptable to other churches insofar as it shows that the bishops do not so much constitute "the higher governing body of the universal Church" (K. Rahner*) as the organs of communion among the local diocesan churches that make up the whole Church. Finally, the historical determinations contingent on the present relationship between primacy and episcopate (for example the direct nomination of almost all the bishops by the pope) should be recognized as such.

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HERVÉ LEGRAND

See also Apostolic Succession; Collegiality; Communion; Deacon; Local Church; Pope; Presbyter/Priest; Regional Church; Vatican II, Council of

Blessing

A. Biblical Theology

Blessing is speech endowed with power that communicates the benefits of salvation* and life. It is also a prayer* of praise and thanksgiving for benefits received.

a) Vocabulary of Blessings. Hebrew lexicons identify two groups of words with the root *brk*. One group is related to kneeling (from *bèrèk*, “knee”); the second, which is used nearly 400 times in the Old Testament, has the sense of blessing. It is found most frequently in Genesis (88 times), particularly in the story of the patriarchs, and in Psalms* (83 times), in connection with the praise of God*. The language of praise is also well represented in Deuteronomy (51 times) and to a lesser degree in the Wisdom* books, but it plays only a minor role in the books of the Prophets.

The root *brk* has the basic meaning of the power of life and of salvation. Associated to a very great degree with speech, it has a similar efficacy. Hence, blessing accomplishes what it expresses. Although not equivalent to them, it has strong affinities with the words *peace** (*shâlôm*), *happiness* (*tûb*), and *life* (*chaiîm*). It frequently appears in contexts involving the vocabulary of *love** (*’ahab*), *grace** and *benevolence* (*chén*), *fidelity and loyalty* (*chèsèd*), and *success* (*çâlach*). Another term meaning “happiness” (*’èshèr*) is practically synonymous with blessing, and is sometimes translated as such. Not as rich in nuances as the root *brk*, it has a clearly declarative sense: happy/blessed (*’ashrè*) “is the man who walks not in the counsel of the wicked...but his delight is in the law of the Lord” (Ps 1:1–2). The word *’ashrè*, translated as *makarios* in Greek, introduces the literary form of the Beatitudes (see Mt 5:3–11).

The vocabulary of the curse, on the other hand, is very diversified. The curses of the Covenant* (Dt 27:11–26) contrast the blessed (*bârûk*) to the cursed (*’ârûr*). The verb in the intensive means: “to make a curse effective.” There is also the root *’âlâh*, “curse,” *qâlal*, which adds the nuance of being small or contemptible, *qâbab*, which expresses execration in a somewhat magical sense, and *zâ’am*, which communicates the idea of anger. The interjection *hôi* can be either an exclamatory curse (Is 1:4) or an expression of mourning: “Alas!” (1 Kgs 13:30).

b) Diverse Expressions. In its simple active form, the verb is used only as a passive participle, *bârûk*, in various formulations: “Blessed be the LORD, who has delivered you” (Ex 18:10); “Blessed be Abram by God Most High” (Gn 14:19); and “May he be blessed by the Lord, whose kindness has not forsaken the living or the dead!” (Ru 2:20). The participle designates the state of the one who possesses the blessing and who, as such, deserves appreciation, homage, or praise.

The intensive conjugation is by far the most frequently attested (233 times in the active voice). To bless someone is to grant him or wish for him the power needed to accomplish a particular task in a particular situation. The verb takes on various nuances depending on whether the person being blessed is a superior, an inferior, or someone of equal rank. It is not necessary to articulate the contents of the blessing; the verb has intrinsic power. When a person blesses God, the blessing is akin to praise. The noun *berâkâh* appears 71 times (16 in Genesis and 12 in Deuteronomy) with the many nuances of the verb.

c) Meaning of Blessing. In the Bible*, the blessing has lost the magical quality that it may have had in the Semitic world. Its efficacy derives from the Word* of God, a God who wills the happiness of man, but who does not bring it about outside the bounds of his liberty*. By promoting the good of the other and by recognizing his merits, the blessing first of all expresses a bond of solidarity and communion among beings, even in those circumstances in which it is the equivalent of a greeting. People who bless one another are bound together. The curse that excludes a person from the group makes life impossible for the rejected individual. God blesses his Chosen People* and its members. He communicates his blessing directly or through authorized mediators, such as the head of the family, the king, the priest*, or the prophet. The blessing God grants to Abraham is a pledge that all the families of the earth are called upon to benefit from it by reference to Abraham (Gn 12:1–3). The blessing that God gives to man when he creates him includes all living things in the universe (Gn 1:28–30). It is to be transmitted from generation to generation. The family is the first

site of this transmission, as the history* of the patriarchs shows (Gn 27). The blessing is tied to the Covenant, and observance of the law is the condition enabling the people to enjoy happiness and prosperity on the land that God has given them (Dt 30:15–20). The blessing is an integral part of worship, as can be seen in Solomon’s prayer at the dedication of the Temple (1 Kgs 8:54–61).

When man blesses God, he responds by praise and thanksgiving to the work of God. The blessing is a major element in the prayer of Israel*. Thus the root *brk* is often found in the Psalms, linked with such other terms as *hâlal* (to praise) and *yâdâh* (to confess). Indeed, the blessing bursts through the bounds of ritual, because it is a spontaneous expression of the soul of Israel.

d) Blessing in the New Testament. The Septuagint translates *brk* most often with the verb *eulogêô* and its derivatives, *eulogêtos* and *eulogia*. The Semitic background prevents the interpretation of these terms as merely “speaking well.” In the New Testament the verb is found 41 times, the adjective 8 times, and the noun 16 times. It is most frequent in the synoptic Gospels (particularly Luke), Paul’s letters, and Hebrews.

Following the lines of the doxologies of the Old Testament and Jewish tradition*, God is the first to be blessed (Lk 1:68). He is blessed as Creator (Rom 1:25) and as “Father* of the Lord Jesus” (2 Cor 11:31). Several blessings provide elaborations of God’s work in the history of salvation, culminating in Jesus Christ (2 Cor 1:3–7; Eph 1:3–14; and 1 Pt 1:3–9). Jesus* is the quintessentially blessed (Lk 1:42 and 13:35). It is in

Christ that the Father blesses his faithful with all spiritual blessings (Eph 1:3). It is through him that the blessing given to Abraham may reach all humanity (Acts 3:25–26). Mary* is the first blessed among all women (Lk 1:42), and the elect are blessed of the Father (Mt 25:34). At the Last Supper, Jesus pronounced the blessing on the bread (Mt 26:26; Mk 14:22). Far from being a magical formula, this blessing is a prayer of thanksgiving for the work of salvation accomplished by God, as suggested by Jewish ritual. The accounts establish a connection between the verbs *eulogêô* and *eukharisteô*, “to give thanks.” In the doxologies of the Book of Revelation, the association of *eulogia* with the terms *glory** and *honor* support the meaning of praise.

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See also Covenant; Creation; Cult; Eucharist; Father; Filiation; Praise; Prayer; Psalms

B. In the Liturgy

a) Overview. Christian liturgies* in both East and West bring together under the heading “blessings” very diverse prayers, at least some of which are continuous with prayer* practices previously used in Judaism*. Some of these prayers—such as those for blessing or consecrating oils for liturgical use or for blessing a spouse at a wedding—are integrated with the celebration of the sacraments*. Others have a place within the celebration of the Eucharist or among the prayers of the divine office. Still others are related to all the various circumstances of the life of families, societies, and religious communities.

The importance of these blessings has varied a great deal according to times and places. In addition, their religious tone has also varied to a certain degree, depending on whether the particular blessing emphasized thanksgiving for divine benefits, with a tone close to that of the ancient Eucharist, or involved, as in the Middle Ages in Germany, an aspect of exorcism*. In any event, it is essential for every blessing that it be an invocation of divine goodness.

Blessings are important in the life of the church*, the family*, and society*. As a result, various blessings, depending on their field of importance, have

always been under the auspices of the particular ministry* of the bishop*. For example, as a general rule, the consecration of churches—or, in another domain, royal coronations—are reserved for bishops. Most other blessings, in the Catholic Church, have been assigned to priests*, with no sharp demarcation between a blessing given by a priest and one pronounced by the father in a family setting.

b) Main Collections of Blessings in the Liturgical Tradition.

- *Apostolic Tradition* (probably Rome, first third of the third century) preserves two examples of blessing: the blessing at the end of the eucharistic prayer and the blessings of the milk and honey in the celebration of baptism*. The latter followed a practice of the very early church, before the separation between the Eucharist and a meal took place. At that time milk and honey were given to the newly baptized between the Communion* of bread and the Communion of wine, in a sort of ritual of the Promised Land, in antithesis to the bitter herbs of the Jewish Passover ritual (which recalled the exodus from Egypt).
- *Sacramentary of Serapion* (bishop of Thmuis), a collection of Greek prayers from Egypt (probably from the fourth or fifth century).
- Byzantine *Euchologe*, body of liturgical prayers from around the ninth century.
- In the West, various formulations of the blessing of the Easter candle by the deacon*, which had remained rather close to the Jewish blessing of light (there are examples beginning in the fourth century, of which the best known is the *Exultet* of the Roman liturgy).

- Episcopal blessings given at the end of the Mass. These blessings are of Gallican origin, and their form was restored for festivals in the Roman Missal of 1970.
- *Sacramentary of Gellone*, a Carolingian manuscript that gives the earliest evidence of the body of rural blessings used in the Middle Ages.
- *Rituale Romanum* (1614), with a limited number of blessings, considerably expanded in 1874 and 1895.
- After Vatican* II, the *De Benedictionibus* (1984), which eliminates the element of exorcism and presents a proclamation of the Word* of God* as a preamble to any blessing. In addition, the ministry of blessing is carried out in certain cases by a deacon or a member of the laity*.
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PIERRE-MARIE GY

See also **Cult; Liturgy; Praise; Prayer; Sacrament**

Blondel, Maurice

1861–1949

1. Renewal of Philosophical Perspectives

a) Early Writings. From his work *L'Action* (1893) to “Principe élémentaire d’une logique de la vie morale” (1903), Blondel uses the “method of immanence” that

appeared in the *Lettre sur l’apologétique* (1896). The perspective is centered on the inherent content of human action, and its full application leads to the necessary presence of transcendence within the heart of our acting. This phenomenological analysis is an attempt to solve

the problem set forth in the short thesis *De Vinculo substantiali* (1893), the action being identified with the substantial link that is sought. However, Blondel tends more toward a Pascalian than a Leibnitzian perspective: reason* should acknowledge its own insufficiency and openness to the hypothesis of the supernatural, which could be verified only by the faithful action.

b) Prospecting and Reflection. In “Le point de départ de la recherche philosophique” (1906), Blondel distinguishes two complementary directions of thought: that of “prospecting,” oriented toward synthetic and concrete action, and the analytical and derived “reflection” or “retrospection” by which thought reflects upon its action to analyze its conditions and components. Philosophical knowledge only emerges by taking into account both of these dimensions. Thus it can either be a reflection on the integrity of the prospective synthesis, as was *L’Action* in 1893, or a prospective grasping of the reflection itself, eliciting this “metaphysics to the second power” used in the trilogy.

c) Later Works. The achievement period begins with *L’itinéraire philosophique de Maurice Blondel* (1928), in which he rereads his own history and announces the main themes to come; it ends with *Exigences philosophiques du christianisme* (1950), which gives precious insights about his methodology. At the center, there is his great work: the trilogy (*La Pensée* I and II, 1934; *L’Être et les êtres*, 1935; *L’Action* I and II, 1936–37) and *La philosophie et l’esprit chrétien* (I and II, 1944–46). Blondel thus tried to solve the problem posed in 1930 in *Une énigme historique: Le “Vinculum Substantiale” d’après Leibniz**—a deeply modified continuation of his Latin thesis. Blondel now uses a “method of implication” with metaphysical reach. The fundamental relation is the tension between the *noetic* and the *pneumatic*, inseparable and unconfusable. The noetic, “concrete universal,” remains only in the pneumatic, “singular concrete,” an original point of view on the universal, the “ontological breath” in a center of perception. The irreducibility of the noetic to the pneumatic in any finite being, a sign of its finitude, such is matter, of which only God* is exempt. Consequently, Blondel builds an integral realism that overrides the impasses of both dogmatic realism and critical idealism. He thus opens philosophy* to a dialogue with “the Christian spirit,” the enigmas of reason and the revealed mysteries elucidating each other.

2. Blondel and Catholic Theology

a) Historicism and Extrinsicism: History and Dogma (1904). Applying the philosophy of action to the biblical question, at the heart of the modernist crisis, Blondel

first denounces the historicism that substitutes the “science” of history* for its reality and the extrinsicism that only establishes an extrinsic relationship of the facts with dogma*. These two “incomplete and incompatible solutions” miss the mediation between history and the dogma constituted by tradition*, the faithful action of Christian people* that ties us to the founding action and from which is “extracted what enters little by little in writings and formulas.” In this way he resolves the modernist crisis, in right if not in fact.

b) “Efference” and “Afference”: The Social Week of Bordeaux and Monophorism (1910). Under the pseudonym Testis, Blondel set forth to untangle the “fundamental crisis,” which is symmetrical to modernism. He defends social Catholicism* against the attacks of those who assimilate it to “sociological modernism.” He establishes that the thesis of the purely extrinsic afference of Christian truths* “is no less inexact than the thesis according to which everything derives from within, by efference”: two varieties of the same type, which he would call “monophorism.” On the contrary, Christianity thrives on the intimate conjunction of a double afference, internal and external. This was already shown in the “Méthode de la Providence” by Cardinal Dechamps, which Blondel studied in 1905–7, and also in *Le problème de la philosophie catholique* in 1932.

c) Blondel’s Impact on Contemporary Theology. It is difficult to measure Blondel’s impact on theology, which is more often implicit. It does seem considerable, however, particularly with regard to the fundamental developments of Vatican* II. To mention only two central figures, Blondel’s influence on Lubac was key, not only on the supernatural or the sense of active tradition, but also on the entire philosophical substructure of his “organic work.” Balthasar*’s theology was also influenced by Blondel, even though Balthasar initially distanced himself from Blondel. Still, his last works acknowledge Blondel’s capital importance.

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See also Balthasar, Hans Urs von; Catholicism; Experience; Lubac, Henri Sonier de; Modernism; Newman, John Henry; Pascal, Blaise; Philosophy; Rationalism; Relativism; Religion, Philosophy of; Revelation

Body. *See* Soul-Heart-Body

Boethius

c. 480–524

Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius was the son of Flavius Manlius Boethius, consul in 487. Boethius was treated as friend and adviser by the Arian emperor Theodoric, and was himself consul in 510. An undeserved charge of treason kept him under house arrest until his execution. Dante* placed this “last of the Romans and first of the Scholastics” among the doctors* in his Paradise.

1. Works

a) Boethius perceived the danger that the increasing linguistic separation of the eastern and western halves of the Roman Empire, and the encroachments of the barbarians, would put access to Greek philosophical culture at risk in the West. He therefore set about translating Plato and Aristotle into Latin, but only a small part of the logic corpus was completed before his death, together with commentaries on Porphyry’s *Isagoge* and Cicero’s *Topics*, and some logical monographs of his own. With these should be grouped the treatises *De arithmetica* and *De musica*, both heavily dependent upon Greek sources.

b) Boethius also wrote five short theological tracts: *On the Catholic Faith*; *Against Eutyches* and

Nestorius; *On the Trinity*; *Whether Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are Substantially Predicated of the Trinity*; and *De Hebdomadibus*. The influence of Augustine* is clear, but Boethius goes further and develops arguments of his own. The first tractate is a confession of faith*, without detailed philosophical analysis. The second was prompted by the debate invoked by a letter from an Eastern bishop* to the pope* on points of Christology. Present at the debate, Boethius learned of the Nestorian view that Christ* is both *of* and *in* two natures, and the Monophysite, “Eutychian” view that Christ is *of* two natures, but not *in* two natures. He therefore addresses the underlying questions about “nature” and “person*” and their relationship, and created a definition of the person which would have the most influence (a person is “an individual substance of a rational nature,” *naturae rationabilis individua substantia*, *Contra Eut. et Nest.* 3). The christological controversy had been going on in Greek: Boethius was the first to attempt a comprehensive treatment in Latin. He was thus led to complete the philosophical terminology of Cicero and, with Marius Victorinus, determined the Latin equivalents of the Greek terms for the whole of the Middle Ages. In the two tractates on the Trinity*, of which the first is by far the more developed, Boethius explores concepts of form, unity, plurality,

identity, and difference. He makes the point that the Aristotelian categories apply differently to God*. In the Godhead all accidents are substantive. Only relation exists absolutely between the Persons of the Trinity. The *De Hebdomadibus*, on “How substances are good in virtue of their existence without being substantial goods,” takes the form of a series of axioms that can be applied by those wise enough to the resolution of the problem that is the subject of the treatise.

c) *The Consolation of Philosophy* depicts Boethius in prison awaiting execution, discoursing with a personified Philosophy about how to come to terms with the problems of evil*, liberty*, and providence*. Boethius begins from a Stoic viewpoint, but moves with Philosophy’s help to a position in tune with Christian Platonism*. The duty of the soul* is to seek its Creator, the One who is above all change and who has nothing to do with evil. All goods are one, and the pursuit of happiness is the pursuit of unity with the One who is the Good*. Eternity he sees as the complete, simultaneous and perfect possession of endless life (*interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio*, *Cons.* V, 6), another definition that was to have a major influence. Boethius owes a substantial debt here to the first part of *Timaeus* (all that was then accessible in the West). Providence now begins to look different: it permits things that we do not perceive as good at the time but that prove to be right for us. Boethius thus comes to a different kind of acceptance from the Stoic, and to hope. *The Consolation of Philosophy* led its medieval readers to wonder whether Boethius was a Christian, for there is no question in it of Christ or of salvation* by the cross. Nevertheless, everything in it is *theology**, in Augustine’s sense, and there is nothing in Boethius’s Platonism that is incompatible with Christian faith.

2. Posterity

a) Boethius’s logic texts shaped the study of logic in the West until the 12th century, when the remainder of Aristotle’s texts on logic were rendered into Latin. Boethius’s contribution encouraged the early medieval emphasis on problems of epistemology and signification.

b) Boethius’s theological tractates were taken up with enthusiasm by scholars of the early 12th century (such as Gilbert de la Porrée), and they had an impor-

tant influence on the development of the use of logic in theology. The *De Hebdomadibus* prompted an interest in demonstrative method that was to grow with the translation of Euclid and the reintroduction of Aristotle’s *Posterior Analytics* into the West, also during the 12th century. The *De Trinitate* contains a version of the Platonic division of knowledge that places mathematics between theology and the sciences* of nature. This encouraged 12th-century attempts to classify the sciences and, importantly, implicitly stressed the division between those aspects of theology that can be attempted by philosophical methods and those that are historical, depending on revelation* (a division taken up by Hugh of Saint*-Victor and others). Use was also made in the Middle Ages of what Boethius has to say about which of the Aristotelian categories apply to God, and the ways in which they do so.

c) Boethius’s most influential work throughout the Middle Ages was *The Consolation of Philosophy*. This work was much imitated, notably by Gerson in his *De Consolatione Theologiae*.

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See also Arianism; Aristotelianism, Christian; Attributes, Divine; Monophysitism; Nestorianism; Stoicism, Christian

Boethius of Dacia. *See* Naturalism; Truth

Bogomiles. *See* Catharism

Bonaventure

1217–74

I. The Franciscan

1. Life

Giovanni Fidanza, the future Bonaventure, was born about 1217 in Bagnoregio, a little town near Orvieto. His father was a physician. At about the age of 12 Giovanni recovered from a serious illness through the intercession of Saint Francis of Assisi. After his studying at the Faculty of Arts in Paris from 1235 to 1243, he entered the Franciscan Order, taking the name of Bonaventure. He studied in the Faculty of Theology under Alexander of Hales, John of La Rochelle, Eudes Rigauld, and William of Middleton. He was licensed as a bachelor of Scripture in 1248, produced a commentary of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard in 1250, received a master's degree in 1252, and was granted his *licentia docendi* (teaching license) at the end of 1253 or the beginning of 1254. Forthwith he became a teaching master in the friars' schools. Then, on 2 February 1257 he was elected minister-general of the Franciscan Order.

In October 1259 at Mount La Verna Bonaventure conceived the idea of his *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* (*The Soul's Journey into God*). He visited Italy, then France, and in Paris he preached the *Collationes de Decem Praeceptis* (Collations on the Ten Commandments) from 6 March to 17 April 1267, *De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti* (On the Seven Gifts of the Holy

Spirit) from 25 February to 7 April 1268, and *In Hexaemeron* (In the Six Days: The Hexameron) from 9 April to 28 May 1273. The last of this series of lectures was interrupted when Pope Gregory X made him cardinal-bishop of Albano. Consecrated bishop* in Lyons on 11 November 1273, Bonaventure prepared the Second Ecumenical Council* of Lyons*, which opened on 7 May 1274, and he preached a sermon at the council on 29 June 1274.

On 15 July 1274 Bonaventure was dead. He was buried in the Church of the Franciscan Friars in Lyons. Brother Peter of Tarantasia, a Dominican and cardinal-bishop of Ostia, celebrated the mass, preaching on the text of 2 Samuel 1:26, *Doleo super te, frater mi Ionatha* ("I am distressed for you, my brother Jonathan"). He said: "There were many tears and lamentations. God, indeed, had given him such grace that whosoever met him, their heart was instantly won over with love for him" (*Ordinatio Concilii*). Canonized on 14 April 1482, Bonaventure was declared a doctor* of the church on 14 March 1588.

2. Franciscan Roots

a) *Franciscan Vocation.* Saint Francis of Assisi's influence manifested itself several times in Bonaventure's life. The first of these interventions constitutes a kind of miracle*. Seriously ill, Bonaventure was

vowed to Saint Francis by his mother. He would always feel fervent gratitude for the healing* thus brought about. This is why in 1260 he agreed to the Narbonne chapter's request and began to compose *The Life of Saint Francis*, which is known under the title of the *Legenda Maior* (The Major Life). For Francis, the friars' fundamental virtues* were simplicity, a prayerful mind (prayer*), and poverty. Knowledge as such, or study, had nothing to do with this. But, although Francis was not an intellectual, his thought and experience* had not made him an enemy of learning. Francis merely judged scholars in light of their relations with God*. He forbade neither study nor learning, on condition that the friars abandoned all attachment to possessions and were theologians "on their knees."

In Francis's various writings, which were known by Bonaventure, certain themes appear, which have contributed to the development of his theological thought. In Francis's "Letter to All the Faithful" (*Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, 4th Rev. Ed., 93), the address is revealing: "I decided to send you a letter bringing a message with the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Word of the Father*." In chapter 23 of the *Rule of 1221* he writes: "Almighty, most high and supreme God, Father, holy and just, Lord, King of heaven and earth, we give you thanks for yourself. Of your own holy will you created all things spiritual and physical, made us in your own image and likeness." In the same chapter of the *Rule*, Francis's first rule, he continues: "We are all poor sinners and unworthy to even to mention your name, and so we beg our Lord Jesus Christ, your beloved Son, *in whom* you are *well pleased* (Mt 17:5), and the Holy Spirit to give you thanks for everything, as it pleases you and them; there is never anything lacking in him to accomplish your will, and it is through him that you have done so much for us."

The theme of God's humility may have been suggested to Bonaventure by the Letter to a General Chapter (*Omnibus*), where Francis wrote: "What wonderful majesty! What stupendous condescension! O sublime humility! O humble sublimity! That the Lord of the whole universe, God and Son of God, should humble himself like this and hide under the form of a little bread, for our salvation. Look at God's condescension, my brothers, and *pour out your hearts before him*." (Ps 61:9).

b) The School in Paris. The friars arrived in Paris in 1219 and set up their school in 1239 at the Monastery of the Cordeliers under the headship of Alexander of Hales. Bonaventure entered this monastery in 1243. There he increased his knowledge* of the mystery* of God by familiarizing himself with the works of

Alexander, including his *Glossa* (Glosses), his *Disputed Questions* (*antequam esset frater*), or Questions Discussed (Before Becoming a Friar), and his *Questions* (*postquam esset frater*), or Questions (After Becoming a Friar). Alexander borrowed from the Greek Fathers* a theology* of the Trinity* that tackles this mystery* from the standpoint of the distinction among the divine Persons*, a view that Bonaventure adopted, while remaining Augustinian in the bulk of his thought. Thus, as he discusses in *On the Mystery of the Trinity* (q. 8, Quaracchi, vol. V, 115), the highest knowledge of the Trinity is found at the level of the *primitas* (primacy/prime person): "The Father produces the Son, and by means of the Son and with the Son, he produces the Holy Spirit: God the Father is, therefore, by means of the Son and with the Holy Spirit, the principle of all creation. For if he did not produce them eternally, he could not, through them, continue to produce through the span of time*. On account of this production, as is right, he is therefore called the source of life. For, since in this way he possesses life within himself, by means of himself, he empowers the Son to possess life. Eternal life* is therefore the only life, with the result that the reasonable mind, which emanates from the blessed Trinity and which is its image, returns in a sort of intelligible circle by means of memory, intelligence, and will, as well as by means of the deiformity of glory*, to the blessed Trinity."

It is clear that Bonaventure assimilated the teaching of Alexander, whom he called his "father and master"; and he profited from Alexander's sources, the Greek Fathers, especially from John of Damascus, Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite, and the theologians who wrote in Latin, including Hilary* of Poitiers, Anselm*, Bernard*, and Richard of Saint*-Victor.

II. The Theologian

1. Writing and Theology

For Bonaventure, Scripture* was an absolute, the Word* of God. In the prologue to his *Breviloquium* (Summary) commenting on the text of Ephesians 3:14–19, Bonaventure writes: "One must begin at the beginning—that is to say, accede with pure faith* to the Father of light—by kneeling in our hearts*, so that through his Son, in his Holy Spirit, he gives us the true knowledge about Jesus Christ and, together with his knowledge, his love*. Knowing him and loving him, and as it were buttressed by faith and rooted in charity, it will then be possible for us to know the breadth, the length, the height, and the depth of the Holy Scripture, and, through this knowledge, to reach

the total knowledge and inordinate love of the blessed Trinity. The saints' desires bend toward it: therein lies the end and aim of all truth and of all good*."

Knowledge of the cosmic Christ* is thus the source of an understanding of Scripture. Here on earth, we cannot possess this knowledge except through faith, for which God grants us the necessary wisdom*, for only wisdom allows us to penetrate the development of the Word of God and, in its light, to grasp the contents of the universe in its true dimensions. Scripture was made for man. Man is therefore capable of acquiring this knowledge and, through this knowledge, of discovering God's plenitude, in knowledge and love. Bonaventure describes the start, the revelation* that one receives through faith, progress, which covers the contents of the history*, and the end, which is the plenitude of God. Theology thus makes it possible to embrace at a glance the breadth of Scripture and to draw spiritual nourishment from it in an effective way. It is the epignosis of revelation: "Theology is the pious knowledge of truth* understood through faith" (*De Septem Donis*, col. 4, n. 5, Quaracchi, vol. V, 474). As Yves Congar says of Bonaventure in his "Théologie" (*DThC* XV, 394–97): "Rather than being an expression of faith in reason*, the light revealed in the human intellect is a gradual reintegration into the unity of God, through love and for love, of the intelligent man and of all the universe known by him."

2. Science and Wisdom

Scripture, therefore, is not a branch of learning; it is the Word of God, who seeks to make us better. Theology, on the other hand, is a branch of learning, unified and perfect. And what is more, it is a form of wisdom, for it does not merely exercise our faculty of reason. It is a living knowledge, in which intellectual meditation is constantly renewed and awakened through religious experience*.

Bonaventure's overall work is immense. It comprises 10 volumes of a critical edition, under the general editorship of Fidelis a Fanna, in Quaracchi (1882–1902). Bonaventure commented on Ecclesiastics and on the Gospels* according to Luke and John. He "read"—that is, he explained and commented on—the four books of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. He discussed the Trinity, knowledge* about Christ, and evangelical perfection. As minister-general, and because of his teaching duties, he gave *Collations* (Lectures) on the Ten Commandments, on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and on the six days of Creation* (*In Hexaemeron*). We know his 50 model sermons for Sundays*, 395 sermons destined for special Holy Days, and 62 sermons *de diversis*. But Bonaventure's two capital works are his *Breviloquium* and his *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*.

According to H. de Lubac* in his *Exégèse médiévale* (Medieval Exegesis, Paris 1961), *Breviloquium*, which will be discussed later, "shows a capacity for total synthesis never perhaps equaled." The *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* is, as it were, a discourse on the best method of reaching God through contemplation*. Bonaventure's Franciscan experience made God present in his heart and readable by him in Creation. Moreover, his philosophical viewpoint led him to follow back in time toward God himself the traces* (*vestigium*) and images of God. But the theologian takes precedence over the metaphysician in guiding the mind to the heart of the religious mystery and to contemplating God, no longer as the Creator but as God the Trinity, living infinitely and causing to live he who abandons himself to the effusions of his Holy Spirit, God All-Being and All-Good. Thus he succeeded in creating a synthesis of the Pseudo-Dionysian schemas and Augustine*'s authentic thought, an achievement that is all the more remarkable in that Bonaventure had to overturn the fundamental orientation of the Pseudo-Dionysius, which was totally alien to his Christocentrism.

What separated Bonaventure's conceptions from those of Thomas Aquinas could be described as a fundamental difference over the interpretation of given reality. Thomas stands firmly within the notional category, Bonaventure refuses to abandon the historic category, in which Jesus Christ is the intermediary in all methods, in all knowledge, and in all activity, being the way, the truth, and the life, the unique and universal center. As E. Gilson says: "As the two most universal interpretations of Christianity, Saint Thomas's and Saint Bonaventure's philosophies complete each other, and it is because they complete each other that they can neither exclude each other nor coincide" (1943, 396).

III. Bonaventure's Exemplarism

1. Vision of the World

M.-D. Chenu thought the *Breviloquium* "the most satisfactory embodiment—after the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*—in a theological compendium of knowledge, of Franciscan inspiration." Indeed, Bonaventure developed his theological knowledge there according to a clear and limpid plan. After a prologue in which comments on the text of Ephesians 3:14–19 and discovers in it the foundation of theology as scriptural teaching—*sacra Scriptura quae Theologia dicitur* ("Holy Scripture as recounted by theology")—Bonaventure develops a very spare exposition, organized so as to be meditated on rather than to be taught. The general

structure of the *Breviloquium* is very simple: Part one (9 chapters) deals with the Holy Trinity; part two (12 chapters) with the world, the Creation of God; part three (11 chapters) with corruption due to Original Sin*; part four (10 chapters) with the incarnation* of the Word*; part five (10 chapters) with the grace* of the Holy Spirit; part six (13 chapters) with sacramental remedies (sacrament*); and part seven (7 chapters) with the Last Judgment*. Bonaventure describes his goal as the following (*Breviloquium*, Prologue, 6, Quaracchi, vol. V, 208). “Since theology speaks of God, who is the first principle; since, as the highest branch of knowledge and doctrine it resolves everything in God as the first principle and sovereign, in the allocation of reasons, in everything that is contained in this short treatise, I have striven to seek the explanation in the first principle, in order to show that the truth of the Holy Scriptures comes from God, deals with God, is in conformity with God, has God as its end, in such a way that indeed this branch of knowledge seems unified, ordered, and, with good reason, is named theology.”

a) *The Trinity as Creator.* Bonaventure as theologian does not describe God. Rather, he recounts him, and he always recounts him as God the Trinity. As the *Breviloquium* (p. 1, c. 2; vol. V, 211a) reads: “Faith, because it is the principle of the cult* of God and the foundation of the doctrine in accordance with piety, requires us to hold a very high and very pious opinion about God. We would not hold a very high opinion about God if we did not believe that God can reveal himself totally. We would not have a very pious opinion about him if we believed that he could do it, but did not want to. Thus, having a very high and very pious opinion about God, we will say that he reveals himself completely while possessing eternally a loved one and another-one-loved-mutually. Thus God is one and threefold.”

In a Christmas sermon preached in 1257, Bonaventure expressed himself thus: “When the fullness of time decreed in the divine presence came to pass, the Word, formerly concealed within God, came into the bosom of the very chaste Mother. Thus Christ came into the flesh without, as it were, leaving the fountain-head, as John says in chapter 14, verse 10.” In the capital question through which Bonaventure explores whether the divine nature* was capable of uniting itself with human nature (*In III Sent.*, d.1, a.1., q.4; III, 8; see Christ* and Christology), he gives his definitive answer in the form of a meditation on the history of salvation, or rather, on the history of creation. In this case his theology is based on arguments about what is appropriate rather than on what is necessary. Among the divine Persons, the one who is the most capable of

being incarnated is the Son, because if the form of man is assumable because of man’s status as the image of God, the Son is the image of the Father. Man therefore assumes, outside of God, the role assumed within God, in the full sense, by the Son, who is “the image of the invisible God” (Col 1:15). On earth man continues to fulfil the vital and original function that the Son fills in the inner life of God. Now the Son is the Word of the Father. The Father shows himself through him. Therefore, in the same way that in order to show the idea the sense of the Word is joined to the tangible word, in order to reveal God it was proper that the Word of the Father should unite himself with flesh. Moreover, the Son is a Son engendered eternally. It was proper then that God incarnate should be of the race of men, therefore Son* of man (filiation*). At the heart of creation, the Son-Being is therefore a pale reflection of what the Son-Being in himself represents exemplarily in God himself. The creature, a copy of God, of exemplary origin at the start, cannot be known in his structure except if the original is known, since the structure lives in its entirety only by means of the original and reflects that original in attenuated form. The world is a mirror of God in which the threefold structure is reflected. And in the primitive structure of the creation, the Son possesses a special relationship with the world, on the grounds of exemplary causality.

Bonaventure always links the fact that Christ is a model or exemplar of man to the fact that the eternal Word is himself the exemplar of every creature: “Christ’s generation was the exemplary reason for every emanation, because God had placed everything in the Word that he had engendered. For the same reason, his predestination* was the exemplary reason for every predestination” (*In III Sent.*, d.11, a. 1, q. 2). Bonaventure bases himself here on a metaphysical principle that guides his thoughts: *Posterius per illud habet reduci, quod est prius in eodem genere* (“The posterior must turn back to what is anterior of the same kind”). The density of being of this exemplary cause, of this *prius* (anterior) ontology, is so great that the return, the *reducio*, of the creature to the Creator, can only be managed through him, the ontological *prius*, the original model.

It can be said that the threefold appropriations* are the foundation of Bonaventure’s exemplarity. In fact Bonaventure explains that the Father is the fountain of plenitude, “a spring of water gushing up to eternal life” (Jn 4:14) that is manifested in the Son and empowers him to manifest it in creation. If creation is the work of the three Persons, each Person expresses himself in it according to his attributes—the Father with his all-powerfulness, the Son with his wisdom, the Holy Spirit with his goodness.

b) Creation, Contemplation. For Bonaventure, every creature is a vestige of God, not in an accidental way but in a real way. Man is naturally and substantially an image of God because he receives continually from God—who is present within him—a creative influence, which makes him capable of taking him for subject. As L. Mathieu says (1992, 99): “The Father, at the heart of the divinity, utters speech eternally, his Word, in whom he tells his whole being* and his whole power, and who contains the eternal reasons of beings; it is the eternal Word or the Word uncreated. And in the same way that the Father expresses himself and declares himself through his Word, the Persons of the divinity express themselves and declare themselves through a temporal word, which is the creature or *verbum creatum*, a reflection or echo of wisdom expressed eternally by the Father in the Word uncreated.” “Every creature is a word of God,” writes Bonaventure himself when commenting on Sirach 42:15 (c.1, q. 2, resp., Quaracchi., vol. VI, 16).

c) Path to God. When he discovers himself to be the image of God, man recognizes himself to be the subject of a quasi-original relationship between God and himself. As soon as God draws the world toward himself and thus introduces it into his inner being, the circle of the Trinity, which until that time was closed on itself in spite of all the exemplary relations, reveals itself to the world through a transcendence of the exemplary relationship. Bonaventure sees this transcendence in the Incarnation* of the Son and in the sending of the Holy Spirit.

Bonaventure defined the different stages of the return to God in his *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*. The first stage leads us toward the traces* of God, the physical world in which we contemplate the power of God, his wisdom, and his goodness: God is present in the center of things. Then starting with the physical, the study of the microcosm makes us scale the ladder of created beings as far as the world of the spirit, which is free from any physical limits. Further still, the study of the powers of the soul grants us access directly to God, since our soul is his image and our soul receives the light of his eternal reasons: we discover in ourselves the personal action of God, recreating our supernatural* being and inaugurating thus a new relationship, the presence of grace. Thenceforth, we find ourselves ready to contemplate God in the unity of his essence and the plurality of his person. First of all, we discover the idea of being in our smallest pieces of knowledge, for it is implied in every concept. The idea of Good, of the Being that reaches outside itself and gives itself, raises us ever higher until we contemplate the Trinity, whose fruitfulness is the supreme explanation. At the

end of the ascent, silence falls. Let us pass, once Jesus* is crucified, “from this world* to the Father. After having seen the Father, we can declare along with Philip: ‘that is enough for us’” (*Itin.* c.7, n.6, Quaracchi, vol. V, 313).

2. Theology of the Poor

For Bonaventure the presence of God is both a simple and a complex process. We must go outside ourselves by accepting the idea that we cannot exist by our own means and by asking for the help of the divine light, because reading, which ends with words, is not enough. The inner gaze, which goes beyond the words and reaches the reality that they express, is also required. Withdrawing into oneself again constitutes a haphazard groping for that source in whom we have motion, life, and being. It is rising above our condition while trying to reach the inaccessible. It constitutes an abandonment of all sustenance required for being, because nothing can assuage us except what exceeds our capacity (*De scientia Christi*, q. 6, resp., Quaracchi, vol. V, 35).

The notion of God implies all that, but also the idea of realizing that God himself has taken our poverty in hand in a real plan for salvation (*Breviloquium*, p.5, c.2, n.3, Quaracchi, vol. 5, 253–54). For we would like to be happy and we chase after happiness, but happiness is like the shore, which seems very close to the sailor but always remains very far away (*In II Sent.*, d. 19, a 1, 1, resp. Quaracchi, vol. II, 460). We want to be happy and we only know how to create our own misery. But God, in his abundant mercy*, becomes man for us. He does not do so because we are worthy, but he makes us worthy by the very fact that he makes himself man. God created the world in order to make himself manifest, according to Bonaventure. Taking to extremes his meditation of a poor man following in the footsteps of Saint Francis, he concludes: “Everything is made manifest on the cross” (*De triplici via*, c.3, n.5, Quaracchi., vol. VIII, 14). Christ—in fact, God made man—won at that moment, in an incomprehensible poverty, the right to be our partner in a dialogue where it is no longer clear who is the poorer. In the history of the world, always in the process of making itself, God abandoned himself thus, without defense, by placing man in the position of being the wealthier, of being the one who was in a position to give. God made himself indigent. It is up to us to give ourselves by giving something to the poor man. Thus, in God, closes the circle of love that Bonaventure had spread in his work (*Apologia pauperum*, c.2, n.12, Quaracchi., vol. VIII, 242–3).

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IV. In the Tradition of Bonaventure

Bonaventure’s genius inspired an abundant line of disciples, who engaged in numerous controversies concerning Franciscan spirituality*, poverty, and eschatology*, but also concerning the classic problems of metaphysics and theology. Among them can be cited the headmasters who succeeded Bonaventure: Guibert of Tournai, Eustache, Guglielmo di Baglione, Walter von Brügge, John Pecham, William de la Mare, Matthew of Aquasparta, Bartholomaeus of Bologna, John of Wales, Arlotto di Prato, Richard Middleton, Raymond Rigauld, John of Murre, Gonsalvo of Spain, and Alexander of Alexandria.

Guibert of Tournai, who immediately succeeded Bonaventure in the chair of the school of the friars (headmaster 1257–60), is known for his sermons and his treatise *Eruditio regum et principum* (The Study of Rules and Principles). Eustache (headmaster 1263–66) is the author of *Quodlibets*, *Disputed Questions*, and a few sermons. Guglielmo di Baglioni (headmaster 1266–67) left several *Disputed Questions* and *Quodlibets*. Walter of Bruges (headmaster 1267–69), author of a *Commentary on the Sentences*, became bishop of Poitiers in 1279. John Pecham (headmaster 1269–71), archbishop of Canterbury in 1279, is the author of the *Tractatus pauperis contra insipientem* (1270; Treatise on the Poor Man Compared to the Foolish Man) and of several quodlibets. William de la Mare is known above all for his authorship of the *Correctorium fratris Thomae* (Of the Correctors of Brother Thomas), in which he criticizes the work of Thomas Aquinas.

Matthew of Aquasparta is the most famous of the disciples of Bonaventure, whose Augustinianism* he brought to perfection. Father Victorin Doucet wrote as an introduction to the critical edition of Matthew’s *Quaestiones disputatae de gratia* (Quaracchi, 1935; A Discussion of Questions about Grace), an exhaustive study of the life, writings, and doctrinal authority* of this man who was named cardinal in 1288 and was entrusted with political missions for the pope. Bartholomaeus of Bologna (headmaster 1276–77) left behind sermons and *Disputed Questions*. Richard Middleton (headmaster 1284–87) is known above all for his *Commentary on the Sentences*, his *Disputed Questions*, and his *Quodlibets*. Although he refused to sit for his degree and therefore for his masters degree, Petrus Joannis Olivi is edited and studied more and more, for he represents one of Bonaventure’s most remarkable disciples (Council of Vienna*). Lastly must be cited Alexander of Alexandria (headmaster 1307–8) who wanted to deliver an *Abbreviato Commentarii Santi Bonaventurae* (Digest of Saint Bonaventure’s Commentaries).

In the 14th century the Franciscan School neglected Bonaventure to rally around John Duns* Scotus, who had managed to create a synthesis between Bonaventure’s thought and that of recent developments in logic and metaphysics—despite the efforts of Chancellor Jean Gerson (nominalism*). In 1482 Sixtus IV canonized Bonaventure. In 1588 Sixtus V raised him to the ranks of the doctors of the church. Between 1588 and 1596, the Vatican edition of Bonaventure’s writings was published at the pope’s urging. It contains 94 works and short treatises whose authenticity is not always well established. Nonetheless, it has the merit of having collected Bonaventure’s works. The editions of Mainz (1609), Lyons (1678), Venice (1751), and Paris

(1864–71) simply reproduce the Vatican edition. The Conventual Franciscans founded the College of Saint Bonaventure in Rome, but they did not pursue the study of Bonaventure's work and thought. The Irish Franciscan Luke Wadding tried to sift out the doubtful short treatises, but his death prevented him from finishing this work. In 1722, Casimir Oudin published a *Dissertatio* on Bonaventure's writings.

In 1772–74 Benedetto Bonelli turned again to the work of the Venetian Franciscans and, after his *Prodromus ad opera omnia Santi Bonaventurae*, published three volumes entitled *Santi Bonaventurae operum supplementum*. But all these efforts did not succeed in reinvigorating the study of Bonaventure's thought. It could be said that from the 14th to the 15th century—apart from the Capuchin friar, Bartholomaeo de Barberis, who proved to be their best interpreter—the school of Bonaventure no longer existed, even if numerous quotations from Bonaventure can be found in the works of Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444).

Then, in 1874, thanks to the activity of Father Bernardino da Portogruaro, Franciscan minister-general, as well as that of Fathers Fidelis a Fanna and Ignatius Jeiler, the Saint Bonaventure College was created in Quaracchi and entrusted with taking up again the critical edition of Bonaventure's work. As E. Longpré says, "This monumental edition has brought about the renaissance of Bonaventure's works, of which, in France, the important book by Étienne Gilson has given the signal. This return to Saint Bonaventure in Christian thought must be considered as one of the most important events in contemporary religious history" (Longpré 1949).

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See also Augustinianism; Beatitude; Cosmos; Duns Scotus, John; Life, Spiritual; Millenarianism; Mysticism; Scholasticism; Spirituality, Franciscan; Spiritual Theology; Vienna, Council of; Voluntarism

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich

1906–45

a) *Life*. A Lutheran theologian from the cultured German middle class, Bonhoeffer was appointed in 1931 to the posts of private lecturer and university chaplain in Berlin. In the debates sparked within the Protestant churches by Hitler's accession to power in 1933, he emphatically dissociated himself from the "German Christian movement" and the National Socialist regime. In 1935, after briefly serving as a pastor* to the German communities in London, he became head of the Confessing Church seminary at Finkenwalde (Pomerania). His literary output from this period comprises *The Cost of Discipleship* (1937) and *Life Together* (1939). His participation in the resistance to Hitler subsequently brought him new experiences within the secular sphere, and these would find expression in his unfinished *Ethics*. He was arrested in 1943 and at first interned in the military prison of Berlin-Tegel. Thanks to the leniency of some of the guards, he was able to carry on an uncensored theological correspondence with his friend E. Bethge, who was to publish these letters in 1951 under the title *Letters and Papers from Prison (Resistance and Submission)*. Shortly before the end of the war, on 9 April 1945, Bonhoeffer was hanged at the concentration camp of Flossenbürg, along with other conspirators. The day before, he had taken his leave of an English fellow-prisoner with the words, "It is the end—and, for me, the beginning of a new life."

b) *The Church*. In his thesis, *Sanctorum Communio*, Bonhoeffer set himself the task of carrying out a "dogmatic investigation toward a sociology of the church*," which was nonetheless to lead him to a "theological transcendence of sociology" (Soosten 1992, 263). "We do not believe in an invisible Church... we believe that God* has made the concrete and empirical church, in which the Word* and the Sacraments* are administered, into his community" (SC 191). With this assertion Bonhoeffer distanced himself on the one hand from E. Troeltsch, who concerned himself with the religious nature of the Christian personality rather than with the church, and on the other hand from K. Barth*, whose idea of revelation* implied a critical questioning of the empirical church.

Bonhoeffer saw the "recognition of the revealed re-

ality of God's community" as the starting point of theology*, and as a faithful disciple of his Lutheran teacher R. Seeberg, acknowledged the possibility of "positive theological knowledge" (SC 81). His expression, derived from Hegel*, of "Christ existing as a community" (SC 128 and *passim*) takes up some of Saint Paul's pronouncements (the typology of Adam* and Christ, the community as the body of Christ). Ecclesiology* is here rooted in a Christology* and a soteriology of substitution. Bonhoeffer never lost sight of the irreversible relationship of priority that exists between Christ as head and the body of his community. He saw in Christ "the measure and the norm of our actions" (SC 120). Consequently, there could be no doubt in 1933 as to the *status confessionis* of the "Jewish question," and Bonhoeffer demanded that his church take up the cause of the persecuted. In the event that this protest should prove ineffective to dissuade the state (church* and state) from its policy, he urged that an "evangelical council" should publicly denounce the regime's iniquity. The Confessing Church, however, never entirely shook off its cautious reticence regarding the anti-Semitic policy of the Nazi state. It was for this reason that in 1944 Bonhoeffer wrote, in *Widerstand und Ergebung*, that "it has fought during these years only for its own preservation" (WEN 328), whereas "the church is only a church when it exists for others" (WEN 415). This new church would be characterized by voluntary poverty and by the capacity to proclaim Christ, the Lord of the world, to an emancipated and secularized humanity. From this viewpoint, it was up to theology to interpret Christianity in secular or nonreligious terms. Bonhoeffer, however, did not get the opportunity to carry out this task himself in a developed and systematic form.

c) *Ethics*. At the beginning of the 1930s Bonhoeffer put into perspective the Lutheran doctrine of the orders (which persisted, in a modified form, in his *Ethics*) with reference to Jesus Christ. The orders were no longer to be seen as inviolable "orders of creation," but simply as "orders of conservation." The individual's love* of his own race* was subordinated to the Christian commandment of peace*. This idea (encouraged by the friendship he had formed with the French

pacifist Jean Lasserre in 1930 at the Union Theological Seminary) led him to join the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. This activity culminated in 1934 in his address to the assembly of church representatives at Fanö in Denmark, in which he urged them to present themselves as an “ecumenical council” and forbid all Christians to take part in war*. In *Nachfolge* Bonhoeffer rejects the “cheap grace*” proclaimed by the evangelical church, as well as the notion that the personal journey of Luther*, who left the cloister to return to worldly life, could be taken as justification for an exclusive devotion to the performance of professional duties. He reiterates and clarifies the Lutheran tradition* with this principle: “Only the believer obeys, only the obedient believes” (N 52).

In his *Ethics*, which he worked on from 1940, Bonhoeffer extends the domain of Christian activity. While he had originally intended an *Ethics* aimed at the radical wing of the Confessing Church (those known as “Dahlemites”), he now asks in a more general sense how Christians, by their way of life, offer a response to Jesus Christ. It is in this spirit that he introduces the concept of responsibility into theological ethics. By taking up the christological category of “substitution,” he is able to derive a fundamental anthropological structure, that of “existence for others.” “All responsibility to God and for God, to mankind and for mankind, is always the responsibility of the cause of Christ, and in this way only of my personal life” (E 255). Thus Bonhoeffer dissociates himself from the modern notion of individual autonomy and goes beyond the idea (always conducive to political compromise) of a Christian life devoted to the performance of professional duties.

d) *Christology*. Several of Bonhoeffer’s works take ecclesiology and ethics directly as their themes, but he offered only one development specific to Christology. However, this development is central to his theology. It is to be found in the lectures he gave under this title at Berlin in 1933 and which were preserved in the form of the notes taken or copied by students. In considering the doctrine of the Person* of Jesus Christ, Bonhoeffer begins with the presence of the Lord crucified and raised up to heaven. He discusses at length the dogmatic constructions of the early church and the Reformation, and approaches the christological controversies of the Reformation period as a disciple of Luther. He agrees with K. Barth and E. Brunner in considering the Council of Chalcedon* to be the touchstone of dogmatics*. In the *Ethics*, too, Christology plays a fundamental role in the understanding of reality. Since in Jesus Christ “the reality of God passed into the reality

of this world,” it is for Christians to “participate through Jesus Christ in the reality of God and of the world” (E 39 Sq). The positive link between Christ and the world is further emphasized in *Widerstand und Ergebung*. To live a life of “self-responsibility,” to wish to “assume an existence without God,” is not therefore to live impiously, because “God allows himself to be expelled from the world and nailed to the cross,” and because it is “only in this way that he can be with us and help us” (WEN 394).

e) *Legacy*. Certain of Bonhoeffer’s writings, such as *Widerstand und Ergebung* (translated into 16 languages) have been read the world over. On the level of academic theology, however, his work has had few repercussions, even in German-speaking countries. Some individual theologians have drawn inspiration from him (in particular his *Widerstand und Ergebung*) in the working out of their own agendas: for example, G. Ebeling in his hermeneutic* theology, W. Hamilton in his “theology of the death of God,” and H. Müller in his attempt to reconcile Protestant theology with the ideological dominance of the Communist party in the GDR. Through the work of A. Schönherr, a pupil of Bonhoeffer, the phrase “the church for others” played a key role for an evangelical church seeking a path between compromise and refusal in the socialist society of the GDR. Beyond Europe, in Latin America, South Africa and East Asia, Bonhoeffer’s voice has echoed as an encouragement in the ears of Christians fighting for greater social justice.

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ERNST-ALBERT SCHARFFENORTH

See also **Balthasar, Hans Urs von; Barth, Karl; Bultmann, Rudolf; Secularization; Tillich, Paul**

Bonnetty, Augustine. *See* **Fideism**

Book

The Hebrew *séfer*, which appears approximately 190 times in the Bible*, probably comes from the Akkadian *sipru* (meaning “letter” or “written document”), which also yielded *saparu* (“decree” or “legal document”). In the Septuagint it is most often translated by the Greek *biblion*, and sometimes *biblos* (feminine). The same terms appear in the New Testament (*biblion* appears 34 times and *biblos*, with a similar meaning, 10 times). The transposition of the Greek plural (1 Macc 1:56), which in Latin became *biblia*, produced the French feminine form *la Bible*. Translation by the word *book* covers very diverse meanings, to be evaluated case by case. In the Bible, a book is a document written in any of several different media—stone (the “tablets” of Ex 24:12, 31:18, and 32:15), clay, wood, papyrus, leather (parchment), and copper—of very variable length. These writings were endowed with a particular authority* and intended to be read by a defined human group.

Because of the materials used, and especially because of the difficulties of writing, written documents were long the reserved domain of specialized scribes. Their activity took place in five privileged areas. First came everything that touched on the founding myths*, including the epic *Gilgamesh* and the creation* poem *Enuma Elish*, both of which took on their classic forms

in Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar I. Texts of laws were also inscribed, such as the code of Hammurabi, ruler of Babylon in the 18th century B.C. (The diorite stele enscribed with Hammurabi’s code is now in the Louvre Museum.) Documents were often kept in temples (*see* Dt 31:24–26). Diplomatic or commercial treaties were also committed to writing. Scribes also kept in writing the annals of the kings, such as those of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal (eighth century B.C.). We no longer have the sources cited by the compilers of the Bible, such as the “Book of the Acts of Solomon” (1 Kgs 11:41), the “Book of the Annals of the Kings” of Israel and Judah (1 Kgs 14:19, 29; 2 Kgs 23:28, 24:5). Finally, the scribes took the trouble to preserve accounts of wisdom*, often very ancient—for example, the Egyptian “The Instruction of Amenemope,” which has parallels in Proverbs 22:17–23:14. Deuteronomy 6:9 and 11:20 presuppose a democratization of the practice of writing, as it instructs the father of the family* is to write excerpts from the law* for his household.

Around the beginning of the first millennium B.C., the alphabet supplanted the cumbersome pictographic systems of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and insured a more rapid spread of writing, as attested by archeology. As a result, at the time of the first kings of Israel a

substantial body of oral traditions came to be transcribed in writing. Transcription became necessary to enable all the tribes to possess a common history*. We no longer have the “Book of the Wars* of the Lord,” cited in Numbers 21:14, nor the “Book of Jashar” (see Jos 10:13 and 2 Sm 1:18), which was probably related to the entry into Canaan. The book form would also become the instrument for a common law. A great place was given to the discovery of the book in the Temple* in 622 B.C. (2 Kgs 22 and 23). The identification of this book with a part of Deuteronomy (De Wette 1817) is now generally accepted. But the book that was preserved in the Temple lacked readers. With the reform of Josiah, the “book of the law,” in the words of Deuteronomy (28:58 and 61, 29:20, and 31:26), Joshua (1:8, 8:34, and 24:26), and Nehemiah (8:3 and 9:3) became a reference for the people*. What was written was normative, even for the king (Dt 17:18). This was “the Book of the Covenant*” (2 Kgs 23:2, 21)—that is, it contained what had to be done to remain within that Covenant. The loss and the forgetting of the book brought about the loss and the forgetting of the Covenant.

The word of the prophet* dies at the very moment that it is spoken. But, in order to keep these words alive and ensure the survival of some witness to the pronouncements made against an Israel* that was unfaithful to the law, the prophets set them down in writing (Is 30:8; Jer 30:2; Hb 2:2) or, more often, their disciples did so (Jer 36:2 and 36:18). This writing was often carried out over the course of several centuries, before concluding in a completed book containing oracles from which “nothing will be taken away.” The documentation that was assembled by Nehemiah (according to 2 Macc 2:13–14) deals essentially with kings and prophets. Far from being devalued speech, writing became an enduring reality, making sense for

times and situations other than those in which the word was originally proclaimed, and supporting repetitions for readers still to come.

Gradually, the “book” was able to bear a strong symbolic charge. Whereas God had put his words directly into Jeremiah’s mouth (Jer 1:9), Ezekiel is given a “book” to eat (Ez 3:1). The prophet incorporates a divine will that takes the form of a universal project covering all of history. The author of Ecclesiasticus identifies personified Wisdom with the “Book of the Covenant” (Sir 24:23), in which he discovers the work of God since the Creation*. There came a time of apocalypses, which gave prominence to the theme of the sealed book, the ultimate revelation* (Dn 7:10; Rev 5:1–10 and 20:12). The New Testament (especially the Gospel according to Luke) presents Jesus* with the book (Lk 4:16–21) and sees Jesus as a hermeneutic interpreter of all the Scriptures* (Lk 24:27, 44 f.).

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ALAIN MARCHADOUR

See also Apocalyptic Literature; Bible; Canon of Scriptures; Holy Scripture; Law and Christianity; Word of God

Brethren of the Common Life. *See Devotio moderna*

Bruno, Giordano. *See* Naturalism

Bucer, Martin

1491–1551

Martin Bucer, son and grandson of coopers, was born in Sélestat and died in Cambridge. His life as a reformer reflected a turbulent time, was laden with theological and ecclesiastical plans, and was filled with success and failure. After joining the Dominican order in Sélestat in 1506–7, he was restless for more than 10 years—“need makes the monk,” he would say later. Fate would have it that he would join the friars of the Heidelberg order, where, in 1518, he met Martin Luther*, who was then at the beginning of his public career as reformer. The Heidelberg debate converted* Bucer to “Martinian” ideas. Luther’s theology*, in its basic assertions, was thenceforth part of Bucer’s own thinking. They included the priority of the Scriptures over tradition*, justification through faith* alone, and the primacy of academic theology over traditional ecclesiastical institutions.

In 1521 Bucer withdrew from his order, left the priesthood, and was officially relieved of his monastic vows. He spent some time with the knights Franz Von Sickingen and Ulrich Von Hutten, the last defenders of a form of feudalism that had been momentarily revived by humanism*. He married Élisabeth Silbereisen, a cloistered nun, who had also been recently defrocked. Because authorities wanted to excommunicate him, Bucer took refuge with his pregnant wife in Strasbourg, where his father was citizen. He then launched a 23-year-long career as pastor* and reformer in that Alsatian city. From there, he traveled through a large part of Europe, on horse or by mail coach, turning his city into one of the centers of the Reformation. For Bucer, Strasbourg was an ideal platform for the reform movement, not only inside his own pastorate but outside it as well. The ministry* of the reformer would go out and bring his reforms into the Strasbourg commune. Moreover, this partnership between a man and

his city was characteristic of the Reformation, finding echoes in Luther, Zwingli*, Farel, Calvin*, and many others.

From the beginning of his ministry, Bucer had a fundamental insight: the church is thrust into the center of a society* and must always continue evangelizing. The church and Christendom are inextricably linked together, including all of humanity. Both have a continual missionary task.

Both in his thinking and destiny, Bucer had a kind of stigmata, a chronic wound from his century, that never healed, but was constantly being reopened. It resulted from the conflict between seeing the church as responsible for all of human society and seeing it as an inward-looking entity on the margin of the “other” humanity—an inclusive or exclusive church. Bucer himself would never undo this Gordian knot, preferring to defend the idea of a church that is both at the same time, like the mission* that Christ* himself seemed to have entrusted to his disciples (Mt 28).

In 1524, in his capacity as secular priest*, Bucer was appointed preacher of one of seven parishes of the Alsatian city of Sainte-Aurélien, the community of the guild of market farmers. The people there were unhappy with their parish priest’s lack of theological education. In the parish ministry, Bucer suggested that in order for the Reformation to be genuine, it had to constantly have practical repercussions. Consequently, he became pragmatic and remained so from then on, never hesitating to change opinion or direction when required to do so as the pastor of his flock. Historians have often commented on Bucer’s changing quality. He never became a theoretician and didn’t want to. This partly explains why he was not understood in his lifetime—in particular, among his theologian colleagues. He never liked overly resolved positions. For

Bucer, the meaning of all human existence was living otherwise by living for others as they are in their everyday life. Service in love*—charity—is the only goal worthy of saved man; it is the antidote for egoism, real life that has become possible again. All of Bucer's theological thought stems from this standpoint, and the church was to be the place to establish this "living in Christ."

As early as 1530, at the imperial Diet of Augsburg, Bucer specified the principal points that were particular to his ecclesiastical plan: 1) The multitudinous aspect of the church (open to society, in accordance with a maximalist definition) should coexist with the professing aspect (intense personal commitment and claimed as such) as experienced in the parish and in "small Christian communities" (*ecclésioloies*, in French) that are created within them; 2) plurality of the ministries; 3) collaboration between ministry and civil authority*; 4) ecclesiastic* discipline based on ordinances expressed by the magistrate; 5) restructuring of the parishes; 6) regular synods* composed of secular* delegates and "pastors"; 7) catechetical education for both children and adults; (8) baptism* of children, followed by a reformulated confirmation*; and 9) attempts to reconcile ecumenical bodies with the dissidents of the magisterial Reformation as well with the traditional church.

All of Bucer's work—theological, pastoral, literary, and diplomatic—was devoted to these nine major points. And yet, his standards seem to have been set too high. As early as 1540–41, his undertakings, which were formerly successful, began to deteriorate. Although he struggled, traveled relentlessly through Europe, and wrote more incisively and extensively, nothing developed. His ecclesiastic plan, symbolized by the final attempt at "Christian communities," those small local churches among large parishes, crumbled. Ostracized from Strasbourg in April 1549, he lived in exile in Cam-

bridge. Disappointed but headstrong, Bucer tried one more time, in England, to launch his plan. Time had taken its toll. He still had the heart, but no longer the strength. He died two years after his arrival in Cambridge, complaining of English fog and "bad" times. Forgotten by his peers, his vision for the church would take root in Protestantism* like a rhizome, cropping up in different forms, especially in 17th- and 18th-century Pietism*, and in the 19th century's Great Awakening.

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GOTTFRIED HAMMANN

See also Calvin, John; Calvinism; Gospels; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Methodism; Protestantism

Bultmann, Rudolf

1884–1976

I. Life and Works

Between 1921 and 1951, after completing studies in theology, Rudolf Bultmann taught the New Testament

in Marburg, West Germany. In 1923 he met Heidegger*, who greatly influenced his thought. Most of Bultmann's writing focuses on exegesis of the New

Testament. His thought has a threefold mission: to attest to the radical exigency of God* calling man; to read texts expressing this exigency, using all the resources of modern literary criticism; and to understand that this calling plays an essential role in recording the human condition, which is seen as existential.

II. Theology

1. Reading and Understanding the New Testament

As a teacher of the New Testament, Bultmann first and foremost had remarkable knowledge about the world and Greek culture, and he was an unparalleled exegete. To the end, his work revolved around questions relative to the New Testament. Bultmann's theological genius lies in the fact that he is far from being purely erudite; he questions the significance of ancient texts for today's world and raises the question of modes of interpretation.

a) *History of the Synoptic Tradition.* In 1921 Bultmann was one of the first to show the "mechanism" behind the literary formation of the synoptic Gospels*. By comparing the three synoptic Gospels, in his *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, he shows that the current gospel framework is not formed by a single story, but by relatively small units that, to start, were more or less independent. Therefore, he retraces the "history of forms" (*Formgeschichte*). Analyzing each of these "forms," or basic units, Bultmann is led to determine the life situation—or *Sitz im Leben*—in which they may have been written. He then reconstitutes the stages of writing that, ever since the first texts were collected, may have led to the present text of the Gospels. It is from this history that Bultmann is able to tackle the question of the historical Jesus.

b) *Jesus.* According to Bultmann, in *Jesus* (1926; translated into English as *Jesus and the World*, 1934), there is almost nothing to say about the historical Jesus inasmuch as the texts of the New Testament are more testaments of the faith* of the early Christians than historical documents. As a result, in terms of faith, what is important is not so much the content as the radical event to which it attests, essentially indicated by the message brought by Jesus. Indeed, even though only some historically questionable facts are known of Jesus' life, the Nazarene's message is not beyond reach. In essence, Jesus announced the approaching kingdom* of God—that is to say, God himself—and called for a decision. Jesus' call to faith is thus like an invitation to "take the omnipotence of God (divine power) seriously, at precise moments in life.... It is the

conviction that the faraway God is, in reality, the nearby God, under the condition that man decides to let go of his normal attitude and that he is really ready to see the nearby God before him" (*Jesus*).

c) *Existential Interpretation and Hermeneutics.* Bultmann saw the New Testament as fundamentally revealing the existential reality of the human condition. His reading of the Bible* strives to be resolutely modern or contemporary in at least two ways: "scientific," in that it retraces the evolutionary stages of the faith of the early Christians and reveals truly fundamental elements of the mythical elements that propel them, and "existential," in the sense of the existential philosophy* that was then emerging—the message in the Bible shows elements of the authentic coming of the human subject before his humanity, which is *ek-sistence*, stemming from the self to access the self, through the event of grace* and the decision of faith. This method of interpretation, which Bultmann took from the New Testament itself, especially allows us to better understand the "genius" of his commentary on the Gospel According to John (1941) and it opens the way for his *Theology of the New Testament* (1953).

d) *Kerygma and Mythos.* In 1941 Bultmann gave a lecture titled "New Testament and Mythology" (see *L'interprétation du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1955) that, once the war ended, caused a great uproar that lasted until the mid-1960s. The lecture shows that the language of early Christianity is prescientific and essentially influenced by myth*. The same is true for early Christian representations of the world in general and the more or less "miraculous" ways of describing things, particularly the interventions of God. Nevertheless, although the forms of this language seem irretrievably outdated and incomprehensible to modern man, the message, or kerygma, within the text remains relevant and contemporary.

It belongs to the theology that is forever extracting the message—kerygma or Word* of God—from the mythic layers in which it is both couched and imprisoned, thus making the message available to readers of this day and age. This is the goal of "demythologizing" the New Testament. This idea caused a great uproar and was widely debated; it was both enthusiastically supported and vehemently condemned. Most of the components of the controversy appear in the five volumes of *Kerygma und Mythos* (1948–55).

2. Man before the Calling of God

a) *Faith and Understanding.* *Glauben und Verstehen* (Faith and Understanding) is the title of the four volumes

that collect the essential aspects of Bultmann's strictly theological thought. It indicates that the two realities of faith and reason* do not contradict each other, but rather echo each other, while being on different levels. Indeed, faith is strictly existential. It does not consist in understanding something, but in understanding itself in a radical, authentic way. To believe is to understand oneself before God. However, sinners "want to live on their own, by their own means, instead of living from radical abandonment to God, which God grants and sends. The grace of God liberates them from this sin*, they open themselves to it through radical abandon—that is, into faith" (*Glauben und Verstehen*, II, p. 60). As for "understanding," the essential goal is to allow human reason to play its part autonomously. It is not existential, but it sheds light on the existential, reveals the forms of its language, and allows us to return to the event of the decision of which it is made and to its consequences. To "understand" is to have a foretaste—a "precomprehension" (*ein Vorverständnis*)—of authentic existence. It does not, however, bring it about. Only the *daß* can reach it, the pure kerygma event that tears man from his inauthentic torpor.

b) History and Eschatology. Led by the decision of faith, to be made again and again at every moment in order to *exist* authentically, the believer reaches authentic humanity, stamped with the seal of historicity. To exist is to tear oneself away from anonymous destiny; it is to enter into one's own historicity, discovering one's ability to decide. The eschatological dimension that fills the entire New Testament is henceforth understood as the horizon of the "final" call that, from God himself, rings out to summon us to the authentic decision and to bring about genuine historicity.

In Jesus' preaching, the "end" of history, about which eschatology* speaks in general terms, is understood as the end of the individual it addresses, and the individual confronts the "final" responsibilities that are his own. Thus, the New Testament both individualizes and historicizes eschatology. Eschatology no longer only belongs to the end of history, but penetrates it in order to transform it. Playing off semantic meanings that do not work in other languages, Bultmann says that eschatology brings history from the pure occurrence of facts (*Historie*) to *Geschichte* (from the verb *geschehen*, meaning "to arise," "to come to pass," or "to happen"). At this point, man finds himself formed in his very historicity (*History and Eschatology*, 1957).

c) Ethics. The sign of kerygma renders a decision on ethics necessary. This is, however, but another form of the decision of faith itself. The fundamental ethical de-

cision only implements the opening that the decision of faith creates because of its very nature. This opening then takes on the form of neighborly love*. As radical exigency, open to all neighbors without restriction or discrimination, love is certainly called to take on concrete forms every day. However, love is not exhausted in these forms, and what characterizes it above all involves the infinite exigency that it fundamentally carries.

III. Posterity

We have especially discussed the Bultmannian school from the 1950s and 1960s, in relation to his proposal for demythologizing the New Testament and the consequences it could have both in terms of the faith of the believer and in terms of possible investigations into the "historical Jesus." Following E. Käsemann's lead, some have indeed shown that the "historical Jesus" is perhaps not as unattainable as our Marburg professor had thought. Moreover, theologians like Oscar Cullmann have attempted to react to this way of dissolving history by developing a theology of "the history of salvation." Nevertheless, despite some exaggerations, Bultmann was able to develop a proposal that strongly marked his era and he did so with rare coherence.

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JEAN-FRANÇOIS COLLANGE

See also Barth, Karl; Bonhoeffer, Dietrich; Canon of Scriptures; Heidegger, Martin; Hermeneutics; Literary Genres in Scripture; Myth



Cajetan, Thomas de Vio. *See* Thomism

Calvin, John

1509–64

The most important figure in the Protestant Reformation after Luther*, Calvin was born in Noyon in 1509. His father was a notary and secretary of the episcopal court and planned a career in the Church for his son. Calvin had a thorough education and solid humanistic training. We know that he spent a year (1522–23 or 1523–24) at the Collège de la Marche in Paris and then four years at the Collège Montaigu, where he earned a master of arts. He should then have begun theological studies, but contrary to his original intention his father had him study law*. Calvin says that this was because law was more lucrative, but it was probably not by chance that at the same time his father was in conflict with the cathedral chapter (he died excommunicate a few years later). Calvin studied law for four years in Orléans and Bourges and during this time began to study Greek with Melchior Wolmar. He then began a career as a humanist, as evidenced by the publication in Paris in 1532 of his commentary on Seneca's *De clementia*. It is not known whether Calvin was already consciously a Protestant at this time; the date of what

he was to call his sudden conversion* (*subita conversio*) remains unknown. But in 1533 his friend Nicolas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, delivered an inaugural lecture that owed a good deal to Luther. Cop had to leave Paris as a consequence, and Calvin did the same. There followed three years of wandering in and out of France, during which Calvin went as far as Ferrara. In 1534 he abandoned the church livings that had allowed him to finance his studies, and in 1535, in Basel, he finished the first edition of *Christianae Religionis Institutio*, adorned with a dedication to François I that was at the same time a passionate defense of the persecuted French Protestants. The work was published in Basel in early 1536. At around the same time, Calvin returned to France for the last time and left with the intention of making a literary or scholarly career in Strasbourg or Basel, both of which were centers of Protestant humanism*. But his journey took him to Geneva, and this was the decisive moment of his life.

Geneva had just become independent from Savoy and joined the Reformation, largely impelled by the

fiery preaching* of Guillaume Farel (1489–1565). When Farel learned of the presence of the young Calvin in Geneva, he came to ask him to stay and help him construct a Protestant Church and a Protestant society. Nothing was further from Calvin's intentions. He had no experience of organization or administration and wished for only one thing: to lead the quiet life of a scholar. But Farel solemnly cursed Calvin's future studies if he did not stay in Geneva. Calvin recognized the voice of God* and stayed.

He was first named a simple reader at Saint-Peter, but he soon became the leading minister. By 1537 he had already sketched plans for the organization of the life of the Church of Geneva, a confession of faith, and a catechism. But the population did not look kindly on the Church that had now been reformed at the hands of the French. The crisis came to a head at Easter 1538, when the three ministers, Calvin, Farel, and Coraud, refused to celebrate communion* because of the tensions existing in the city. They were immediately expelled. Calvin accepted an invitation from Martin Bucer (1491–1551) to Strasbourg, where he was minister of the French community in exile from 1538 to 1541. However, the political climate of Geneva changed, and he returned there in the autumn of 1541 and stayed until his death in 1564.

His second stay in Geneva was marked by a certain number of conflicts, many of which have left traces in the image we have of him. The best-known episode is the condemnation of Michel Servet (1511–53), who died at the stake because of his heretical views on the Trinity*. It is still spoken of as though it were the act of Calvin alone and as though it were an exceptional case in the 16th century. Other cases (such as that of Bolsec [?–1584] in 1551, tried for having opposed the Calvinist doctrine of predestination*, and the execution of Gruet in 1547 for blasphemy and pornography) and the generally negative image that we have of the way in which the consistory imposed the discipline of the Church point in the same direction. However, Calvin was never a dictator. Until at least 1555 his position in the city was precarious; and as for the decisions of the consistory (including those of Calvin), they were not always as harsh as certain extreme cases might lead one to believe. Recent historical work presents a more balanced picture, but the caricature of Calvin, as repeated, for example, by Stefan Zweig in *Castellio gegen Calvin*, will no doubt be difficult to change.

When Calvin arrived on the theological stage, the Protestant movement was already strongly divided by disagreements about the Eucharist between supporters of Luther and supporters of Zwingli*. Calvin felt closer to Luther, although he did not accept his

more extreme views, in particular the conception ("ubiquism") that accorded omnipresence to the risen humanity of Christ*. But his principal concern was to reconcile the opponents. In this he was in agreement with Bucer, although he did not appreciate Bucer's tendency to rely on the ambiguity of formulations to conceal real doctrinal differences. He was persuaded that the reasons for the conflict would disappear if a serious study of the question were made from biblical and theological perspectives, and he at first thought—as seen, for example, in his *Short Treatise on the Lord's Supper* (1541)—that this was possible. But although he was able to reach a doctrinal agreement with Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75), what is now known as the *Consensus Tigurinus* of 1549, and to come to a common view with Ph. Melancthon (1497–1560), the controversy revived in his final years, particularly with the most rigid Lutherans, such as Westphal and Heshusius. Their disagreement on the Eucharist, on some points of Christology*, and on predestination thus separated the Lutheran and Reformed Churches until the Concord of Leuenberg in 1973. But the dispute had political or ecclesiastical significance only in places where large numbers of the two communities lived side by side, that is, especially in Germany. In Geneva, Calvin was the principal planner, organizer, and leader of the Reformed Church. He was the one who gave the Church its structure, its liturgy*, its religious music*, and its discipline. As early as his proposals of 1537, he intended to organize the spiritual life* of the community around the regular celebration of Communion, but he never managed to persuade the Genevans to make it as frequent as he wished.

He did accomplish two of his plans: the introduction of the singing of the Psalms* in the liturgy and the establishment of a system of supervision by the elders. In the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* of 1541 Calvin proposed a fourfold division of functions in the Church (pastor*, doctor, elder, and deacon*), as well as the establishment of a consistory, a group of ministers and elders that was to supervise the life of the Church and examine cases worthy of censure (from reprimand to excommunication). He thereby established the presbyterian-synodal system of church government* that is still, broadly speaking, in operation in Reformed Churches throughout the world.

From the liturgical and homiletic point of view, Calvin's Geneva followed the Swiss tradition inaugurated by Zwingli. The structure of the service was founded on that of the medieval sermon rather than that of the Mass, and preaching followed the method of *lectio continua* of the Bible* rather than the division into pericopes used in the Middle Ages. Calvin himself preached in an improvisatory style several times a

week. From 1549 his sermons were transcribed and corrected for distribution. We have several hundred of them (189 on Acts and 342 on Isaiah). He also frequently made commentaries on the Old and New Testaments in his capacity as doctor of the school of Geneva, which was to become an academy in 1559 when Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605) was called to Geneva to assume leadership of it.

We may classify the very numerous works of Calvin under five rubrics:

- 1) *The Institution of Christian Religion*, “in which is included a summary of piety, and almost everything that it is necessary to know in the doctrine of salvation.” In the first edition (1536), written in Latin, the *Institutio* contained six chapters and followed the outline of Luther’s catechisms: law*, faith*, prayer*, the sacraments*, the false sacraments, and Christian liberty*. In 1539 Calvin reworked and augmented the text, abandoning this outline but not replacing it with a different coherent structure. The third edition in 1543, modified again in 1545 and 1550, was even longer and still without a satisfactory form. Finally, the fourth edition of 1559, longer than all the earlier ones, organized the material into four books following the pattern of the earlier creeds: knowledge of the Creator, knowledge of the Redeemer, participation in the grace* of Christ (broad terms, the themes of sanctification, justification*, and predestination), and visible mediations (particularly the Church and the sacraments but also political organization in the final chapter). This edition of the *Institutio* is the most thorough and complete exposition of Calvin’s theology. It well deserves its status as a classic of Christian dogmatics*, even though a substantial number of the additions made between 1536 and 1559 are strongly polemical and reflect all the controversies in which Calvin had been involved over the quarter century separating the first from the final version. It is a systematic work: that is, it presents only one aspect of Calvin’s thought, although it is an essential aspect. Other works show the operation of this constantly probing intelligence from other angles, and the *Institutio* alone cannot provide an accurate idea of its author. The French translation of the *Institutio* by Calvin himself, published in 1541, also played a decisive role in the evolution of the French language and French literature.
- 2) *The exegetical work*. Alongside the hundreds of sermons already mentioned, there are a series of

Commentaries on the entire New Testament, with the exception of 1 and 2 John and Revelation. The latter he admitted barely understanding. These commentaries appeared at irregular intervals between 1540 (*Romans*) and 1555 (*Harmony of the Gospels*). Calvin did not write commentaries on all of the Old Testament, and only some of the works that he published on the subject, from 1551 on, can be considered commentaries in the modern sense of the word (*Isaiah*, *Genesis*, *Pentateuch*, and *Joshua*). The others are the fruit of sermons or exegetical lectures.

- 3) *The polemical work*. Calvin also wrote a large number of apologetic works defending the Reformation and polemical works on controversial theological subjects. A good example of the former is the *Reply to Sadolet* that Calvin wrote during his stay in Strasbourg in 1539. The best known of the latter is the treatise *De aeterna praedestinatione Dei* of 1552, which repeats and develops arguments on free will and predestination already used against Albert Pighi (c. 1490–1542) in his *Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae* (1543).
- 4) The catechisms and confessions. Along with the Ecclesiastical Ordinances should be mentioned the Geneva Catechism and Form of Prayers and Ecclesiastical Chants (both 1542). It was also Calvin who prepared the first sketch of the *Confessio gallica* in 1559, one of the major texts of this kind in the 16th century.
- 5) *The correspondence*. This was very large, and extended from England in the west to Poland and Hungary in the east. Like Bullinger in Zurich, Calvin was in constant contact not only with friends or other reformers but also with entire communities, refugees, former students in prison and sometimes martyred for their faith, members of the petty or high nobility, princes, and monarchs. His letters shed extraordinary light on his life, his interests, and his activities but also on the tumultuous history of the Reformation and the beginnings of the Counter-Reformation.

The principal characteristics of Calvin’s theology are as follows. Like Luther, Calvin belongs to the Augustinian tradition, which explains his insistence on the corruption of human nature, the ineffectiveness of works for salvation, and justification *sola gratia* and *sola fide*. It is in this context that we must situate his concept of dual predestination. However, Calvin goes much further in this area than the Augustinian tradition, as represented, for example, by Thomas* Aquinas, for he holds not only that some are predestined for salvation while others are cast aside (the “outcast”) but also

that predestination to damnation is a deliberate act of divine sovereignty. Such an idea of God obviously poses a problem, from which have arisen many conflicts in Reformed theology up to and including the recapitulation of the entire question by Barth* (*KD* II/2). But it is not really the confessional specificity of Calvinism*, which is limited to making explicit ideas that were indeed bequeathed by Augustine*.

There are also differences between Calvin and Luther, some of which are due to Calvin's humanistic education. Alongside justification, Calvin laid emphasis on sanctification, the continuous work of the Holy* Spirit, on the *tertius usus legis* (ethical practice) as the principal function of the law as opposed to Luther's preference for the *usus elencticus* (law made to convict man of sin*), and on the continuity between the Old and New Testaments. The importance of the role of the Holy Spirit is particularly apparent in the Calvinist doctrine of the Eucharist: it is the Spirit that "abolishes distance" and unites us in the sacrament with the risen Christ who has ascended to heaven. This last point brings to the fore what Lutherans were to call the "*extra calvinisticum*," the idea that the divine nature of Christ transcends the confines of his humanity. One might say that on this point Calvin is close to the school of Antioch*, while Luther has more affinities with the school of Alexandria.* But Calvin also went further than Luther on another point in restoring force to the second commandment* (the prohibition of images*) and by strictly imposing it in the architecture* and decoration of churches.

In contrast to medieval theology—about which he generally spoke ill, although he certainly owed more to it than he thought—Calvin, like other reformers, criticized speculation and allegory. Allegory finds in texts meanings that are not there, and speculation seeks a knowledge of God that is abstract and therefore sterile. Calvin thus begins the *Institutio* by clearly indicating the link between knowledge* of God and self-knowledge, asserts that all true knowledge of God comes from obedience—that it serves the honor of God and our interests and is inseparable from piety—and asks what God is in relation to us rather than what he is in himself (*Institutio* I. 1–2). In his exegesis* of the Old Testament in particular, Calvin is careful not to give a prematurely christological interpretation of texts, and he pays much more attention to the traditions of Jewish exegesis than many other commentators.

Calvin did not believe himself called on to do original work, rather that he had been given the task of restoring the "true face of the Church," something that had been more visible in the early centuries, according to him, than in the thousand years preceding the Reformation. The *Institutio* was in his view a manual of *Christian philosophy**: once it existed, he would be

able to devote himself to exegesis of and commentary on the Bible without the need to undertake investigation as each new theological problem arose. Calvin's commentaries and his correspondence broadened the audience for his work in Geneva without changing its nature. It was always a matter of reforming the Church for the glory* of God and the good of the people of God. There can be no doubt that Calvin was a major figure in the history of the Church.

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ALASDAIR HERON

See also Bucer, Martin; Calvinism; Humanism, Christian; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Protestantism

Calvinism

Calvinism is not understood as a precise doctrine. Very broadly, the term designates everything that is closely or distantly related to the history and culture of the Reformed Churches*, although John Calvin* (1509–64) was neither the first nor the only leader of the Reformation, and although after Calvin's death, Calvinism was not always faithful to its namesake's way of thinking.

The terms *calvinien* and *Calvinist* seem to have appeared in France and England in the second half of the 16th century, which shows the extent to which Calvin was already seen as the principal figure of the Reformation. But the Reformation had begun with Zwingli* in Zurich, and many Reformation leaders, both French and German speaking, were older than Calvin and had become involved in the movement much earlier than he. The Germans included Martin Bucer* (1491–1551), Wolfgang Capiton (1478–1541), Leo Jud (1482–1542), Oswald Geishüsler—also known as Oswald Myconius—(1488–1552), Johannes Huzszen (1482–1531), and Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75). Among the French reformers were Guillaume Farel (1489–1565) and Pierre Viret (1511–71). In the succeeding generation, however, Calvin and Geneva dominated the scene, and his personal influence was considerable throughout Europe, from Hungary to Scotland. Because Calvin's influence was decisive in the Reformed Churches, they can be called Calvinist, even if the title is not entirely accurate. In France, the pejorative synonym “Huguenots” was used, perhaps first applied to the Genevans and then to all Calvinists, derived from the German *Eidgenossen*, meaning “confederates.”

A sketch of the history of Calvinism in general is essential before being able to provide details of its theological, intellectual, and cultural history. Most of Germany and Scandinavia supported Luther*, whereas the Reformation narrowly defined spread to eastern and western Europe. In the Holy Roman Empire, it took root particularly in the western part of what is now Germany as well as in Bohemia and Hungary. Unlike Lutheranism, the Reformed Church was not officially recognized in the empire until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. In France the Huguenots made up a significant minority within a fundamentally hostile state, as attested by the wars of religion in France, the

Edict of Nantes, and the consequences of its revocation. Calvinism triumphed in Holland and Scotland, and its widespread influence in England was among the causes of that nation's religious and political crises in the 17th century. Then Calvinism spread to North America with the Puritan emigration. The intellectual history of Calvinism is thus linked to the history of western Europe and North America, particularly in the late 16th and the 17th centuries, when it dominated the scene. The gradual decline of Calvinist orthodoxy, on the other hand, did not bring an end to the influence of Calvinism in general. In eastern Europe, the outcome of the Thirty Years' War did not completely destroy the Calvinist Churches but reduced them to silence. It was only with the Edict of Toleration of Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II in 1781 that they recovered some degree of freedom of expression.

Different forms of Calvinism can be distinguished in the 16th and 17th centuries. In Switzerland the memory of Zwingli remained alive, and Bullinger seemed as important as Calvin to his contemporaries. When the Reformation spread into Germany, Zurich did not play a lesser role than Geneva. And when a particular form of Calvinist theology was developed in Heidelberg around 1560, with Kasper Olevian (1536–87) and Zacharias Ursinus (1534–83), who together drew up the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563, Calvin, Bullinger, and Melancthon (1497–1560) all contributed to it; but this theology, the first form of “federal” theology, was nonetheless a new synthesis.

The influence of Calvin was most notable in France, Holland, and Scotland, although the theologies of resistance to “impious monarchs” that were to be developed in those three countries were entirely contrary to his convictions and recommendations. The indirect consequence of this development was that the second entry of the Reformation onto German territory, around 1600, was more distinctly Calvinist but in a form developed well after the death of Calvin. The political ambitions of the Reformation princes, which were to lead to the disaster of the Thirty Years' War, played a significant role in this outcome. It can nevertheless be said that one of the strengths of Calvinism in general was its capacity to survive even in hostile surroundings, thanks to a rather typically Calvinist sense of the independence of the church* from the state and

thanks to specifically ecclesiastical institutions (consistory, synod*, and so on) that had been created in a form that made them impervious to political authorities.

What may be called classical Calvinism was established after the death of Calvin and combined elements taken from Zurich as well as from Geneva. It reached its full development with the Theology of the Covenant (or federal theology) of the mid-17th century. This was a synthesis of the particularly Calvinist notion of predestination* and of a conception of the covenant* that owed more to Zwingli and especially to Bullinger than to Calvin. Bullinger had developed the theme of the single covenant of the Old and New Testaments to defend the practice of the baptism* of children against the Anabaptists*. A distinction was later added between the “covenant of works” (the original Covenant) and the “covenant of grace” (after the Fall), which is in some sense equivalent to the Lutheran dialectic of law and gospel. In Scotland, the concept of covenant took on a markedly social and political connotation, and the idea of the covenant of works was used as a framework for thinking about the political order and natural law, a task to which a number of Reformation writers devoted themselves in the 17th century in Scotland, England, France, Holland, and Germany. Along with the thought of the Puritans, which was decisive in North America, that of the French and English adversaries of absolute monarchy was one of the essential sources of the modern conception of democracy*, the separation of powers, and the social contract.

Federalism reached its full theological development in the middle of the 17th century as evinced by the Westminster Confession (1647) and the *Summa Doctrinae de Testamento et Fœdere Dei* (1648) of Johannes Koch (1603–69). Meanwhile, the importance of predestination in Reformation doctrine had been brought to the fore by the Arminian controversy. On this question, Jacob Harmensen (1560–1609) defended a more moderate view than Calvin’s and deemed that God decides that some will be saved because he foresees that they will have faith (to a certain extent, they might even “merit” their salvation). In 1618–19, the Synod of Dort rejected five theses presented by the Arminians in their *Remonstrance* of 1610. The name *Remonstrants* was later used to designate the Arminians, and the term *counter-Remonstrants*—or sometimes *Gomarists*—was used for the victorious supporters of Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641).

In place of the rejected Arminian theses, the Synod of Dort formulated what are known as the five essential points of Calvinism. They are the following: 1) Human nature is totally corrupted by sin*, (2) di-

vine election is unconditional, (3) the reconciliation bestowed by God* in Jesus Christ is in fact confined to the circle of the elect, (4) grace is irresistible, and (5) the elect will persevere until final salvation*. Thereafter, this unambiguous doctrine of “dual predestination” was to be a source of constant conflict in the Reformation tradition, and only a minority of Churches and theologians would subscribe to it today.

The most remarkable attempt at a reformulation is no doubt that of Karl Barth* (1886–1968) in *Die kirchliche Dogmatik* (“Church Dogmatics,” II/2, 1–563), although this type of theology is not a Calvinist invention but belongs to the Augustinian tradition (see, e.g., Thomas* Aquinas’s *Summa Theologica* Ia, question 23). As these examples demonstrate, Calvinist thought is greatly concerned with being systematic, rational, and coherent. This concern with clarity and method is in part the legacy of humanism*, which played a cardinal role in the Reformation. It can also be seen at work in Calvinist circles in the interaction between theology and other disciplines, such as jurisprudence, philosophy*, and the sciences. And in the generations that followed the apogee of federal theology, Reformation thinkers were indeed more creative in these areas than in theology itself, with the remarkable exception of Jonathan Edwards*.

Calvinism generally remained in contact with the movement of ideas. For example, Pierre de la Ramée (1515–72), a professor at the Collège de France who was assassinated in the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, became a Calvinist at the Colloque de Poissy in 1561, and his logic, linked to Melanchthon’s theology, exercised a profound influence on Protestant thought of the late 16th and the 17th centuries. As another example, the theological and scientific ideas of England’s Francis Bacon (1561–1626) probably owed a good deal to Calvinist influence. We should also note that the Calvinists of the 17th century were generally open to Cartesian ideas—with the exception of the Dutch counter-Remonstrants, who were dominated by the imposing Dutch theologian Gijsbert Voet (1589–1676). And John Locke (1632–1704), although hardly orthodox, was a typical product of the Calvinist intellectual tradition in England. Of primary importance, however, was the Académie réformée of Saumur, founded in 1593. An intellectual center for all of western France, it was particularly remarkable for its professors of Oriental languages and its jurists, who formed what has been called the “critical school,” whose members included John Cameron (1579–1625), Louis Cappel (1585–1658), and Moïse Amyraut (1596–1664). Also important was the Academy of Sedan, among whose teachers was Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), compiler of the celebrated *Nouvelles de*

la République des Lettres (from 1684) and author of the monumental *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Rotterdam, 1697). Bayle's influence on the Enlightenment cannot be overestimated. It can thus be said that Calvinism in its way fostered both the Enlightenment (because of its intellectual and systematic aspect) and Pietism*, which was directly derived from the Puritan systematization of the *ordo salutis* in terms of stages of Christian experience (see the Westminster Confession, X–XX).

Calvinist theology underwent considerable renewal in the 19th century. The father of liberal theology, Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher* (1768–1834), belonged to the Reformed tradition, as did more conservative theologians such as the leader of Dutch neo-Calvinism, Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920), Charles Hodge (1797–1878) and Archibald Hodge (1823–86), and Benjamin Warfield of Princeton (1851–1921), not to mention those who inspired the liturgical renewal in the United States and Scotland. In addition, 19th-century Calvinists tried to remedy the fragmentation of their Churches, and the first steps were taken toward federation. The World Alliance of Reformed Churches, created in 1875, is today the largest existing Protestant confessional family and includes more members than the families of Lutherans, Anglicans, Methodists, or Baptists.

The greatest Reformed theologian of the 20th century—although he cannot be confined to narrow confessional limits—is Karl Barth*. One of his most remarkable students, the Scottish theologian T. F. Torrance (1913–), has undertaken an extension of the domain of theological reflection beyond its traditional boundaries by taking into account the problems posed by the natural sciences*. In North America an important role was played by a more conservative and confessional Calvinism of Dutch origin (Cornelius van Til, 1895–1987), but the influence of Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971), who came from a German Reformed background, was probably more significant in the long run. In the years following World War II, along with the Scotsman John Baillie, he was the only Protestant theologian who could really be set against Barth.

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See also **Anglicanism; Calvin, John; Congregationalism; Family, Confessional; Lutheranism; Methodism; Protestantism; Puritanism**

Cano, Melchior. See **Loci theologici**

Canon Law

The term *canon law* is used to designate the body of law that organizes the activity of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches*. The Churches that came out of the Reformation tend to speak of “discipline” instead. The term is a translation of the traditional Latin expression *ius canonicum*.

a) *The Law of the Catholic Church.* The law of the Church is contained in two codes. The first, called *Codex Iuris Canonici* (“Code of Canon Law”), is concerned with the Roman Church. It was promulgated in 1983 by Pope John Paul II following a revision of the first code promulgated by Benedict XV in 1917. The second code, called the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* (“Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches”), is concerned with the Eastern Catholic Churches and was promulgated in 1990. It took up the uncompleted work of codification begun in 1927 under the pontificate of Pius XI, which was halted in 1958 because, on 25 January 1957, John XXIII had announced the convening of the Second Vatican Council* as well as the revision of the Code of Canon Law of the Catholic Church. It was thus already clear that the future canon law would make reference to the declarations of Vatican* II. It took 20 years to complete the revision of the Roman code, following work by committees in which canonists from around the world participated. In a similar way, the code of canons of the Eastern Catholic Churches was prepared by a long effort lasting 16 years.

The law of the Catholic Church is not confined to the codes, although between the two of them they make up the most important part of the *universal law* of the Church—that is, the law applicable throughout the Church and promulgated by the pope*. Canon law is also contained in scattered official texts, rarely brought together, either of universal law or making up the body of the *particular law* of the Church. The latter category of law is important because it emanates from institutions capable of creating their own law or has to do with groups able to be endowed with a particular law. This is true of particular Churches or local* Churches and their associations (ecclesiastical regions and provinces and conferences of bishops). It is also true of all associations, whether or not they fall under the jurisdiction of sacred institutions. Taken as a direct

application of universal law when that law so provides or, more broadly, promulgated in conformity with universal law, particular law has the capacity to be more flexible and closer to local or specific conditions. Communities of the Church count on it to provide a framework for their activity and to demonstrate their identity.

In addition, there are other sources of law, for canon law is a legal system developed in the way that major modern legal systems have developed. These sources include general principles of law and authentic interpretations provided by the legislative body itself. To these sources is added the jurisprudence produced by ecclesiastical courts, either in matrimonial matters—when the courts have ruled on requests for annulment of marriage*—or on administrative questions following disputes brought before the jurisdiction authorized to hear complaints against decisions made by people in power. Closely related to canon law itself, there are two important bodies of law. First is the *concordat law*, made up of documents of all kinds, defining the relations between the Catholic Church* and states or political societies*. There is also what is called in the Catholic Church *ecclesiastical civil law*, covering all the branches of national law encompassing religious life, the law of physical and legal persons, and the law of property. For example, for France, this law includes the rule of separation applied to religious denominations, the rule of recognized and nonrecognized denominations in Alsace-Moselle, and the statutes in force in the overseas departments and territories.

b) *Codification.* The use of codification in order to present the basic sources of canon law is recent. It dates from the late 19th century, a period in which the Napoleonic Code served as a model. In fact, at the time there was a problem of accessibility of the law. This problem was due to the increase in the volume of legal texts in the period following the Council of Trent*, when the popes were very active in legislative matters, in particular through the dicasteries (bureaucratic subdivisions) of the Roman Curia that were created as early as the mid-16th century. The process of codification provided a clear presentation of the law in short articles. However, this required an effort of logical construction, which accomplished a break with the

preceding method. Until this break occurred, the principle of *corpus iuris canonici* had been followed, consisting in providing to the jurist the whole body of law that had previously been promulgated. The jurisconsult, before codification, could resolve questions posed to him by going through previous law as far back as Roman law, relying on the authority of published texts. It should be recalled that, as early as the fourth century, canon law was assembled in collections, at first chronological and later systematic, bringing together various sources, conciliary decisions, pontifical decrees, and even Roman civil law.

In 1140, Gratian, a monk of Bologna, began, on his own, to attempt a unification of previous law by publishing a compilation of texts under the title *Concordia Discordantium Canonum* ("Concordance of Discordant Canons"). After presenting texts on a single subject from various authorities, Gratian provided an opinion. Collectively, these opinions were known as the *dicta Gratiani*. The work had great success and gave rise to the work of the men known as *decretists*, or commentators on the decrees of Gratian. A century later, Pope Gregory IX decided to have Raymond de Pennafort carry out work similar to Gratian's, with a view to provide knowledge not only of law before Gratian but also of law that had been promulgated after him. Once the work had been completed, it was promulgated in the famous bull *Decretals of Gregory IX*. Thus augmented and commented on by the decretists, all these laws were once again assembled in 1500 in a single volume called the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* ("Body of Canon Law") so as to refer to the *Corpus iuris civilis* of Justinian.

In 1917 jurists found themselves facing a legal text that was novel in relation to those they had known earlier. They had to transform their method of working. Trained to reason as jurisconsults, they had to start relying on the text of the code in their reasoning. There followed a period in which the activity of the canonist was confined to a labor of exegesis. This goes a long way toward explaining the disaffection toward canon law that was particularly noticeable in the years following World War II—in France, for example, where the Catholic Church went through the experience of a missionary pastoral movement. Canon law seemed unable to provide a framework for this movement. Limited by its method, it was even more limited by its categories, based on an ecclesiology* that defined the Church alone as *societas iudice perfecta*.

A new interest in canon law made itself felt after the promulgation of the second Code of Canon Law in 1983. The question arose as to whether the procedure of codification would be repeated or whether there would be a return to a more traditional method of pre-

sentation of the law. But, even though it was vigorously debated, this was not an essential question. It was considered more important that the new code had incorporated the ecclesiological categories of Vatican II. The council thus appeared as the originator of many new institutions and legislative materials that a jurist could use as a basis for his interpretations.

c) Content of the Two Codes of Canon Law. In 30 headings for the Code of Eastern Churches and in seven books for the Roman Code, canon legislation is presented in several key groups: the organization of the Church and its canonical offices of government*, law concerning forms of worship, and law dealing with the teaching function. There is—explicitly in the Roman code and implicitly in the Eastern code—a presentation organized around the three functions that Christ—who is priest, prophet, and king—had entrusted to the Church: teaching, sanctification, and government. The baptized or the faithful participate in the exercise of these functions, either individually (following the law of physical persons) or grouped in communities (following the law of associative communities). Their participation takes on a particular character within the communities erected by the Church itself—that is, dioceses and parishes. The ecclesiological reality of particular Churches "in which and through which the Catholic Church exists" (Canon 368) is fundamental. It allows us to understand and to situate in another way the legislation concerning the institutions that exercise a hierarchical power over the entire Church (or the patriarchates* in the case of the Eastern Churches). There are also legislative sections devoted to institutions specific to the Catholic Church, such as laws governing the consecrated life and a law of sanctions (or, following the old terminology, penal law).

d) Canon Law Doctrine. Because of the place given to the teaching of canon law in the Catholic Church, particularly in the many university faculties, a doctrine does exist that is large and vigorous and available in several dozen specialized journals. All questions related to canon law and its legal institutes can be treated there. At the same time, it should be noted that, by the end of Vatican II, several theories on the bases of canon law had come to light, sometimes going so far as to be organized into schools. Among the most well known, those classified under the broad designation "theology of canon law" attempt to give an essentially different character to canon law as compared to national law. This is true for the German Mörsdorf, whose approach dismisses a preexisting general notion of law but provides a supernatural* basis for canon law on the

grounds of the theological notions of Word* and sacrament*. It is also the case for the Swiss Corecco, who structures law as *ordo fidei* and not as *ordo rationis*.

This enterprise of a new foundation for canon law is generally presented as a renewal within the Catholic Church of a movement inaugurated among German Protestants in the middle of the 20th century, when the Evangelical Churches organized themselves in a specific way in the face of the state. On the other hand, other schools are attached to the autonomy of canonic science in relation to theology*—for example, the editorial board of the journal *Concilium* and the school of Navarre, which gives canon law the role of establishing the proper relation between the constitution of the Church and its reality as a sacrament of salvation*. In addition to these schools, there are methods in which the practice and the application of the law provide a status for its development and interpretation.

e) Orthodox Canon Law. For the Orthodox, canon law is a theological and legal discipline. The body of ecumenical conciliary canonical legislation, which is known by the common title *Nomocanon* or *Syngtama Canonum*, was officially confirmed by the synod* of

Constantinople in 920. It makes up the *ratio materiae* of that law and consists of 85 canons attributed to the Apostles*, canons decreed by the first seven ecumenical councils of the first millennium, canons decreed by 11 local councils (third to ninth centuries), and canons of 13 Fathers. All this makes up the *Corpus iuris canonici* of the Orthodox Church. This conciliary legislation is an integral part of the canonical tradition. The fundamental canonical principles expressed by this legislation are fully affirmed in our day in the text of all the constitutional *status*, or *charters*, of the Orthodox Churches and govern their organization and functioning.

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See also Ecclesiastical Discipline; Gratian; Jurisdiction; Law and Legislation

Canon of Scriptures

1. History

a) The Jewish Bible. The Hebrew Bible was assembled gradually. The Torah (Genesis through Deuteronomy) was the first to be completed; its establishment is attributed to Esdras (*see* Neh 8:2), which places it in the middle of the fifth century B.C. or perhaps at the beginning of the fourth. In the course of the third century B.C., it was translated into Greek by a group of Jews at Alexandria by royal request and for cultural (indeed, political reasons, as recounted in the *Letter of Aristeas*) as well as for liturgical reading. This was the beginning of the Septuagint (also known as the LXX).

The prophetic corpus was assembled at the latest during the third century B.C. since at the beginning of the second century, Jesus ben Sirach was familiar with Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets* (as can be seen in Sir 48:22–25 and

49:6–10); indeed, toward 164 B.C., Jeremiah was numbered among the “books*.” Around 116, the Greek translator of Sirach shows in his prologue to the book that he knew the two groupings of the Law* and the Prophets, which appear by then to have become closed, while a third group consisted of an indeterminate number of writings and apparently remained open to new additions.

By Prophets must be understood the earlier prophets, that is to say our historical books from Joshua to 2 Kings, and the later prophets, from Isaiah to Malachai; the other books consisted at least of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and even Daniel. At the time of ben Sirach’s translator, most of these books had been translated into Greek, but “what was originally expressed in Hebrew does not have exactly the same sense when translated into another language. Not only this work,

but also the law itself, the prophecies, and the rest of books differ not a little as originally expressed" (Sirach prologue). At the turn of the first century, 2 Maccabees 2:13 attributes to Nehemiah the gathering together of the "the books about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David [that is, the Psalms]," an undertaking continued by Judas Maccabeus around 160 B.C. The Law and the Prophets are mentioned in 2 Maccabees 15:9, and 1 Maccabees 12:9 speaks of the encouragement given by "the holy books which are in our hands." In addition, there is a quotation from Psalm 79 in 1 Maccabees 7:17.

While Judaism* was thus enlarging its scriptural corpus little by little, the Samaritans, who had been hostile to the Jews since the fourth century, restricted themselves to the Pentateuch. Their refusal of the Prophets and the other books may have been absolute by the time their schism was consummated in 128, with the destruction of their sanctuary at Gerizim by John Hyrcanus I. In the first centuries B.C. and A.D., opinions within Judaism diverged. The Sadducees recognized the authority* of the Torah alone, though this does not preclude their having known the other books (see TJ, Megillah 7, 70 d). The inhabitants of Qumran seem to have accepted all the books that would be accepted after their time in the Hebrew canon (except possibly Esther), but they found room in addition for Sirach and for Enoch and other apocalyptic writings.

The Jewish translators at Alexandria had used a Hebrew text in its premodern state; in this respect, 1 Qumran Isaiah^a resembles the Septuagint, while 1 Qumran Isaiah^b foreshadows the Hebrew text that would become canonical. At the beginning of our era, Judaism had a standard Hebrew text, on the basis of which a partial revision of the Greek translation was apparently undertaken in Judea, as evidenced by the manuscript of the Minor Prophets found in a cave at Nahal Hever. The first Greek translation of Ezra-Nehemiah, the 1 Esdras of the LXX, had already been supplanted in the previous century by a new translation, the 2 Esdras of the LXX. Song of Solomon, Ruth, and Lamentations were translated for the first time, in Judea, perhaps for use among the Diaspora at major festivals. In the case of Esther and Tobit, there is no trace of a Judaean revision of the original Greek translations, although the latter has been found at Qumran in both Hebrew and Aramaic. Ecclesiastes would not be translated into Greek until the end of the first century A.D.

For the Pharisees, the basis on which a book was accepted seems to have been its composition prior to the cessation of prophecy (see 1 Macc 9:27) during the Persian period and its transmission to the Great Synagogue (*Mishnah*, *Abôt* 1, 1; see Neh 8?). Taken liter-

ally, even Ezra-Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Daniel (considered as prophetic, as seen in Mt 24:15) and Song of Solomon were accepted, but Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Sirach posed a problem. After the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the Pharisean assembly of Jamnia around the year 90 seems to have taken a stand on only two points relating to the canon: the Song of Solomon "stained the hands" (i.e., it was sacred and canonical) and thus could not be used at secular festivals, while Ecclesiastes, already accepted by the school of Hillel, continued to be accepted, though some would keep questioning its canonicity until the end of the second century. On the other hand, Sirach, which may have been accepted at Qumran, was not discussed, and it remained outside the canon. Greatly appreciated among Jewish families (see 2 Macc 15:36), but lacking at Qumran, Esther seems to have been accepted only after the assembly of Jamnia.

Soon afterward, Josephus, in *Flavius Josephus against Apion*, asserted that the Pharisaic canon was fixed and consisted of 22 books, including Esther and Ecclesiastes but combining Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah. At the end of the second century, the Hebrew canon (*TB*, *Baba Bathra*, 14 b) consisted (and would henceforth consist) of 24 books, Ruth and Lamentations being by that time distinct from Judges and Jeremiah. The closure of the Hebrew canon was imposed on Pharisaism, the only current form of Judaism that had survived after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Before or during the second Jewish revolt (A.D. 131–135), Akiba excluded the "outer books" (*Mishnah*, *Sanhedrin* 10, 1), these being "the *gilyônîm* and the books of the *minim*" (*Tosefta*, *Yadaim* 2, 13). This has often been interpreted as an allusion to the Gospels* and other Christian writings, but some scholars take it to refer to books originating with the Jewish sects of the period. Was Christianity the principal motive? This seems unlikely since the process of the formation of the Hebrew corpus led it to become closed at the moment when Judaism was aiming to ensure its survival by means of what remained to it—its sacred books along with its God*.

The list of 22 books given by Flavius Josephus (*Against Apion*, 38–41) contains the five books of the Law, 13 books of the "prophets who were after Moses" (probably Joshua, Judges-Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah-Lamentations, Ezekiel, the Twelve, Job, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Esther), and four "Writings" (Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon). Probably a century later, the list of *TB* *Baba Bathra*, 14b, gives a different composition: the Prophets now consist only of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve, while to the group of Writings have been

added all those other books previously considered as prophetic, with Ruth preceding Psalms, Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes; Daniel is no longer regarded as prophetic. This new division into 24 books would change no further, except for the order of the Writings; the five “scrolls” (Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther) would not be grouped together until the Middle Ages.

b) The Christian Old Testament. At the time of Jesus*, Hellenistic Jews had a collection of books in Greek more extensive than the list fixed by the Pharisees at the end of the first century.

This larger Greek collection may have been assembled on principles similar to those advocated by the Pharisees. Besides Proverbs, they read two books attributed to Solomon—Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon. The LXX added the Wisdom of Solomon (composed in Greek). They combined Lamentations and Jeremiah. The LXX further added Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah to Jeremiah. They retained Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles as history and supplemented the LXX with 1 and 2 Maccabees and even 3 and 4 Maccabees. Fictionalized stories (Ruth, Jonah, and Esther) were accepted. The LXX also admitted Tobit and Judith. Finally, Sirach, which had remained outside the Pharisees’ canon, although frequently cited by them, was retained in the LXX. From this time on, there is a noticeable tendency on the part of both the Pharisees and the LXX to be wary of the apocalyptic writings (other than Daniel) that were so valued at Qumran.

With the exception of Jude, the New Testament displays the same reservations toward Jewish apocalyptic* literature and is restricted largely to the books retained by the Pharisaic canon. Christianity subsequent to the New Testament found itself faced with two collections of books, the Hebrew corpus and the LXX.

While used by the early Christians, the LXX was little by little rejected by Jews in favor of the Greek translations by Theodotion and Aquila. The Christians, largely ignorant of Hebrew, read the LXX. Justin Martyr, for example, did so around A.D. 160 in his disputes with the Jews, though he was aware of the differences between the Greek text and the Hebrew one used by Trypho (*Dialogue*, 73; 89). In any case, Justin made no use of books that were absent from the Hebrew canon. Even before 150, Marcion rejected the entire Old Testament and retained only Paul and Luke from the New Testament: Justin, Tertullian*, and Irenaeus would refute this anti-Judaism (Marcionism*).

Around 170, Melito of Sardis (Sc 31, 21 *Sq*) brought back from Palestine a list of books recognized by the Jews; these books, also accepted by the Christians, in-

cluded neither Esther nor the books peculiar to the LXX, although Melito drew inspiration from Wisdom of Solomon for his Easter homily. On the other hand, at the same period, Christians in Africa translated the LXX into Latin (the *Vetus Latina*), including Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, and so on. At the end of the second century and the beginning of the third, Tertullian and, more explicitly, Cyprian* drew on these books that were not in the Hebrew Bible, as did Clement of Alexandria, who made much use of Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach and even cited apocalyptic writings on occasion.

Origen*, who in his *Hexapla* would compare the LXX and the other Greek translations to the Hebrew text, was aware of the difference between the Hebrew Bible and the LXX. His contacts with Judaism initially made him cautious regarding the books and additions specific to the LXX, and he did not comment on any of them. It may be that the texts peculiar to the LXX were not read in Christian liturgical assemblies, but Origen continued to cite them from time to time, even as scriptural text (*see* SC 71, 352f). Around 240, in his *Letter to Africanus* (SC 302, 532–535), he declared that even though he had not, in his dialogues with the Jews, made use of the books refused by them, there is no reason for Christians to feel obliged to reject the books derived from the LXX, which they currently used. At the end of his life, Origen excluded the “Apocrypha*,” which he opposed to the “testamentary” books, in other words, those of the Hebrew Bible (*Endiathêkoi: Commentary on John II*, 188). It is unclear whether he reserved the books specific to the LXX for the use of novices (*see* SC 29, 512 *Sq*) or even of initiates.

The fourth and early fifth centuries were a time of contrasts. Around 350, Cyril of Jerusalem knew the 22 books of the Hebrew canon (PG 33, 497 c-500 b). Reacting to those who rejected the Old Testament and those who were attached to the Apocrypha, he asked, “What is the point of wasting one’s efforts discriminating between the controversial books, if one is ignorant of those that are recognized by all Jews and Christians?” (PG 33, 496 a). The 22 books were, however, read in the text of the LXX, including Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah with Esther. Cyril also sometimes cites Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach.

In his Easter letter of 367 (PG 26, 1 436–1 440), the more open-minded bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius*, distinguished the “Apocrypha” from the 22 Hebrew books (except for Esther), read in the text of the LXX, but he added a group of “uncanonical” books intended for novices: Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Esther, Judith, and Tobit, to which he appended the *Didache* and *The Shepherd* of Hermas. The canon of Athanasius’s

Old Testament prefigured that of the Council* of Laodicea in 360, which included Esther (canon 59). It was at this period that the biblical corpus began to be referred to as a “canon” (from the Hebrew *qânêh*, a stick or cane, hence a rule or norm).

The contrasts grew even more marked in the Latin Church. Jerome, working in Bethlehem, at least between 391 and 404, retained only the books of the Hebrew Bible. He regarded Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Tobit, and 1 and 2 Maccabees as doubtful (PL 29, 404 c) and “apocryphal” (PL 28, 556) books. They could be read in order to edify the people but not to confirm the dogma* of the Church (PL 28, 1243 a), an ambiguous position that confused Athanasius’s distinctions. Around 400, Rufinus referred to the books that were read in church, but that were not the basis of the faith, as “ecclesiastical” (CChr.SL 20, 170 *Sq*).

Astonished by the Latin translations of Jerome, who advocated *veritas hebraica*, Augustine remained strongly attached to the LXX’s traditional place within the Church, which included books to which Christians in Africa had been attached since the second century. Augustine* took part in the Council of Hippo in 393 and, as a bishop, in the Councils of Carthage in 397 (CChr.SL 149, p. 340) and 418. These councils fixed the Old Testament canon, which included without any distinction the books considered controversial in the East, or Rufinus’s “ecclesiastical” books. Augustine restricted himself to this list (*Doctrina Christiana*, II, 8, 13). In 405, Innocent I did likewise in his letter to Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse. The Vulgate, probably assembled as early as the fifth century, would include the books that the Hebrew canon had excluded.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, doubts resurfaced as to the canonical status of these books. Hugues de Saint-Cher excluded them, and Thomas Aquinas accepted them. In 1441 the Council of Florence admitted them, but the influence of Jerome was still felt. Luther* disallowed them, as did Cardinal Cajetan (1532). In 1546 the Council of Trent* included them officially in the canon of the Roman Catholic Church. However, in 1566, Sixtus of Siena proposed the term *deuterocanonical* for the books that Rufinus had called *ecclesiastical*—Esther, Tobit, Judith, Baruch, the Letter of Jeremiah, the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, the Greek additions to Daniel, and 1 and 2 Maccabees. The Protestants would term them “apocryphal.”

c) *The New Testament.* For the Christians of the first two centuries, mention of the Scripture* or Scriptures (Mt 26:54) implied the Old Testament. The earliest use of the words *Old Testament* in the sense of a collection of books is found in 2 Colossians 3:14. On the other hand, the expression *New Testament* appeared only

around 200 in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 5, 85, 1) and Origen (*De Principiis* 4, 1, 1) to designate the corpus that had itself only gradually been formed. The Second Letter of Peter (written around 125?) seems intended to complete the New Testament corpus, which collects the letters of Paul (referred to in 2 Pt 3:16) and also contains Matthew, Luke-Acts, 1 Peter, and Jude. All these writings are referred to in 2 Peter, but the letter mentions neither John, the three letters of John, nor James.

The Apostolic* Fathers and the apologists* still had no New Testament corpus and only rarely cited New Testament texts as Scripture. Justin was the first to refer to the Gospels* as “Memoirs of the Apostles” (*Apology* 1, 66, 3), and may have been dependent on an early “evangelical harmony,” composed around 140 (see Boismard-Lamouille). The best-known such work was the *Diatesseron*, which combined the four Gospels. It was produced around 170 by Tatian, who had to know all four Gospels in order to do the work. Several factors would lead the Christians to fix the New Testament canon. From the first half of the second century, the Judeo-Christians had their own (apocryphal*) gospels, some of which had disturbing features. Other texts of a suspect pietism appeared. Then came Gnosticism* (already mentioned by the Apostles but resurgent), the sectarian spiritualism of Montanus, Marcionism*, which accepted only ten of Paul’s letters and a mutilated Luke (see Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 1, 27, 2–3). Finally, there was the danger that the *Diatesseron* might supplant the four Gospels.

The earliest list of the New Testament writings that has come down to us may be the Muratorian Canon, which was discovered and published in 1740 (see *DACL* 12, 1935, 543–60). The original may have dated from the end of the second century, although A. C. Sundberg (1973, *HTh* 66, 1–41) dates it from the middle of the fourth century. This fragmentary annotated list, perhaps Roman in origin, omits Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and 3 John but adds the Wisdom of Solomon and expresses reservations about the Apocalypse of Peter and *The Shepherd* of Hermas; finally, it challenges the texts of Marcion and other heretics.

Before 200, Irenaeus was the first to draw on the New Testament more than on the Old Testament; he distinguished the time of the prophets (the Old Testament), the life of Jesus* (the Gospels), and the testimony of the Apostles* (the remainder of the New Testament). Thus, because it was apostolic and traditional, almost the whole of the New Testament (except for Philemon, Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, and Jude) was one with the Old Testament. In Irenaeus’s view, there were only four Gospels. This “tetramorphic gospel”

was closed and was to be regarded as Scripture, as were the letters of Paul and Acts (*Against Heresies*, 3, 12, 9, 12).

The list given by Origen in the *Homily on Joshua 7:1* was already complete but, except for the Gospels, remained open. Cyprian cited almost all the New Testament writings as Scripture, though he, like Tertullian, may have excluded Hebrews.

The sixth-century *Codex Claromontanus* (D) includes a Latin list of the books of Old and New Testaments, which is based on a Greek original that may go back to around 300. The few omissions are probably due to scribal error, and Barnabas, *The Shepherd* of Hermas, the Acts of Paul, and the Apocalypse of Peter are marked off with a line. Around 350, Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catechesis* 4, 36) had a fixed canon, but it did not include Revelation. The same omission was made in the canon of the Council of Laodicea, about 360. Soon afterward, Athanasius, in his Easter Letter of 367, gave what would become the definitive list, though this did not stop Gregory* of Nazianzus from omitting Revelation again a short while later. In 397, on the other hand, the third Council of Carthage declared the complete New Testament canon closed, with the same 27 titles as Augustine's (*Doctrina Christiana*, II, 8, 13).

In Syria, the *Diatesseron* was abandoned in favor of the four Gospels only during the fifth century, while the Peshitta still lacked 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation. The Councils of Florence (1441) and Trent (1546) officially proclaimed the canon of 27 New Testament books. Erasmus*, while accepting this complete canon, expressed doubts about the apostolic origin of Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Revelation. And Luther, too, found Hebrew, James, Jude, and Revelation less valuable—an echo of the ancient uncertainties. Today the New Testament canon, for all the Western Churches, includes the 27 books fixed on in the fourth century.

2. Theology

According to Luke 24:27, the Old Testament foretells the coming of Jesus Christ*, to whom the New Testament bears witness. Relying on this principle, the Fathers and the councils who enumerated the books of the canon produced lists for both Testaments.

a) The Christian Canon. In establishing a list of books, the Christian canon, unlike the Jewish one, specified neither language nor edition. History records and exegesis* demonstrate the multiplicity of accepted texts. Christians in more direct contact with Judaism—in particular Jerome—tended to restrict themselves to the canon recognized by Jewish tradition, but this was

not the position of the entire Church, which read the LXX and the translations derived from it. The LXX, of course, presented a text that often differed from the Masoretic texts and added further books. The canonical status of the added books, which has been debated right up until the present day, divides Catholics and Protestants. Catholics incorporate these books into the body of the Old Testament. Protestants generally place these “deuterocanonical” or “apocryphal” writings between the Old Testament and the New while recognizing their importance to an increasing extent.

The very diversity of the textual traditions, for example, between the LXX and the Masoretic texts, of which the early Christians were aware but which is more fully studied today, does not alter the necessity of consulting the texts in their original languages. However, the study of these Greek and Hebrew texts reveals more clearly the polymorphous aspect of the ancient textual traditions (going back before Christianity in the case of the Old Testament), without making it possible to exclude any particular form of the text. Adopted by the ancient Church, the LXX, itself subject to occasional variation (e.g., by the inclusion of Sirach and Tobit, not to mention the translation of Daniel by Theodotion), was often spoken of as divinely inspired. In the New Testament, passages of unknown origin and transmission that were sometimes disputed are generally recognized as canonical today (e.g., Mk 16:9–20; Lk 22:43–44; Jn 7:53–8:11).

b) Criteria for Canonicity. The criteria for canonicity are few but strict. Literary authenticity—the fact that the Torah, for example, is attributed to Moses and James, 2 Peter, and Jude to one Apostle or another—no longer figures among the criteria. Modern exegesis has achieved a clearer picture of the origins and literary history of the texts without casting doubt on their canonical status. Within Judaism, the doctrinal criterion of coherence to the Torah was already added to the historical criterion of transmission to the Great Synagogue.

Within Christianity, the first criterion is that of apostolicity, the testimony of the primitive Church. This is also the basis for the acceptance of the Old Testament, as Jesus and the Apostles knew it, as well as for the inclusion of the apostolic writings.

The ancient uncertainties concerning the “catholic” epistles and Revelation were resolved by other criteria, one of which was the traditional reception* of these various writings within the early Christian communities and in particular their liturgical use. Augustine (*Doctrina Christiana*, II, 8, 12) favored the testimony of the most important Churches, in particular those whose origins were linked to an Apostle.

Orthodoxy* was another criterion that, from the second century, led to the exclusion of pseudepigrapha, apocalypses, gnostic writings, and so on. A canonical writing was one that bore witness to the “rule of faith*” (Irenaeus, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, 3).

c) *A Canon Within the Canon?* Within the Jewish canon, the Torah holds a preeminent position. The other books comment on its reception, present rereadings of it, or derive prayers from it. Within the New Testament, Vatican* II (*Dei Verbum*, 18) recognized the superiority of the Gospels, which bear witness to the life and the words of Jesus. But these questions of precedence do not affect the canonicity of the other accepted writings.

In the case of the New Testament, the debate took another turn with A. Käsemann’s continuation of the Lutheran principle. Käsemann studied the internal contradictions in the New Testament (e.g., the ones between Romans and James) and in particular those that exhibit *Frühkatholizismus*, or “protocatholicism*,” and seem to point to typically Catholic doctrine—such as sacramentalism, hierarchy, and the dogma of Acts, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and 2 Peter. The problems of internal criteria he found there led him to consider Romans and Galatians, along with their treatment of justi-

fication* by faith, as the heart of the New Testament. Catholic theology refers to the principle of the development, of the Church, even in the time of the Apostles, under the guidance of the Holy* Spirit.

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See also Apocrypha; Bible; Book; Exegesis; Hermeneutics; Holy Scripture; Intertestament; Magisterium; Marcionism; Tradition; Translations of the Bible, Ancient

Canonization. *See Holiness*

Cantor, Georg. *See Infinite*

Cappadocian Fathers. *See* Basil (The Great) of Caesarea; Gregory of Nazianzus; Gregory of Nyssa

Capreolus, John. *See* Thomism

Carmel

Rooted in the founding experience of the desert, established under the patronage of the prophet Elijah (“gather all Israel to me at Mount Carmel,” 1 Kgs 18:19), Carmel owes its mystical vocation to strictly theological tasks: realizing the experience* of a living God and, at the same time, exploring the human soul seized by contemplative grace. Although very much in evidence in the thinking of Thomas Aquinas, these preoccupations were more or less completely absent from the Scholastic theology of the following generation. And precisely because it persevered in its primary intention, the Carmelite theological tradition was generally underestimated. However, teachers like John* of the Cross (1542–91) or Anthony of the Mother of God (†1641) brought to it all the power of their own biblical and patristic learning, as well as their Scholastic training, putting these at the service of a spiritual pedagogy that more official theological approaches of the time lacked.

1. Until Teresian Reform

The Carmelite Rule (produced in the Holy Land around 1210) called on members of that order to “meditate day and night on the law of the Lord.” Carmelite theology was born from this prayerful contact with the biblical text. It adopted the monastic tradition of *lectio divina*: through allegory and tropology, the literal meaning of the Scriptures leads the reader to an ana-

gogical understanding—the only strictly mystical one—of the mystery that it expresses. The interaction between prayer (which was not formalized as a separate religious exercise until the Renaissance, something that can be seen in the timetables and methods for it) and theology in the modern sense of the word is permanent here. Having this purely contemplative aim, it was between 1250 and 1260 that Carmel had progressively to leave the Holy Land because of pressure from the Muslims and came to establish itself in the major Western university centers of Cambridge, Oxford, Paris, and Bologna. While it triumphed in the top Scholastic circles, it prolonged the monastic exegesis* and helped channel it toward what would henceforth be artificially known as “spirituality.” In any case, the balance between reading, study, and theological work here corresponds to that of the ancient *otium*, being an outer complement to the inner *quies*. This state entails engaging in a minimum of outward activities and is far from “earthly uses, even apostolic,” pure from all intention to seek earthly recompense. However, this distancing from pastoral service was continuously debated within Carmel from the moment it came to Europe.

The first Western Carmelite text that has come down to us is *Ignea Sagitta* (1271) by Nicholas of France. It is an apologia for a way of life that still fundamentally considers itself to be eremitical, its themes being the

fuga mundi (escape from the world*), silence, and *quies*: *fuge, tace, quiesce* (“distance yourself, be silent, keep quiet”). At a time when Europe was in the throes of urbanization, it involved rediscovering the desert, that place where Jesus* speaks to his friends in their heart and reveals his mysteries to them. Henceforth, this desert would become that of the cell, outside and inside, of the “cellar” of the Song of Songs, where the Holy* Spirit strengthens, nourishes, and fills the inner person. “Purity of heart” allows the contemplative to become intoxicated from the “Lord’s cup” rather than from the “chalice of Babylon.” The radical choice between these two “cups” determines the spiritual path, which is represented as an ascent of Mount Carmel, at the summit of which there is the genuinely Christian mystical experience. Here one can recognize the outline of what would become, three centuries later, the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* of John of the Cross. There are also the seeds of Teresa of Avila’s major themes, such as, for example, her description of prayer as “the exchange of friendship.” We might also note the emphasis placed on the emotional life of the spirit, something drawn very much from the Cistercian tradition of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint Thierry, a tradition that would subsequently permeate the entire Carmelite tradition. Within university circles, Gerard of Bologna (head from 1296 to 1318), was the first Carmelite university teacher in Paris. The Aristotelianism he used was derived from Averroes. Otherwise, he followed the intellectualism of Godfrey of Fontaines and asserted the radical passivity of the will as well of the intellect. Generally, the Carmelites were known to be inclined toward nominalism*. Such was the case, for example, with Guido Terreni (†1342), Baconthorpe’s teacher, and, with Jean de Pouilly, the main representative of the derivative Aristotelianism* of the period. With the emergence of John Baconthorpe (†1348), who was, by contrast, a hyperrealist, Carmel entered the top rank of university life. Known as the quasi-official theologian and philosopher of the order, the *doctor resolutus* should be considered in the first place for what he brought to the tradition of *lectio divina*. His distinctive contribution in this area involved his perception of the unity of the two Testaments. According to Baconthorpe, the revelation* of the mystery of God, perceived by Elijah only in “a low whisper” (1 Kgs 19:12) of the desert breeze, is fully realized in Jesus and offered to the Christian contemplative soul.

On a more academic level, Baconthorpe’s critical spirit was compared to that of Duns* Scotus. His method places him between Thomas Aquinas and Pierre d’Auriol. Although Baconthorpe cannot be regarded as a disciple of Thomas, the latter is ranked

high among the doctors he cites, and he often refers to Thomas’s doctrine to confirm his own. Nevertheless, he distinctly criticizes the *Aquinate*, especially those of its arguments favoring the thesis that “the intellectual soul is the substantial form of the body” (*CG* II, 68). Even if he claims to acknowledge the thesis, Baconthorpe underlines its weak points and holds that none of the proposed arguments is entirely convincing. Although he acknowledges that the union of body and soul is “natural,” it is only in the sense in which that union is not self-contradictory, which is all that is needed for God to have been able to carry it out through his *potentia absoluta*. This critique must be read in the context of a rather weak notion of “demonstration” and “certitude:” for Baconthorpe, truth results more from the absence of any objection than from a clear affirmation.

In terms of the philosophy of nature, Baconthorpe championed physical atomism, which continued to form part of the Carmelite *ratio studiorum* until the 17th century. It was this Christian atomism that would be the primary source for the philosophy* of Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655).

Shortly after Baconthorpe, Philippe Ribot (†1391)—his *Tractatus de quattuor sensibus sacrae scripturae* (manuscript Vat. Ottob. Lat 396) has just been found—offered *Liber de Institutione primorum monachorum*, a fundamental text in the development of Carmelite spirituality. Considered for a long time to be the “primitive rule,” in the 15th century it was translated into English, French, and Spanish. Teresa of Avila annotated this last translation, which helped her learn about the primitive life of Carmel. Ribot’s work is a commentary—indeed, a rather bare allegory—on Elijah leaving for the banks of the Kerith (1 Kgs 17:2–6). Ribot proposes two objectives of Carmelite monastic life: one that is within human power, the other remaining in God’s power alone: “We will acquire the first through our work and virtuous effort, with help from divine grace. It consists in offering God a holy heart, unsullied by all immediate stains of sin*. We reach this goal when we are perfect and in *Kerith*, which means buried in charity. The other goal of this life is sent to us through a pure gift of God...: to taste, to a certain extent, in one’s heart, and to experience in one’s mind the forces of divine presence and gentle glory* from above. This is called ‘drinking from the stream of God’s delight’” (I, c. 2)

Here we can recognize the two aspects of all Christian life, that of nature* and that of grace, which have become the two aspects of Mount Carmel insofar as they involve the contemplative experience. Genuinely typical of Carmelite theology (see H. de Lubac*, *Exégèse Médiévale*, 1964), this commentary has a

striking Christocentrism, with Jesus offering his disciple the perfect realization of this double faithfulness to the Creator and the creature.

From the end of this first period, we must also cite Michele Aiguani (or Nicolas of Bologna, † around 1400), lecturer on Holy Scripture in Paris in 1360 and the author of an important commentary on the Psalms* in which he follows Rabbi Salomon (“great doctor of Jews”) and Nicolas de Lyre for the literal meaning. At around the same time (1364, to be precise) another Carmelite, Saint Peter Thomas, founded the Faculty of Theology in Bologna, while yet another, Mathurin Courtoys, did the same in Bourges. In England, the academic vitality of the Carmelites placed them at the forefront in the battle against Wyclif’s heresy* (John Wyclif, 1328?–84). John Cunningham, in particular, won fame.

With the reformer Jean Soreth (1394–1471), under whose leadership the female branch of the order was born and grew rapidly, Carmel’s biblical tradition was reoriented in an emphatically modern direction: *meditatio et oratio*, in his work, take on an autonomy that relates them to the *devotio* moderna*, paving the way for the spiritual growth of Teresian Carmel. Along with this evolution and within the same tradition of a devout humanism*, Battista Spagnoli (1447–1516, the “Christian Virgil,” according to Erasmus*) found a way to reconcile classical culture and Christianity by showing how Christians had historically received pagan literature (*De Vita beata* and *De Patientia*). As a final representative of this pre-Renaissance period, we should note Nicolas Calciuri (†1466) and his description of the spiritual life as a threefold “desire for celestial things:” desirous love*, delectable love, and gracious love.

This period opened the way for the era of the great modern doctrinal debates. Theologians such as Everard Billick in Köln (†1557) and the Prior General Nicolas Audet (1481–1562), who took part in the Council of Trent*, would play significant roles. A century later, Giovanni Antonio Bovio (1566–1622) would take part in the controversy over grace (bañezianism*) by defending the Jesuit stance.

2. Around the Teresian Reform

Teresa of Jesus (of Avila) (1515–82) and John of the Cross (1542–91) did not, therefore, emerge miraculously within a Carmel that is too often characterized in modern times as an intellectual desert. The themes that these Doctors* of the Church would make particularly their own were already present in their heritage. Indeed, their brilliance must not make us forget other significant representatives of the same tradition. There is also Jaime Montanes (1520–78), for example,

whose christological overtones can be related to Teresa’s requirement of exclusive love, or John of the Cross’s “todo y nada”: “To not look for something, to not look at anything, to listen to nothing, desire nothing, and finally, to love nothing other than the only Jesus Christ, for he alone is the life of our soul.” In the same vein, we might also cite Miguel Alfonso de Caranza (1527–1606), Diego Velasquez, Juan Sanz (1557–1608), Francesco Amerly (†1552), Miguel de la Fuente (1573–1625).

a) The Doctrine of the Reformers. Teresa defines prayer as an affective discourse sustained by a simple gaze upon Christ. The fundamental role of the humanity of Christ is evident in his prayer that is closest to his experience, in contrast to a theological framework of which Teresa knows more than her protestations of ignorance imply. Faithful to the *devotio moderna*, she binds herself to Christ’s humanity for the whole length of the spiritual journey, right up to the highest state of union. The two Carmelite masters present infused contemplation*—grace freely given—as the end of contemplative life. Nevertheless, it is an end for which the soul prepares itself through practicing the virtues, in a phase of the spiritual life when it apparently retains more initiative*. A certain imprecision of terminology, in Carmelite writers as well as in the work of authors such as Molinos, allows for an intermediate form of prayer that occurs between meditation and contemplation, that is, “acquired contemplation”: John of the Cross does not entirely abandon the concept, which we can see clearly represented, for example, in Thomas of Jesus, who discusses a “mixed contemplation” that corresponds to the kind John of the Cross himself describes in *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*. Similarly, Joseph of Jesus-Mary (*Quiroga*) distinguishes infused contemplation from the form of contemplation that is obtained through the help of faith* and the ordinary assistance of grace. The notion of God’s presence put forward by the Frenchman Laurent de la Résurrection (1614–91) can be compared to that proposed by Thomas of Jesus: acquired contemplation unifies the action of grace with the simplified activity of the will, while in infused contemplation it is God alone who supports the soul.

Teresa distinguishes three forms of God’s taking control of the faculties of the unified soul: the will is appeased, the intellect is simplified, and the memory is suspended. This mystical union is transient and is usually accompanied by moments of ecstasy during the “spiritual betrothals” (V *Demeures*), but it becomes permanent in the “spiritual marriage” (VI and VII *Demeures*) (this is the founding terminology of Teresian mystical literature). The soul, at that time, is

in a state of spiritual perfection, which is not, however, to be identified with the perfection of charity, even if the two states are normally connected. The rule is that “God only gives himself entirely to us when we give ourselves entirely to him” (*Chemin de Perfection*, 28, 12).

b) Legacy. Among the immediate disciples of the two Carmelite doctors, we should note John of Jesus and Mary (Aravalles) (1549–1609, author of *Tratado de Oración* and *Instrucción de Novicios*); Innocent of Saint-André (1553–1620), who wrote *Teologia Mistica* (1615) under the name Andrès Locara; Gratien of the Mother of God (1545–1614), who wrote a *Dilucidario* and *De la Oración Mental*; and Mary of Saint Joseph (†1603), author of *Libro de la Recreaciones*. In the Congregation of Italy (canonically autonomous since the reform of 1600), John of Jesus and Mary, known as the Calagurritain (1564–1615), was the theologian who most echoed Thomas Aquinas, writing *Theologia Mystica* (1607) and *Schola de Oratione et Contemplatione* (1610). In his *Suma y Compendio de los Grados de Oración* (Rome, 1610), Thomas of Jesus (1564–1627) studied the problems of mystical theology from a Scholastic perspective, reversing the approach of his teachers. He wrote *De Contemplatione* (Anvers, 1620) on the forms of infused contemplation, *De Oratione Divina* (Anvers, 1623) on contemplative supernatural life, and *De Perceptionibus Mentalibus*, which was not completed. An unconditional advocate of John of the Cross and who fell out of favor among reformers when John died, Joseph of Jesus and Mary Quiroga (†1628) aimed to show that there were parallels between his teacher’s doctrine and the doctrines of Dennis and Thomas Aquinas. Finally, Philip of the Trinity, with his *Summa Theologiae Misticae* (Lyon, 1656), completed the Scholastic summary of mystical theology that Thomas of Jesus had started.

Strictly mystical theology lost its popularity in the 18th century in Carmel and other movements. It was not until 1874 that the Teresian tradition would be reignited: Berthold-Ignacious of Saint Anne’s republishing, in Brussels, of the *Summa* by Philip of the Trinity and by publication of *Instruction des Novices* by John of Jesus and Mary. This was the eve of a new spiritual birth of Carmel, that of Thérèse of the Child Jesus (spiritual childhood*) and Elizabeth of the Trinity*. Under the auspices of Father Bruno of Jesus-Marie and maintaining itself very much in the Teresian tradition from 1931 on, Carmelite studies would prove to be a veritable laboratory of mystical psychology and theology laboratory, paralleled by Teresians such as Father Marie-Eugène de l’Enfant-Jésus among the French Carmelites.

c) Theological Reverberations. The great mystics Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross were theologically valuable in that they triggered considerable developments in the study of the human soul. But this birth of modern religious psychology in no way contradicts a strictly doctrinal rigor: both Teresa and John saw the good spiritual director as first of all a *letrado*, an expert in the tradition*. The search for such theological competence, combined with the anxiety evoked by the misbehavior in student life outside convents and monasteries, led rapidly to the foundation of disalced colleges in the university centers of Spain: Alcalá de Henares in 1570, Baeza in 1597, and Salamanca in 1581. As early as 1592, when Teresian Carmel was canonically separated from the rest of the order, the *Constitutions* of the reform required students to follow “the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, both in terms of philosophy and theology”: the fundamentally contemplative nature of Thomism* was valuably recognized here.

The intellectual life of the reformed Carmel henceforth saw a flourishing at the philosophical level, first of all in the *Commentarii cum Disputationibus in Universam Aristotelis Stagiritae Logicam* (Madrid, 1608) by Diego of Jesus (†1621), which opened the way for the *Cursus Complutensis* (Alcalá, 1624–28), published by Michael of the Trinity (1588–1661), Anthony of the Mother of God (1583–1637), and John of the Saints (1583–1654), which was then further complemented in 1640 by *Metaphysica de Biagio de la Concepcion* (1603–94). The determination to be absolutely loyal to Thomas Aquinas, combined with a desire for intellectual unanimity within the Alcalá school, meant that only propositions accepted by all these religious figures (or at least by a majority vote) came to light. As a result, the work that did get through was extremely scholarly and polished.

On the theological level, the famous *Cursus Theologicus de Salmenticensis* obeys the same rules. Its definitive form is that of 14 volumes of literal commentary on the *Summa Theologica* of Aquinas. The first volume was published in Salamanca in 1631 and the final one in Madrid in 1712 (final edition, in 20 vols., in Paris, from 1870 to 1883). The first of its authors, Anthony of the Mother of God (1583–1637), comments on the *De Deo Uno*, the *De Trinitatis*, and the *De Angelis*; Dominic of Saint Teresa (1604–59) comments on beatitude, human acts, and the virtues; and John of the Annunciation (1633–1701) comments on grace, justification, charity, the religious state, the Incarnation, the sacraments in general, and the Eucharist and penance. Anthony of Saint John the Baptist (1641–99) published the first part of volume 12, and Ildephonsus of the Angels (1663–1737) finished the

work. Later, and in the same tradition of a theology that was principally academic, teachers such as Anastasius of the Cross (1706–61) and Paul of the Conception (1666–1734) followed the *Salmenticensis*. However, a certain Philip of the Trinity (*Cursus Theologicus*, 5 vols., Lyon, 1633–63) and Gabriel of Saint Vincent chose instead to comment directly on the *Summa*.

3. After the Teresian Reform

The rest of the order did not, however, remain unproductive while the theology of the reformed Carmel theology was flourishing. In Italy the prolix revelations* of Marie-Madeleine de Pazzi (1556–1607) point to a complete inner experience that gave rise to authentically theological thought despite what she herself claimed. The depth and precision of her intuitions, like the biblical structure of her texts, provide the elements of some very rich doctrinal thinking on grace, the humanity of Christ, the relationship between the Church and the Trinity*, and even on the role of the Holy Spirit in the work of salvation*. In France, at the beginning of the 17th century, the entire Carmelite family participated in a decisive manner in the “mystical invasion” brilliantly described by H. Bremond. On one hand, the introduction of Teresian Carmel under the influence of Pierre de Bérulle* and of Bernières de Louvigny and Madame Acarie’s circle would enrich the doctrine of the French school as well as that of authors as eminent as Francis de Sales. On the other hand, the non-Teresian branch of the order discovered a new vitality, notably around the figure of the humble blind friar Jean of Saint Samson (1571–1636), the “Saint John of the French Cross,” according to Bremond. Having entered the Carmelite order after visiting the Paris monastery on the Place Maubert, it was in Brittany (in the monasteries of Dol and Rennes) that he would become the soul of what was known as the Touraine reformation, in particular through his disciples Dominique of Saint-Albert (1595–1634) and Léon of Saint John (1600–1671).

Jean of Saint Samson’s brilliant spiritual discourse has a rare mystical power, and although the structure is often chaotic, it fills more than four thousand pages. These were more or less put together by his friends (edited by Donatien of Saint Nicholas in 1651 and 1656). A critical version is still to be published. In these writings can be detected the influence of a wide spiritual reading. Rhineland-Flemish mysticism can be discerned and was very influential in France at the time. But there are also traces of the writings of Constantin de Barbançon, Pierre Guérin, and Thomas Deschamps and even of Catherine of Genoa and Achille Gagliardi. Indeed, the writing reflects a theological renaissance that owed less to Scholasticism than to

prayer itself and to a love of literature. Notably, themes inherited from Ruusbroec and Harphius are developed in the account of the most intense states of union. This experience is reflected in a Trinitarian and eucharistic doctrine that very boldly describes the journey between the soul and God that leads to “pure love.” In the Bonaventurian tradition, the favored path is that of “aspiring” prayer*, “the loving and passionate impulse of the heart and mind through which the soul goes beyond itself and all created things,” intimately joining with God in the ardor of a love that is in itself knowledge and thus near to theology.

In Flanders, the Touraine reform would influence Michel of Saint Augustine (1621–84). His *Institutionum Mysticarum Libri Quatuor* (Anvers, 1671), published in Latin and Flemish, showed him to be an important theorist on mystical life, which, according to him, is “nothing other than the practice of God and the science of divine things. Therefore, it involves both speculation and practice, modeling man after God in intellect and will.” Even after the direct influence of the major reformers had waned, Carmelite thinkers of the 18th and 19th centuries continued to produce important works. Among the discalced monks, let us simply mention Theodore of the Holy Spirit (†1764) and his *De Indulgentiis* and *Jubilaeo* by a reference work in its area and also the huge exegetical work of Cherubim of Saint Joseph (†1716). Finally, apart from dogmatic theology, the *Cursus Theologiae Moralis* from Salamanca (7 vols., 1665–1753) is one of the most sizable works on morality ever published, and it would be appreciated as such by Alphonsus* of Liguori and the 18th-century moralists. As for the old observance, one should note Spain’s continuous return to Baconthorpe’s doctrine, thanks to Cornejo de Pedrosa (†1618) in the 17th century and to Emmanuel Coutinho (†1760) in the 18th century.

4. The Contemporary Period

As regards the traditional observance, we ought to note in particular the role played by Titus Brandsma, a Dachau martyr (1942), in the study and publication of traditional Carmel. This role was furthered by the institute, within the university of Nijmegen, that bore his name, and by the works of the *Institutum Carmelitanum*, founded in Rome in 1951. Mention must also be made of the dogmatic theologian Bartolomeo M. Xiberta (1897–1967), expert at Vatican* II. His christological and sacramental studies foreshadowed the works of B. Poschmann and Karl Rahner*. At the same time, among the discalced Carmelites, the *Térésianum* in Rome, founded in 1935, has become an international center for the study of mystical literature and theology.

5. Carmel and Marian Theology

From the moment it appeared in the West, the white cloak of Carmel has represented devotion to the one who has always been "Our Lady of Mount Carmel." We ought not to be surprised, therefore, to learn of an omnipresent Marian theology. Baconthorpe or Ribot, for example, strongly promoted the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, the liturgical celebration of which was introduced as early as the 14th century into the order's calendar. At the same time, Saint Simon Stock's supposed vision—he was prior general of the order from 1254 to 1264—stressed devotion to the scapular, which was associated with "Sabbath privilege," which involved release from purgatory* for Carmelite scapular wearers as early as the Saturday after death. This devotion grew rapidly. During the 15th century, the Carmelite confraternities achieved great popularity, to the point where donning the scapular became one of the principal Marian devotions of Christendom.

It was at the end of the 15th century that Arnolfo Bostio developed the Carmelite outline of Marian devotion by collecting scattered elements. Friars were to offer everything to God through the hands of Mary* and be in a constant relationship with her in order to acquire an intelligence and heart that is entirely devoted to inspiring all good work.

Standing at the crossroads between mysticism and Mariology, Michel of Saint Augustine and Mary of Saint Teresa (Maria Petyt, 1623–77), whom Michel guided, would receive the gift of mystical union with Mary. Maria Petyt's accounts, published by her spiritual director in her *Life* (in Dutch) and in *De Vita Mariaeformi*, distinguish three stages of mystical union. In the first, the soul perceives the presence and help of the Virgin. Mystical contemplation occurs in the second, where God is perceived in Mary or Mary is perceived in her union with God. In the third stage, "there is such an intimate and stable connection to God and Mary that, because of dissolving love, God, Mary, and the soul seem to form one, as if dissolved, absorbed, submerged, and transformed into a single thing. This is the final and supreme end that the soul can reach in the Marian life."

Beyond works of devotion, this Marian piety would result in a strong theology, represented, for example, in the meditations of Jean de Saint-Samson on the role of Mary during the Passion* of her Son. It would have great pastoral importance in modern times, where it especially served as antidote to a widespread Jansenism*

and went far beyond Carmel, propagated especially by Jesuit preachers.

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See also Bérulle, Pierre de; Contemplation; John of the Cross; Life, Spiritual; Mysticism; Prayer; Spiritual Theology

Carmelites of Salamanca. *See* **Carmel; Thomism**

Casel, Odo. *See* **Mystery**

Cassian, John. *See* **Prayer**

Casuistry

Casuistry is the art of judging particular cases (*casus* in Latin) in the light of moral rules. Most of the time we know immediately that a given action is, for example, a murder or a robbery. Conscience* makes the judgment at once (*conscientia* in Latin, literally “the fact of knowing at the same time” the abstract principle and the concrete case). But the situation is not always so simple. Conscience can be confused by an unusual case and not know what to think of it. Casuistry then becomes necessary. The principle of casuistry is that it is necessary to decide difficult cases by reasoning in the light of moral principles and not, for example, by obeying a concrete commandment of God immediately perceived. This is to say that there is an important place for deliberation in the moral realm.

a) Judaism. It is logical that in Judaism, where the Law is so important, there is a very rich jurisprudence and casuistry, collected in the tradition* of the scribes and rabbis and found both in Scripture* (e.g., Ex

20:1–23:19) and in the Midrash (especially the Halakha).

b) The New Testament. It can be said that Jesus* and Paul belong to some degree to this tradition. On several occasions in the Gospels*, Jesus is seen making an interpretation of the requirements of the Law, for example, with respect to divorce (Mk 10:2–12; Mt 19:1–12) or the sabbath* (Mk 2:23–28). As for Paul, in 1 Corinthians 8, he discusses the question of whether it is legitimate to eat the meat offered in sacrifice to idols. Paul and Jesus, however, criticized certain aspects of the casuistry of their time, either because it lost sight of the true intent of the law (Mk 2:27), because it was obsessed with the letter (1 Cor 8), or because it invented ingenious ways of avoiding true moral requirements (Mk 7:9–13).

c) Patristic and Medieval Periods. Casuistry could not degenerate into legalism or sophistry in the patristic period because it was firmly situated in the larger

context of moral and spiritual education. Developing moral rules and studying their application to particular cases was subordinate to the requirement to foster virtues* and conquer vices.

In the Middle Ages casuistry was essentially an adjunct to private confession. Beginning in the sixth century in the West, first in Celtic regions then throughout the Church*, there were manuals for confessors—“penitentials”—that analyzed and classified sins* and indicated the corresponding penances*.

d) Greatness and Decline of Protestant Casuistry. The Reformation was at first hostile to casuistry. Luther* considered the late medieval penitential system to be moralizing and reproached it for concentrating on acts of sin and penance and for failing to see that sin and repentance are above all spiritual directions. Further, in reaction against Scholasticism*, Luther thought reasoning was a hanging offense.

At the end of the 16th century and in the beginning of the 17th, English Puritans such as William Perkins (1558–1602) and William Ames (1576–1633) considered it indispensable to provide the faithful with subtle moral guidance, on the model of the *summae* of Catholic casuistry (*Summae casuum conscientiae*), but based on the principles of Protestantism*. They were the pioneers of the Anglican tradition of casuistry that flourished with theologians such as Jeremy Taylor (1613–67) and that Kenneth Kirk (1886–1954) attempted to revive in the 1920s. Unlike its Catholic counterpart, Anglican casuistry is not linked to the confessional and does not seek to judge the gravity of sins already committed. It seeks, rather, to shed light on the line of conduct to be adopted in a particular situation.

Before the end of the 17th century, the Lutherans themselves had taken up casuistry (e.g., J.H. Alsted [1588–1638], F. Balduin, C. Dannhauer [1603–66], J.A. Osiander [1622–97]), but the tradition of Protestant casuistry came to a sudden end shortly thereafter. The reasons for this are various. We can note the influence of Lutheran pietism* and its reaction against the theological and ethical rationalism* of Protestant Scholasticism. Pascal’s *Provinciales* (1656–57), which denounced the permissiveness of the probabilist casuistry of the Jesuits, was also greatly influential. Then there was the apparent growth of a certain complacency regarding the individual’s capacities of judgment, emanating from a newly minted confidence in the autonomy of the moral sense, reason, and conscience. Finally, there was the almost exclusive interest of the moralists of the late 17th and 18th centuries in metaethical controversies, dealing either with the nature or with the foundations of morality.

e) Catholic Moral Theology. During this time the place of casuistry in Catholicism remained stable. In reaction against what it saw as the moral laxity of Protestantism, the Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation placed even greater emphasis on moral law. From that period until World War II, its moral theology took the form of manuals of casuistry, the model for which had been provided by Jean Azor (1536–1603) in his *Institutiones morales* of 1600–1601. The most influential of these manuals was the *Theologia moralis* (1748) of Alphonsus* Liguori, who has been the patron saint of confessors and moral theologians since 1950, which clearly indicates the permanence of his authority. Alphonsus Liguori managed to put an end to the debate, which had raged in the 17th century and continued in the 18th, on the possibility of legitimately straying from the moral law. In the middle of the 17th century, probabilism, a theory formulated by Bartolomeo de Medina (1527–80), was widespread in the Catholic Church. According to this theory, conduct not in conformity with the law but that can with reason be morally defended (i.e., conduct that is “probable”) is morally acceptable, even if there are stronger arguments in favor of different conduct. “Probability” can be “intrinsic” and consist of the strength of the argument or “extrinsic” and consist of the prestige of the authority that can be invoked in its favor. The Jansenists were horrified by a doctrine that could justify the loosest conduct, sometimes on the basis of a single authority. They were on the contrary advocates of an austere form of “tutorism.” This holds that in case of doubt one must make the surest (Latin *tutor*) decision, and in its austere form it considers that the safest course is to act in conformity with the law. On three occasions (1665, 1666, 1679), the Church condemned the laxity of the conclusions of certain probabilist arguments, and by the late 17th century, laxism had practically disappeared. But in 1690, Rome* also condemned the extreme forms of tutorism. The continuing debate between the more moderate forms of these positions was resolved by the “equiprobabilism” of Alphonsus Ligouri. According to this, one may prefer a probable opinion over the law, but only in cases in which opinions for and against have the same force. Since the 1950s there has been a preference, over the legalist concerns of the manuals, for a moral theology more sensitive to the spiritual context of moral deliberation. The significant work of Bernard Häring (1954), for example, sees in moral life a response to the grace of God, and conversion and the growth of virtue are essential themes.

The role of law in moral life has also been relativized because it has been shown that law is not enough to make a decision. Between a law and its application

there must be a deliberation, which is more than a logical operation. Discernment and prudence* are required: discernment of the intent of the law and of the moral character of the situation and prudence in order to understand them through one another. Conscience is a matter not only of conformity but also of creativity.

For the advocates of proportionalism* (e.g., R. A. McCormick), casuistry cannot consist of conforming oneself to the requirements of the law. Its role is to discern and to choose, in a given situation, the conduct in which there is the greatest proportion of good in relation to evil. On the contrary, for the “absolutists” or “deontologists” (e.g., Germain Grisez and John Finnis), the casuist must have certain absolute moral rules as guides. In particular, any intent to harm is strictly forbidden.

f) *Contemporary Protestantism.* Similar debates have recently taken place in Protestant moral theology, although there is a strong prejudice against law and rational deliberation and a preference for focusing on spiritual context and moral intuition. Barth* saw casuistry as an abstract and rationalistic method for arriving at moral judgments through deduction: this point of view was shared by Bonhoeffer*, Emil Brunner (1889–1966), and Helmut Thielicke (1908–86). Following Barth, Richard Niebuhr (1894–1962) and Paul Lehmann (1906–94) prefer vague formulations: a good action is a “response” or a “correspondence” to divine activity. The ethic* of Joseph Fletcher’s situation (1905–91) manifests the usual Protestant suspicion toward law and casuistry but opens the door to a certain rationality in accepting that it is legitimate to calculate the conduct most likely to maximize well-being (utilitarianism*). The most remarkable of those who have opposed this Protestant depreciation of the role of rules is Paul Ramsey (1913–88). He produces

convincing arguments in favor of the necessity for clear and definite rules of conduct. For him, certain moral rules for him are “without exception.” He is finally an advocate for a form of casuistry in which the rules and their relationships would be revisable in the light of what is taught by morally novel cases.

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See also Alphonsus Liguori; Ethics; Intention; Jansenism; Proportionalism; Spiritual Direction

Cataphrygians. *See* Montanism

Catechesis

The word “catechesis” and its cognates (“catechism,” “catechumen,” “catechist,” and so on) are connected with the Greek verb *katekheo* (“to resound”) and first meant “oral teaching.” This meaning is found both in the New Testament and in Hellenistic writings (e.g., Cicero, *Ad Atticus* 15, 12, 2; Flavius Josephus, *Vita*, 65; Lucian, *Asinus*, 48). Since Christian initiation* (and thus baptism*) required knowing both Christian dogma and moral, the history of catechesis is also that of teaching lay Christians, especially children, the essential elements of Christianity.

a) Old Testament Background, the New Testament, and the Apostolic Fathers.* In the few cases of conversion found in the Old Testament, such as Ruth, no prior instruction is required (Ru 1:16). The texts, however, stress the duty of teaching the commandments of God* to children (e.g., Dt 6:7 and 20). Moreover, religious reforms required a catechesis of the whole nation, such as is described in 2 Kings 22 and in Nehemiah 8. Judaism*, which practiced proselytism, had certainly found the means to teach newcomers, but little is known in this regard. One can infer they served as models for the catechesis of the new religion: Christians were made, not born, since all Christians were converts. Instruction about Jesus and his teaching, the “gospel,” therefore formed part of what was handed on. Instruction about the relation of the new religion to the law of Judaism was of special importance at the stage when conversion was principally from Jewish communities (see Heb 6:3). The earliest catechesis of which we have details is given in the *Didache*, in which a text called “The Two Ways” (cc. 1–6), repeated in the *Epistle of Barnabas* and elsewhere, was probably based on a Jewish model. This text presents the duties of the convert to the “Way of Life” (honesty, chastity, humility, and charity), which separates him from the world and from the “Way of Death.” The *Shepherd of Hermas* (Book 2) hints at a similar prebaptismal catechesis in Rome.

b) From the Apologists to the Council of Nicaea.* There is no reliable information on the catechesis of the early second-century Christian gnostics*, such as Valentinus or Basilides. We know a little more about the adherents of the “great Church.” Justin (†165) alludes to catechesis in his *First Apology* (65), describ-

ing the baptism and first Eucharist* of new Christians. We do not know who taught them since the catechist was not a separate office. Irenaeus* addresses his *Proof of the Apostolic Preaching* to Marcian, presumably a layman, “setting forth the preaching of the truth to confirm his faith.” The method of catechesis in Rome in the early third century is disclosed in the *Apostolic Tradition*, ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome. This set of rules specifies who can be admitted to baptismal catechesis (cc. 15f.), the length of their preparation (three years, but it could be less) by a lay or clerical teacher, and their status in the assembly (cc. 17–19). As for the *didaskaleion* of Alexandria*, mentioned by Eusebius (v. 260–340) in his *Church History* (Books 5, cc. 10f.; 6, c. 63), it had nothing to do with elementary instruction.

c) The Imperial Church. With the end of persecution and the official promotion of Christianity came widespread conversions and a new Christian literature. Much of this literature is related to catechesis inasmuch as it promotes transmitting the knowledge of what makes up Christianity, but it is aimed at instructors (now almost universally the clergy) rather than at the laity they taught. Numerous prebaptismal catecheses have also survived, for example, by either Cyril (or John) of Jerusalem (v. 315–86), John Chrysostom*, Ambrose* of Milan, or Theodore of Mopsuestia (v. 350–428). Two treatises dealing with method and content of catechesis, for the use of catechists, deserve special mention: the *Catechetical Oration* of Gregory* of Nyssa and *Catechizing the Uninstructed* by Augustine*. Gregory adopted a dogmatic* presentation of the content of the faith, privileging the affirmation of the Trinity* and the doctrine of salvation*; the theology* of baptism and of the Eucharist formed the final part of his work. In contrast, Augustine, in his treatise addressed to a deacon named Deogratias, who had questioned him on several points, adopted a narrative that followed the order of the Bible, from the creation* to the beginnings of the church. Neither Augustine nor Gregory, however, explicitly mentioned the Creed or the Lord’s Prayer as bases of catechesis.

d) From the Patristic Period to the Reformation. Following the conversion of Germanic peoples to Chris-

tianity and the generalization of infant baptism, pre-baptismal catechesis ceased in the Christian world. It was replaced in the West by the instruction of children and young people. Numerous injunctions from local councils and bishops* in the period 800–1500 show the efforts made to ensure that the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the *Ave Maria* were known and understood by all. Summaries of what needed to be taught were written, such as the *Elucidarium* by Honorius of Autun (early 12th century; PL 172, 1109–76), in a question and answer format. In the next century, Thomas Aquinas also wrote such texts (*Opuscula* 4, 5, 7f., and 16), which were widely diffused. Jean Gerson (1363–1429) owns a special place in the history of catechesis. Concerned with education (he wrote several pedagogical works), he wrote a short catechism for children, the *ABC des simples gens*. He thus prepared the grounds for the publication of Luther*'s two *Catechisms* in 1529. Luther may not have invented a new literary genre, but he helped the spread of such works throughout Europe. His *Catechisms*, which were thought to hold the substance of his doctrine, came to be seen as authoritative works in Lutheranism*. The catechism was key in the propagation and strengthening of Protestantism*, in parallel to the multiplying reformed confessions. Calvin*'s *Geneva Catechism* (1541), which followed his *Instruction in Faith* (1537), was a great success and came to be used, for example, by churches in Scotland and England. The *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563) brought together Lutheran and Calvinist elements in 129 questions and answers divided into three sections (man's misery, man's redemption, and the action of grace). One may also cite the Anglican catechism in the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662 (with material taken from the *Prayer Books* of 1549, 1552, and 1604), which was widely used until the mid-20th century.

The Catholic Church's response to the Reform catechisms came with the *Roman Catechism*, developed by the Council of Trent*. Unlike the important question-and-answer catechism (1555) of Peter Canisius (1521–97), it was made to be used by pastors* (hence its title *Catechismus... ad parochos*). Surprisingly free from the polemics of its time, it seemed a synthesis of Catholic doctrine.

e) From the Reformation to the Present Day. The 17th and 18th centuries saw the production in many churches of manuals to teach children, as well as catechisms, often in the form of questions and answers.

In France, there was the catechism of Bossuet (1627–1704), the *Catéchisme du diocèse de Meaux. Par le commandement de Mgr. l'illustrissime et révérendissime Jacques Bénigne Bossuet Evêque de*

Meaux, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, cy-devant Précepteur de Monseigneur le Dauphin, premier Aumônier de Madame la Dauphine (1687). It consists of three catechisms (questions and answers): one for beginners and those to be confirmed, one for the more advanced and those preparing for first communion, and, finally, for the even more advanced, a catechism on the feasts and observances of the church. In a warning (*Avertissement*) to the priests, curates, fathers, mothers, and all the faithfuls of the diocese, Bossuet wrote that parents were the first catechists and ought therefore to know the catechism. He approved of the *Grand Catéchisme historique* (1683) of Claude Fleury (1640–1723), the church historian, a work that was also popular. An interesting, if ephemeral, attempt to impose a single catechism throughout France was made with Napoleon's *Catéchisme à l'usage de toutes les églises de l'Empire français* (1806), also known as the *Catéchisme impérial*. Based on Bossuet's second catechism, it was produced during a troubled time in the history of the French church. Its advocating devotion to the Napoleonic dynasty ensured its obsolescence after 1814. Dupanloup's *Catéchisme chrétien* (1865) is also interesting. The full title is *Le catéchisme chrétien ou un exposé de la doctrine de Jésus-Christ, offert aux hommes du monde par Mgr. l'évêque d'Orléans de l'Académie française, suivi d'un Abrégé et sommaire de toute la doctrine du Symbole par Bossuet*. Intended for adults as a summary of the Christian faith, it follows a dialogue format that owes much to Bossuet.

One of the most significant publications in the late 20th century has been the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, which was approved by Pope John Paul II in 1992 (text revised in 1997, standard Latin edition). An extraordinary assembly of the Synod* of Bishops, held in 1985 for the 20th anniversary of the end of Vatican* II, had voiced the desire for “a catechism or compendium of all Catholic doctrine, both on faith and on morals,” that could serve as “a reference” for the catechisms written in various countries. The presentation of the doctrine had to be biblical and liturgical, and a sound doctrine was to be suited to Christians' life in today's world. The format of the *Catechism* owes to the *Catechism* of the Council of Trent, with its division into four parts: “The Profession of Faith” (the Creed), “The Celebration of the Christian Mystery” (the sacraments*), “Life in Christ” (the Commandments), and “Christian Prayer” (The Lord's Prayer). It takes into account the dogmas of Mary* (1854, 1950) and papal infallibility as defined by Vatican* I. Its content reflects the teachings of Vatican II but also addresses somewhat the issues of the liberation* and feminist theology and even animal rights. Its most striking feature, however, is the

constant recourse to the Bible* and to liturgy. In this, it is faithful to what was initially requested. It is too early still to say whether it has succeeded in the second task (being adapted for modern life). If postmodernism* has undermined the authority* of Bible and liturgy, it may not be relevant to refer to them. On the other hand, the prudence* of the *Catechism*, its approach to controversial issues, and the willingness to explain and to listen allow an effective presentation of Catholic convictions. It has been widely diffused, and there is no doubt that it will constitute a reference for catechesis for some years to come, both inside and outside the Catholic Church.

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See also **Baptism; Initiation, Christian**

Catechism of the Catholic Church. See **Catechesis**

Catharism

a) History. It was thanks to commerce and to the Second Crusade (1147) that Catharism, a dualist heresy*, spread from Constantinople through the Balkans, Germany, Italy, and the south of France.

The genealogy and history of dualist doctrines has not yet been written, and it would be risky to specify the doctrinal link that led from early Manicheism* to the Western Cathars of the 12th century. It is nevertheless known that the Byzantine Empire in the 10th century experienced movements of opposition to the political and religious capital. In Bulgaria, where Christianization was recent and where Paulicianism (a dualist sect that appeared in the seventh century) had maintained some influence, a protest movement crystallized around the priest Bogomil. In the refutation produced by Cosmas in the late 10th century (Puech 1945), Bogomilism appears as a heresy with strong as-

cetic tendencies closely connected to local monasticism*. The patriarch of Constantinople, Theophylact, defined Bogomilism as "Manicheism mixed with Paulicianism" (Obolensky 1948). The Bogomils' influence reached as far as Constantinople itself. The link between national claims and dualist tendencies was found during the same period in the dualist sects of Asia Minor, the Phoudagiagites.

Between 1167 and 1172 (or around 1176; Thouzelier 1984), during a Cathar council held near Toulouse, Nicetas, the "pope" of Constantinople, converted to an absolute dualism the heretical bishops of Carcassonne, Albi, Agen, and Toulouse, along with the Lombards, who had been moderate dualists until then. The doctrine prospered in Languedoc and maintained a certain cohesion there. Its representatives taught in public and were willing to debate. They traveled from place to

place in pairs and had as many women as men in their ranks—the women conducted schools and had their own houses in villages. They found help, hospitality, and protection from many nobles. In Italy, by contrast, dissensions arose rather early and gave rise to several Cathar factions.

The Albigensian Crusade was launched against protectors of the heretics after the murder of a papal legate in 1208. Many nobles of the south of France were dispossessed of their estates, which became royal lands. The tribunal of the Inquisition was established in 1233 to fight heresy and to prosecute the heretics and their followers. Deep discontent ensued, and the action of the inquisitors provoked movements of rebellion, such as the unsuccessful revolt of Trencavel in the jurisdiction of Carcassonne in 1240. Some who escaped from war* and prosecution took refuge in Lombardy and Aragon, and others followed the last bishops and *parfaits* into regions in which the king as yet had no hold. These last bastions of resistance fell in turn in 1244 (Montségur) and 1255 (Quéribus). From then on, Catharism was maintained in secret.

Differences had long existed between the kings of France and Spain over the sovereignty each one claimed in the regions of the south of France. The Treaty of Corbeil (1258) had officially put an end to the dispute. However, when the domain of Toulouse was directly subjected to French authority because of the death of Alphonse de Poitiers and of Countess Jeanne (1271), the Comte de Foix formed an alliance with the infante of Aragon, whom some Toulousains wished to have as ruler of the region. Philip the Bold came in person to take possession of his uncle's legacy and took the Comte de Foix prisoner (1272). For their part, the inquisitors obtained confessions from nobles who had been vassals of the king of Aragon and allies of the Comte de Foix. These accused men maintained relations with former compatriots who had been judged and released and had established communities in and around Toulouse.

A few years later, inhabitants of the jurisdiction of Carcassonne, who had not obtained the protection they expected from Philippe le Bel against the activities of the inquisitors, turned to the son of the king of Mallorca (a relative of the king of Aragon and the Comte de Foix) and asked for his help. There were riots in Carcassonne and Limoux, a royal city. They were followed by massive arrests and hangings. Among the people captured in Limoux in September 1303 was the *parfait* Jacques Autier. His father Pierre, former notary of the counts of Foix, had become a Cathar minister. He had traveled through Languedoc with his son and reorganized their church. Many communities, disseminated over a wide territory, lived there in religious

autarchy, and family connections played a significant role in the transmission of Catharism. These believers were for the most part descendants of former landowners or even of *faidits* (banished) nobles. United by their belief in a religious doctrine, they formed an active minority in opposition to French settlement. They shared neither the language nor the culture of the men of the north of France.

Appointed by the pope to the head of the tribunal of the Inquisition in Toulouse in 1307, the Dominican Bernard Gui began to track down the last of the *parfaits*, their accomplices, and their followers, some of whom had been questioned by his predecessors and by the inquisitor Geoffroy d'Ablis in Carcassonne. The arrest of Jacques Autier in 1303 and that of his father probably in the following year tolled the knell for Catharism. In the course of the 17 years of his mandate, the inquisitor Bernard Gui passed sentence on 650 people.

Without the support of Philip the Bold in 1274 and Philippe le Bel in 1304, the Inquisition would have been unable definitively to halt the rise of Catharism in Languedoc. This religious movement was an important cause of political instability.

b) Doctrine. Catholics gave these heretics various names, including Cathars—from the Greek *katharos*, meaning “pure.” Other names either followed the classifications of patristic heresiology, such as Albigensians and Manicheans, or referred to their geographic origin, their occupations, or their leaders. They called themselves “good men,” “good Christians,” or friends of God*.

The members of the sect based their teaching on the Bible*, from which they excluded almost all the Old Testament and which they interpreted in their own way, paying particular attention to the Gospel* According to John. The doctrine was built on the belief in the existence of two gods, one good and the other evil, who were hostile to one another from all eternity*. These gods created two worlds, one material and the other spiritual and invisible. Satan, the evil god, left his kingdom and invaded the court of heaven to seduce the angels*. The good Father God drove him out along with his troops and the fallen angels. (In Italy there was a less radical variant that preserved a monotheist theology: although omnipotent, God allowed Satan to organize chaos.) Fallen souls* had fallen to earth and were imprisoned there in bodies created by the devil. In order for the soul seeking the lost paradise to recover its spiritual body, abandoned inert in the world of the good God, the individual had to join the Cathar sect. During a particular ceremony called *consolamentum*, the officiant (or *parfait*) freed the

soul. This sacrament*, the only one that the Cathars recognized, was performed by the imposition of hands and of the évangéliste. It was the baptism* of the Spirit, “spiritual baptism of Jesus Christ, and baptism of the Holy Spirit” (Cathar Ritual, SC 236 §9, 227). It came “as a supplement” to “the other baptism,” the baptism of water, “which was insufficient for your salvation” (ibid., §13, 253–55). The *parfait* then revealed to the new member the Our Father of which he was the guardian and which he alone had the right and the duty to pronounce. An ordinary believer would be authorized to recite it only at the hour of his death*.

The consolamentum was both a rite of ordination* for the *parfaits* and the supreme sacrament for the ordinary believer, received at the moment of his death. To receive the consolamentum and enter into the Cathar brotherhood, the future *parfait* had to commit himself to strict asceticism*, marked by long periods of fasting. He refused to lie, to swear, or to kill. From then on, he no longer feared death, for he knew that it enabled the soul to return to the spiritual world. Finally, his diet excluded (except for fish) any food that was of animal origin or that was the result of sexual intercourse. Because sexuality was considered diabolical by nature, he took a vow of chastity. Believers waited for the hour of death to ask for this sacrament. It was granted to them without confession of their sins, if they had not lost the power of speech and could recite the Our Father that the *parfait* then taught them. They then had to maintain a total fast until their death. Most of the time, believers had previously made a pact with a *parfait* in order to be sure of being received into the sect, a custom that was established during the siege of Montségur (1244) under the name of *convenenza*. If the believer could not be “consoled” or “hereticized,” his soul would then wander from body to body until it encountered the body of a believer purified by this sacrament before his death. This belief in metempsychosis seems to have been brought to Languedoc in the late 13th century by ministers of the sect who had spent time in Lombardy.

In known Cathar rituals—whether in Provençal, late vulgar Latin, or Latin—the Lord’s Prayer is always quoted in Latin, sometimes with a commentary. There are two minor variants from the version of the Latin Church. The first is in the fourth petition (“Give us this day our daily bread”), where *epiousios* is translated *supersubstantialem* (“supersubstantial”), as in the Vulgate, and not “daily.” The Cathar interpretation here follows a Greek patristic tradition that sees it as an allusion to the Law* and to the teaching of Christ and not to the Eucharist. The prayer concludes with a doxology (“For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever and ever. Amen!”), which was then unknown in

the Latin liturgy* but used by the Eastern Church. As for the rest, it is plausible that the Cathar *traditio orationis* derives from the Gelasian heresy and “is rooted in the Christian subsoil of the primitive churches of Africa and Northern Italy” (ibid., intro., 56). Other rites performed among *parfaits* or among believers and *parfaits*, such as the adoration, signified both respect and recognition among followers of Catharism.

Both heresy and non-Christian religion, Cathar dualism represented a real danger for orthodoxy, for it was preached within the framework of well-organized ecclesial structures*, with its dioceses, bishops, and clergy*, the hierarchy of which was modeled on that of the Roman Church. The refutation of Cathar dualism (and of dualism in general) was a major theological task that permitted a reaffirmation of Christian monotheism* confronted with the problem of evil*.

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See also **Evil; Gnosis; Manicheanism; Marcionism; Waldensian**

Catholic Church. *See* Catholicism

Catholicism

While there are some concepts that denote very broad groupings encompassing several Churches or Christian communities (e.g., the “genus” of Protestantism or its “species” Calvinism), Catholicism is, strictly speaking, a useless category. Its original usage, faithful to its etymological meaning, has declined, giving rise to the doctrinal or geographical doublet “Catholicity”; and the Catholic Church, according to its own ecclesiology, is the sole constituent of Catholicism. Inasmuch as the word’s contemporary usage includes social and cultural aspects, however, it would be impossible to limit Catholicism to its place in doctrinal history. Hence, three principal definitions of Catholicism are offered.

1. Catholicism as a Denomination

The Catholic Church is the largest and, geographically speaking, the most widely distributed of all the Christian Churches. With over a billion members, it includes a good half of all who belong to a Christian Church worldwide. Although its heartland is in Europe, it is not restricted to a single ethnic or geographical milieu (Kaufmann 1994). The Second Vatican* Council, using models developed by the two previous councils

(those of Trent* and Vatican I*), set out its official definition of itself at length, notably in its dogmatic constitutions *Dei Verbum* and *Lumen Gentium*.

A doctrinal and cultural whole, known for convenience as *Catholicism*, can be extracted from these texts, making possible a sociocultural approach to the Church (the word “Catholicism” itself appears neither in *Dei Verbum* nor in *Lumen Gentium*). According to these texts, one of the distinctive features of Catholicism is the universal government of the Church (*LG* 23) exercised by the pope as bishop of Rome, in communion with the college of bishops. The ordained ministry in the Catholic Church has the role not only of ecclesiastical government but also the official proclamation of dogma (the teaching role) and the celebration of the sacraments (the sanctifying role); on a local level it is structured according to three degrees: bishop, priest, and deacon (*see LG* 27–29) and restricted to men. Ministerial and baptismal priesthoods cooperate in different ways in the celebration of the sacraments (*LG* 11). Each believer is a bearer of the Christian message by word and example (*LG* 12), but only an explicit ecclesiastical mission can confer authoritative character on that message. The right of

determining the content of the Christian faith and of excluding unorthodox interpretations (heresy* and infallibility*), is the preserve of councils, bishops in communion with the pope, or the latter alone (LG 25). The exercise of the magisterium* concerns not only the expression of faith (dogma) but also Church structures* (including law), customs (in other words, the various forms of divine worship), and even some fundamental points of ethics*.

The doctrinal basis of Catholicism comprises Holy* Scripture (canon* of Scriptures) and the more or less normative interpretations of it given by the ecclesiastical magisterium and the authorized witnesses of the Church past and present (tradition*; Theological Places*) (DV 10). The development of Church structures and of their mode of operation is regulated by universal or local decisions having legal status (canon law; jurisdiction).

Despite the strikingly unified nature of its structure and teachings, Catholicism in its various forms exhibits an irreducible diversity, including theological schools, local churches, inculturation, and distinctive traditions (see LG 13). Moreover, its history has always been characterized by internal movements of opposition to the prevailing doctrine—for example, Jansenism*, Gallicanism*, and Modernism*—whose formulations were sometimes condemned and sometimes not. Certainly the Catholic Church no longer claims in the face of the other Christian Churches to hold a monopoly on ecclesiality and the authentic conditions of the Christian experience. It does, however, maintain that it is a visible manifestation of the Church of Christ, with all its necessary components (LG 8).

Catholicism condemns the Orthodox and Protestant churches, above all, in the Orthodox and Protestant churches for their refusal to recognize the pope's universal episcopate and, in the latter case only, the lack of a ministry legitimized by apostolic* succession. To these points should be added doctrinal differences that, even though numerous ecumenical initiatives have enabled them to be somewhat reduced, still remain unresolved. These concern the Eucharist, the procession of the Holy Spirit, Mary, the cult of saints, and the theology of ministries.

2. Catholicism as a Vision of the World

If there exists a “Catholic” experience of the world, it is not to be confused with the manifestations of the Christian Church that bears that name, though it is at least historically linked to it. It is based on attitudes, movements of thought, and modes of behavior in part determined by the life and doctrine of the Roman Church, though not directly deducible from these (Gabriel and Kaufmann 1980). So, for example, in the

view of C. Schmitt (1923), Catholicism is linked to a political conception grounded in “the rigorous application of the principle of representation.”

3. Normative Definitions of the Catholic Phenomenon

While the epithets “Roman” and “Catholic” have a long history (Congar 1987), the noun “Catholicism” appeared only during the modern era (Imbs 1977). And it was even more recently—during the 19th century—that it took on the connotation of a qualitative definition. Three principal varieties of this are met with.

a) The Complementary Nature of Catholicism and Protestantism. Schelling* (1841–42), in his *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, saw Catholicism as a necessary but one-sided impulse that Christianity was destined to transcend as its historical course unfolded (see also Heiler 1923). For Schleiermacher* (1830), it was a legitimate form of the Christian faith, but one to which Protestantism was destined to remain irredeemably alien.

b) Catholicism as an Aberrant Development. From this standpoint, Catholicism is perceived as a judicial and dogmatic distortion of Christianity. This development is seen as having originated far in the past (Protocatholicism*) but as reaching its fullest manifestation in the modern period (e.g., Sohm 1892; Harnack 1931–32).

c) Catholicism as a Positive Definition of the Essence of Christianity. Since the start of the 19th century, theologians (especially Catholic ones) have tried to define the “essence” of Christianity. The most striking formulations in this regard are to be found in the work of J.A. Möhler (1825), who holds that “only everybody can compose the whole, and the unity of the whole cannot but be a totality”; in K. Adam (1924), who writes of “the integral assertion of values, an opening to the world in the most comprehensive and most noble sense, the marriage of nature with grace, of art with religion, and of science with faith, so that ‘God may be all in all’”; in Henri Sonier de Lubac* (1938): “To see Catholicism as one religion among others... is to mistake its essence... Catholicism is Religion. It is the form that humanity must put on so as to at last be itself. It is the one reality which has no need of conflict in order to exist, and is thus the opposite of a ‘closed society,’ though here Catholicism denotes less a ‘content’ than a ‘spirit’; and finally in Hans Urs von Balthasar* (1975), who employs the adjective while as far as possible avoiding the noun, writes of “a revelation and communication of the divine Totality.”

Today, however, this set of themes is rarely approached under the heading of “Catholicism” but rather from the standpoint of a catholicity that goes beyond the confessional boundaries of Catholicism in its fulfillment of the Church’s vocation (Congar 1949; Seckler 1972, 1988).

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See also Anglicanism; Calvinism; Church; Infallibility; Lubac, Henri Sonier de; Lutheranism; Orthodoxy; Pope; Protestantism; Universalism

Causa Sui. *See Aseitas*

Cause. *See Being; Creation*

Censorship, Doctrinal. *See Notes, Theological*

Chalcedon, Council of

451

The Council of Chalcedon* made a major contribution to christological dogma. It must initially be viewed in the context of the progress of debate since the time of the Council of Ephesus*.

1. *From Ephesus to Chalcedon*

a) *The Repercussions of Ephesus.* The Council of Ephesus (431) had reached its conclusion with the “act of union” of 433. John of Antioch, representing the theology of the school* that had trained Nestorius, had accepted that Mary should be known as “Mother of God” (*Theotokos*) and, while distinguishing the human and the divine natures of Christ, acknowledged in him a single “person” (*prosôpon*). Cyril* of Alexandria had acquiesced, renouncing his own formula, “the unique nature of the incarnate Word*.” Soon afterward, in 435, Bishop Proclus had substituted for this phrase the expression “a single hypostasis of the incarnate Word,” and the introduction of the term “hypostasis” (in the sense of “physical act of existence” or “existing person”) foreshadowed the future definition of Chalcedon.

However, the “act of union” of 433 had not put an end to the divisions. Some Eastern Christians continued to regard Cyril as a heretic, either because they misunderstood his earlier pronouncements or because they were still followers of the Nestorianism* condemned at Ephesus. On the other hand, some of Cyril’s supporters criticized him for having approved in 433 a form of words that spoke of “two natures.” Some believed that this formula implied a separation of human and divine nature, while others were already tempted by what would become the heresy* of the monk Eutyches.

The latter, indeed, would adopt a position totally opposed to the doctrine of Nestorius. Professing a radical Monophysitism*, Eutyches was summoned before a synod by Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, and excommunicated (448). But the emperor Theodosius II, convinced of Eutyches’s doctrine, in turn convoked a council that met at Ephesus on 1 August 449.

b) *Leo the Great and the “Tome of Leo”.* A native of Tuscany, Leo had become bishop of Rome in 440. He was to play a major political role at a time when

barbarian invasions threatened the western part of the empire. He also proved to be a remarkable pastoral priest, working at the organization of the liturgy and of monastic life in the Roman community and giving sermons striking for their doctrinal solidity and purity of style. His concern for orthodoxy and for the peace of the Church would lead him to intervene decisively in the christological controversies of his time. It was in this context that on 13 June 449 he addressed a long dogmatic letter, the “Tome of Leo,” to the patriarch of Constantinople. Refuting the heresy of Eutyches, in which he saw a new form of Docetism*, Leo emphasized that the properties of Christ’s human nature and of his divine nature must be preserved. Such a distinction did not, however, entail separation since, as he pointed out, the two natures were themselves joined in “a single person”: “Each form accomplishes its own task in communion with the other.” This unity of the person made it permissible to say that the Son of man descended from heaven or that the Son of God was crucified (one can recognize here what later theology would term the “communication of idioms*”). By its insistence on the two natures, Leo’s doctrine was of course nearer to Antioch’s position than to that of Cyril. Nonetheless, it attained a balance in its formulations that directly foreshadowed the theological synthesis of Chalcedon.

c) *From the “Robber Council of Ephesus” to the Council of Chalcedon.* The “Tome of Leo” was aimed at the bishops who were to meet at Ephesus in August 449. But this council took place in the worst of circumstances: a majority in favor of Eutyches had been arranged in advance. Despite the presence of the Roman delegates, Eutyches was rehabilitated, while Flavian was to be barred from the episcopate and sent into exile. Pope Leo was told of this tumultuous assembly, which he labeled a “robber council.” Challenging everything that had occurred, he asked Theodosius to convene a general synod* in Italy, but the emperor did not reply and let it be known that he entirely approved of the council of 449.

It was only after the death of Theodosius (450) that the situation could progress. The new emperor, Marcian, suggested to the pope that a new council should

be held in the East. Then, despite Leo's misgivings, he announced his decision to call one at Nicaea. Leo did not oppose this but requested that agreement be reached on the faith set out in the "Tome" and indicated that he would preside over the assembly himself through the intermediary of his legates. Marcian finally transferred the council to Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople, where the bishops, some 500 or 600, began their work on 8 October 451.

2. The Work of Chalcedon

a) The Dogmatic Decree. At first the bishops were unwilling to add a new definition to that of Nicaea* I. Then, after the teachings of Cyril and of Pope Leo had been approved, the imperial commissioners announced that a formulation of the faith would be worked out by the council. It was solemnly proclaimed in the emperor's presence at the sixth session (25 October 451).

After a long preamble, exhorting the preservation of the faith formerly defined by Nicaea and Constantinople* I, the document restates the two opposing errors of Nestorius and Eutyches and sets against them, respectively, the letters of Cyril and Leo. Next follows the definition proper: a broad, majestic statement, blending formulae from various sources and, above all, showing the influence of the theology set out in the "Tome."

This definition begins by confirming the doctrine promulgated in 431 by the Council of Ephesus. It is punctuated, indeed, by the expressions "a single and same Son" (at the beginning and end) and "a single and same Christ" (about halfway through, where the description of Mary as *Theotokos* also appears). The progression of the statement is thus revealing, beginning as it does from a consideration of unity, with which it also culminates.

Against this background, however, the text's original feature resides in its affirmation of duality. This first stands out in the first part: "our Saviour Jesus Christ, equally perfect in divinity, and equally perfect in humanity, at once truly God and truly man, of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father* by his divinity and at the same time consubstantial with us by his humanity." Most notably, the second part of the statement introduces the terminology of the two natures: "recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, and without separation (*asugkhotôs, atreptôs, adiairetôs, akhôristôs*), the difference in these natures being in no way annulled as a result of union, the particularity of one and the other nature being on the contrary preserved, and convergent in a single person and a single hypostasis, a Christ neither splitting up nor dividing into two persons, but a

single and same Son." Certainly the standpoint of unity remains clearly present even in these formulations, as witnessed in the two adverbs translated by "without division" and "without separation" and the attribution to Christ of a single "person" or "hypostasis." But the first two adverbs ("without confusion, without change"), the affirmation of a single hypostasis "in two natures" (and not merely "of two natures"), and the insistence on the respective properties of either nature all attest to the particular thrust of Chalcedon, which, while confirming the contribution made by Ephesus, was opposed as a matter of priority to the errors of Eutyches and his supporters.

b) The Conciliar Canons. The work of Chalcedon was not confined to its definition of dogma. The council also had the task of ruling on matters regarding individuals (so, e.g., Theodoret, suspected of Nestorianism, was rehabilitated), and it produced 28 canons concerning clerical and monastic discipline as well as problems of ecclesiastical administration.

Canon 28, however, was to be the cause of some serious incidents. Not only did it accord "primacy of honor" to the bishop of Constantinople, the "new Rome" (as the first Council of Constantinople had done). It also gave him a power of jurisdiction* over a large part of the East, and, while admitting the preeminence of the Apostolic See (the old Rome), it linked this preeminence to the imperial city's prestige and not to the authority conferred by Jesus on Peter*. Canon 28 was challenged by the Roman legates. The conciliar Fathers*, followed by Marcian and the patriarch Anatolius, wrote to Leo asking him to approve the council in its entirety. But the pope would give his assent only on matters of faith. He therefore ratified the doctrinal decrees of Chalcedon while rejecting canon 28.

3. The Legacy of Chalcedon

a) The Reception of the Council. The dogmatic definition of Chalcedon gave rise to violent conflicts during the following century. While the West received it without difficulty, the East was split into three factions: the Chalcedonians, the upholders of Nestorianism, and the proponents of Monophysitism. In the sixth century, the emperor Justinian, who advocated a form of "Neochalcedonism," aimed to reconcile the Monophysites and the Chalcedonians. He exerted a considerable influence on the second Council of Constantinople (553), whose dogmatic canons constitute an Ephesian interpretation of Chalcedon. Despite this effort at clarification, however, the Church* would remain split until the present day between "Chalcedonian churches" and "pre-Chalcedonian churches."

b) Chalcedon Today. In spite of some criticisms directed by Luther* at the terminology of the two natures, the definition of Chalcedon was generally accepted in the modern West as the major expression of christological dogma. The anniversary of the council in 1951 stimulated an attempt at a contemporary reinterpretation: “Chalcedon, end or beginning?” Subsequently, the dogmatic definition was subjected to harsh criticisms: its conceptual language was inadequate, the term “nature” was ambiguous, there was a risk of dualism, and there was an ignorance of the historical dimension and an ineffectiveness in resolving the christological problem. However, some of these objections have been removed because of a hermeneutics* that takes account of the context of Chalcedon as well as the scope of its definition. It may certainly be admitted that the image of the two natures expresses the identity of Christ in too static a way and that the concepts employed bear the mark of the culture of the time. The contribution of Chalcedon was nonetheless to establish a norm for Christology*, which must attempt to consider the union of humanity and divinity in Jesus Christ “without confusion, without change, without division and without separation.”

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See also **Christ/Christology; Cyril of Alexandria; Ephesus, Council of; Hypostatic Union; Monophysitism; Nestorianism; Person**

Character

“Character” comes from the Greek *kharakter* (“imprint”), which itself comes from the verb *kharattein* (“to engrave”). It usually refers to the distinctive features of a person or thing. Two particular meanings should be noted: 1) within the Catholic theology of the sacraments*, character refers to the lasting spiritual impression through baptism*, confirmation*, and ordination*, and 2) in contemporary ethics*, philosophy*, psychology, and theology, character is the set of partic-

ularities of one person as distinct from another. We shall concentrate on the significance of character for Christian anthropology and ethics and on the philosophical resources that inspire contemporary discourses.

Philosophers such as Martha Nussbaum and Alasdair MacIntyre are reflecting, however differently, on the constructive potential of an ethics based on notions of virtue and moral character. Paul Ricoeur deals with

character in the context of personal identity within the larger framework of his ethical project: “character . . . indicates the set of durable dispositions by which one recognizes a person” (Ricoeur 1990).

Among contemporary theologians, Stanley Hauerwas (1944–) has been most prominent in attempting to construct an ethics in terms of the idea of character: “The language of character cannot be avoided in Christian ethics if we are to do justice to the significance of the continuing determination of the self necessary for moral growth” (Hauerwas 1985 [1975]).

For MacIntyre, Hauerwas, and others, the failure of the Enlightenment project of justifying morality obliges us to search for more tenable ethical theories: hence the retrieval of classical theories of virtue and character, especially those of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, and analyses of the role of communal traditions in the formation of moral character.

Aristotle treats what today we call “moral character” in the *Ethica Nicomachea* (*Nicomachean Ethics*), where he stresses the agent’s good or bad formation through his actions. Thus, an action cannot be deemed good or bad in itself but has to be considered together with the agent’s intention. Only when the agent knows what he is doing, when he has made a conscious choice on behalf of a certain action for its own sake, and when he acts in accordance with a firm and reliable character can his action be deemed just and reasonable (*EN* 1105a, 28–32). “Character” here translates the Greek word *ethos*, while *ethike arete* can be translated as “excellence of character” or “moral excellence.” The excellences of character are distinguished from the excellences of intellect but also related to them because intellect and character complement each other. According to Aristotle, character is closely linked to appropriate action. An action is appropriate, according to the famous definition, if it is in a mean between excess and deficiency. The mean is concerned not only with actions but also with passions. The choice of the mean is the result of reasoning (*EN* 1106b, 36–1107a, 5), which depends on practical reason (prudence), an indispensable notion if one wishes to understand what character is. Indeed, the truth that practical wisdom seeks is that which coincides with right intention (*EN* 1139a, 26–30), without which moral character does not exist.

Moral character includes not only excellences such as courage, truthfulness, justice, and moderation but also aspects considered in terms of good social behavior, such as generosity, mildness of temper, humor, modesty, and a broad sense of hospitality and friendship. But how is this character formed? According to Aristotle, one becomes virtuous by doing virtuous things. First, we are engaged in such acts because we have been taught to do so; later, we understand that our

virtuous actions are right. Moral maturity is achieved through both education and habituation, within a favorable social environment. This is why Aristotle stresses the importance of the role that parents, teachers, and the *polis* play in this formation and the ensuing danger when they fail.

Thomas Aquinas generally agrees with Aristotle about character but adds some clarifications, especially with regard to the concepts of will and intention. Moreover, he considers the character-forming virtues from a Christian theological perspective, stating that charity (love*) is the form of all the virtues. For Aquinas, choosing between different possibilities is dependent on both reason and desire, but choice is in itself an act of determination and will. Choice is, then, the result of intention, and this intention is morally significant because by it we are formed as agents of the act (*STh* Ia IIae, q. 19, a. 7). Both Aristotle and Thomas underline the need to will to do good, not just to do good.

“For Aristotle and Aquinas, therefore, to say that a man has character seems to mean at least that he has acquired certain kinds of *habitus* called virtues” (Hauerwas 1985 [1975]). These “*habitus*” are not habits in the ordinary sense of the term; they are “readiness for action” that is not momentary but lasting (*ibid.*). Thus, character is formed “from repeated acts of deliberate decision and, when formed, issues forth in deliberative decision” (*ibid.*). The difference between teleological action and intentional action is crucial for Hauerwas. Intention is distinct from mere purposive behavior. “We are profoundly what we do, for, once action is understood in its essential connection with our agency, it is apparent that by acting we form not merely the act but ourselves in the process” (*ibid.*). Hauerwas explores both the private and the public aspects of character and its possibilities of change and growth, but, notwithstanding how our character is formed, “it must be nonetheless *our* character if . . . men are self-agents” (*ibid.*). Hauerwas frequently developed a theological thesis: that “the idea of character can provide a way of explicating the kind of determination of the believer in Christ without necessarily destroying the tension between the ‘already but not yet’ quality of the Christian life” (*ibid.*). Hauerwas, together with many other theologians, demands in this respect a new appraisal of the function of narrative* in the moral development both of an individual and of the Christian community in which the individual is formed (Hauerwas 1981). The importance of others must be acknowledged in any Christian ethics of character: it is, indeed, others who transmit founding narratives and examples of the Christian life (Hauerwas 1983).

A Christian ethics of character, however, is only one among the different approaches to Christian life advo-

cated today. Its particular emphases on the individual person, on his or her formation as a responsible agent, on the role of narrative, and on the church as the milieu for the formation of character provide essential aspects, but an ethics of character also includes the potential of conflict. The best Christian might at times be forced to make painful decisions and to violate his or her own Christian character. When it is necessary to make a moral decision and neither the Christian tradition nor the Christian community is able to offer enough help, when the plurality of aspects of an individual character is shocking because of its contradictions, and when, finally, all kinds of Christian and non-Christian narratives call for attention, then recourse to some understanding of natural law or obligation, to teleological ethics, and to discourse ethics may be of help. A Christian ethics that ignores character is as insufficient as an ethics of character that takes no account of any other element of the moral life.

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See also **Ethics; Virtues; Wisdom**

Character, Sacramental. See **Sacrament**

Charisma

In the New Testament, “charisma,” from the Greek *kharis* (“grace*”), designates the exceptional gifts given to some of the faithful for the good of the community. In 1 Corinthians 12:8–11, Paul offers a list of charismata: wisdom, knowledge, faith, the gift of healing, the working of miracles, prophecy, the discernment of spirits, speaking in tongues (“glossolalia”), and its interpretation; in verse 28, he adds the charismata given to the apostles, the prophets, teachers, and leaders of the community. In medieval terminology, charismata are elements of grace given for the edification of the community (*gratia gratis data*) and not for the sanctification of individuals (*gratia gratum faciens*). The term “charisma” achieved prominence in

the sociology of religion and political sociology thanks to the influence of Max Weber. Pentecostalism*, both Protestant and Catholic (“Charismatic Revival”), has given a prominent place to the Pauline emphasis on charismata. The emphasis given by Vatican* II to the multiplicity of charismata in the one Church, the recipient of the gifts of the Holy* Spirit, has provided the basis for a renewal of the theology of charismata.

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See also **Grace; Pentecostalism**

Charity. *See* Love

Chartres, School of

a) To give even just a general view of the school of Chartres, it is impossible to dispense with a detour through historiography. Its fame began at the end of the 19th century. According to R. L. Poole and A. Clerval, it had been one of the most prestigious centers of studies and teaching in the 11th and 12th centuries. Good and excellent works, devoted to authors more or less attached to this school, have consolidated its reputation since that time. But in 1970, R. W. Southern expressed an iconoclastic opinion. He stated that we possess very few reliable documents on this school, and he concluded from this that Chartres was nothing more than an episcopal school like so many others. Indeed, it was much less important than the ones in Paris and in Laon, and its teaching was outdated. However, the well-argued responses of P. Dronke, N. M. Haring, and E. Jeaneau, among others, have led to a general agreement that the school of Chartres certainly existed as an organized institutional body, although not a well-known one and no doubt less exceptional than first assessments had claimed. In addition, the quality of its masters (more numerous than Southern had thought), as well as the propagation of its teachings and of what can be called the spirit of Chartres, ensured its important place in the intellectual history of the 12th century.

Bishop Fulbert (1006–28) gave the school an early brilliance. At the beginning of the 12th century, this bishop, together with the great canonist Ivo of Chartres (1090–1115) and the first of the school's great masters, Bernard of Chartres, made their mark. From the latter's time, complex networks extending both inside and outside the school can be seen to emerge, and the best way of presenting them is to follow them.

b) A subdeacon in Chartres from the beginning of the century until his death (c. 1126, no doubt), Bernard was a master at the cathedral school in 1112 and chancellor in 1124. These are the only facts we possess

about him. As for his thought, until the 1980s it was known only through a few doxographic elements, the most detailed of which came from John of Salisbury, himself a student of the pupils of Bernard. In particular, John relates that the latter was a *grammaticus*—a master of grammar and literature—of high quality but also “the most perfect Platonist of his times.” He cites especially Bernard's way of drawing a parallel between the grammatical fact of the paronymy and the cosmography of the *Timaeus* (which, nonetheless, John himself does not cite). Another comparison was that of the three states of the idea: first of all isolated in its purity, then tending toward the material, and finally imbued with its subject. Lastly, John drew attention to Bernard's comparison of the series of noun/verb/adjective: *albedo* (whiteness), *albet* (whitens), and *album* (white).

In 1984, P. E. Dutton announced his discovery of Bernard's glosses on the *Timaeus*. The glosses were on only the first half of the *Timaeus* since that was all that was known of it in the Middle Ages (it appeared in Calcidius's translation and with his commentary). Dutton published Bernard's glosses in 1991. This important text increases considerably our knowledge of Bernard's philosophy* and of certain aspects of his influence. Several allusions in this commentary reveal an interest in morality that did not emerge from the doxography. Above all, his commentary makes his Platonism clear. The data supplied by John of Salisbury gave a static image of it: there is the idea, the matter and the composite of the two, unstable and without real existence. As for the glosses, they very often emphasize the *formae nativae*, “the forms which come into the world*,” images of the ideas that enter into matter to produce the world of the senses. Of course, that concept was already indicated in the *Timaeus* (50c), but Calcidius did not stress it, while Bernard makes it a principal element of his cosmology. In addition, there

can be discerned in these glosses an effort to attribute to matter a specific role in the constitution of the tangible, but the idea is suggested several times without any development. Bernard was not a theologian; he was a Platonist. It is true that Plato, along with Macrobius and Boethius*, pervades everything in the 12th century and even in theology, where the reading of the *Timaeus* is a parallel to the meditation on the first lines of Genesis. The practice of linking these philosophical and literary studies is in any case characteristic of the school of Chartres.

Two of Bernard's pupils were among the greatest minds of the century: William of Conches and Gilbert de la Porrée (Gilbert of Poitiers).

c) Not much is known about the life of William of Conches. He began to teach in 1120. Various clues lead to the supposition that it was in Chartres, but no formal proof of this exists. Around the year 1140, he left his place of teaching for the court of the duke of Normandy, Geoffroy le Bel Plantagenêt. William died soon afterward, in 1154. His work is composed of fairly numerous commentaries on different authors; of a *Philosophia*, which is a work of his youth; and of a *Dragmaticon*, which takes the form of an erudite dialogue with Geoffroy le Bel. According to John of Salisbury, William was "the most learned *grammaticus* after Bernard of Chartres," and he is known to have commented on the *Institutiones Grammaticae* of Priscian, on Virgil, on Juvenal, and on the *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* by Martianus Capella. He himself said he was a *physicus*, interested in nature. Specifically, he knew the Arab works of medicine translated in the 11th century by Constantine the African. A theologian, William analytically traced the route from the creature as far as God: the effective cause of the world is divine power, its formal cause is wisdom, and its final cause is goodness. We next discover the three persons of the Trinity* that Abelard* had presented in this way as early as 1120 (divine attributes; appropriation). In his glosses on *The Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius* and on the *Timaeus* and in his *Philosophia mundi*, William, like Abelard, ventured to identify the Holy Spirit as the Soul of Plato's world; and again like Abelard, he retracted in the face of criticism. His annotated readings of Boethius and of the *Timaeus*, as well as his reading of Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, were grist for his Platonism. As with his interest in the poets, the interest William took in this philosophy is no doubt the result of Bernard's teaching.

But William's most original trait is certainly that he constructed the concept of nature*. He definitely did not know Aristotle's *Physics*, but the *Timaeus* taught

him that forms, images of the "ideas that really exist in the archetypal world," "enter" the primordial matter of the world. In this way are formed the elements. According to Constantine the African (c. 1020–87), these are minimal particles, each made up of two compatible qualities of which each element got one from itself and the second from another (fire is hot in itself, dry because of motion; air is humid in itself, hot because of fire; and so on). As an image of its archetype, the world is "the ordered set of all creatures." Following Calcidius, William discerned in the world the work of the Creator, the work of nature, and the work of the artisan. He thus diverged from an Augustinian view, scriptural and ultratheological, according to which everything is a divine miracle*, the ripening of the grape just as much as the changing of the water into wine in Cana. For William, "the Creator's work consists of having created at the beginning all the elements, or of having done something against nature; nature's work consists in the fact that like engenders like: men engender men; donkeys engender donkeys"; or again, "from the trunk of a tree God can make a calf, but has he ever done so?" William of Saint-Thierry accused William of Conches of having "followed the insane philosophers for whom nothing exists except bodies and bodily things, without any other god in nature than the aid of the elements and natural regulation." But William of Conches stated that he "took nothing away from God" since nature was God's work. We therefore find in his ideas a form of physics and naturalism* that is compatible with a Christian theology and the novelty of which was rooted in Platonist soil.

d) Gilbert de la Porrée was born about 1075. After studies at the schools of Chartres and Laon, he taught in Paris and at Chartres, where he was chancellor from 1126 to 1137. In 1142 he became bishop of Poitiers, his native town. He died in 1154.

In the main, his work consists of commentaries on books of the Bible (Psalms, Epistles of Paul) and of Boethius's theological opuscles. In the latter, Gilbert put forward a philosophy that has to be reconstructed, for it is presented there in fragments according to the requirements of a text glossed phrase by phrase. Gilbert constructs in this way a deep and original ontology whose pivot is the Boethian distinction between "what is" (*id quod est*) and being* (*esse*). He rewords this conceptual pairing by using the respective terms "what is" and "that whereby it is" (*id quo est*). Or else he uses another pairing, that of "subsisting" and "subsistence." The individual being is what it is on account of a group of subsistences stacked up as are the universals on Porphyry's tree, moving from the species to the

most general kind. These are its specific subsistence and its generic subsistences. The subsistences have no existence since they constitute the “being,” which, according to Boethius’s own words, “is not yet” (*non dum est*); and as for the *quod est*, it does exist “once it has received its form of being.” For Gilbert, then, only the individual exists (*individuum*), while the universal, which he calls the *dividuum*, results from a “similarity” among individuals of the same genus, of the same kind, which are united only by a “conformity” and which do not possess the sort of ontological identity postulated by the various realisms. Each individual (*id quod est*) is something (*est aliquid*) through one set of subsistences, of which each subsistence is an individual only insofar as it belongs to that composite of all of them together, which is identical to no other. In this way, “the *platonitas*, constituted by the whole of everything which, in deed or by nature, has belonged, or belongs, or will belong to Plato.” This agglomeration (*concretio*) “does not produce, but exhibits” (*non fecit sed probat*) individuality, which is therefore a unifying subsistence.

So in Gilbert we encounter a Platonist who welcomes nominalist ontology (nominalism*). In fact, Gilbert remains a Platonist: the “concrete” forms (*in concretione in abstractae*) that constitute the substance of a subsistant are for him “the image of ideas” (*idearum icones*). From Bernard’s teaching he retains the *formae nativae* (but not the phrase, which does not occur in Gilbert’s work).

A theology that can be called philosophical developed on the base of this ontology. Following Boethius, who himself followed Aristotle, Gilbert made theology the third and highest of the “speculative sciences,” the other two being physics and mathematics. According to Gilbert, of the nine “rules” Boethius formulated in his short treatise called *hebdomades*, only the seventh is really theological. It states that “for all that is simple, its being and what it does are one and the same” (*omne simplex esse suum et id quod est unum habet*). There is in God, therefore, an identity of the *quod est* and of the *quo est*: for this reason, his power, his wisdom, and so on do not differ from “the essence by which we claim he is” and which is “a single form.” “God is just for the very reason for which he is God”; or again, “God is essence, he is not something” (*aliquid*).

According to Gilbert, to say that “God is by reason of his essence” does not mean that the essence is other than him and that the same idea is true when one considers the Trinity. The persons of the Trinity are God “by reason of the divine essence,” and since this essence is single and one, each person is one for that reason, and all of them together are one. Bernard* of Clairvaux wanted to have Gilbert condemned at a

council* held in Rheims (1148), accusing him of having taught that “the divine nature, or *divinitas*, is not God but the form by means of which he is God, just as humanity is not man but the form by which he is man” (deity*). Gilbert was not condemned. He had not taught what Bernard was claiming he had taught, and his stunning theological erudition had given him the means of shoring up his doctrine with solid guarantees. It is clear that if the *esse* and the *id quod est* do not equal one in God, it is not possible to say that the “divinity” is in himself the same way that humanity is in man.

Apart from this philosophical theology, we find in Gilbert, who was educated at Laon as well as at Chartres, a theology of the glossator, something that is seen in his scriptural commentaries. This theology is also a “science,” but one with a specific status: “The face of God is reflected in the mind (*in mente*) as in a mirror; when under the influence of the Lord the power of the mind which is called the intellect is brought to bear, that is called a science” (unpublished, cited by Nilsen). Gilbert distinguishes two sorts of truths: that of grammar, of dialectics, and so on and that of the Law, the prophets, of the Gospels. The second is “according to piety,” but not the first.

e) Thierry was the third great chancellor of Our Lady of Chartres, where he succeeded Gilbert in 1141. It was probably he who had spoken in defense of Abelard at the Council of Soissons (1121), and he attended the Council of 1148 in Rheims, when Bernard of Clairvaux failed to have Gilbert condemned. He is the one to whom Bernard Silvestris dedicated his *Cosmographia* and Hermann of Carinthia dedicated his translation of Ptolemy’s *Planisphere*. Thierry annotated Cicero’s *On Rhetorical Invention* and compiled and commented on the texts that make up the *Hep-tameron*—a manual of liberal arts, which proves in particular that he knew Aristotle’s treatises on logic, barely glimpsed by Abelard. He wrote a treatise on the six days of creation* (*De sex dierum operibus*) and composed a commentary on Boethius’s *De Trinitate*, apparently on several occasions, if we can believe the editor who attributed three commentaries to him. Even though such repetition seems unlikely, these three commentaries attributed to Thierry allow the inference of the existence of a tradition homogeneous enough that it can be called the tradition of Chartres.

The above bibliography reveals Thierry’s to be a mind that ranged over different areas of knowledge, and his polymathy inspired in him differing ways of treating fundamental theological themes. For instance, he proposed a mathematical formula of the Trinity. If one considers in the first place that God is a unity, one will conceive that the unity applying itself to itself en-

genders “the equivalent of the unity”: thus, the Father engenders the Son, “a perfect image of unity.” In the second place, the principle of cohesion according to which everything attaches to its own unity is illustrated in God in the form of a love between the unity that engenders and the unity engendered—this is the Holy* Spirit, the “connection” from one to the other, which is not unequal to them and is not different. Besides, “the divine form is every form” since all forms share in him and therefore share in the unity. They therefore derive from him just as numbers derive from the mathematical unity, in such a way that “the creation of the numbers is the creation of things”; and these things are affected by the initial multiplicity, which is duality.

All the above reveals to us a pythagorism that is inherent in Platonism. In the same way, Bernard’s and Gilbert’s *formae nativae* appear again when Thierry says that the forms of things are the images of the true forms and that certain phrases by classical philosophers, “understanding of the divinity, wisdom of the Creator,” prove that they glimpsed something of the subsistence of forms in the Son*. Although Thierry borrowed the double schema of the threefold relationship and of creation from Platonizing arithmetic, he also superimposed on grammar a theological interpretation of the meaning of names: “Names are joined eternally in the divine mind (*in mente divina*) even before men impose them on things; therefore men imposed them on the things to which they were joined in the divine mind—and it seems to us that men did that under the influence (*instinctu*) of the Holy Spirit. As for “physics,” an area alien to the liberal arts, it gave him the means to explain by means of the nature of the elements the order of the six days of creation.” Light, the first thing created, is the light of fire, naturally placed first among the elements. Its heat produces vapors that settle above the air and therefore makes the surface of the water fall. Thus, land appears, and once warmed, it produces plants. From the vapors, stars are formed, and their motion increases the warmth to the point of causing animals to appear, fish, birds, land animals, and man among them. The first six verses of Genesis can be recognized in this process, and springing from them, the “seminal reasons,” placed by God in the elements, develop into later productions.

f) Clarembaud of Arras, who died after 1170, had Hugh of Saint*-Victor and Thierry of Chartres as his teachers. He annotated Boethius’s *Hebdomades* and *De Trinitate* and was the author of a short unfinished treatise on creation that he had intended as a complement to Thierry’s. In any event, he remained close to the latter. He took up again the arithmetical speculation on the Trinity and the concept of God as *forma es-*

sendi (a form coming into being), which in any case is a Boethian theme, and he interpreted the forms in material shape as images of divine ideas. He kept his distance from Gilbert, whose nominalist conception of the universal he particularly rejected: “Although renowned doctors have propagated the idea that singular men are men by dint of singular humanities, we have tried to show that there exists a single and same humanity through which singular men are men.”

g) Bernard Silvestris, who was born about 1100 and died about 1160, taught at Tours. He is linked to Chartres only because of his dedication of his *Cosmographia* to Thierry, but one could add that he is also linked to Chartres by his culture and cast of mind—the “Spirit of Chartres,” which is recognizable by intuition but cannot be localized. Bernard annotated Martianus Capella and the first six chants of the *Aeneid*, considered as the metaphorical account of “what a human mind suffers when lodged for some time in a human body.” He wrote a *Mathematicus*, a poem where astrology is challenged; an *Experimentus*, a treatise on divination of Arab origin; and, above all, a *Cosmographia*, which was written in alternating prose and verse and treats, in two parts (*Megacosmos* and *Microcosmos*), the genesis of the world and of man while dealing along the way with an abundance of encyclopedic material. Its style is beautiful in both verse and prose. As for the content, three aspects are noteworthy. First, his Platonism: as in the *Timaeus*, matter is in a state of disorder but remains a source of inexhaustible fecundity. It receives “forms,” the first of which are those of the elements, before one sees the whole of the cosmos* unfold. But in Bernard Silvestris’s work, the myth expands far beyond Plato’s into a real metaphysical epic. At the beginning, matter, called *Silva*, implores *Noys*, who is divine thought, to rescue her from the “confusion” of her situation. Apart from *Noys*, a host of characters (*Natura*, *Endelichia*, *Physis*) will intervene to save the world from chaos. They are all female, and the character that dominates it all receives names from all three genders: *Deus*, *Usia Prima*, and *Tugaton*. Second, the feminism: in addition to the primacy of feminine personifications of cosmological events, a superimposing of images identifies Eden, the first garden where humanity came into being, with a pregnant belly. The masculine sex is not mentioned until the end of Book II. Finally, the paganism*: a few allusions to Christian beliefs, very rare and without links among them, do not counterbalance a fable that is entirely philosophical and, more specifically, Greek.

h) Can John of Salisbury (born between 1115 and 1120) be considered as belonging to the school of

Chartres? The fact that he was bishop in this town from 1176 to his death in 1180 has nothing to do with it. However, he provides information on several members of the school of Chartres and its teachings. His own masters were William of Conches, Thierry of Chartres, and Gilbert de la Porrée. Moreover, he had also heard Abelard, the logician Alberic of Paris, and the grammarian Pierre Hélie. From 1148 he spent his life involved in the affairs of two archbishops (Thomas à Becket was one of them) and of one pope. He was the author of the *Policratus*, a political work (“on the frivolity of courtiers”), of the *Pontifical History*, but also of the *Metalogicon*, where, in elegant Latin and amid many scholarly digressions, he dealt with the content of Aristotle’s *Organum*, about knowledge and reason*. It is the work of a somewhat disillusioned great man of letters who recommends a tempered skepticism in matters “doubtful for the wise.” If one holds, perhaps arbitrarily, the characteristics of the school of Chartres to be a taste for “grammar,” Platonism, and the invention of nature, John can lay claim only to the first of these characteristics. From the philosophy he learned at the school of Chartres, he retained only a few facts, quite precise ones, but also fragmentary and even anecdotal.

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JEAN JOLIVET

See also **Humanism; Christian; Intellectualism; Natural Theology; Nature; Philosophy; Platonism, Christian; Theological Schools**

Chenu, Marie-Dominique. *See* **Thomism**

Childhood, Spiritual

The expression “spiritual childhood” is today inseparable from the “way of childhood” of Theresa of Lisieux (also known as Sister Teresa of the Child Jesus, 1873–97), who gave shape to a basic attitude that was first biblical and then Christian.

a) Biblical Roots. There is no child without a father. The increasingly vivid experience of the fatherhood of God, for Israel first (“Thus says the Lord, Israel is my firstborn son”; Ex 4:22) and then for everyone on the basis of the choice of Israel (“And of Zion it shall

be said, ‘This one and that one were born in her’”; Ps 87:5), runs through the entire Judeo-Christian revelation*. As the ultimate expression of this, Jesus* presents himself as the only Son, “the firstborn among many brothers” (Rom 8:29), making the father–son relation the one from which all others proceed (Eph 3:15).

In this perspective the theme of spiritual childhood crystallizes around the concern of YHWH for his people*, whom he bears “as a man carries his son” (Dt 1:31), so that the faithful are invited to discover themselves in a total dependence on God (“Is not he your father, who created you, who made you and established you?”; Dt 32:6), outside of which their fragility is absolute (“Ah, Lord God! Behold, I do not know how to speak, for I am only a youth”; Jer 1:6). The proper attitude is thus one of total confidence (God replies to Jeremiah, “Do not say, ‘I am only a youth’”; Jer 1:7), bringing about a tranquillity and passivity that define the normal interior state of the human person before God: “I do not occupy myself with things too great and too marvelous for me. But I have calmed and quieted my soul, like a weaned child with its mother” (Ps 131:2). We should note that in all this, although there is tenderness (“Can a woman forget her nursing child...?”; Is 49:15), there is above all humility, and biblical civilization hardly sees in childhood the ideal state of positive innocence that characterizes the modern view of it.

In the New Testament and the tradition*, it is under the sign of this humility that childhood expresses the spiritual attitude appropriate to the new birth (Jn 6:1–6): “Whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it” (Lk 18:17). In the background there will always be the example of Jesus himself, who, “born of woman” (Gal 4:4), has joined us in our essential fragility, while teaching us to live it as sons of Mary* and Joseph.

b) Before Theresa. Over the centuries, the fact that Christian life was understood as the birth and growth of divine life meant that spiritual childhood became a central theological theme. It was developed by the mystics* in the direction of the necessary passivity of the human person in the hands of God. Countless writers developed one or another of the theme’s aspects before it was treated as a specific inner way by French writers of the 17th century. Bérulle* and the Oratorians, as well as the reformed Carmelites* (particularly that of Beaune), associated this way of childhood with the contemplation* of the infant Jesus, that is, with “adherence” to the God hidden beneath the infirmities of his incarnation, making us divine to the extent of our own spiritual childhood.

c) Theresa de Lisieux. It was with Theresa, proclaimed a doctor* of the Church in 1997, that spiritual childhood became a distinct spiritual school. Following in the tradition of Bérulle, on the decisive Christmas night of 1886 she perceived her apostolic vocation as an appropriation of the childhood of Jesus: “On this night when he made himself weak and suffering for my love*, he made me strong and courageous, he clothed me with his armor” (*Manuscript A*, 44 v). There had just taken place in her the Copernican revolution that characterizes spiritual childhood: totally powerless before the ordeals of life, both great and small, she made of this very powerlessness the wellspring of a total abandonment in God, observing the promise of Saint Paul, “I will not boast, except of my weaknesses” (2 Cor 12:5), and determining never to attempt to overcome them by herself. From that time forward her own weaknesses became an additional capacity for allowing Jesus to manifest his strength in her weakness, right up to the death* she experienced in the most extreme pain as well as the most extreme jubilation. Two months earlier she had explained to her sister what she understood by “remaining a little child before the good Lord.”

It is recognizing one’s nothingness*, awaiting everything from the good Lord, as a “little child expects everything from his father; it is not worrying about anything, not making a fortune. Even the poor give a child what he needs, but as soon as he grows up his father no longer wants to feed him and tells him: ‘Work now, you can take care of yourself.’ It’s so I wouldn’t hear that that I did not want to grow up, feeling unable to earn my livelihood, the eternal life* of Heaven” (*Conversation*, 6 August 1897).

Her “little way” overwhelmed later spirituality, making of Theresa the most popular mystic of modern times and making spiritual childhood the almost obligatory form of all inner life. It remained for philosophy* belatedly to bring forth a way of thinking about childhood, for example, in F. Ulrich, *Der Mensch als Anfang*, and G. Siewerth, *Metaphysik der Kindheit*.

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See also **Life, Spiritual; Mysticism**

Choice

1. Old Testament

God's initiative toward Israel* is described as "choice," especially in Deuteronomy, where its gratuitous nature is strongly emphasized. Whereas with human beings choice is always motivated, God's choice of Israel is a case of pure predilection. It is incomprehensible, unmotivated, filling one with amazement and gratitude (Dt 4:37; 7:6ff; 9:4ff, 10:14f; *see* Ps 33:12; 135:4). The commitment to service and fidelity that this gratitude entails is only a response to this predilection (Dt 14:1).

a) Terminology. The term "to choose" (*bâchar* 164 times, Greek *eklegesthai*) belongs to everyday life. One chooses people or things appropriate for a particular purpose: men for a military operation (Ex 17:9), stones for a sling (1 Sm 17:40), and so on. Choice is also expressed by other terms—to take (*lâquach*: Jos 24:3), to love (*'âhab*: Hos 11:1; Mal 1–3), and to know (*yâda'*: Am 3:2; Gn 18:19)—or it is implied by expressions such as "people* of the Lord" (Ex 19:5f.; Dt 26:18f.; Ps 28:9).

b) Beneficiaries of Choice. The category of choice is employed in interpreting the past: Abraham (Neh 9:7), Jacob (Ps 105:6), Moses (Ps 106:23; Sir 45:4), and the Exodus (Ez 20:5). It is applied to the heart of a people, to kings (Dt 17:15; 2 Sm 6:21, 16:18), to priests (Nm 16:4–7; Dt 18:5, 21:5; 1 Sm 2:28), and especially to Jerusalem* (Dt 12:18; Jos 9:27; Ps 78:68, 132:13f.) and the dynasty of David (2 Sm 7:14ff.; 1 Kgs 8:16; Ps 78, 89; *see* messianism*).

c) The Dramatic Aspect of Choice. The prophets* do not like to speak of "choice" with regard to themselves (*see* "take": Am 7:15; "send": Is 6:8; "establish": Jer 1:10). They fear that this idea may be wrongly understood as implying an automatic guarantee of salvation. The more ancient of the prophets do not even speak of a unique choice of Israel or Zion; rather, they seem to make it purely and simply relative (Am 9:7: "Are you not like the Cushites to me, O people of Israel? [...] Did I not bring up Israel from the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?") or to see in it a mark of greater responsibility (Am 3:2: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities").

Thus, the theological aporias that lie in the idea of choice come to the surface. The opposite concept, "reject" (*mâ'as*), emerges. One finds "to not choose," "to pass over," as with the brothers of David (1 Sm 16:6–10), but also the stronger sense of "reject," "annul the choice already made," as in the case of Saul (1 Sm 16:1) or of the ancient cult sites (Ps 78:67). Faced with the infidelity of a people, one is impelled to ask God, "Have you utterly rejected Judah? Does your soul loathe Zion?" (Jer 14:19; *see* 6:30, 7:29; Ps 89:39–46). The historical book of Deuteronomy does not offer a clear answer. It notes the infidelity of the two kingdoms and their "rejection" (2 Kgs 17:20, 23:27, 24:20). If hope does survive, it is not explicitly expressed (2 Kgs 25:27–30).

Conversely, during the exile and after, according to the prophets, the possibility of rejection is decisively excluded, in such a way that a new choice of Israel is spoken of (Zec 1:17, 2:16; Is 44:1) or in such a way that the irrevocability of the first choice is emphasized (Jer 31:37, 33:23–26; Is 41:8f., 44:1–5; Ez 20:32ff.), on grounds of its gratuitous nature (Is 43:10, 20f.; 45:4). The perfect fusion between divine choice and man's response is outlined in the mysterious figure of the "Servant," the "Chosen One" (Is 42:1, 49:7).

Once the idea is established that the people of God have been irrevocably chosen, there remains the problem of individuals: who, after all, really belongs to the chosen people? The expression "chosen ones," first used to name an entire people (Ps 105:43, 106:5; Is 65:9, 15, 22; 1 Chr 16:13), comes to have an eschatological connotation. In contradistinction to the "impious," it denotes "the just," "the humble," or "the saints" (Is 65:9, 15; Wis 3:9; 1 Hen 1:1, 5:7s, 25:4f., 38:2ff., 39:6f.) and no longer simply coincides with the empirical Israel. In Qumran, the expression "the chosen ones" becomes a term of self-designation for the community, but always within an eschatological perspective (1QS VIII, 3; 1QS XI, 16; 1QH III, 13; 4QFlor I, 19).

2. The New Testament

While still referring to the choice of Israel (Acts 13:17), the irreversibility of which Paul reaffirms (Rom 11:28f.), in the New Testament the term is applied to Jesus*, the Church*, and the individual believer.

a) *Jesus, God's Chosen.* Used in very few but nevertheless important texts to express the intimate relationship between Jesus and the Father*, as part of the Servant figure (Jn 1:34; Lk 9:35, 23:35), the theme never developed. The title "Son" proved to be more suitable to express Jesus' uniqueness.

b) *The Church, the Chosen.* Divine choice is at the root of the calling not only of the Twelve (Lk 6:13; Acts 1:2; Jn 15:16, 19; see Mk 3:13f.) and of Paul (Acts 9:15) but of all Christians (1 Thes 1:4; Acts 15:7). It connotes an entirely altruistic nature and a preference for the poor (1 Cor 1:26ff.; Jas 2:5). The term "kingdom of priests, holy nation, chosen people" (Ex 19:6; Is 43:20) is given to the Church in 1 Peter 2:9. Local communities can be symbolically designated by the name "chosen" (2 Jn 1, 13; 1 Pt 5:13). Christians are called "chosen" (Col 3:12; 1 Pt 1:1; 2 Tm 2:10), but only in Romans 16:13 is the term used in the singular: "Greet Rufus, chosen in the Lord." Is this a softened meaning of "eminent Christian"?

The Pauline writings in particular, by using apocalyptic* categories, understand election as being part of God's eternal intention. It is interpreted christologically: through pure grace*, the Father loved us and chose us in Christ, through Christ and in consideration of Christ, from time* immemorial (Rom 8:28ff.; Eph 1:3–14).

c) *The Choice of the Christian.* Nevertheless, the Christian is subject to the final Judgment Day. The Divine choice offers grounds for trust: "Who shall bring

any charge against God's elect?" (Rom 8:33), but believers must commit themselves "with fear and trembling" (Phil 2:12): "Therefore, brethren, be all the more diligent to make your calling and election sure" (2 Pt 1:10). In John, the tragic proximity of Judas the betrayer casts a shadow of uncertainty: was he chosen as well (Jn 6:65, 10:29, 17:2), or was he not (Jn 6:70, 13:18)? In some texts, the accent falls on caution: "For many are called, but few are chosen" (Mt 22:14), and the term retains all its eschatological value (Mk 13:20, 22, 27; parallel passage in Mt 24:22, 24, 31; Lk 18:7; Rev 17:14).

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See also **Covenant; Israel; Messianism/Messiah; People of God; Predestination; Universalism**

Christ/Christology

The term *Christ* (Hebrew *māshîach*, messiah*; Greek *christos*, anointed) recapitulates the confession of *Christian* faith. The whole body of titles attributed to Jesus of Nazareth are summed up in this word, which has semantically subsumed all other titles that indicate the identity of Jesus (Lord, Son of God*, and so on) and has imposed itself in the designation of the one called Jesus Christ. This is so true that in Antioch, the "disciples of the way" of Christ were called Christians (Acts 11:26). Later, Ignatius of Antioch invented the

neologism "Christianity (*Ad Magn.* 10. 3, SC 10 bis, 105).

For this obvious reason, many other articles in this encyclopedia take up in one way or another the subject of Jesus in history* and in Christian dogma*: the Son of the Father* in the Trinity, the Son* of man, the Servant, the Lamb* of God. They deal with his "mysteries" (Incarnation*, Passion*, Resurrection*) as well as with the development of Christology (particularly on the basis of the first seven ecumenical councils*). On

the other hand, the primary motivation for Christology lies in the doctrine of salvation. This article, devoted principally to the human-divine identity of Christ, sets out a synthesis and refers throughout to relevant specialized articles.

1. Genesis and Development of the Christology of the New Testament

Between Jesus and Christ lies the space of the confession of faith, "Jesus is the Christ," in which the verb was soon replaced by the juxtaposition of subject and attribute. For the disciples of Jesus, this confession is the fruit of the Easter mystery*: "This Jesus God raised up, and of that we all are witnesses... God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified" (Acts 2:32–36). The proclamation of the Resurrection has been called the "cradle of Christology" (Schnackenburg). But for the disciples it came at the conclusion of a period of companionship with Jesus and inaugurated a broad movement of reflection that made his identity explicit.

a) From Jesus to the Confession of Christ. The Gospels retrace for us the development of the faith* of the disciples through the pre-Easter ministry* of Jesus. Although the Gospels clearly have a theological purpose, they nevertheless allow us to grasp some of the concrete experiences of history (the historical Jesus*) that do not depend on that crystallization of faith provoked by the Resurrection. Jesus met men whom he called to follow him and to live with him. Everything took place within the framework of a life lived in common. The human identity of Jesus is an evident fact that leaves no room for doubt. He is a being of flesh and blood, who eats and drinks, who is capable of joy and sadness, of tenderness and anger. It was on the basis of the speech and behavior of this man that the disciples were invited to recognize that there was more in him than in Jonah or Solomon (Lk 11:31), that he was more than just a man. Indeed, this man speaks with a unique authority and not like the scribes (Mk 1:21–27). He proclaims that the kingdom* of God is at hand, as his own presence indicates. He speaks in parables* that are figurative expressions of the event inaugurated by his presence.

His behavior is in total harmony with his speech: he says what he does, and he does what he says. He proclaims the mercy* of God for sinners, and he shares their table. He gives concrete expression to the salvation he brings by performing miracles* that are an anticipatory sign of the salvation of the body. His speech is inhabited by an unprecedented claim: to forgive sins* (Mt 9:1–9; Lk 7:36–50), to fulfill and even to correct the law* of Moses through his own teaching

(Mt 5:21–48, 19:8). He calls on people to leave everything to follow him (Mt 10:37). He lays claim to a unique relationship to God (Mt 11:27; Lk 10:22; Mk 13:32), whom he calls his own Father (*Abba*; Mk 14:36) with words that no Jew before him had dared use. In the pivotal scene at Caesarea, Jesus questions his disciples about his own identity: "But who do you say that I am?" (Mt 16:15). Peter*, on behalf of the other disciples, answers by expressing his dawning faith: "You are the Christ." Matthew completes this first confession by adding "the Son of the living God," so that the primitive Church*'s confession of paschal faith* makes explicit Peter's act of messianic faith. Jesus authenticates this word of faith as a word of revelation* (Guillet 1971).

In the exercise of his ministry, Jesus attracts opposition and threats. He goes up to Jerusalem*, where he knows that death awaits him, just as it awaited many prophets*. The danger and the final ordeal do not cause him to deviate from his mission*. His life has been an existence for his Father and for His brothers, a "proximity" (Schürmann). The same will be true of his death, the meaning of which he himself provides by instituting the meal of the Eucharist*. His death on the cross (Passion*) is the preeminent scandal, one that disperses the group of Twelve. Apparently, everything is against Jesus: the Jews and the Romans (the pagans) have joined together to defeat him. His friends desert him, and even God does not answer his cry of abandonment (Mt 27:46). What, then, is left of his claim to be the "Son"? However, the centurion overseeing the execution confesses, "Truly this man was the Son of God!" (Mk 15:39) or "Certainly this man was innocent" (Lk 23:47). In his manner of dying, Jesus gave a sign of his true identity. But it will take the Resurrection and all the reflection to which it gives rise for the scandal to be overcome and changed into an emblem of glory.

It is generally agreed today that it is inappropriate to look to the lifetime of Jesus for the use of titles explicitly expressing his identity. The pre-Easter ministry of Jesus was a period of *implicit* Christology. His identity was already revealed at that time through his speech and behavior. The disciples groped for ways of expressing that identity by using various terms from the Old Testament that they adjusted to Jesus' in order to articulate the excess of meaning that they saw in him. At first, they probably understood him as the "eschatological prophet" (Schillebeekx), that is, not only the last of the prophets but a prophet unlike the others, the "definitive" or "absolute" prophet. The term *Messiah* (Christ) and the title "Son of David" were used for him, as evidenced by the inscription on the cross. But the Gospels never put this term in the Jesus' own

mouth. He maintained a certain reticence on the subject because of the political and temporal ambiguity to which it might give rise. Jesus truly accepted it only in the scene of his trial before Caiaphas (Mk 14:61), when the ambiguity is definitively resolved. On the other hand, “by always placing the expression Son of Man on the lips of Jesus to identify himself, the Aramaic-speaking Christian community surprisingly recalls the *I* of Jesus, and with such frequency that it can only be explained by the shock produced on Jesus’ own disciples” (Ch. Perrot). As for the title “Son of God,” to the extent that its use goes back to a pre-Easter practice, it is closely united with the prophecies of the Old Testament because it had been applied to the people of Israel* (Ex 4:23ff.). Paradoxically, in the light of future developments, in these early times it is employed less than the expression Son of Man. The claim to call oneself “the Son” is more important than the specific title (Kasper).

b) From the Christology of the Resurrection to the Christology of the Incarnation. The point of departure for the explicit Christology of the New Testament is the Resurrection of Jesus, which sets the divine “seal” on his pre-Easter journey and confirms all his claims. From now on, the scandal of the cross will assume meaning. The disciples can proudly proclaim the Resurrection of the Crucified One: “Christ died for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures...he was buried,...he was raised on the third day in accordance with the Scriptures” (1 Cor 15:3f.). This event is immediately given a threefold interpretation: 1) Jesus has been exalted (Acts 2:33) and now sits in his humanity at the right hand of God in his glory*, which means on an equal footing with him. 2) The Resurrection confirms Jesus’ claim to divine filiation (Ps 2:7, quoted in this context by Acts 13:33 and Heb 1:5). God has definitively revealed himself in Jesus (Pannenberg). The term Son of God thenceforth takes on the strong meaning that Christian dogma will always recognize. 3) Finally, the Resurrection inaugurates the time of eschatology*: “If Jesus is risen, it is already the end of the world” (Pannenberg). The soteriological dimension of the Resurrection is also emphasized: Jesus died “for all” (2 Cor 5:15), and raised “for our justification” (Rom 4:25), and risen, he has bestowed the Holy* Spirit. The Ascension scene recapitulates in its own symbolism these ever more lofty assertions: of Jesus of Nazareth it is said that he has been “declared to be the Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection” (Rom 1:4). The subject is Jesus considered in his humanity; the divine titles are presented as complementary attributes. The “lofty titles” conferred on Jesus are, in effect, interpretations of his

identity. The Christian community confesses as the Son of God one who called himself “the Son” in an absolute sense and who behaved in a filial manner to the point of death. This is what contemporary theology* has vulgarized with the expression “Christology from below,” or primitive Christology, an already complete Christology that could not be repressed by subsequent developments. It is not a Christology of “adoption” of the man Jesus as Son of God because the one who was thus declared with power was already “his Son” (Rom 1:3).

On this foundation, which contains within itself all future developments of Christology, the reflection of the faith of the disciples, as it is set forth in the New Testament, was to effectuate a movement going from the end of Jesus’ journey to its beginning. “Son” is itself a term of origin. Who was this risen one, exalted on the right hand of the Father, in the eyes of God “before” his manifestation in our history? What meaning ought to be given to the title “Son” that he so strongly claimed for himself? This led to two kinds of reflection.

- 1) On one hand, there was a rereading of the ministry and death of Jesus in the definitive light of his resurrection. In compositional terms, the writers of the Gospels intended to testify that the Jesus with whom they had lived was already the one whom he claimed to be and that his resurrection fully revealed the Son of God: “The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God” (Mk 1:1). Many Gospel scenes are therefore constructed as proclamations (kerygma) that invite an explicit confession of faith. The scenes of revelation, such as the Baptism* of Jesus and the Transfiguration, play an important role in this respect. The manifestations of the power of Jesus are also emphasized, creating a tension with his condition as “Servant.” In the same perspective, the accounts of Jesus’ childhood in Matthew and Luke, which are really prefaces added to narratives that began with his public life, give a sign of his divine origin by converging in the same affirmation of his virginal conception (Mary*).
- 2) On the other hand, the vision of faith seeks to fathom the origin of Jesus before his manifestation in the world. Pauline* Christology, for its part, describes this vast movement, which begins with the experience of the Risen One on the road to Damascus, then focuses on the mystery of the cross and opens out into a Christology of mission: “God sent forth his Son” (Gal 4:4); “sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful

flesh” (Rom 8:3). Then, in a series of hymns, some of which may have had a liturgical origin, Paul inscribes the event of Jesus in a great parabola that comes from God and returns to God. The hymn of Philippians 2:6–11 thus describes the journey of abasement (*kenosis**) and glorification of the one who at the outset “was in the form of God.” The preexistence of Christ is thereby assumed. The hymn of Colossians 1:15–20 broadens the theme by showing that the primacy of Christ in the order of redemption and reconciliation corresponds to and has its basis in his primacy in the order of creation*: “all things were created through him and for him” (Col 1:16). Paul applies to the person of Christ what the Old Testament said of the Wisdom* that was present alongside God at the creation of the world and that is mysteriously personified in certain biblical passages (Prv 8:22–31; Jb 28; Bar 3:9–4:6; Eccl 24; Wis 7). But the identification is not complete because the divine reality present in Christ goes beyond that of Wisdom. The hymn of Ephesians 1:3–14 goes back to describe the purpose that God foresaw in Christ from before the creation of the world. Christ, in whom the entire universe is to be “united” (Eph 1:10), is already the heart of the Father’s plan in the original mystery of the divine life. The same epistle contains a passage that shows the inversion between the movement of discovery and that of exposition, an inversion that accomplishes the passage from a Christology from below to a Christology from above: “In saying ‘He ascended,’ what does it mean but that he had also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He who descended is the one who also ascended far above all the heavens, that he might fill all things” (Eph 4:9f.).

The Ascension, which was first in the order of manifestation, turns out in fact to be second in the complete order of realization. It was with the Ascension that the quest of faith began to ask itself about the descent; the normal exposition of the mystery begins with the origin and goes on to the end. The Epistle to the Hebrews—taking account of its particular status in the Pauline corpus—presents the Son, in whom God has spoken to us in these last days and “whom he appointed the heir of all things” and also as the one “through whom also he created the world,” “the radiance of the glory of God, and the exact imprint of his nature” (1:2–3). Here too, “his glorification reveals the profound being of Jesus; it leads to a recognition of His preexisting filiation” (A. Vanhoye).

The Gospel of John is shot through with the question of the identity of Jesus: “Who are you?” (4:10, 5:12f., 8:25, 12:34), “Whence have you come?” (3:8, 7:27f.), and “Where are you going?” (8:14–22, 13:26, 14:5, 16:5). Jesus himself knows “where I came from and where I am going” (Jn 8:14). But it is the movement of his existence that accomplishes this revelation, for “no one has ascended into heaven except he who descended from heaven, the Son of Man” (Jn 3:13); and again, “Then what if you were to see the Son of Man ascending to where he was before?” (6:62); “And now, Father, glorify me in your own presence with the glory that I had with you before the world existed” (17:5). “The return reveals the origin, the ascent the descent, the glory the Son of man and the foundation of the Kingdom*, the return home the original home” (Van den Bussche). The prologue of John is the last word of the Christology of the New Testament. It brings us back up in God to that absolute beginning of the one who *was* both with God and God himself, the divine and creating Word* that was made flesh. This definitive formulation sums up the movement of a Christology descending from above.

This movement has been discussed as a “projection” of the end onto the beginning (Thüsing). This projection is not psychological but rather “logical” and “intrinsically necessary” (Jüngel) and even “ontological” by virtue of the biblical principle, “What is true of the end must also already determine the beginning” (Pannenberg, Thüsing). What concerns God is from always to always. Rigorously speaking, one does “not become” God: Jesus was manifested according to what he had always been. The idea of preexistence was drawn from the eschatological assertions themselves: the Omega and the Alpha coincide (Hengel, Perrot). This idea had many attestations in the Bible (Is 41:4, 44:6; Rev 1:8, 21:6, 22:13); we meet it again in the Epistle of Barnabas (6, 13; SC 172, p. 125).

2. Development of Christological Dogma

The New Testament’s identification of Jesus as Christ, Lord, and Son of God was strongly affirmed in the earliest confessions of faith during the period of the Apostolic Fathers. Differing formulas coexisted—first those of the authors and then those of the churches. The ecclesiastical symbols resulted from the encounter between two types of confession of faith: the Trinitarian confession and the strictly christological confession that reflected the kerygmatic discourse of Acts (*see* Acts 2). On one hand, the second Trinitarian article came to include the christological titular of Jesus; on the other, the christological sequence became attached to the second article.

In these early days, from Clement of Rome to Justin,

the Christology of the Church Fathers recapitulated the development of New Testament Christology. Very quickly, however, the “descendant” point of view came to dominate the “ascendant” view, though both remained present. In one sense, the last word of New Testament Christology—“The Word is made flesh”—became the first word of patristic Christology, linked with another text, Philippians 2:6–11.

a) *Pre-Nicaean Christology.* The confession of Christ was equally provocative for the Jewish world and the pagan world of the time in three ways: it proclaimed the divinity of a man, which seemed to call monotheism* into question; it claimed that salvation came through a man who had suffered the most degrading corporal punishment; and it spoke of immaculate conception, which reminded both cultures of mythological stories of a dubiously sexual kind. Thus, it was soon attacked by both Jews and pagans (Justin). The first conflict in Christian circles questioned, for various reasons, the humanity of Christ; it arose in particular from the Gnostics* and their Docetism*. The glorification of the resurrected Christ in the divine realm made it seem unbelievable that the Word of God had been present in a human form afflicted with so many humiliations. Docetism raised again the idea that the earthly manifestation of Jesus was simply an apparition, his flesh was illusory, he had received nothing from the Virgin, and it was not he who suffered on the cross.

In the face of this serious conflict concerning the humanity of Jesus, the ecclesiastical reaction was quite clear. On the first stirrings of docetism, Ignatius of Antioch stressed the confession of “Jesus Christ of the lineage of David, [son] of Mary, who was *truly* born, who ate and drank, who was *truly* persecuted by Pontius Pilate, who was *truly* crucified and died [...] who was also *truly* resurrected from among the dead” (*Aux Trall.* 9, 1; SC 10 *bis*, p. 119). The battle against gnosticism and docetism would continue to be waged tirelessly by Irenaeus*, Tertullian*, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen*. Against these tendencies, Irenaeus was the first to articulate, with great realism, a Christology in which a true God becomes a true man (*Adv. Haer.* III, 21, 4), “recapitulating” in this act the entire history of salvation, from beginning to end, in order to bring it to fruition (III, 23, 1, etc.). He emphasized in particular the symbolic parallel between the creation of Adam*, drawn from virgin earth by the hands of God, and the generation of Jesus, formed in the womb of a virgin by an act of God (III, 21, 10). Tertullian, in his turn, would be a vehement defender of the reality of the flesh of Christ, flesh that is “the joint of salvation” (*Res.* 6; PL 2, 802). This argument

for the generation of Jesus was intended to conserve the human truth of his earthly journey, in particular the reality of his death and resurrection. However, there was an inverse temptation to reduce the mystery of Christ by making Jesus an “adopted” man, a divinity dwelling temporarily among humans. It was for this view, known as adoptionism*, that Paul of Samosata was condemned.

b) *The Christology of the Great Councils.* In the early fourth century, Christology entered a new phase, which we may term the conciliary phase, between the first and second Nicaean* councils. (Each of the seven councils* is discussed in its own entry in this work, so it will suffice here to summarize the dialectical movement that continued through them.) Arius questioned the divinity of the person of Jesus of Nazareth on the ground that a God who is one could not undergo change and suffering. The Council of Nicaea affirmed the divine, eternal, and consubstantial* filiation of the man Jesus. The movement in response, matching that of the question, goes from the human to the divine, in an ascendant perspective. At Nicaea the confession of the divinity of Christ was the object of a distinction that on the one hand translated it into the terms of Greek thought and on the other reinforced its radicality. This definition, connected to the innovations drawn from the conceptual vocabulary of Greek philosophy into the text of the Creed, provoked numerous troubles in the East that were not really resolved until the First Council of Constantinople*. But in the interim, Apollinarius, a Nicaean convinced of the divinity of Christ, rejected the idea that he had a real human soul. His thinking was rooted in the schema Word-flesh (*Logos-sarx*), which arose in Alexandria, but in a sense that excluded the soul: the Word occupied in Christ the place of the human spirit, will, and liberty*. The motivation was both religious (the divine Word cannot co-exist with a truly responsible and free human spirit) and speculative (two “complete” realities, divinity and humanity, cannot form a real unity). But Christ then became a kind of theological monster, for human flesh separated from a human spirit does not constitute a human being. The scriptural and rational arguments of the Fathers* of the Church stated the objection that the unique mediator must be as completely a man as he is perfectly God. Up to that point, the temptation to reduce the mystery of Christ had elicited significant clarifications concerning the completeness of his humanity (flesh, soul, and spirit) and the full truth of his divinity. With these points thenceforth beyond challenge, debate shifted to the manner of the union between the Word of God and his humanity.

In the fifth century, as part of a backlash following

the definition of Nicaea, the problem took its point of departure not from the man Jesus but from the Word of God. The question became one about the modality of the incarnation or humanization of the eternal Son insofar as it conditioned the constant ontological constitution of his simultaneously divine and human being. In the way he understood the “conjunction” between the divinity and the humanity of Christ, Nestorius established a distance between the two, to the point of rejecting the traditional communication between idioms*. If the Word underwent a second generation in the flesh, Mary is in a sense the true “mother of God”; the Word was the subject of the Passion, and Christ died in a true sense. Hence, the Council of Ephesus* (431), giving canonical status to a letter that Cyril* of Alexandria had addressed to Nestorius, affirmed, in light of the rule of faith of Nicaea, that the eternal Son of God himself conformed to generation in the flesh by reason of His action of persisting *according to the hypostasis*, that is, not as a reality external to him but as something affecting His very person. What occurred at that moment implicated the concrete unity of the Word and His humanity for His entire existence. Underlying the debate on dogma at Ephesus, there was a persistent tension between the two schools of Alexandria* and Antioch, the first thinking according to the schema Word-flesh and the second supported by the schema Word-man (*logos-anthrôpos*). It was not until the act of union of 433 that the two schools were reconciled in the text of a christological confession that leaned more toward Antioch and became the matrix for the definition of Chalcedon.

But, although the Council of Ephesus clearly brought out the *unity* of Christ, it remained vague on the distinction remaining in him between divinity and humanity. The monk Eutyches, trapped by what was not yet clarified in the language of Cyril, intended to confess only a single nature after the union; but he understood the matter in a superficial way and asserted a fusion or confusion between humanity and divinity, as though the former had been lost in the latter like a drop of water in the ocean. After the vicissitudes of the robbery at Ephesus (449), the Council of Chalcedon* (451) received the dogmatic letter of Pope Leo to Flavian and composed a new confession of christological faith that clearly affirmed the unity of the person of Christ “in two natures.” It thus emphasized *distinction*.

Unity and *distinction* remained the two poles of the debate on the interpretation of Chalcedon. This council, seen by some in the East as a return to Nestorianism, provoked the schism* of some churches attached to the Monophysitic language of Cyril. The emperors sought to restore the religious unity of their subjects by intervening with a series of dogmatic edicts. Sum-

moned by Emperor Justinian in an atmosphere of violent conflict with Pope* Vigilius, the Second Council of Constantinople* (553) attempted to win over the Severian Monophysites to the letter of Chalcedon by proposing an interpretation of Chalcedon in the light of the doctrine proclaimed at Ephesus, that is, by emphasizing the *unity* of Christ. “In two natures” had to be understood “solely from a conceptual standpoint” (*tè theôria monè*) and not as positing the two natures existing separately. The communication between idioms was illustrated by an extreme formulation: “He who was crucified in the flesh... is true God, Lord of glory, and one of the Holy Trinity*” (can. 10).

In the seventh century, the controversy over the interpretation of Chalcedon sprang up again. Intending to emphasize the unity of Christ, two Eastern patriarchs, after proposing the ambiguous doctrine of a single “theandric” operation of Christ, won Pope Honorius over to the doctrine of a single will in Christ. The difficulty raised earlier by Apollinarius resurfaced: how could two wills not oppose one another? At the heart of the debate was the interpretation of the scene of Christ’s agony. The First Lateran Council of 649, in formulations composed by Maximus* the Confessor, asserted that there were two wills in Christ, as a very function of His two natures, because the will is a faculty of nature. The Third Council of Constantinople*, in a new interpretation of Chalcedon emphasizing *distinction* this time, confirmed these assertions. The last council with a clearly christological program was Nicaea* II. After the iconoclastic crisis that raged in the East in the eighth century, it affirmed the legitimacy of the cult of images* on the foundation of the incarnation because the Word of God, the perfect image of the Father, had made himself visible in the Christ, who could say, “Whoever has seen me has seen the Father” (Jn 14:9). With this council, the strictly dogmatic development of Christology can be considered complete. Subsequent councils made only brief allusions to christological dogma, most frequently to repeat past affirmations. The latest council, Vatican* II, established its anthropology (GS) on the mystery of Christ with the intent of showing that this mystery is the truth of man.

3. Medieval Christology

The Middle Ages thus inherited as a given the christological dogma developed in the patristic period. The contribution of the scholastic theologians, whose intention was to shift theological discussion from *authorities* to *reasons*, was to turn the results of previous work into speculative questions. Thus, from the Council of Frankfurt in 794 to Thomas* Aquinas, three opinions presented by Peter Lombard vied for support

among writers on the question of the mode of union of the divine person to the humanity of Christ (adoptionism*). Thomas held the opinion that the man Jesus Christ is made up of two natures and that he is a single person, simple before the incarnation and “compound” thereafter, an opinion that became something more than an opinion because he considered that the other two had been condemned (*ST* IIIa, q. 2, a. 6).

Another question was posed along the same metaphysical lines: does the humanity of Christ possess an existence distinct from that of the Word (its own *esse*)? The condemned opinions said yes. But is it possible in light of the only valid opinion? Does the unity of *subsistence* recognized in the two natures of Christ necessarily imply their unity of *existence* (*esse*)? Thomas opted for the numerical unity of the act of existing in Christ. But later, considering that the humanity of Christ must not be deprived of an act that seemed to belong to the completeness of nature, Scholastic* theology tended to maintain the thesis of two *esse* in Christ, sometimes recognizing its opposition to Thomas, sometimes trying to reconcile the two theses. The documents, recently reconsidered (Patfoort), show that the angelic doctor constantly professed the unity of existence in Christ, with the exception of one passage indicating a moment of hesitation.

Another major medieval debate concerned the motives for the incarnation. Early on, Anselm* of Canterbury wrote a work titled *Why did God become man?* The question was later posed in these terms: Was the incarnation exclusively the consequence of man’s sin (the Thomist position), or did it belong to the creative plan of God (the Scotist position; *see* incarnation*). Nor did Thomas neglect to treat at length the mysteries of the life of Christ with a concrete perspective.

The Middle Ages was also involved in thorough reflection about the knowledge of Christ, which was not called into question in Catholic theology until about a century ago (Christ’s* Consciousness). Throughout the medieval period, popular spirituality and piety developed great devotion to the humanity of Christ, as illustrated in the hymn attributed to Bernard* of Clairvaux, *Jesu, dulcis memoria*.

4. Modern Period

The Christology of Luther* remained basically that of the ancient tradition*, even though he criticized its excessively speculative orientation. Taking its inspiration from Alexandria, it strongly emphasized the divinity of the Mediator who had taken on as a man the path of kenosis. For Luther, Christ is above all the Savior, and the *solus Christus* is inseparable from the *sola fide*. In his interpretation of salvation, did he overemphasize the role of the divinity of Christ at the expense of His

humanity (Congar)? Although certain passages point in this direction, the humanity of Christ, in Luther’s view, plays its full role for our salvation (Lienhard).

The Christology of Calvin derives more from Antioch, is sometimes close to the formulations of Saint Leo I, and emphasizes the humanity of Jesus: The incarnation is the place of mediation in which God and man are both different and in dynamic relationship (Gisel). The principle of the *extra calvinisticum*, whereby the incarnate Lord never ceased to have his existence and his truth “also outside the flesh,” was at the origin of a polemic with Lutheran theologians, particularly with reference to the sacraments*. This thesis seemed to call into question the unity of the two natures of Christ. According to Calvin, this unity is dynamic but is not a fusion; he rejected any deification of the humanity of Jesus and all “Christolatry” (Gisel).

One of the strong points of early modern Protestant scholasticism was the development of the doctrine of the three offices (*officia*) or functions of Christ—prophet, priest, and king—which originated, it seems, with A. Osiander (1498–1552). By reason of his human-divine person, Christ is in fact our only doctor and master (Mt 23:8ff.), he is an eternal priest of the order of Melchizedek (Ps 110:1), and he is the king who reigns eternally over the house of Jacob (Lk 1:32ff.). These three functions develop the idea of anointment present in the term Christ. In the Old Testament the king and the priest were anointed with oil, while anointment by the Spirit established the ministry of the prophets. Calvin made this a central theme of the Reformation by developing the doctrine in *The Christian Institutes* and had it introduced into catechisms. The schema of the three offices of Christ served to systematize the doctrine of salvation. It is noteworthy that it was adopted by Catholic theology in the course of the 19th century and used in ecclesiology*. It is found again in Vatican* II to express the three functions of the people of God (by reason of the royal and universal priesthood*) and also the three truly ministerial functions of the ordained ministry (*LG* 25–27).

5. The Christology of the East

The Orthodox East (Orthodoxy*) has always remained faithful to the Christology of the fathers of the church and of the ancient councils, which it rereads in the light of the teachings of the synthesizers John of Damascus, Maximus the Confessor, Pseudo-Dionysius*, and later Gregory* Palamas. This Christology has remained “from above”: it is the Christology of the incarnate Word, God made man. But it remains wary of certain imbalances because of Monophysite tendencies that leave little room for the human. It likes to place to

the fore the human-divine *theandric energy* of Christ as well as the *synergy* of His two natures. Without neglecting the kenosis of Christ or the mystery of the cross, the East emphasizes the resurrection. The Jerusalem church that the West calls the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is for the East the Church of the Resurrection (*anastasis*); in soteriology, it emphasizes the divinization of man by the humanity of the Son of God. Orthodoxy respects the depth of the mystery and does not question the how of it. Christ is above all the very icon of God among men: "The humanity of Christ is the human image of His divinity, the icon of Christ reveals the mystery of unity, and depicts the theandric image" (Evdokimov).

Thus, the Orthodox East is very reticent toward the developments of Christology in the West, criticizing them for falling into a human Monophysitism: "The balance of Christological theandricism is broken" (Evdokimov). This perplexity is also felt toward the contemporary procedures of interpretation of the Scriptures in the West.

6. Philosophical Christology in the West

The Enlightenment of the 18th century produced a major rationalist critique of the dogmatic image of Christ presented by the churches. Philosophy* opposed to this image an interpretation of Jesus in the light of reason*, which exalts the exemplary quality of His humanity. Jesus is thus the "Wise Man of Nazareth," the "master of the human race," the preeminent philosopher,* who goes to His death "more nobly than Socrates," a "martyr of truth* and virtue*" (F.X. Arnold). This is the Jesus of Herder. Kant*, in *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793), presents the first "philosophical Christology": Jesus is the exemplary divine man, the idea and the image of whom Kant deduces from the ideal embedded in our reason. The role that philosophy then gave to itself was to translate the meaning of revealed representations into the language of reason. Even though, in the view of Christian faith, this enterprise is reductive, the image of Jesus that it offers is not without grandeur.

Today, philosophers and theologians are conscious of a major phenomenon: for three centuries the philosophy of Western Europe has made the person of Christ a central matter of its concern. This is obvious in Hegel* but is also found in many others: in Europe, Spinoza, Leibniz*, Fichte, Hölderlin and Schelling*, Schleiermacher*, Kierkegaard*, Nietzsche*, and in France alone, Pascal*, Maine de Biran, Rousseau, Bergson, Blondel*, Simone Weil, and many others. With diversified approaches, philosophical Christology is an investigation of the *Idea Christi*, that is, of the manifestation of the Absolute in the contingency of

history*. Christology sheds light on the cardinal notions of philosophy: "subjectivity and intersubjectivity, the transcendental, temporality, corporeality, consciousness, death, and so on, all realities that Christ made his own by being incarnate" (Tillette).

The 19th century approached the problem of Christ not from the point of view of reason but from a historical perspective. It saw the beginning of the opposition between the "historical Jesus" and the "Christ of faith," which still influenced the first half of the 20th century (Jesus*, Historical).

7. The Christological Movement of the Second Half of the 20th Century

It is generally agreed that the contemporary christological movement began in 1951, that is, on the 15th centenary of the definition of Chalcedon. At the origin of this movement lies the work of Rudolf Bultmann* on the Protestant side and of Karl Rahner* on the Catholic. Adopting a view opposite to that of the liberal theology of the 19th century, for both exegetical and theological reasons, Bultmann deems that we can know almost nothing about Jesus. What counts is not Christ according to the flesh but the preached Christ, who is the Lord and whose word "calls out" to me today. The dogmatic problem posed by Bultmann lies in the distance he sets between *fact* and *meaning*. For his part, in 1954, Rahner proposed a program for the renewal of Christology: to rethink the relationship between classic Christology and biblical evidence; to complete ontological Christology with an existential Christology; to question the definition of Chalcedon, considered more as a beginning than an end; and to develop a transcendental Christology, that is, to deduce the conditions of possibility in man for the credibility* of Christ. Since then, a number of Protestant (Tillich*, Pannenberg, Moltmann, Jüngel) and Catholic (von Balthasar*, Rahner, Kasper, Schoonenberg, Schillebeeckx, Forte, Gonzalez de Cardedal, Moingt, Hünermann) theologians have produced works of Christology.

Let us simply mention a few dominant characteristics. A primary concern is that of verification: Christology can no longer be built on the basis of the confession of faith and conciliar definitions without in turn grounding that confession in the history and the fate of Jesus (Pannenberg, Kasper). In other words, the questions of fundamental* theology must be integrated into the exposition of dogmatic theology. The second concern, related to the first, has to do with the movement of Christology. Whereas classic Christology took its immediate point of departure from the incarnation, contemporary theology, faithful in this respect to the New Testament, generally gives priority to Christology "from below" or ascending Christology, that is, consid-

eration of the man Jesus confessed as Lord, Christ, and Son of God (Pannenberg, Küng). "Christology from above" or descending Christology, then, takes over in a second stage, in the light of the writings of Paul and John. For the same reason, the contemporary christological movement has carried out a massive return to Scripture (in particular with Schillebeeckx) while respecting the difference between implicit and explicit Christology and the originality of the different traditions about Christ. Christology has thus displaced its traditional center of gravity from the incarnation to the Easter mystery. It takes into consideration the history of Jesus and articulates the relationship between history and faith in light of the correspondence between the earthly Jesus and the glorified Christ (Thüsing, Kasper). The most recent essays give their full weight to the narratives themselves, with the effects of meaning that are particular to them. From the preoccupation with history, there is thus a movement toward a Christology of narrative*. Many writers read the revelation of the Trinitarian mystery in the cross of Jesus (Balthasar, Moltmann, Jüngel).

In this context, the difficult question of the consciousness and the knowledge of Jesus, for long stymied as a result of the modernist crisis, could be taken up again, particularly in the contributions of Rahner, who at first suggested a distinction between "immediate vision," expressing the immediate relationship of Jesus to His Father, and strictly "beatific*" vision, the latter being in no way a prerequisite for the former. Then he provided an account of the way in which the phenomenon of hypostatic union could become in Jesus a lived experience by placing it at the primordial, "transcendental" pole of His consciousness and not at the categorizing, thematic, and objective pole (Christ's* Consciousness).

Let us finally mention the originality of the Christology of liberation (liberation* theology) in Latin America. It is characterized by the interest shown in a historical Jesus who shared human suffering and contradiction in order to proclaim a kingdom of justice* and of "liberation." Faith in Jesus requires not only orthodoxy but also "orthopraxis," that is, "correctness of action in the light of Christ" (Boff). This Christology has been suspected of revolutionary and Marxist deviation because of its manner of promoting the struggle of the poor for their liberation. Justice nevertheless requires that we recognize that the divinity of the Risen One is in no way obscured.

8. Christology and Cosmos; Christ and Other Religions

By the middle of the century, a reaction against a Christology that was too exclusively redemptive raised

again the question of the cosmic dimension of Christ (Teilhard de Chardin). This perspective was supported by the patristic movement, which rediscovered the ancient Christologies of Irenaeus and Tertullian, in which Christ appears both as the creator of the cosmos* and as its center and its goal. The Christocentrism of the creation has become a common assumption, present in the documents of Vatican II.

The question raised most recently with great intensity is that of the universality of Christ with respect to the salvation of all humankind. There is more and more awareness that Christianity is a religious tradition among many others. In the perspective of interreligious dialogue, can we consider these other religions as "ways of salvation," and in what sense can we do so without calling into question the uniqueness of Christ Mediator, who presents himself as "the way"? Three positions have been taken on this question (J. Dupuis): exclusivism (there is no salvation outside the Church* that professes Jesus Christ), inclusivism (the uniqueness of the person of Christ is the constituent and universal element of salvation), and "pluralism" (a theocentrism in which the person of Christ is considered either normative or not normative). The last position, which speaks of a "Copernican revolution," constitutes a radical challenge to Christian convictions. The meaning of these debates is still open.

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BERNARD SESBOÛÉ

Christ's Consciousness

Great reserve is required when treating a question as intimate and as delicate as Christ's consciousness. And yet it is Jesus* himself who invites the question with the insistent call he addresses to whoever takes an interest in him: "But who do you say that I am?" (Mt 16:15). Traditional faith and theology have not lacked for positions on the matter over the centuries. Contemporary thought has been able to produce a number of invaluable clarifications.

1. The Ancient Tradition

The earliest Christian centuries did not consider problematic what later centuries were to treat under the name of the "knowledge" (more "objective") and then the "consciousness" ("subjective") of Christ. The apostolic witness, its New Testament crystallization, and finally the resulting faith* in the truth of the humanity of Christ led the early Fathers* of the Church to accept, without prejudice to his divine identity, that Christ's human intelligence had been exercised according to the common human condition, ignorance included.

However, two approaches to the mystery* of Christ, broadly distinguishable in the patristic period, had an influence in this area. More intent on emphasizing the conditions of the concrete historicity of the life of Jesus, the school of Antioch*—Eustathius early on, probably Diodorus of Tarsus, but especially his pupil Theodore of Mopsuestia and certainly Theodoret of Cyrillus—placed maximum emphasis on the humanity assumed by the Word*. Along with the capacity of Je-

sus to work autonomously, they emphasized the correlative limitations affecting him, in the order of knowledge as in the order of will. The tendency was reversed in the school of Alexandria*. Origen*, for example, assimilated the condition of the soul* assumed by the Word to that of iron plunged into the fire: "As iron is in the fire, so the human soul [of Christ] is always in the Word, in Wisdom*, always in God*"; and everything that it does, everything that it thinks, everything that it understands, is God" (*De Principiis* II. 6. 6). In order to avoid the risk of later providing support for Arianism*, there were ingenious "economic" explanations of an "ignorance" that the New Testament makes it necessary, in spite of everything, to recognize in Christ (Athanasius*, *Contra Arianos* III. 43f.; Cyril* of Alexandria, *Thes.* XXII; Basil*, *letter* 236; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Discourses* 30. 15f.). But this ignorance also allowed for a contrasting emphasis on the "perfection in divinity" of the Word. It was specified that the ignorance was compensated for by that direct communication between the divine and the human that was guaranteed by the hypostatic* union. A particularly suggestive passage of Cyril, principal representative of the school of Alexandria, says, however, "The Word of God, by virtue of economy, has allowed this flesh that is his to follow the laws of its own nature. For it is human to progress in age and wisdom, and I would add, even in grace... By virtue of this plan [of economy], he thus allows human limitations to govern him" (*Christ is one*, 74).

Although their positions bore on the being* of Christ, the great christological councils* did not directly address his psychology, and it was only in the sixth century that this was explicitly considered. Around that time, one notes in Severian circles the affirmation of Christ's omniscience. But then a movement derived from the school of Antioch, attached to the Anomoean Eunomius (Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* VII. 17), replied with the affirmation of Christ's ignorance, in support of which it referred to Mark 13:32 and John 11:34. This was the crisis of the "Agnoetes" (or of the "Themistians," from the name of Themistios, deacon of Alexandria c. 536–40). They were fought by Theodosius of Alexandria (536–67), then by Eulogius of Alexandria (580–607). The latter even corresponded about them with Gregory* the Great, who condemned them in 600, as did the Lateran Council in 649 (*DS* 474–76 and 419). The movement had little influence in the West because of the analysis articulated by Augustine* (*Letter* 219) with reference to a comparable position of Leporius. In his *Letter XIV* to the deacon Ferrand, Fulgentius of Ruspina wrote for his part, "We may clearly affirm that the soul of Christ has the full consciousness of its divinity. However, I do not know whether we should say that it knows divinity as God knows himself, or rather that it knows divinity to be divinity but not *as* divinity." The theory of omniscience (from the mother's womb) thus prevailed thereafter, by reason of the hypostatic union and the communication of qualities that it induced (idioms*) (see John of Damascus, *Orthodox faith* III. 21f., and the compilation called *Doctrine of the Fathers*, chap. 16, second half of the seventh century). The extreme development of this tendency was reached in the ninth century with Candidus, "a little-known theologian of the beatific* vision of Christ" (H. de Lavalette).

2. From the Medieval Period to the Threshold of the Current Age

Medieval theology developed a systematic reflection on the knowledge or, rather, on "the knowledges" of Christ and even went so far as to distinguish six of them. Abelard*, for his part, still represented those positions that belonged to the end of the patristic period: "Christ saw God with the greatest perfection" (*Epitome of Christian Theology* c. XXVII).

As for Thomas* Aquinas, in distinguishing in Christ a threefold human knowledge, he staked out a position that established a school. The three forms of this knowledge were the knowledge of the blessed (*comprehensorum*, *ST* IIIa, q. 10, a. 1–4), innate knowledge (*indita* or *infusa*, *ST* IIIa, q. 11, a. 1–6), and experiential knowledge (*acquisita*, *ST* IIIa, q. 12, a. 1–4). Rooted in concrete experience, the third was by defini-

tion limited and incremental, and Thomas in fact gave it more and more consideration, with Scripture* forcing its recognition. The second was communicated to human intelligence "directly from above," but by means of the mediation of "*impressed species*." In that lay its difference from the first form of knowledge, that immediate and perfect participation in the vision of God himself, which was the prerogative of the blessed in heaven. There was, however, a strict relationship and a close correspondence between the knowledge of vision and innate knowledge, the former constituting the foundation and the content of the latter, which in turn provided the former the means for its human manifestation.

In the Renaissance, Erasmus* (on the basis of reference to Scripture, especially Lk 2:52) and then, in the framework of the Reformation, Luther* and Calvin* (on the basis of a strong attachment to the truth of the Incarnation*) called for circumspection with respect to the "communication of properties" (see *Institutes* XIV. 1). There were in Jesus real limitations and an actual development in the order of knowledge*.

It was not until the late 19th century that medieval positions were once again questioned by Catholic theologians. This was done not for theoretical or ideological reasons but out of a concern to take into account the results achieved by the application of the historical and critical method to the texts of the Gospels. This was the case with the theologian H. Schell (1850–1906), who denied to Christ not only the beatific vision but any form of omniscience and, for this reason, saw his *Katholische Dogmatik* put on the Index of forbidden works in 1898. But it was especially true for the modernist* camp and for Loisy first of all. His radical positions provoked reactions that the magisterium saw fit to bring to an end with two severe interventions.

In 1907 the decree *Lamentabili*, 32, condemned the proposition according to which "one cannot reconcile the natural meaning of the gospel texts with what our theologians teach about the consciousness and the infallible knowledge of Christ" (*DS* 3422). The same Holy Office answered in 1918 that one could not teach without danger that it was "not evident that the soul of Christ, during his life among men, possessed the knowledge enjoyed by the blessed" or that "the soul of Christ had been ignorant of anything" (*DS* 3645–47). Again, in his encyclical *Mystici corporis* (1943), Pius XII thought it necessary to repeat the classic opinions on the perfection of the "knowledge of vision" realized "from the very first instant of his incarnation" (*DS* 3812).

3. A Transformation of the Problem

These positions taken by the hierarchy were directly aimed only at avoiding misconstructions in the com-

mon teaching of the early part of the century. They were not intended to settle debates still in progress or not yet open. Proof of this can be found in the fact that two recent documents (Commis. bibl. pontif., *Bible and Christology*, 1984; Commis. theol. intern., *The Consciousness That Jesus Had of His Mission*, 1985) refrain from mentioning any beatific vision in the pre-Easter Jesus.

a) Mention should be made here of the discussion, particularly vigorous after World War II and in a context arising out of modernism, on the existence in Christ, alongside his divine "I," of a human "I" that was the subject of his human thoughts and actions and that is manifested in the gospel narrative*. Another proposition distinguished two "selves" within the single "I" of the divine person*, two distinct centers of consciousness, one divine, the other human. On the basis of this discussion, in which P. Galtier and P. Parente were the notable participants, it became clear that if (as Pius XII suggested again in *Sempiternus rex* in 1951, DS 3905) Chalcedon* was to be respected, it had to be judged that, as a single person and hypostasis, the incarnate Word is also a single subject conscious of itself, hence a single "I," a single personal consciousness. This made it necessary to leave the problematics of an (objectifying) "knowledge" tied to the perspective of a rational and metaphysical psychology and resolutely adopt the problematics of consciousness, something particularly emphasized by M. Nédoncelle.

b) A decisive stage was reached with the "Dogmatic Considerations on the Psychology of Christ" by Karl Rahner* (1962), which followed a 1954 article on Chalcedon. In any spiritual being, the theologian pointed out, being and being present to oneself go together. Thus, the hypostatic union of human nature with the person of the Word brought about in itself, for that nature, a consequence in the order of consciousness. Christ's consciousness of himself is the consciousness that he is the Son of God. We may continue to designate as "vision" that immediate relationship with God, but it is then to be understood as not beatific. It is a fundamental condition of existence, a primordial ontological determination, of a transcendental and not a categorizing or thematic order.

Giving a "quasi-mythological" cast to the idea of a beatific vision realized from the very first moment of conception, such a consciousness is called on to actualize itself, to grow and develop throughout the historical course of an existence in fact set under the sign of human temporality. By the same token, the "principle of perfection" that had so broadly predominated until then was subject to fundamental revision. The patristic

formulation of Chalcedon, "perfect in humanity," then appeared to be understood as stating that Christ is a "complete" man, "fully" a man. He is not a being who enjoys all the perfections ideally possible for a man, including those of the realm of consciousness, since this would indeed be contrary to the truth of the Incarnation.

c) In all these developments, closer attention to the evidence of the Gospels on the historicity of the human condition of Jesus played a major role. On the gradual nature of his coming to consciousness of the danger that weighed on him and on the questions of his ignorance of the Day of Judgment* or of the expansion of the fruit of his mission beyond Israel*, the work of exegetes such as R. Schnackenburg and A. Vögtle required the revision of medieval and classic opinions. For, whatever may be true of the claims of transcendence actually manifested by Jesus, it is nevertheless necessary to accept the truth of those facts that only persistent a priori positions had prevented us from seeing clearly set out in the gospel narrative. Jesus experienced wonder, disappointment, and surprise. He developed both in the discovery of beings and situations and in the knowledge of his own fate. He was even lacking in knowledge, and he had to learn and practice obedience day by day.

It is essential here to avoid projecting into the psychology of the pre-Easter Jesus what is true only of the preexisting Word or the glorified Christ. This is so even if Jesus of Nazareth is never presented as being unaware of the unique character of the relationship he had always maintained with the one he did not fear to designate as his own Father* (see the episode of the Temple*, Lk 2:49).

4. The Faith of the Son of God Incarnate

In the end it is the question of the identity of Christ that is at stake in the question posed about his knowledge and his consciousness. Jesus is an authentic man. As Hans Urs von Balthasar*, among others, notes, "the inalienable nobility of man lies in his being both able, and obliged to freely project the plan of his existence into a future that he does not know." But Jesus is also the Son of God, in the unity of a single concrete being. He has agreed to bring everything that he is as Word and Son of God to that choice that he has made, according to the will of the Father but in full harmony with him, to make himself truly a man. The result is that, in his incarnate state, the Word has agreed to receive and to know according to the pattern of human knowledge even what God gives him to be and to know according to his relationship of intra-Trinitarian immanence with him. In this way, in Jesus Christ, incarnate Word, there is not on

one side an omniscient Word and on the other a man limited in knowledge in every direction but rather "one and the same Son and Word of God" who, having truly taken on the human condition, knows himself, wills himself, and lives himself according to the truth appropriate to that condition.

Jesus always perceived his relationship of filiation to his Father as one of absolute intimacy, well conveyed in human words by the term "Abba" ("papa"). This relationship always appeared to him as constitutive of his being and of all his conditions of existence, including his existence as a man. This relationship set the whole of his life under the dual sign of growth and obedience. It allowed the Epistle to the Hebrews to hail in him "the founder and perfecter of our faith" (Heb 12:2; see Balthasar, J. Guillet, A. Vanhoye). In the final analysis it explains his abandonment and his total surrender of self on the cross as it explains his resurgence from among the dead. It was in this relationship that he knew himself humanly as God/Son of God.

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JOSEPH DORÉ

See also Beatitude; Christ/Christology; Hypostatic Union; Incarnation; Jesus, Historical; Kenosis; Monophysitism

Christmas. *See* Liturgical Year

Chrysostom, John

c. 350–407

Born into the aristocracy in Antioch, John Chrysostom belonged to a Christian family and from his youth would be in contact with monastic circles. After being ordained a priest* in 386, he was soon entrusted by the bishop* Flavian with preaching* in the church* of An-

tioch, and his reputation as a preacher explains his epithet of "chrysostom," or "golden-mouthed." In 398 he succeeded Nestor, bishop of Constantinople. Having quickly come into conflict with the imperial family and particularly with the empress Eudoxia, he was

twice sentenced to exile and died of exhaustion in 407. He is held in great honor in the Orthodox world, where he is viewed as a martyr.

a) *The Christian Life Defined.* At the end of the fourth century, John Chrysostom reflected on the early history* of the Church. His homilies on the Acts of the Apostles, the only integral commentary on the Acts to have come down to us from the patristic period, show that he saw in the first Christian community a model for his contemporaries, a model, moreover, that had been renewed in the angelic life of the first monks. Since Pentecost, which he called “the metropolis of Christian feasts,” the Holy* Spirit has spread everywhere, calling the baptized to lead that perfect life of which the apostle* Peter provides the example. Chrysostom was aware that henceforth it was a matter of rooting Christian usages in a *popular* church (“multitudinist”). The rite of baptism* gave entry to a new life (*Baptismal Catecheses* SC 50 and 366), and the preacher developed a spirituality of Christian virtues* (Wenger 1974). His praise of virginity and the predominant place that he gave to monastic life was counterbalanced by his lauding of marriage* and of the parental role in the teaching of the faith*.

b) *The Priesthood.* His treatise on the priesthood* (SC 272) was widely circulated in the early Church. Including both bishop and priest under the term *hierews*, John Chrysostom stated the unique character of the episcopal ministry* and defined its three distinctive traits: the bishop was the leader of the faithful and guided the Church, he celebrated the Eucharist, and, as the guarantor of the integrity of the faith, he had to ensure its transmission. The very profusion of John Chrysostom’s homiletic works bears witness to the importance he attached to preaching activities. Himself a target of violent attacks, he rose up against the political maneuvers that prevailed at certain ecclesiastical elections (*On Priesthood* III, 11).

c) *Reflections on Society.* Following Basil* the Great of Caesarea and Gregory* of Nyssa, John Chrysostom viewed slavery in the same way that he viewed private ownership. That is to say, he saw both as resulting from original sin*. Going so far as to envisage a society* in which slavery would no longer exist, particularly in his homilies on the Acts of the Apostles, he made a proposal for social reform that included the common ownership of goods, based on the example of the first Christian community (*In Acta* ii, 3; PG 60, 93). The bishop must be entrusted with the management of the ecclesiastical patrimony and with the organization of the various charitable works—on this point John

Chrysostom stood for a centralizing notion of clerical functions. But the novelty of Chrysostom’s thought resided in the prominence given to education (“On Vain Glory and Childhood Education”). He emphasized that in the first instance the responsibility for forming the new generations of a Christian society fell to the parents.

d) *His Polemic against the Judaizing Christians and the Jews.* Modern readers are bound to be repulsed by Chrysostom’s homilies *Adversus Judaeos* and the amount of space allotted in the body of his works to the polemic against the Judaizing Christians and against the Jews. The historical role of his works in the development of Christian anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism must be acknowledged. However, historians such as Wilken (1983) suggest that this condemnation should be tempered by a few observations. In Antioch, where the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies were delivered, the Jewish community was not a repressed minority but a large and powerful group that, moreover, exerted a strong attraction on very many Christians. John Chrysostom could also remember the favors from which the Jews had benefited under Julian’s reign, particularly from the plan for rebuilding the Temple* of Jerusalem*. Educated in the school of Libanius, John Chrysostom resorted to defamatory rhetoric that he used virulently and in bad faith, employing a whole sheaf of hackneyed arguments, including the Old Testament prophecies* against Israel*. But his words consisted of a polemic and not a call to violence* and persecution, and this polemic could not be defined as anti-Semitic since racial references do not occur in it at all. He even occasionally held up Jewish piety as an example to his followers. But he was certainly incapable of conceiving of Judaism’s survival after the advent of Christ, particularly when the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the second temple marked the fulfillment of the prophecies.

In addition to these historical considerations, it should be mentioned that the late 19th-century French translations of John Chrysostom’s works are also not exempt from anti-Semitism and must be used with caution. Moreover, it would be wise to take another look at the whole manuscript tradition in order to eliminate from them the Byzantine interpolations, which are likely to have reinforced the polemic against the Jews.

• PG 47–64; over 20 volumes published in SC, some edited by A.-M. Malingrey.

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♦ Ch. Baur (1920–30), *JnChr. und seine Zeit*, Munich.

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See also Baptism; Bishop; Judaism; Presbyter/Priest; Property; Virtues

Church

1. Biblical Roots

a) The Old Testament. In the context of Christian theology*, the term "Old Testament ecclesiology*" can be used only in an indirect sense. The Church in the Christian understanding does not make its appearance until New Testament times and presupposes the coming of Jesus Christ. The idea that Christians have of themselves as a Church is nonetheless influenced by certain elements drawn from the Old Testament. This is indicated in the first place by the concept of "*ekklèsia*," the principal term used to designate the Church in the New Testament and the term that most frequently translated the Hebrew "*kahal*" (assembly of the political and ritual community) in the Septuagint. The link can also be seen in images designating Christianity as "a royal priesthood" (1 Pt 2:9), a "temple" (e.g., 1 Cor 3:16), the "people* of God*" (Heb 4:9), and in the way in which Paul uses the image of the olive tree to connect the community of Christians to the promises* of the Old Testament (Rom 11:18). Much more than the repetition of old ideas, this represents the expression of a material continuity between the old covenant* and the new.

The concept of the "people of God" represents the principal Old Testament "prefiguration" of what would later be called the "Church." Used originally to designate the patrilineal family group, the term increasingly came to be used to mean the whole of Israel*, as opposed to other peoples. According to Deuteronomy 4:7 and 7:7, Israel is a people to whom God is particularly close, smaller than others, but distinguished from them by virtue of its having been adopted and chosen by

God. It received its identity from God, in his act of bringing it out of Egypt and making with it the covenant of Sinai. It thereby became both a political and a religious entity. The evolution of the idea of choice* in early Judaism* nevertheless shows the gradual growth within Israel itself of a separation between the chosen and sinners. This is confirmed by the two other basic concepts of Old Testament "ecclesiology," *kahal* and *edah*. The former designates the assembly of those who receive the law* of YHWH and practice the divine cult*. Although this assembly is not identical to "the people established as a state" (Berger 1988), the link with political reality is stronger here than in the parallel concept of *edah*, which denotes only the ritual community. These notions and representations took on particular significance as the political identity of Israel was called into question, and they were further developed in Hellenistic Jewish thought. Old Testament ecclesiology thus gradually moved away from the founding political choices in an attempt to define the true Jew, who, as such, would be able to triumph in the final battles (Apocalyptic* Literature). This can be seen as a precursor of the idea of the New Testament community, which was not made up of one nation alone but brought together "Jews and pagans," stamped by their belonging to Christ,* of which baptism* was the seal.

b) Jesus and the Church. Jesus* of Nazareth makes no more mention of an explicit ecclesiology than does the Old Testament. To be sure, the New Testament puts the word *ekklèsia* in his mouth, but this should probably be attributed to the primitive Christian community

(Mt 16:18, 18:18). Did the post-Easter community, by developing the Church and its institution, thereby distort the message of Jesus (Loisy: “Jesus proclaimed the kingdom* of God, but it was the Church that came”)? Once again, it is more accurate to speak of a fundamental continuity, and it even seems possible to attribute to Jesus something like an “implicit ecclesiology” (Trilling). What is meant by this is that, in proclaiming the reign of God, Jesus was not, so to speak, launching his message into the void. He also called disciples and determined the manner in which they should commit themselves to following him. The disciples who were called were those who accepted the three essential signs of the “kingdom of God”: a fundamental openness to a God of goodness and mercy*, the only source of life and of a future; the radical practice of the new justice* and of the commandment of love*, including reconciliation with and love of enemies; and the willingness to sacrifice* oneself even to the point of death*. If it is possible to see in these tendencies the concrete basis from which the “Church” was to arise, then there was a deep reason for the primitive community to attribute to Jesus explicit ecclesiological statements (whatever may be said in addition about the use made of these statements in the history* of the Church).

c) The Church as Ritual Assembly. New Testament accounts show that those who believed in Jesus began to meet in assemblies immediately after Easter. In Acts this movement is linked to the outpouring of the Holy* Spirit and to Peter*’s Pentecost speech, which brought about the conversion of a large number of people. Acts 2:42 sets out the ideal model of the primitive Christian community, whose essential characteristics are the teaching of the apostles*, the breaking of bread, and prayer*, as well as certain forms of common life of a charitable nature. These elements are also found in other places in the New Testament, particularly in Paul, as distinctive signs of the Church. This organization—particularly in the primitive community of Jerusalem*—raised some questions of articulation with and demarcation from Judaism, as evidenced by the Johannine corpus and by the reported fact of the Christians of Jerusalem assembling in the Temple* to pray (Acts 2:46). The image of these assemblies or meetings most particularly suggests the use of the term *ekklesia*.

d) Paul: The Church as the Body of Christ. Theological reflection on the Church as the community of Christ has followed various models. The most fully developed concept of it is certainly found in Paul and his disciples. A fundamental characteristic of Pauline ec-

clesiology is its christological underpinning. Christians form a community through their existence “in Christ.” Baptism is a participation in the death* and resurrection* of Christ (Rom 6), and this belonging to Christ renders the differences among people (according to sex, nationality, social position) free of any power to separate them (1 Cor 12:12f.; Gal 3:26ff.). In the same way the Communion of the Lord gives us a share (*koinônia*) in the body and blood of Christ, so that those who in this way participate in Christ form a single body: the “body of Christ” (1 Cor 12:27), the “body in Christ” (Rom 12:5), or even Christ himself (1 Cor 12:12). In Paul this idea is associated with the image, drawn from Greek political philosophy*, that assimilates the city* to a body made up of several members, each one of which carries out its own task. The description of communitarian reality in terms of a diversity of duties and ministries*, in Romans 12:4–8 and 1 Corinthians 12:12ff., follows this model. This does not hold for the deutero-Pauline epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians, where Christ is presented as the head of the body (Eph 1:22, 5:23; Col 1:18), and the difference between Christ and his members is emphasized. Paul also on occasion describes the community from the point of view of the power of the Holy* Spirit. The spirit of the new life is the “Spirit of Christ” (Rom 8:9). The Lord himself is the Holy Spirit (2 Cor 3:17). In the Holy Spirit we have been baptized into a single body, and we have been given one Spirit to drink (1 Cor 12:13; see 10:4), and the variety of ministries represents a single gift (*charisma*) of the one Spirit (1 Cor 12:11). It can be seen that the difference between the spiritual reality of the Church and its concrete manifestation was not yet the fundamental problem it would become in the context of a later ecclesiology.

e) The Church and Israel. In addition to the central schemata of the Pauline corpus, the New Testament provides other ways in which to interpret the theological reality of the Church. Matthew, for example, proposes an image of the Church that has been described as centered on “the true Israel” (Trilling). It is sketched in particular in the passages dealing with a mission of Jesus directed especially toward Israel (Mt 10:5f., 15:24). The Twelve Apostles represented the 12 tribes of the Israel to come (Mt 10:1f., 19:28), while the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5–7) offered a summary of the “Torah of the true Israel,” something that was concretized in the order of the Christian community (Mt 18). This vision of Matthew’s, however, makes room on the one hand for an awareness of the sin of an Israel that did not recognize the hour of Christ’s visitation (Mt 21:33ff., 23) and on the other for the idea of a

universal salvation*, by which Christ's mission* was extended to the entire world, so as to include all peoples in the Church (Mt 28:19ff., 5:15; *see also* Acts 28:26–28). The theme of "Israel and the Church" appears again, under different guises, in other New Testament passages. There is, for example, the image of the bridegroom and the bride, the latter representing both Israel, to which the Messiah* has come (Lk 12:36: the disciples belong to the bridegroom; Mt 25:1–13), and the community of Christians (2 Cor 11:2). The image of the heavenly Jerusalem (Gal 4:26f.; Heb 12:22f.; Rev 21:10–27) inscribes the Church among the future events awaited by the Jews, thereby dissociating it from the present reality of Israel. On the other hand, the New Testament also puts forward the idea of a permanent and continuous link, for example, in the chapters on Israel in Romans 9 through 11, where the Church of the pagans is included in the promise made to Abraham (11:17ff.), while at the same time there is expressed the hope that all of Israel will finally be saved. The passages on the Temple, which is the community (1 Cor 3:16), or on the people of God, to whom rest is promised (Heb 4:9), show a similar continuity between Israel and the Church.

f) Services and Ministries. From the time of the New Testament, the Church developed ministerial structures that took on a multiplicity of forms, and these are not of a nature to provide a direct model for the Church of today. Jesus himself "instituted" no ministry, but the choice of the Twelve Apostles, which must probably be attributed to Jesus himself, shows that even before Easter the movement did not lack a certain internal articulation. Later we can distinguish in the earliest communities at least two kinds of structure. On the one hand, there were ministries based on the gifts enumerated in the Epistles of Paul (1 Cor 12; Rom 12); among them in particular was apostleship, which shows that the charismatic character of these ministries did not necessarily exclude the exercise of doctrinal and pastoral authority*. It was also up to the apostle to bear direct witness to the Resurrection, a function that could not of course be perpetuated by any permanent structure. We can also recognize on the other hand a form of organization—clearly based on Jewish models—centered on the role of the elders (*see* Acts 19), in which various duties (particularly the doctrinal and pastoral functions linked to apostleship) might also be transmitted by ordination* (1 Tm 4:1–4, 5:22; 2 Tm 1:6). We can see here the outlines of the problem of "proto-Catholicism*," though it is unclear to what extent this problem simply reflected the demands weighing on the community as the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus became more distant in time (e.g., the requirement of

preserving Christian identity in the face of the growing danger of doctrinal error) and to what extent it was related to the Christian community's break with Judaism (*see* Berger 1988). The problem, in any event, could not be ignored, and it continued to hold the Church in a state of uncertainty. There is no doubt that the Church is *not* the kingdom of God. But in the variety of its forms as an empirical social entity, it is nevertheless composed of the people of that kingdom, who attest to its coming and await its fulfillment. In every age, the social reality of the Church must in any case be evaluated and critiqued in relation to its testimony and to its hope.

2. Representations and Concept of the Church in the Course of Its History

a) The Early Church. The Church of the earliest days developed ecclesiastical structures* that were already contained in embryo in the New Testament. The problem of the internal and external unity* of the Church, and hence of its capacity to remain in the truth*, became ever more pressing. As characteristic points of this development, we should mention the growing role played by the bishop*. He was responsible for each particular Church, guaranteeing its truth in Christ, and presiding over the celebration of the Eucharist* (*see* Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad. Smyrn.* VIII). In addition, certain Episcopal sees gained considerable influence because of the growth of urban communities that were established as regional ecclesiastical centers (they would later become archbishoprics and patriarchates*). Irenaeus* of Lyon was the first to introduce a significant ecclesiastical emphasis into ancient theology. For him the Church was the place of the Spirit of God, the house of truth and salvation. It was founded on the Holy* Scriptures, which it preserved in faithfulness to the preaching* of the apostles. The Church's ministers, having their place in the apostolic* succession, guaranteed the complete transmission of apostolic truth. Hippolytus of Rome went further than Irenaeus in asserting that sinners did not truly belong to the Church, a thesis that brought him into conflict with Callistus I of Rome. This disagreement already reflected the tension that existed between the true Church and its material institutional reality.

In Eastern theology of the third century, Clement of Alexandria emphasized the coincidence of the earthly with the heavenly Church, while Origen* insisted on the necessary spiritual and moral sanctity of the members of the Church, in particular of its ministers. In the West, around the same time, leaving Tertullian aside, it is especially important to mention the importance of Cyprian* of Carthage, whose ecclesiology granted a

central place to the episcopal function. Cyprian was convinced that the unity of the Church had to be guaranteed by the unity of its bishops; it was to this Church, structured and represented by the bishops, that devolved the role of being the sole path to salvation (“no salvation outside the Church”).

b) Augustine. The theology of the early Church developed no ecclesiological program more significant than that of Augustine*. It reflected, more than any others did, the new situation that had been created and the new questions that had been raised since the Church (through the act of Constantine) had formally entered the political realm. Opposing the tendency that, particularly in the East, aimed at establishing a positive relationship between Church* and state, a relationship that might signify in the very history of salvation, in the *City of God* Augustine emphasizes the differences between the two orders. He distinguishes between two great “cities”: the city of God, the communion* of those who are moving toward the divine goal, and the city of the devil, bringing together human beings and angels* who have chosen the way of evil*. Knowledge of who belongs to which group is the privilege of divine predestination*. As for the Church, it is manifestly a compound of good and evil, elect and outcast. The call that comes through baptism is not identical to the eternal election of God. Augustinian ecclesiology thus recognizes a tension between the true Church of the elect and the external visible institution that prefigures many later developments in theological thought. The visible institution of the Church, under the leadership of the bishops, nonetheless remains the salvific body to which it is necessary to belong in order to enter into beatitude*. In this sense (as *conditio sine qua non*), the ancient principle of “no salvation outside the Church” still holds for Augustine. The state, on the other hand, that “great gang of bandits,” has no other function but that of integrating and moderating all the egotistical motives of mankind in such a way as to preserve external peace* as much as possible. In this respect at least, it supports the work of the Church.

c) The Middle Ages. The question of the primacy of the pope* played an important and constant role in medieval Latin ecclesiology. This can be explained by the growing political ambitions of the bishop of Rome* and by the conflicts that set him in opposition both to the representatives of temporal power (emperor, princes) and to church authorities (bishops, councils*). Although the teaching of early scholasticism* favored a relative independence of temporal power from the pope (Rupert of Deutz), other voices arose that gave to

the Church (i.e., the pope) supremacy over temporal power (Gerhoh of Reichersberg) by virtue of the universal sovereignty of Christ. This line of argument, which was to prevail over the one that favored the independence of temporal rulers, is clearly visible in the ambitions of Innocent III, who laid claim to complete spiritual and temporal power over the Christian people. It found its supreme expression in 1302 in the bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII. According to this document, Christ entrusted to the pope the two swords, temporal and spiritual, and total submission of the person to the pope is a necessary condition for salvation. The crisis of the papacy in the 14th and 15th centuries later provoked a quarrel over the relations between the pope and the council of bishops. The “conciliar” option, which subjected the pope to the authority of the Church and its councils (decree “*Haec sancta synodus*” of the Council of Basel* in 1415), conflicted with the “papalist” option, which granted absolute primacy to pontifical power and authority (bull “*Laetentur caeli*” of the Council of Florence* in 1439) and condemned conciliarism*.

Until the 14th century, Latin theology possessed no dogmatic* treatises that dealt specifically with ecclesiology. It tended instead to examine the nature of the Church within the framework of sacramental theology or Christology*. We are touching here on the second focus, more strictly theological, of medieval ecclesiology. Baptism and the Eucharist are the two sacraments* to which early Scholasticism (Hugh of Saint-Victor) attributed the power of integrating the believer into Christ and into his mystical body the Church. The Eucharist is not only the symbol (as a sign of the abundance of wheat and grapes) but also the efficient cause and the vital principle of the mystical body of the Church. By receiving the Eucharist in a worthy manner, believers come together as one in the peace of the Church. At the same time, the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice* by the priest is understood as an act in which the entire Church participates, as a kind of mysterious sacrificial communion (Peter Damien, Eudes of Cambrai). Major Scholastic theology (Bonaventure*, Thomas* Aquinas) added christological depth to this idea, affirming that it is the *gratia capitis* of Christ, which, in its superabundance, overflows onto the members of the body of the Church. According to Thomas, the humanity of Christ is the *instrumentum coniunctum* (joint instrument) of this operation, and the sacrament is its *instrumentum separatum* (separate instrument) (*ST* IIIa. q. 62. a. 5). The members of the Church are the saints in heaven (including those of the old covenant) and the just on the earth—those, that is, who possess faith* and love—whereas sinners, who are not in a state of grace*, are

often considered dead or imperfect members. From this, late Scholasticism derived the idea that only the predestined are truly members of the Church (Wycliffe, Hus*). The opposing argument (anticipating the position of Bellarmine*) defined the Church as the communion* of those who observe and outwardly confess the true faith, participate in the sacraments, and submit themselves to the pope (John of Ragusa, Juan de Torquemada). The universal Church was thus identified with the Church of Rome.

d) The Reformation. Luther* forged his conception of the Church in opposition to the claim of the “papal Church” that it was the only true Church. For his part, Luther understood the Church as the people of God gathered in the Holy Spirit and receiving its existence and its sanctity from the divine Word (the Church as “creature of the Word*”; WA 6. 650). The preaching of the Word is therefore the essential characteristic of the true Church, even if other elements may be added to it (Baptism, Communion, ministries, prayer, the cross, respect for authority). For Luther, the Church of Rome was not the “true old Church,” for it had falsified the gospel. The ecclesiastical theses of Lutheran confessional writings—most of them composed by Philipp Melancthon—define the Church as “the assembly of the saints, in which the gospel is taught in its purity and the sacraments administered according to the rule” (CA VII). The Church represents the ritual assembly of all those who are living in justifying faith and so have received new birth by the Holy Spirit. The signs and distinctive marks of this assembly are the preaching* of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments (by ordained ministers: CA XIV). These two activities alone make of it a Church because they transmit and continually retransmit the Holy Spirit, who brings forth faith (CA V). In order to preserve the true unity of the Church, it is enough if it preaches the gospel and administers the sacraments in conformity with Scripture. The ceremony of worship may vary, and even less is it necessary to adopt a specific hierarchical structure (bishops, pope), even though Lutherans explicitly accept the episcopacy as a regional authority of an essentially doctrinal character, without temporal power (CA XXVIII). Opposing the Catholic position, Lutherans make a distinction between the Church understood as a visible assembly, brought together through participation in the sacraments, and the true Church, understood as a communion of hearts* in the Holy Spirit. The latter is nevertheless recognizable by the external signs of the Word and the sacraments (dual sense of Church in *Apol.* VII). Melancthon later placed more and more emphasis on the visible Church, which he saw as an assembly of the chosen, or *coetus*

vocatorum, sometimes also called *coetus scholasticus*. Out of the plurality of ministries that Luther still accepted, Melancthon gradually eliminated all but one, the primary duty of which was public preaching of the Word. He showed little interest in the specific meaning of the sacraments for the essence of the Church.

Calvin*’s ecclesiology, which played a decisive role for the Reformed Churches, was based on the idea of predestination*, that is, on the idea of the Church as the communion of the elect in Christ, as *electorum turba* (*Inst.* IV. 1. 2). On the other hand, Calvin speaks above all of the visible Church, which he describes as the mother of all pious souls*. The true Church, the Church of pure preaching and the administration of the sacraments, is opposed to the false, papal Church. Christ instituted four kinds of ministers: pastors*, doctors*, elders, and deacons*, among whom the first (who have the duty of preaching the Word) occupy the most important position. The elders have chiefly to watch over the good conduct of the members of the community and hence also over disciplinary measures in the Church (in concert, if necessary, with civil authorities). In this respect, the Reformed tradition approaches the Church from a totally different angle than that of Lutheranism*.

e) Later Protestantism. Later Protestantism, in contrast to the Reformation and to Protestant orthodoxy, developed its idea of the Church on the basis of particular orientations of the believers who adhered to it. Pietism*, for example, emphasized personal faith and sanctification and relegated the pure preaching of doctrine to second place (Spener, von Zinzendorf). In the Enlightenment, it was moral sentiment that was understood to unite individuals in a “Republic governed by the laws of virtue,” whereas the institutional Church, with its “statutory” rites and dogmas*, was seen at best as fulfilling only a propaedeutic function for those who did not have the moral force to do without it (Kant*). These two tendencies came together in the thought of Schleiermacher*, who defined religion as a “feeling of absolute dependence.” This feeling, with which no one was as “powerfully” inspired as Jesus of Nazareth, represents the “total life” in which all who believe in this same Jesus commune; ultimately—and here Schleiermacher departs from Kant—it finds its necessary form in the visible Church, which is a part of society* insofar as it introduces the religiosity attached to Jesus into social and cultural reality (we can see here the beginnings of the “cultural” approach of liberal Protestantism*). Despite certain divergences in the area of the philosophy of religion*, this cultural concept of the Church continued to guide Protestant theologians of Hegelian inspiration, down through

R. Rothe, according to whom the ecclesiastical form of Christianity tends to become dissolved in the whole of the social body and its political organization. Theologians such as A. Ritschl—for whom Jesus, in proclaiming the kingdom of God, was aiming at a “moral organization of humanity”—and E. Troeltsch—for whom Christianity represented the most important historical expression that had ever appeared of the a priori religiosity of man—were also, in a different way, dependent on this neo-Protestant approach.

In the 19th century, there came from confessional Lutheranism (Löhe, Vilmar, Klieforth, and, to a lesser extent, von Harless and Harnack) the strongest reaction against this vision of a Church reduced to the level of a mere religious or moral consciousness. For these writers, the Church is above all the institution of salvation founded by Christ. It must administer the Word and—most particularly—the sacraments through the intermediary of an ordained minister who stands before the community in the name of Christ. The confession of faith—that is, the confession of Lutheran faith, the only true faith—plays a decisive role here. In relation to that confession, moral consciousness, religion, and piety appear as subjective factors of secondary importance.

f) The 20th Century. It fell above all to Barth* to take a position against neo-Protestantism and its notion of the Church. For Barth the central task of the Church is to proclaim the word of God revealed in Christ. Hence, there is a long discussion in his *Dogmatik* of the gathering together, the building up, and the mission of the Christian community, as these were carried out by Christ in the Holy Spirit. This missionary Church of Barth played a decisive role in the image that the German Confessional Church formed of itself in the National Socialist period and in its fight against the false doctrines that claimed to accommodate the unique word of Christ by attaching to it other slogans, such as “people,” “race*,” and “history*.” With Bonhoeffer’s maxim calling for a “Church for the others,” this image also marked the consciousness of the evangelical Church under Communist domination (Alliance of Evangelical Churches of the DDR), as attested by the proposal for a Church that would be a “communion of witness and ministry,” the idea of which was taken up in the *oikoumenè* as a whole.

Apart from this vision of the Church, and apart from the renewal of the Lutheran confessional idea (Elert, Althaus), other approaches remained more faithful to the legacy of the 19th century. We should mention here the late thinking of E. Brunner, who essentially wished to see in the Church a simple meeting of persons*, devoid of any institutional character. In this he repeated

the argument of the canonist R. Sohm concerning the fundamental contradiction between the Church and the law*. We should also recall Tillich’s concept of the Church in which the notion of “spiritual communion” played a central role. This spiritual communion, to be sure, finds in the “manifest” Church (characterized by preaching, the sacraments, and the confession of faith) its decisive and—by its explicit reference to Christ—exemplary expression, but it also takes place in many other movements and groups, even outside the Christian religious and philosophical framework. Tillich also endeavored to study the influence of the Christian spirit on culture and to denounce the contradictions that were supposed to exist between Christian preaching and the world* of today.

This line of thought has recently been taken up in the discussion of the multitudinist Church. In opposition to a vision of the Church understood as a communion of confession and service, some theologians have adopted the perspectives of the sociology of religion and argued for a churchliness, which would also take into account people who are distant from the Church, in their concrete Christianity. As an “institution of liberty*” (Rentdorff), the Church offers the gospel but prescribes no particular social form, no communitarian commitment. It simply wishes to encourage the development of a religious and ethical* consciousness, Christian in the broadest sense, thereby endowing itself with the internal openness necessary for it to have a presence in culture and society.

g) Catholic Ecclesiology since the 16th Century. The development of the Catholic Church since the 16th century has been first of all marked by an anti-Reformation emphasis. Against a vision based on justifying faith and preaching of the Word, Bellarmine, taking up pre-Reformation principles, described the Church as an assembly of persons* who possess three characteristics: they confess the same faith, they participate in the same sacraments, and they recognize the authority of the Roman pontiff. The Church thus defined is, according to Bellarmine, as visible as the Republic of Venice. Gallicanism* in the 17th century and Febronianism in the 18th sought (without ultimate success) to limit the sovereignty of the pope by means of the general council. In the Enlightenment period the Church was described as a spiritual society whose members pursue happiness through shared religious practices, a happiness that leads them toward humanity in the spirit of that religion; this is precisely the goal toward which the hierarchy established by Christ is aiming. In the 19th century it fell especially to the Catholic school of Tübingen (Drey, Möhler, Döllinger) to develop a deeper analysis of the spiritual essence of

the Church. For these writers the Church is an organism imbued with the Holy Spirit, which at different levels creates the hierarchical articulations—duties and ministries—necessary for the preservation of its unity. By contrast the so-called school of Rome (Scheeben*), which prepared the ecclesiological theses of Vatican* I, focused exclusively on the Church's legal structure. In the dogmatic constitution *Pastor aeternus* promulgated by that council (dated 18 July 1870), nothing is in fact discussed but the pope. It dogmatically establishes his jurisdictional supremacy in the Church and, as a corollary, his doctrinal infallibility* when he speaks ex cathedra. The council, which initially intended to prepare a general ecclesiological program, did not succeed in dealing with other subjects, so that consequently the idea of the Church was effectively reduced to its legal-hierarchical dimension. This conception was later broadened in different directions, thanks to a new approach to divine worship (liturgical movement, encyclical *Mediator Dei* of Pius XII [1947]) and to a deeper christological analysis that, on the basis of Scripture, understood and described the Church as an institution both of law and of love (encyclical *Mystici Corporis* of Pius XII [1943]). A new movement of secular apostleship would also be influential, as would, finally, the ecclesiology of Vatican* II (in particular the dogmatic constitution *Lumen Gentium* [1964]). Indeed, on more than one point Vatican II went well beyond the official ecclesiology that had been established until then. The council broke new ground by using different biblical images, particularly that of the pilgrim people of God. It took a positive attitude toward non-Catholic Christian confessions (and the non-Christian world), which it integrated into an ecumenical vision of the Church. The council also developed the doctrine of the episcopal college, which—when it meets in council and in communion with the pope—holds supreme authority in the Church. In addition, Vatican II came to a new understanding of the ministry of the bishop in relation to his consecration and his functions, and it reintroduced the diaconate as a specific ministry in the Church. The development of the Catholic notion of the Church since Vatican II has been particularly concerned with the concept of “*communio*.” This, however, presents a profound ambivalence since it can denote the coming together of Christianity, in all its diversity, around the altar or an ecclesial unity founded on the pope and given legitimacy by him alone.

3. The Different Approaches of the Church in the Current Ecumenical Dialogue

We can briefly distinguish three ecclesiological approaches in the contemporary ecumenical movement, depending on whether the Church is understood from

the Orthodox perspective, the Catholic perspective, or the point of view of the heirs of the Reformation. But Orthodox ecclesiology did not go through a historical evolution comparable to that of the two major Western traditions* as just outlined; and the Churches descending from the Reformation provide a large spectrum of ecclesiological conceptions that diverge from one another in details.

a) Eastern Churches. The ecclesiological thought of the Eastern Churches is characterized by conscious recourse to the Trinitarian model. They seek a middle way between “christological sacramentalism,” which leads to institutionalism and clericalism, and “pneumatological propheticism,” threatened by the specter of subjective spiritualism (Kallis). To this end and by reference to the image of the body of Christ, they understand the Church as a living organism, one that finds its center and its everlasting source in the celebration of the Eucharist (the “eucharistic ecclesiology” of Afanassieff, Schmemmann, Zizioulas) and that the Spirit of God transforms into a new creation (divinization, *theôsis*). On the organizational level this ecclesiology focused on the local* Church uses on the one hand the autocephalic principle, according to which the local or national Church does not constitute a *part* of a whole but the *concretization* of the whole. On the other hand this very principle obliges local churches to come together in synods* and thus to be governed by a consensus that guarantees the unity of the body of Christ. The ministry of the bishop, placed in the apostolic* succession, constitutes the link that maintains that unity in time* and in space. As bearer of the truth spoken by the Holy Spirit, the Orthodox Church takes note of the existence of other Christian Churches, but it can enter into full eucharistic communion with them only if there is a consensus on the fundamental questions of ecclesiology.

b) The Catholic Church. In the 20th century the ecclesiology of the Catholic Church was formulated in the decrees of Vatican II. The principal difference from the Eastern approach lies in the legal form inherited from the Latin tradition and particularly from Vatican I. The Catholic Church appears here as a legal entity governed by the bishop of Rome, who holds supreme jurisdictional power and absolute doctrinal authority (in the final analysis he is infallible). In parallel and jointly with the pope, the episcopal college (placed in the apostolic succession) represents the pastoral and doctrinal organ of the universal Church, an organ that has taken on new importance since Vatican II, particularly in the extraordinary form of the council. This legal framework constitutes the bond by which the

Church, as the spiritual people of God, is gathered together and governed. As in Eastern ecclesiology, the center of spiritual life is the celebration of the Eucharist, with which the other sacraments, in particular Baptism, are coordinated. The preaching of the word of God contributes to the edification of hearts, to the education of minds, and to the proclamation of the will of God for the world. In and with the Church, all its members—particularly those known as the laity—are called to serve one another and to serve the world in love. It is in these basic ecclesiastical perspectives, to which all members of the Church are subject, that the different ministries are rooted: that of the bishop (endowed with the fullness of the sacrament of ordination*) and that of the priest—both of whom possess sacerdotal, doctrinal, and pastoral functions—as well as that of the deacon*. The Church in this complex sense is designated in its entirety as a “sacrament,” that is, as “a sign and an instrument through which is achieved intimate union with God, as well as the unity of the entire human race” (LG 1). In spite of the many spiritual bonds that have been tied with other Christian Churches, first of all with the Eastern Churches—but also with believers of other religions and all nonbelievers of goodwill—the goal of ecumenical effort remains the unity of all Christians and of all Churches in communion with the bishop of Rome.

c) The Churches Descended from the Reformation. The Churches laying claim to the legacy of the Reformation are to be differentiated on three principal points from the Eastern Churches and the Roman Church. They are characterized in the first place by the ecclesiological primacy granted to the word of God transmitted through Scripture and preaching. Faithful to the formulation of Luther, defining the Church as a “creature of the divine Word,” they have in many respects given the Word a privileged position over the sacraments, to the point of seeing in the latter only specific forms of the Word. The second distinctive element of this ecclesiological tradition consists in its granting to the question of ministry and ecclesiastical structures only a secondary role. To be sure, all the evangelical Churches have ministries, among which, as a general rule, there is a special ministry, conferred by ordination, for the public preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments. Many Churches that sprang from the Reformation also accept the episcopacy, or at least the functions of a regional *episkopè*. But in no case does the episcopal structure represent a necessary condition for churchliness or for church unity. This explains why the (forced) break in the apostolic succession of the bishops in the evangelical Churches in Central Europe in the 16th century does

not constitute, in their view, an essential ecclesiastical deficiency despite objections from the Orthodox and Catholic Churches. This naturally implies an alternative concept of the conditions for church unity. According to CA VII, in order for there to be true unity, all that is needed is agreement in the preaching of the gospel and in an administration of the sacraments (Baptism, Communion) in conformity with their original institution, and this thesis—which is found in the current ecumenical canon of the Protestant Churches—constitutes one of the most serious difficulties for ecumenical dialogue. Their specific approach to the question of the ministry has led the Churches descended from the Reformation—this is their third major characteristic—to involve the laity in the administrative and doctrinal responsibilities of the Church. This is clearly evidenced in the evangelical synod, made up of both lay members and ordained clergy. The synod is to a great extent charged with establishing church regulations, which also quite often involves doctrinal decisions.

On the basis of these specific orientations, there is nevertheless a large variety of possible options and forms of organization. For example, the Anglican Church, the North American Episcopal Church, and the Lutheran Churches of Scandinavia grant particular importance to the office of bishop and to the apostolic succession, although that does not constitute an insurmountable obstacle to their eucharistic communion with other Churches founded on different principles. There are also some Churches of the congregationalist type (congregationalism*, disciples of Christ), in which universal structures are little developed or even nonexistent. Finally, there are Churches (Baptists*, Quakers) in which the sacraments are understood and administered in an entirely different way from that in other Churches. Positions also diverge as to the normative doctrinal value of confessions of faith. These differences are the subject of interconfessional discussions that have often opened up possibilities for ecclesiastical communion (on the basis of the criteria of CA VII) inconceivable in other traditions. We may add that the Old Catholic Church, within the sphere of influence of the Catholic tradition, and certain particular Churches (notably in India) in the Orthodox sphere have shown themselves to be more flexible toward the conditions of church unity than the principal currents of their respective traditions.

4. Principles of an Ecumenical Ecclesiology

The Church is, in the first instance, the *communion* of all whom God has called in the Holy Spirit by Jesus Christ, whether this communion is seen on a local or a world level. If it is impossible to speak of an explicit

institution of the Church by Jesus before Easter, it is on the other hand possible to see its “implicit” origin in the kingdom of God whose coming Jesus proclaimed as well as in the group of men that he called to him and whom he bound to his message. The Church is the work of the Holy Spirit through the Word, through faith, and through Baptism. In the Holy Spirit, the crucified and risen Jesus Christ is present as the real and constant foundation of the Church. In its earliest form the Church was a ritual assembly where the gospel was preached and Communion was celebrated in memory of the Lord, where participants prayed to God in recognizing their sins, giving thanks, and begging for his help (*see* Acts 2:42). In this ritual practice and especially in the sharing in the body and blood of the Eucharist, the Church established itself and continually renewed itself as the “body of Christ” (1 Cor 10:16f.). Through the Spirit of God, it was able to confess the Lord Jesus (1 Cor 12:3). It was the “temple” in which dwelled the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 3:16). It expressed itself as a communion of love and established itself as a community through the variety of gifts and ministries bestowed by the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 12:12ff.), among which also appears the ministry conferred by ordination. At the same time, it was sent to proclaim the gospel throughout the world (Mt 28:19ff.) and to serve all humankind. As the “people of God” (Heb 4:9), it knew that it could rely on the promises* made to the Fathers of the old covenant (*see* Rom 11:18) and understood itself as traversing the ages toward the eschatological goal that had been assigned to it (*see* Heb 13:14).

According to the creed of Nicaea-Constantinople, the marks (“notes”) of the Church are these: *unity*, conferred on it by the will of God who calls it through Christ in the Holy Spirit, as people of God over the ages, despite all sectarian divergences and cultural disparities, but also as a communion of the living and the dead; *sanctity*, which God grants it, despite its sins*, by daily forgiving and renewing it; *catholicity*, as the qualitative fullness of salvation that is offered to it and to all creation* and that confers on it, in a more quantitative sense, its saving meaning for all mankind; and it is *apostolic* because it is founded on the testimony and the ministry of the apostles and because it is sent into the world as messenger of the kingdom of God. The distinctive signs of the Church, which are simultaneously its constituent elements, are the preaching of the gospel in faithfulness to Christ and the celebration of the sacraments—particularly the Communion of the Lord (the Eucharist) and Baptism—in accordance with their original institution. The Church as eucharistic communion is first of all a local community, but it also exists at a regional and a universal level. It is the place

and the very communication of salvation in Christ, which does not by any means exclude the possibility of salvation outside the Church.

This Church of the confession of faith, the “idea” of which we have just described, existed *de facto* in a concrete and empirical form and was therefore *stamped with the rupture of sin*. The Church, as communion of all the baptized, is a mixture (“*corpus permixtum*”) made up of those who, in their heart* and in their life, follow the call addressed to them in Baptism and of those who do not live that calling. The numerous intermediate degrees between these two choices make any division that claims to be definitive impossible (Mt 13:24ff.) and pose the real problem of the multitudinist Church. The imperfection of the empirical Church is also expressed in sectarian divisions that reflect not only a legitimate diversity but also a deformation of the single Christian truth and the inevitable resulting quarrels. The ecumenical movement has shown, however, that the predicates “true” or “false” cannot unequivocally be attributed to one sectarian Church or another.

As the original witness of the apostles grew more distant in time and the Church was confronted with new cultural, existential, and political situations, the problem of a possible historical deviation in relation to the single truth was posed ever more acutely. At the same time, the growth of the Church made its unity a question of survival. From the time of the primitive Church, these two factors brought about the creation of *institutions* designed to make it possible for Christianity to remain in the truth and to continue to live in communion. It was this concern that gave rise to the canon* of Scripture, the confession of faith (along with the dogmatic decisions made by the later Church), and church structures (particularly the episcopacy and synods or councils). Added to this is the fact that institutions are, generally speaking, indispensable for the establishment of rules of common conduct and the definition of laws that a living community might accept in order to forestall dissensions that might threaten its existence. The traditional distinction between institutions of divine law (the sacraments, the ministry) and institutions of human law holds in this respect only relative value, insofar as we must also deal with the question of their respective justifications and their concrete limits.

This problem is expressed in a particularly acute form in the question, also under debate in the ecumenical movement, of the *ministry* of the Church. The ministry now conferred by ordination is not attested in that form in the New Testament, and even less may it be said that it was instituted by Jesus of Nazareth. This is true for the ministry of the preaching of the Word and

the administration of the sacraments, which the Lutheran tradition considers to have been instituted by God (CA V), as well as for the episcopal structure of Orthodox and Catholic conceptions. Prefigurations of the pastoral ministry can of course be found in the New Testament, with the apostles and their successors responsible for teaching and practical life within their community, but this duty was not yet linked to any power to administer the sacraments. On the other hand, at least in Pauline communities, we encounter a multiplicity of services and titles that already suggest a certain degree of structural differentiation. But if theology is justified in relating to Christ himself the later institution of a church ministry conferred by ordination, this is because it judges that there took place in history a development in accordance with Christ's intentions, a development that the Lord of the Church placed at His service. This is precisely what makes it impossible to distinguish, in the analysis, between a "divine" law and a "human" law. But this means, above all, that the reality of the ministry, as it has developed in the course of history, does not have the fundamental importance for the Church that must be recognized in the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments. The same observation applies to the apostolic succession of bishops—which certainly represents an appropriate sign but can be neither a guarantee nor a condition of validity* for ministries (Lima, Porvoo)—and to the historical form of the papacy—whose role, dogmatically established by the two Vatican councils, still constitutes an obstacle among Churches. What can be said on this subject is that there must necessarily be a specific ministry on the local level, endowed with particular competence in matters of doctrine, the administration of the sacraments, and church unity, thereby guaranteeing the common exercise of gifts and duties. And if it is appropriate for such a body to exist regionally and universally, it is nonetheless necessary that this ministry, insofar as it is responsible for problems of doctrine and discipline, be bound on the local, regional, and universal levels to synods and councils that are also open (in accordance with the Protestant approach) to members of the Church who are not ordained. This is why one or another historical form the ministry may have assumed cannot be erected into a *sine qua non* for church unity and true churchliness. It is of course necessary, particularly on the universal level, to find forms of common decision making for the different Churches, and the question of a universal ministry for church unity must be taken into consideration, even in the Protestant perspective. But the ecumenical model, which views church unity as a conciliar communion bringing together Churches that are different both confessionally and culturally, starts

in any event from the principle that differences in structure are not an obstacle to such a communion, as long as the duty of a regional *episkopè* is properly exercised in these Churches, in one way or another. It is also necessary to arrive at a fundamental consensus on matters of faith and doctrine as well as on the understanding of the sacraments. This, however, does not preclude possible divergences in dogmatic formulations. Finally, it is necessary that the perfect communion of Churches, as realized at the table of the Lord, also be confirmed in the face of the problems of the world today, in a common responsibility of service and love.

5. *Ethical and Sociological Aspects*

If an understanding of the Church involves ethical aspects, this is not only in the sense that its members are regenerated in the Holy Spirit and called to a new life in love and responsibility. The Church itself should also be seen as the (collective) subject of ethically responsible action. This aspect of its reality is revealed, both internally and externally, in the manner in which it determines and manages its structures as well as in the way in which, by the positions it takes and its collective conduct, it assumes or evades its responsibilities. The oft-raised topics of "democracy*" and "bureaucracy" in the Church raise questions about large areas of church reality where the mode of operation, as set in place by human beings, may or may not be faithful to the essence lying behind that reality. The truth assigned to the Church is of course, in itself, inviolable and thus cannot depend on a democratic decision. But the search for relevant and current forms of expression, as well as the manner of assuming its responsibilities in preaching and particularly of choosing its leaders in one area or another (e.g., bishops)—all these together, for a Church that understands itself as the people of God, call for democratic procedures and structures (synod).

It is also by an ethical choice that the Church decides how it will assume its task in society and what structures should be chosen for that purpose. In the course of its history the Church gradually came to exercise a share of responsibility over the social body as a whole, in particular with the Constantinian turn, which played a fundamental role, especially for the medieval order. In modern times the process of secularization* has brought about a retreat of the Church in public life, and in some European countries Church members now make up only a minority of the population. Any theocratic pretensions of the Church toward society would therefore not only be subject to challenge on dogmatic and ethical grounds but also anachronistic. Freedom of opinion and conscience

must remain guaranteed to citizens. According to the functionalist-pluralist theory of society (Luhmann), religion and the Church that “administers” are there to respond to a limited number of needs that still exist in modern society (“control over contingency”). The Church is not, however, ready to confine itself to that role. Rather, it sees its prophetic and diaconal mission to be that of affirming God’s goodwill toward all people: by giving an orientation to human endeavor, by drawing attention to error, and by offering charitable assistance. The Church cannot give up this mandate, even when official society wishes to challenge it, as might be the case, for example, in modern dictatorships. It is in just this perspective that the relation between Church* and state must also be considered. Starting from the principle of separation between these two orders, a principle in accordance both with the understanding the Church has of itself and with the modern idea of a state free of any credo, one might consider a structure that would facilitate an encounter between the Church and those in secular society without however subjecting the Church to legal supervision. In this respect the legal model of the “corporate person subject to public law” would, from the Church’s standpoint, provide a better basis than that of an institution governed by private law. For a modern society that is confronted with many dangers, this would also be an opportunity to take into account, through a certain number of structural adjustments and contractual rules, the contribution of the Church to the preparation of a future worthy of humankind.

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See also Authority; Baptism; Being; Church and State; Communion; Council; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Eucharist; Gospels; Government, Church; Hierarchy; Indefectibility of the Church; Infallibility; Local Church; Magisterium; Ministry; Priesthood; Regional Church; Sacrament; Schism; Structures, Ecclesial; Synod; Unity of the Church; Word of God

Church and State

According to the Bible*, God* alone is the sovereign master of humanity, of its peoples and history*. All power proceeds from him (Jn 19:11; Rom 13:1), to be placed at the service of justice* and peace*. Such is Caesar's limited field of action, by comparison to God's, which is virtually limitless (Mt 22:21). Conscience*, truth*, and meaning are a matter for God alone. The power that punishes crime and inclines to good* is "the servant of God" (Rom 13:4), and 1 Pt 2:13–15 exhorts us to obey "every human institution" in all conscience. But when power forsakes the order established by God and declares itself divine, "We must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). When power deifies itself, it must be met with resistance and condemnation (*see* Rev 13:7–18). The issue of the relations between Church and state is raised by the way in which the Christian community understands its role in society and by the degree of control which the state attempts to exert over religious life. These relations may take the form of distinction or interpenetration, of hostile separation or of cooperation.

1. From Persecution to Interpenetration

a) *Antiquity.* Until 313 Christianity was a *religio illicita*. The apologists of the second and third centuries pleaded that Christians should have the mere right to exist. Tertullian demanded *libertas religionis* (*see Apologeticum* 24, 6; *Ad Scapulam* 2, 2) for Christians within the pagan state, declaring their loyalty toward the empire. The persecutions of Decius (250), Valerian (257), Diocletian (303–4), and Galerius (305–11) attempted, on a huge scale but without success, to put a halt to the Christian phenomenon. Constantine and Licinius (Milan, 313) gave Christians the freedom to honor the supreme deity in accordance with their rites, individually and as a collective body. Constantine entrusted the bishops* with civil and judicial responsibilities and took initiatives to resolve the Donatist and Arian crises by calling the councils* of Arles (314) and Nicaea* (325). He exiled the bishops who were deposed and so was born the confusion between the political and ecclesiastical spheres. At the same time, Eusebius of Caesarea developed a political* theology* according to which the emperor had received from God the mis-

sion of governing the Church* as a "common bishop" or "external bishop." Henceforward the interpenetration of political and ecclesiastical power got under way. Theodosius I would soon impose the Nicene faith* on the whole empire (380).

The Byzantine "monist" model persisted until 1453, kept up in the state Orthodox churches. The autocephalous churches tended to identify themselves with one nation ("phyletism"). The monarch led the church, which was inseparable from the political establishment, leaving the bishops to administer the sacraments* and preach* dogma*.

In the West there was from the fourth century an emphasis on the distinction between the different spheres of activity. Ambrose* of Milan made it clear to Theodosius that he was "in the Church and not above the Church" (*Ep.* 20, 36). Pope* Gelasius I summarized in a celebrated phrase the necessary distinction between *auctoritas sacerdotale* and *potestas imperiale* (*Ep. ad Anastasium*), both having their origins in God. There were now two centers in what had become a Christian society. Thus arose the "dualist" model—the dialectic between temporal power and spiritual power—characteristic of the West.

b) *The Middle Ages.* The Germanic kingdoms held that the Church's property and its ministers were at the disposal of the sovereign. In the case of the Franks and the Visigoths in Spain, the king, consecrated by unction, appointed the bishops, who were thus instruments of government.

Alcuin suggested to Charlemagne that he was the new David. He himself wrote to the pope telling him that he should confine himself to prayer*. The supervision of *christianitas* was the king's affair. Under the successors of Louis the Pious, however, the divided imperial power began to crumble, and the Frankish bishops assumed the role of the nation's conscience (council of Metz, 859).

During the age of feudalism, bishops and abbots were chosen by their overlords, who conferred on them pastoral responsibility (*officium*) along with temporal remuneration (*beneficium*). This "secularization*" of the hierarchy* resulted in a corrupt attitude to ecclesiastical office (simony) and a decline in the morals of the clergy (Nicolaitanism). In the wake of

the monastic reforms of Cluny and Gorze, the forces of renewal became centered on the papacy from Leo IX (1073–54) onward, culminating in the initiatives of Gregory VII. The “Gregorian reform” marked the turning point of the Middle Ages. In the name of *libertas Ecclesiae*, it fought for the freedom* of investiture, a right obtained with the empire in the concordat of Worms (1122) and with the major Western monarchies in similar agreements. Elections were to be free, and the temporal powers would now confer only the *beneficium*. The hierarchical Church once again presented itself as independent of political power and frequently in opposition to it. From the eighth century, the papacy headed a state (the Patrimony of Saint Peter) that was intended to guarantee its independence.

With its two recognized heads, Western Christianity threw itself between 1150 and 1300 into a power struggle between *Sacerdotium* and *Regnum* that concluded in the papacy’s favor. From Innocent III (1198–1216) to Boniface VIII (1294–1303), the papacy was at the height of its temporal influence. It upheld the right of the spiritual power to have control over the temporal power and to intervene as required (*occasionaliter*) when the latter failed in its responsibilities (*ratione peccati*). The theory of “direct power,” which would come to the fore in the texts of Boniface VIII (see the bull *Unam Sanctam*, 1302), asserted that the pope, as vicar of Christ*, was the agent of his power in both the temporal and the spiritual orders.

The “exile in Avignon” (1305–76) and the ruptures of the Great Schism* (1378–1417) resulted in a strengthening of the power of Christian monarchs. Some theorists, inspired by William of Ockham, handed over to temporal power the task of ensuring Christian unity. In England, Wycliffe proposed the king as the head of the national church. In the 15th century, “nation” states wrung increasingly extensive concessions from the papacy regarding the nomination of bishops, such as the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438 and, later, the Concordat of Bologna (1516).

c) Reformations and Confessionalism. In this context, the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican Reformations offered new conceptions of the relations between Church and state. Luther* envisaged a total separation between the “temporal kingdom,” devoted to maintaining society within the law*, but without significance in terms of redemption, and the “spiritual kingdom” governed solely by the Word* of God and the gifts of the Holy* Spirit, but with no bearing on the temporal order. The prince was responsible for calling synods* and for ensuring the purity of the faith. The Church, which was “spiritual,” existed in seclusion in the midst of a political community, under the orders of the prince. A secu-

larization of the ecclesiastical institution is visible here, associated with a new sacralization of temporal power. Protestant law, as represented by Samuel Pufendorf, would state that the Church had legal existence only by virtue of the rights that the prince graciously conceded to it. In the Holy Roman Empire the system of the denominational state (Lutheran, Reformed, or Catholic) held sway from 1555 to 1806, according to the principle of *cuius regio eius religio* (“of which region, of that religion”). The Anglican Reformation placed the national Church under the dominance of the king.

Catholic rulers had obtained ecclesiastical rights by means of papal concessions. From the 16th century, Spain and Portugal enjoyed a right of patronage—in other words, of complete control over ecclesiastical life—in their colonies in Latin America, the Indies, and the Philippines. In Europe rulers had the right of veto (*placet*) over documents from Rome and heard all appeals against ecclesiastical jurisdiction* on “appeal *ab abusu*.” In the Germanic countries Febronianism (a movement with episcopalian tendencies, comparable to Gallicanism*) intensified the desire for withdrawal into national churches. In Austria, Joseph II suppressed the convents and confraternities and imposed scrupulous regulation of worship* and religious teaching. During the Enlightenment period, ecclesiastical institutions were tolerated as long as they contributed to cohesion and social control, in other words, to the aims of political power.

In this context a new canonical discipline evolved: “ecclesiastical public law.” Fostered by the school of Würzburg, it drew on a category already employed by Bellarmine* in the 16th century to the effect that the Church was a society governed by its own law that did not derive from that of the state. Its sphere of competence was distinct and autonomous from the state’s. In joint matters, however, the two powers, in the service of the same people, were required to cooperate.

2. Between State Neutrality and Hostility

a) The American and French Revolutions. The American and French Revolutions brought to an end the age-old interpenetration between the two powers of Church and state. In the United States a new model came into being. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (1791) prohibited the making of any law concerning the establishment of religion or forbidding its free exercise. America advocated the liberty of citizens and the absolute neutrality of the state in matters of religion. In France the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 granted freedom for all “opinions, even in religion” (art. 10). The Convention nonetheless attempted to nationalize the Church by imposing on it

the unilateral legislation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790). The philosophy of Napoleon Bonaparte's Concordat (1801) and of the Organic Articles relating to the "recognized religions" (Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish) was that religion, being useful for social control, should be regulated and remunerated by the state.

b) 19th-Century Nostalgia for the Confessional State. Under the aegis of ultramontanist, the papacy again became the emotive center of the Catholic world, while the regalism of previous centuries lived on in the Catholic states, both in Europe and in Latin America.

Gregory XVI and Pius IX condemned liberal thinking on religious freedom*, rationalism*, indifference, and the separation of Church and state (see *Syllabus*, 1864). Leo XIII regarded Church and state as distinct but called to peaceful cooperation. From 1860, Church public law conceptualized the relationship between Church and state as one between "two legally perfect societies." The Church hoped to preserve its independence by presenting itself, like the state, as a society in possession of all the elements necessary to its mission,* and it insisted on its freedom as an institution. Some authors have taken this model as the basis for a theory of the "indirect power of the Church in temporalibus."

In the 20th century no further right of episcopal presentation or nomination was to be granted to civil authorities, with the exception of Spain in 1941. The concordats signed by Pius IX approved the dual principle of the Church's autonomy in its own field and of collaboration with states in matters referred to as mixed, such as marriage* legislation, religious education in state schools, and religious assistance to armies, prisons, and hospitals. The creation of the Vatican City state by the Lateran Accords (1929) was intended to ensure the temporal independence of the Holy See.

c) Hostile Divisions. A violent anticlerical backlash brought about a unilateral breaking off of the traditional links between Church and state in Catholic countries such as France (1905), Portugal (1910), Mexico (1910), and republican Spain (1931). The concordats with fascist Italy (1929) and Nazi Germany (1933) did not prevent Pius XI from condemning these two ideologies, with *Redemptor hominis* and *Mit brennender Sorge* (1937), respectively.

From 1917 in the Soviet Union and then after 1945 in its European satellites and in Asian and African Communist countries, the Churches were faced with a new type of state characterized by an antireligious ideology. These countries set out in their constitutions the principle of a dual separation between Church and

state and between the Church and education, established on 23 January 1918 by the Decree of the Soviet of the Commissars of the People. They maintained the freedom of conscience and worship at the same time as that of antireligious propaganda. The state imposed dialectical materialism as its official philosophy and discriminated against professed believers. China stipulated further that no religious community should receive any order from abroad (1949), leading to the creation in 1957 of the Patriotic Catholic Association, with no links to Rome*. Communist Albania claimed the distinction of being the first entirely atheist state in the world. The fall of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 and 1990 led these countries to adopt liberal principles concerning religious freedom.

d) The Right to Religious Freedom. Since 1945 the principle of religious freedom has come to the fore in the constitutions of democratic states and international agreements. In 1948 and again in 1961, the Ecumenical Council of Churches* adopted a declaration on religious freedom that envisaged it as a right deriving from the dignity of the person*, a right whose effective exercise should be guaranteed by the state. At Vatican II (1962–65), the Catholic Church in turn, with the declaration *Dignitatis humanae*, moved from a moral to a legal conception of this right and acknowledged that the state must guarantee citizens and their religious communities the freedom necessary for the exercise of the various personal, family, educational, cultural, and associative aspects of religious faith, within the limits implied by the maintenance of order, health, public morality, and the rights of third parties (*DH* 7). *DH* 13 asserted that the freedom of the Church as a social group was sufficiently guaranteed when the common right to religious freedom was ensured. It further reiterated that the Church's innate divine right to liberty was the "fundamental principle of the Church's relations with public authority and the whole civil order." The constitution *Gaudium et spes* (76, 2–3) reaffirmed the reciprocal autonomy and cooperation necessary between Church and state.

3. Current Models

These remain marked by the tensions of the past.

a) Persecution. There are still in existence religious regimes that prohibit the exercise of other religions (such as Saudi Arabia) or that discriminate against their adherents. Similarly, some officially atheist states limit religious freedom.

b) State Churches. The "established churches," such as the Church of England or the Lutheran Churches in

Scandinavia, are administered by the civil legislature and executive. Their status does not, however, imply any limiting of the religious freedom of other denominations. The Greek Orthodox Church and the Reformed Churches in some cantons of Switzerland enjoy the status of churches protected and supervised by the state.

c) Institutional Separation. In the United States, France (since the law of separation of 1905), and the Netherlands (since 1982), the Churches now have a status only in private law.

d) Institutional Separation and Cooperation. In Ireland the Church runs the education system. In the Latin countries, cooperation is defined by concordat: in Portugal (since 1940), in Spain (1976–78), and in Italy (1984). Germany, Austria, and most of the cantons of Switzerland exhibit the most developed form of institutional cooperation, guaranteed by the constitution and augmented by concordats or bilateral agreements with the various denominations. The churches are recognized as corporations under public law, with the power to levy taxes on their members.

e) Recognized Religions. The French system of 1801 survives in the legislation concerning religions in Belgium and Luxembourg, and also in Alsace and Moselle in France, where the Concordat of Napoleon is still current.

f) The International Character of the Holy See. The Holy See—rather than the Vatican state—is active as either a member or an observer in the international organizations of the United Nations system. It also takes part in international conferences and is a signatory to numerous international conventions while emphasizing its unique character. The Catholic Church participates in relations with the international community by virtue of its own constitution as a transnational body with supreme power in its own domain and maintains relations with states on a basis of judicial parity. The international position of the Holy See, a product of his-

tory and of the Church's definition of itself as a society *sui iuris*, autonomous and independent of any temporal power, is consistent with the model of relations between Church and state that the Catholic Church has defended over the centuries.

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See also Authority; Church; Government, Church; Secularization; Society

Circumincession

In Trinitarian theology*, circumincession expresses the dwelling of the persons* of the Trinity* in one another as well as their mutual gift. In Christology, it means the interpenetration of divine and human natures in the person of Christ* Jesus*.

a) Biblical Basis and Early Patristic Development. It is essentially in the Johannine* writings that the ideas of dwelling and mutual gift are found, for example, “Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father is in me” (Jn 14:11). Christian soteriology is presented as entry into the relation that unites the Father, the Son, and the Holy* Spirit: “In that day you will know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you” (Jn 14:20) or “By this we know that we abide in him and he in us, because he has given us of his Spirit” (1 Jn 4:13).

These passages are of course focused on the unity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in action. But this unity implicitly refers to the unity of being*, and it is in this sense that the Fathers* of the Church* understood it. The point of departure for thinking in this area was the relation between Father and Son:

The Father is in the Son because the Son proceeds from him. The Son is in the Father, because he derives from no other his being as Son (Hilary*, *Trin.* 3. 4; CChr.SL 62. 25). Hence, the Father and the Son dwell in one another and give themselves to one another because they are consubstantial* (Cyril* of Alexandria; PG 74. 244c). With the development of Trinitarian theology, assertions concerning the Father and the Son were extended to the Three Persons: The true God* is a Trinity by persons, One by nature. Through this natural unity, the Father is entirely in the Son and the Holy Spirit, and the Son is entirely in the Father and the Holy Spirit, just as the Holy Spirit is entirely in the Father and the Son. No one among them is external to the others (Fulgentius of Ruspina, *De fide ad Petrum* 4, CChr.SL 91A. 714).

b) Greek Theology. Until the seventh century, the fathers of the church had no special term for the mutual indwelling and the gift of the Three Persons. In the Greek world, christological controversies fostered the introduction of a specific vocabulary with the verb *perikhôrêô* and the noun *perikhôrêsis*. Gregory* of

Nazianzus introduced the verb to explain that the unity of the two natures in Christ has the effect that what is particular to God can be attributed to human beings and vice versa: this is known as the communication of idioms* (*Ep.* 101. 31; SC 208. 48). The interpenetration of the two natures establishes the exchange of properties. Maximus* the Confessor used this notion and introduced the noun. *Perikhôrêsis* thus designates in the person of Christ the movement of penetration of divine nature into (*eis*) or toward (*pros*) human nature. With pseudo-Cyril in the late seventh century, the notion entered into the domain of being. So, *Perikhôrêsis* designated the penetration of human nature by divine nature within the hypostatic* union. The unity of the person established the coinherence or *perikhôrêsis* of the two natures (*Trin* 24; PG 77. 1165cd).

The same writer introduced the vocabulary into Trinitarian theology: Other words related to Christ concern the *perikhôrêsis* of the persons one in the other, as, “I am in the Father and the Father is in me” (Jn 15:16) (*Trin* 23; PG 77. 1164b).

Perikhôrêsis thus expresses the union of the three persons in a single essence (*Trin* 10). They are a single God, for each is in the two others and each gives himself to the two others. This doctrine was taken up by John of Damascus (*Fid.* 1. 8; Kotter) and by later Greek theology. It made it possible to avoid the two pitfalls of all Trinitarian theology: the separation of the three persons (Arianism*, tritheism*) or their confusion (modalism*). Moreover, the *perikhôrêsis* of the two natures in Christ is based on that of the three persons of the Trinity (John of Damascus, *Fid.* 3. 7; Kotter 2. 126).

c) Latin Theology. In the 12th century, the notion of indwelling was taken up again in Trinitarian theology on the basis of the Scriptures* and the Latin Fathers, without recourse to a technical term. The term *circumincessio* was, however, introduced into theological vocabulary with the translation of *De fide* of John of Damascus by Burgundio of Pisa in 1153–54, although Peter Lombard, who cited it, did not adopt the word (*Sentences* 1. 19. 4). It did not appear until the following century, in Alexander of Halès (†1245), in reference to works by Peter Lombard and John of Damascus (*In Sent.* 1. 19. q. 2).

After Alexander of Hales, the term “circumincession” became common, first in the Franciscan school, then among other theologians, although it did not gain universal currency. Writers also continued to present the notion of indwelling without using the term, for example, Thomas* Aquinas (*ST* Ia, q. 42, a. 5) and the Council of Florence* (Decree of Union with the Jacobites, 1442; bull *Cantate domino*, *DS* 1330).

Independently of Trinitarian theology, the concept of circumincession appeared in Christology in Albert* the Great (*In Dyon. ep.* 4; Simon 489, 492). It underwent little development. The spelling *circuminsessio* is found from the late 13th century both in Trinitarian theology (Durand de Saint-Pourçain, *In Sent.* 1. 19) and in Christology (Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* 13). This is due to the “French” pronunciation of Latin, in which *ce* and *se* are identical.

The notion of circumincession has also made some mark in the 20th century in the Trinitarian anthropology* of J. Monchanin (1895–1957), according to whom “we must live in circumincession with our brothers.” (See in particular *Théologie et spiritualité missionnaires*; Paris, 1985.)

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See also **Consubstantial; Salvation**

City

I. Old Testament

The word “city” in the biblical context does not have the resonance given to it by Greco-Roman civilization. It refers solely to the urban phenomenon. It designates the political and social representation of a people* through the form of authority that is exercised in a visible way (institutions, monuments, symbols) in the socioeconomic form of a city. The Hebrew word *îr*, the one most frequently used (1,087 times), has generally been translated into Greek by *polis*, but it simply means “town.” We also find *qireyâh* (from *qîr*; “wall,” with place-names using *qireyat*) and the metonymic use of *she‘arîm* (“doors”: Ex 20:10; Dt 5:14), which imply the existence of walls. These walls, and the towns they protected, existed in Canaan long before the history* of Israel* began.

1. Before the Monarchy

Unlike many civilizations, Israel did not attribute its existence as a people to the “foundation” of a city. It was a “wandering Aramean” and not a founding hero whom it recognized as “father” (Dt 26:5). The narratives* of origin and the patriarchal cycles give the im-

pression of an identity acquired at the price of a negative view of the world of cities. The first city to appear in the Bible* is the city of Enoch built by Cain the murderer (Gn 4:17); and the Babel episode (Gn 11) denounces humankind’s attempt to “make a name for ourselves” against God by building “a city and a tower.” In this perspective, no city can claim to be the center or the model of the world*. The division of land between Abram and his nephew Lot (Gn 13:11ff.) clearly illustrates a fundamental choice: Lot chooses to live “among the cities” and Abram “in the land of Canaan” (Gn 13:12). The good choice is made by the one who remains apart from the cities and their dangers (as evidenced by Sodom and Gomorrah). From the outset the history of Israel is founded on an experience of displacement—a displacement, nevertheless, that looks toward the fulfillment of a promise* and is marked by attempts to settle in a land.

The history of the conquest, as narrated in Joshua, preserves this negative vision. The tales of the capture of cities such as Jericho and Ai involve the total destruction of the city in question (Jos 6:20f., 8:28). This signifies a great suspicion of these rich and idolatrous city-states of Canaan (Ez 16:49). Deuteronomy ex-

presses another point of view in recognizing that Israel has found a “land that he swore to your fathers . . . with great and good cities that you [Israel] did not build” (Dt 6:10), and it formulates a set of laws adapted to urban communities. It is possible to conclude, particularly on the basis of Judges, that the Israelites gradually settled into the urban system of Canaan while neither creating new cities nor reestablishing old ones. Later, the view taken of very large pagan cities (Ez 27–28: Tyre; Jon 3:3, 4:11: Niniveh) did not always lack elements of admiration.

2. The Cities of Israel

a) The Power of the Kings. It was in fact on the basis of an already established city—Jerusalem*, capital of the Canaanite Jebusites—that David brought the city into the history of Israel (2 Sm 5:6–12). He seized a fortified city, and by installing the “house of the king” there he made of it “the city of David” (mentioned 22 times in Samuel and Kings: *see also* ark of the covenant*; royal sepulchres). He and his successors also provided the kingdom with a network of border cities (e.g., Beersheba). From then on the city became an indispensable element for the people under the monarchy. King Omri even replaced the first capital of the kingdom of the North, Tirzah, by the only genuinely new city, Samaria (1 Kgs 16:24). The Israelite city experienced the ambiguities of the institution of royalty: power and justice* rarely went together. Force ruled: the city was surrounded with solid ramparts (Is 22:9ff.)—according to Leviticus 25:31, this is the difference between a “city” and a “village”—and possibly with a citadel. It was thus able to shelter the inhabitants of the countryside in case of an invasion. It concentrated political power since it contained the palace of the king or of a governor and religious power since the Deuteronomic reform, in principle, limited this to a single sanctuary, the Temple* of Jerusalem alone. It held military (1 Kgs 9:22), administrative (scribes), and ritual (priests) personnel and fostered the growth of crafts and commercial activities (1 Kgs 10:15). Justice was put to the test in the city: the abuse of power and wealth created new conflicts that the Israel of the desert could not have imagined, and these can be seen in the survival of idolatrous cults* and conflicts between rich and poor. The religious and social order depended on the authority of the king. After the exile this authority was taken over by the priests of the Temple and groups of “elders” who dispensed justice at the “gates” of the city in the name of “Wisdom” (Prv 8:3, 31:23). It is difficult to tell to what extent the law* establishing “cities of refuge” (Nm 35:9ff.; Dt 19:1–13) was applied.

b) Dangers and the Promise. The prophets* perceived the painful ambiguity of the world of cities. Often of rural origin, devoted to the salvation* of the people, they denounced the perversion that led to ruin: the nadir of this perversion was represented by inequality (Am 3:9–15), arrogance (Is 9:8f.), and religious faithlessness (Hos 10:1–5). Transgression by a city was punished by its destruction by an enemy through starvation, massacre, and razing of its walls. The prophets proclaimed this in Samaria as in Jerusalem* and in the great capitals of the East. For them, there was only one city, Jerusalem. It could never be destroyed without one day being rebuilt (Ez 40; Zec 14). This current of belief in a sure and certain restoration (Is 1:26, 24:23, 48:35) was also reflected in poems, psalms*, and prophetic texts that exalted the “holy city” (Is 52:1).

II. New Testament

1. The Scene of the Proclamation

The synoptic Gospels* present Jesus* preaching in cities as well as villages. When he preached outside towns, it was to a public that had come from those towns to seek him out. He was not seen in Caesarea. In fact, he avoided cities (Mk 1:45) in order to forestall public demonstrations. Luke uses the word *polis* for cities such as Nazareth and Bethlehem (Lk 2:3f.), which were not “cities” in the political sense like the cities of the Decapolis, and Mark uses it for Capernaum (Mk 1:33). Jesus inveighed against the cities of Israel (Mt 11:20–24 and parallel passages) as well as Jerusalem (Mt 23:37 and parallel passages) as collective entities, in the manner of the prophets.

Integration into an urban world determined the early development of the apostolic mission* (Lk 10:1). In obtaining hospitality, as in preaching in the synagogue or the public square, the apostles found the city an essential component in the acceptance or rejection of the Good News (Acts 13–16). The routes of Paul’s missionary journey’s passed among the great cities of the “diaspora,” out of which Paul himself had come, enjoying the rights of a Roman citizen as a native of Tarsus. It was in cities that “churches” were organized by “elders” (Acts 15:23; Ti 1:5). This universe of Greco-Roman cities had a broad influence on the way of life and the institutions of the emerging Church, particularly on their combination of communitarian and hierarchical aspects.

2. The Image of the City

Several lines of interpretation take shape on the basis of the always ambiguous image of the city: 1) a tradi-

tional line of hostility to the “city” as a place that is closed off to God and that fosters human pride. Jesus laments over the cities of the lake: Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Capernaum (Lk 10:12–15). The “great city” of Revelation 16:19 is doomed to destruction with all the other “cities of the nations,” whereas the “holy city, the new Jerusalem” (Rev 21:1) is not a human work* but comes from God. 2) A new line of interpretation appears in the letter to the Ephesians. Israel is represented there as a city that has the power to grant citizenship to new inhabitants. Excluded from citizenship of Israel (i.e., because they lack circumcision), Gentiles can become instead “fellow citizens” of the “saints” (Eph 2:11f.) of the new community saved by Christ*. “Legal” status takes precedence over ethnic or geographical situation and makes possible the beginnings of thinking about universality. 3) The richest line of interpretation for ecclesial tradition* is set out in the letter to the Hebrews, which speaks of the journey of the people of God toward the heavenly city. The Christian has no “permanent city” but seeks a “city to come” (Heb 13:14), which Abraham had already hoped for (Heb 11:10). Christians can also play a role in history* without subordinating

themselves to the authorities, as was proved by the attitude of Christians loyal to the structures of the Roman world. The city of which God is the architect (Heb 11:10) and the “constitution” (*politeuma*) that Philippians 3:20 sets in heaven (“our citizenship is in heaven”) make possible a radical challenge to all secular appetites and powers as well as to theocratic pretensions. This theology* of the “two cities” was to have a long-lasting legacy.

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XAVIER DURAND

See also Authority; Jerusalem; Kingdom of God; People of God; Political Theology; Prophet and Prophecy; Temple

Clarembald of Arras. *See Chartres, School of*

Clement of Alexandria. *See Alexandria, School of*

Clement of Rome. *See Apostolic Fathers*

Cleric

Klèros, which in biblical Greek means “share,” “legacy,” took on a religious nuance in Philo: God* is the “share” of his people* and the people is the “share” of God. The idea was adopted by Christians and became for them a permanent tradition*. In the second and third centuries, a distinction between clergy and laity* appeared, the clergy being those in the Christian community who were especially attached to the service of God. The expression was to retain a broader and somewhat vague sense, designating more than the principal ordained ministries*. In the Roman-Frankish liturgy, the *Supplement* to the *Gregorian Sacramentary* contains a rite of tonsure to “make a cleric,” distinct from ordination* to any ministry (Deshusses ed. I, 417).

As the canonists and theologians of the Middle Ages saw it, all the baptized benefited from the Christian cult*, and their participation consisted of joining in without being its performers in the strict sense. The public ritual of the Church* was carried out only by public persons, the clergy, in a division of labor that broadly corresponded to the existing levels of culture and to the medieval idea of the division of roles among the major social categories, the “orders,” that is, the “prayers” (*oratores*), the “fighters,” and the “workers.”

In the Roman Church the evolution of culture and,

simultaneously, a more positive perception of the place of the baptized in the Church have together strengthened the idea of active participation and a diversity of roles in the church assembly (*see* Vatican* II, SC no. 26). On the other hand, by abolishing orders* below the diaconate in the Latin Church, Paul VI (*Ministeria Quaedam*, 1972) and the Code of Canon* Law of 1983 (c. 217, §1) have now established an identity between clergy and ordained ministers (except that an ordained minister can lose clerical status but not the ordination he has received [can. 290]). A point has thus been clarified that the Council* of Trent* had left imprecise when it asserted that there was a distinction between clergy and laity according to divine law (*DS* 1776). Paul VI’s decision limits clerical status to bishops, priests*, and deacons* and abolishes lower ranks of the clergy.

The orders below the diaconate (subdeacon, lector) survive in the Eastern Church.

- Y. Congar (1954), *Jalons pour une théologie du laïcat*, Paris.
- H. Mülleians (1961), *Publicus und Privatus im Römischen Recht und im älteren Kanonischen Recht*, Munich.

PIERRE-MARIE GY

See also **Hierarchy; Lay/Laity; Orders, Minor; Ordination/Order**

Code. *See* **Canon Law**

Collegiality

The debate on collegiality—a term in fact not used in Vatican* II—was the most vigorous of the council* (along with the debate on Mary*). It led to §§19–27 of *LG*, in which “college” is understood as the body (*collegium, corpus, ordo*) made up of all the bishops*, including the bishop of Rome*, by reason of their identical ordination* and their hierarchical communion* with the pope* and among themselves: “Hence, one is constituted a member of the episcopal body in virtue of sacramental consecration and hierarchical communion with the head and members of the body.... The order of bishops, which succeeds to the college of apostles and gives this apostolic body continued existence, is also the subject of supreme and full power over the universal Church, provided we understand this body together with its head the Roman Pontiff” (*LG* 22). Considered by some as the backbone of Vatican II, the importance and the limits of this doctrine can be more clearly seen today.

1. Importance

It is in ordination, in a unified fashion, that the doctrine locates the origin of the power of order and jurisdiction* of the bishops. Three consequences follow from this.

a) Until then (restatements of this opinion had come from Pius XII and John XXIII), many thought that bishops received their jurisdiction from the pope. For Vatican II, on the other hand, that jurisdiction comes to them directly from Christ* through their ordination. “Every legitimate celebration of the Eucharist is regulated by the bishop, to whom is committed the office of offering the worship of Christian religion to the Divine Majesty and of administering it in accordance with the Lord’s commandments and the Church’s laws, as further defined by his particular judgment for his diocese” (*LG* 26). Any split between order and jurisdiction is overcome, and bishops must therefore be seen as “vicars and ambassadors of Christ” and not to be “regarded as vicars of the Roman Pontiffs” (*LG* 27).

b) In the area of canonical principles, there follows a new organization of powers between the pope and the bishops. The former no longer grants powers to the latter, but he keeps for himself, because of his primacy

and for the common good of the Church, certain prerogatives that the bishops could, by right, exercise.

c) Institutions are thus beginning to make possible a more vital expression of the communion of churches, in particular the episcopal bodies, which “are in a position to render a manifold and fruitful assistance, so that this collegiate feeling may be put into practical application” (*LG* 23). According to the synod* of 1985, no one can doubt their pastoral usefulness and even less their necessity in the current situation. Inspired by the ancient patriarchal churches, are they prefigurations of new forms of those churches?

2. Limits

The assertion according to which the college holds in solidarity all ecclesiastical power has probably not allowed the realization of all the hopes that many Fathers placed in it. Collegiality in fact suffers from practical inefficacy and theoretical ambiguity, both of these being due to its definition on the basis of pontifical power.

a) In the first place, the college of individual bishops was insufficiently understood in terms of the communion among the churches over which they preside. Ordination is, to be sure, presented as the basis for communion, but *LG* 22 (quoted above) speaks only in terms of its relation to the universal Church. From this comes the inability to correctly articulate collegiality and the communion of churches. If this is so, it is probably because empirically 44 percent of the members of the college (according to the *Annuario Pontificio* of 1995) either do not preside over a Church or no longer do so; and this is verified in the chain of reasoning of the *CIC* of 1983, which believes it possible to establish what is meant by clergy* and laity*, the pope, the college of bishops, the Roman Curia, and the nuncios, *before* any consideration of the local Church. Such a modern conception, which understands collegiality on the basis of universal primacy, could not possibly be ratified by the Orthodox Church or form a basis for the requests of particular churches for more responsibility.

b) The college, in addition, remains dependent on its head, but the latter does not have a canonical obligation

to act in collaboration with the college. Thus, if the college is understood on the basis of its head, who personally has the same power as the entire membership, and simultaneously the college can never act without its head (which is called hierarchical communion [LG 21 and 22]), whereas by virtue of his office the pope has “full, supreme and universal power over the Church. And he is always free to exercise this power” (LG 22), then collegiality does not necessarily change the centralized image of the Church based on Vatican* I, which the majority of the fathers of Vatican II precisely wished to attenuate by means of this doctrine. This interpretation can be based on the magisterium by John-Paul II (*motu proprio Apostolos suos*, 1998).

The weakness of the doctrine of collegiality also derives from a lack of correlation between the college of bishops and the communion of diocesan churches because Vatican II generally places the bishop *facing* his Church and almost never *in* it (exceptions: two quotations, one from Cyprian* [LG 26, no. 31], and the other from Augustine*: “For you I am a bishop; but with you I am a Christian” [LG 32]). The silence on the Episcopal ministry* of the pope in Rome, mentioned only in a historical aside (LG 22), is a symptom of the same lack.

3. The Possible Development of Collegiality

The fruitfulness of the doctrine of collegiality, within the Catholic Church as in the ecumenical area, is dependent on the doctrinal integration of the most novel (but traditional; *see* Cyprian, *Ep.* 36 and 55) axiom of Vatican II, “particular churches (31), fashioned after the model of the universal Church, in and from which churches comes into being the one and only Catholic

Church” (LG 23). This axiom is incompatible with the guiding image of a college that brings together, in the same way, bishops who are bishops only by ordination and those who preside over a church. Moreover, the idea that the bishops are all equal and interchangeable in the college of which the pope is the head has to be supplemented by the traditional perspective according to which the bishops have always assembled (metropolitan and patriarchal jurisdictions, of considerable weight in relation to simple dioceses) to take charge of the encounter of the gospel with each specific culture, thus giving rise to the providential multifariousness (LG 23) of regional Churches in matters of liturgy*, theology*, spirituality, and canon* law. In this respect, the link established by LG 23 between the reality of the patriarchates* and that of bishops’ conferences should still prove fruitful.

- Congar (Ed.) (1965), *La collégialité épiscopale: Histoire et théologie*, UnSa 52.
- J. Grootaers (1986), *Primauté et collégialité: Le dossier Gérard Philips sur la Nota Explicativa Praevia*, Louvain.
- H. Legrand, J. Manzanares, A. Garcia (Ed.) (1988), *Les Conférences épiscopales: Théologie, statut canonique, avenir*, CFi 149.
- H. Legrand (1991), “Collégialité des évêques et communion des Églises dans la réception de Vatican II,” *RSPTh* 75, 545–68.
- A. de Halleux (1993), “La collégialité dans l’Église ancienne,” *RTL* 24, 433–54.

HERVÉ LEGRAND

See also Apostolic Succession; Bishop; Communion; Jurisdiction; Local Church; Ordination/Order; Regional Church; Vatican II, Council of

Commandments. *See* Decalogue

Communion

It is not fortuitous that the ecumenical movement and the implementation of the major orientations of the Second Vatican* Council* have provoked new interest in what is known in the West as *communion* and in the East as *koinônia*. In fact these two traditional terms—which are not entirely synonymous—designate a range of realities that are closely related and are all at the heart of the Christian experience*: the new relationships that the Easter of Christ brings into being in a humanity “recapitulated” in *Christ*, the nature of the Church* of God*; the bond between the divine persons* in life the Trinity, and the *oikonomia*. But it is impossible to approach this subject without first having clarified the question of vocabulary. *Communio* and *koinônia* do not cover precisely the same range of meanings. In addition, the root *koinon* has no exact equivalent in Hebrew or Aramaic, and the biblical words translated by terms formed on its basis are many. Furthermore, they often have extremely varied uses (as in the case of *habûrah*).

I. The Terms and Their Origin

1. Communio-Communicatio

a) *Communio*. Contrary to belief and appearances, *communio* does not come from *cum* (with) and *unio*. It comes from *cum* and *munis*, an adjective derived from *munus* (office, duty) meaning “that fulfills its office.” Something is *com-munis* that “shares the office” and, in a derivative sense, what is “shared among all,” hence in common. This relationship of the term to the idea of a large number had the effect that sometimes it came to evoke banality, vulgarity, or even impurity*. In classical Latin the noun *communio* means sharing, shared ownership, common characteristics, and sometimes community (Ernout-Meillet 1951). It is a rather rare term, although it is used by Cicero.

In patristic Latin, when the term was applied to Church matters, this classical meaning took on particularly Christian overtones. These were derived from the fact that the community in question had its source in what God himself continually *communicates* to the Church (Word*, ministry*, sacraments*, the most important of which is the Eucharist*) and what believers are called on to *communicate* to one another, particu-

larly through mutual material assistance. There was *communio* in the goods *communicated* by God, and it embraced all the members of the body of Christ (see, e.g., Tertullian*, *De Virg. vel.* 2. PL 2. 891). In this communion, *societas*, *congregatio*, *fraternitas*, *concordia*, and *pax*, all fruits of the Eucharist, attained their fulfillment.

In the Latin Middle Ages the noun *communio* was used almost exclusively to designate the receiving of the Eucharist. The other elements of the communal experience of the Church were then evoked especially by the term *communicatio*.

b) *Communicatio*. Like the verb *communicare*, the noun *communicatio* comes from an adjective, *municus*, derived from *munis* (in the way that *civicus* is derived from *civis*). *Communicare* has several meanings, including “to tell” and “to share or participate.” The effect of this is *communio*. This is why the nouns *communicatio* and *communio* are close and sometimes used interchangeably, although they are not strictly synonymous.

The Christian Latin of the early centuries seems to have preferred *communicatio* to *communio*, probably because it added a dynamic element. It also evokes, at least implicitly, the active presence of Christ in his Holy* Spirit and the mutual dependence of the disciples. Christ is the *communicator* of salvation*, the Holy Spirit the *communicator* of the gifts of the Father* that give concrete form to that salvation in a *communio* of grace*; and in the community, each one is a *communicator* of the benefits of divine generosity. In prayer*, particularly in the synaxis of the Eucharist, Christians know that they are *communicantes* with all the saints throughout the ages (Roman canon). For typical uses of the vocabulary of *communicatio*, among countless examples, see especially, in addition to Tertullian (*De praescr.* 43. 5, PL 2. 58–59; *De virg. vel.* 2, PL 2. 891; *De pud.* 22. 2, PL 2), the Vulgate of Jerome (Acts 2:42; Rom 12:13; 1 Cor 10:16; 2 Cor 8:4, 9:13, 13:13; Gal 6:6; Eph 5:11; Phil 4:14–15; 1 Tm 5:22, 6:18; Phil 6; Heb 2:14; 1 Pt 4:13, 5:1; 2 Jn 11), which uses *communio* only once (Heb 13:16). The new edition of 1986, however, has frequently corrected the old editions by favoring the word *communio*. A glance at the *Tabula aurea* (by Peter of Bergamo) and the *Index*

thomisticus shows the frequent use by Thomas Aquinas of *communicatio* and *communicare*.

Antonyms to *altari communicare*, meaning “to take part together at the altar” where the sacrament of *communio* is celebrated, are the verb *ex-communicare* and the noun *excommunicatio*. To exclude from the (eucharistic) *communio* is above all to deprive one of the *communicatio* of those benefits of which the celebration of the Eucharist is the sacrament, particularly the fraternal *communicatio* that binds the community together. The sign of exclusion is precisely this barring from church life. Local councils wanted it to be radical (e.g., Toledo I in 400, can. 15, Mansi 3. 1000; Second Council of Arles in 443, can. 49, Mansi 7. 884, etc.). But from the 12th century a distinction was established between the *excommunicatio* that “*a communione fidelium separar*” (separates from the communion of the faithful) and the *excommunicatio* that simply deprives one of the sacramental *communicatio* (Decr. I. v. tit. 39. c. 49). The latter cuts one off from the *communicatio in sacris* (communion in the sacraments), but not necessarily from everything implied by the belonging to Christ for which the baptismal character remains the sign. In the wake of Vatican II we speak therefore of a *communicatio in spiritualibus* (spiritual communion, which in the Middle Ages was the equivalent of *communicatio in sacris*: see Thomas Aquinas, *ST* IIIa, suppl. q. 21, a. 4), which is the foundation of a true *communio etsi non perfecta* that remains (*UR* 3). It is on this imperfect *communio* of all the baptized, the source of which is the Holy Spirit who continually *communicates* the benefits of Christ even beyond the visible borders of that *communio*, that the Catholic Church has grafted its ecumenical commitment.

2. Koinônia

a) *From One Language to Another.* The passages of the Vulgate that we mentioned to show the New Testament basis of the Western theology* of *communicatio* and *communio* are passages in which the Greek terms translated come from the root *koinos* (*koinônia*, *koinônein*, *koinônos*, *koinônikos*). This root also has for its semantic field (in contrast to *idios*, what is particular to each one, private) ideas of common participation, association, and common sharing of a single reality. We are thus close to the Latin *communio*; in this case too there is a suggestion of the idea of vulgarity or impurity, even in the New Testament (Mk 7:2–5; Acts 10:14–15, 11:8f.; Rom 14:14; Rev 21:27). However, in biblical Latin, the Greek words formed on the basis of *koinos* are also translated by terms other than those derived from *munis* (or *munus*). These terms are principally *participatio* and *particeps* (1 Cor 9:23,

10:16, 18, 20; Rom 15:27; Rev 1:9; 18:4), *consors* (2 Pt 1:4), and *societas* and *socius* (Mt 23:30; Rom 11:17; 1 Cor 1:9; 2 Cor 1:7, 6:14, 8:23; Gal 2:9; Phil 1:7, 2:1, 3:10; Phlm 17; Heb 10:33; 1 Jn 1:3, 6, 7). On the other hand, the Latin term used to translate a word from the *koinos* group can also translate other Greek terms, such as *metokhos* and its cognates. Thus, *koinônia* is translated once as *communio*, eight times as *societas*, six times as *communicatio*, once as *collatio*, and once as *participatio*. But in 2 Corinthians 6:14, *participatio* also translates *metokhè*. It is clear, then, that *koinônia* and *communio* and *communicatio* are not entirely synonymous. Generally, *koinônia* emphasizes participation in a common reality, *communicatio* the dynamism of the gift, and *communio* the resulting situation. But the meanings are rarely very sharply distinguished.

In addition, in the Septuagint and the New Testament, the *koinos* group is used to define several Hebrew terms, although it is not the only way in which they are translated. In fact, the root *koinos* has no exact equivalent in Hebrew. In addition, some of its implications did not apply in Israel*. The closest root is *hbr*; but few (13) of its instances are translated by words from the *koinos* group. It is used to describe the unifying bond of the people* (as in Ez 37:16ff.) and avoiding evocation of community with YHWH, to condemn association with the pagan gods (Hos 4:17). The most important derivative of *hbr* for our purposes is *habûrah*. This refers, especially in Pharisee circles, to a community generally united around a teacher, in which the desire to follow the Law in a strict fashion creates particular bonds of fraternity and solidarity. The Qumran community, however, rarely used terms derived from *hbr* to express its ideal, which was also stamped by a radicalizing reading of the precept of love* of one's neighbor. Rather, it gave itself the name *yachad*, which emphasizes cohesion, unity, solidarity and which the Septuagint sometimes translates as *homothumadon* or *epi to auto* (which is found in Acts 1:14, 2:44ff.) (Fabry 1982). In the context of Hellenistic Judaism, Philo and Josephus used terms derived from *koinos*, particularly *koinônia*, to present the ideal and the way of life of the Essenes and the Therapeutics (e.g., *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, 80–84; *Spec. Leg.* I, 131–221). But this brought new overtones, inherited from Greek culture, to the Old Testament vision of the community. These then passed into Christian tradition, even as early as the New Testament.

b) *Koinônia in the Greek World.* In classical Greek, words derived from *koinos* were generally used to designate matters concerning various groupings or associations of citizens (e.g., state*, family*, sexual encounter, trade association, union with the gods). It

was always a matter of indicating a community that was created in virtue of its sharing in the same realities (*koina pasi panta*, said Pythagoras: Jamblique, *Vie de P.*, 30, 168), of participating together in a common good, and, as a corollary, to bring about that participation. Association and participation were inseparable in this context. Hence, *koinônia* was the form of life corresponding to the social nature of human beings. It reached its apex in friendship (*philia*): “Among friends, everything is in common.” Plato has no hesitation in associating the gods themselves with the perfect *koinônia* he aspires to (*Gorgias* 508 a). Aristotle gives a prominent place to the dimension of friendship that imbues any *koinônia* (*Nicomachean Ethics* VIII. 11. 1159; IX. 12. 1171). In the *Politics* he uses the word almost as a synonym of community (Gauthier-Jolif 1959). We should especially recall the ideal of the *adelphoi* assembled by Pythagoras of Samos (c. 580 B.C.): the certainty of belonging to the same God led them to mutual devotion concretized by the common ownership and sharing of goods that was emphasized in neo-Pythgoreanism. We might also point to the way in which the Stoics saw the human being as a *koinônikon zôon*, a communal being. It is certain that these ideals, particularly those of small groups or fraternities hungry for authentic *koinônia*, remained very much alive in those Greek cities where the gospel was proclaimed (Popkès 1976).

In the New Testament, terms derived from *koinos* are used rather infrequently. There are 73 occurrences, among which 19 are of *koinônia* (13 of these are in the Pauline corpus, where words derived from *koinos* appear 33 times). Again, they do not appear at all in Clement of Rome, only infrequently in the writings of the Apostolic* Fathers*, though more frequently in Justin. Thereafter their use burgeoned. Such terms sprang spontaneously from the pens of the Cappadocian Fathers, where they expressed various elements of church life, often in relation to the Eucharist (Lampe 1968). But here too, other Greek terms that had been Christianized expressed the same ecclesial reality, such as *ekklesia* and *sunagôgè*. The depth of fraternal *koinônia* is often expressed by *sumphonèsis*; by the verb *metekhein* (already in 1 Cor 10:17–21, in parallel with *koinônia*), which emphasizes participation; and by the nouns *metokhè*, *eirenè*, *agapè*, and generally by all expressions concerning unity (*sun-*), fraternity (*adelphotès*, already in 1 Pt 2:17, 5:9, which the Vulgate translates as *fraternitas*), unanimity (already in Phil 2:2), cohesion, association, and community. It is therefore clear that theological reflection cannot confine itself to a narrowly focused study of the uses of the term *koinônia* in the Scriptures*.

In the New Testament, the Greek term, which had a

multiplicity of meanings, came to indicate those values that, belonging to Christ, contributed to the life of the community. These values included participation of all in the same gift of God actualized by the body and blood of the Lord (1 Cor 10:16, 1:9), association with the life of God that this gift provides (2 Pt 1:4; 1 Jn 1:3; see 2 Cor 13:13), the resulting union with Christ (Phil 3:10; 1 Pt 4:13), consequent fraternal bonds (1 Jn 1:7; 1 Cor 10:18ff.; 2 Cor 1:7; 8:23; Gal 2:9; Phil 1:5ff.; Phlm 6:17), the form of community life that actualizes those bonds (Acts 2:42), the disinterested spirit of sharing (Rom 15:27; 2 Cor 9:13; Heb 13:16) manifested in material assistance to poor churches (2 Cor 8:4) and to the missionaries of the gospel (Gal 6:6; Phil 4:14), and association with the suffering and the promises of the gospel (Rom 11:17; 1 Cor 9:23; Heb 10:33). *Koinônia* is never given as a definition of the Church, but it is understood that everything expressed by the term or its cognates belongs to the essence of the Church. This is why—without it being burdened with overtones foreign to its use in Scripture—the term *koinônia* gradually came to be seen, along with *communio*, as the equivalent of a definition of the Church considered in its being of grace (that which the hierarchical ministry* is called on to serve). Bilateral ecumenical dialogues and the declaration of Faith and Constitution “received” at the Seventh Assembly of the COE (Canberra 1991) helped this development.

We will adhere to what is now the generally current usage and will avoid any distinction between *communio* (*communicatio*) and *koinônia*. We will therefore speak of *communio-koinônia*, presupposing all the nuances we have just presented.

II. Salvation of the Human Person in Communion

1. The Person

The Christian tradition asserts that the human beings are fulfilled and saved in *communio-koinônia*. It thus makes of *communio-koinônia*—with God and among human beings—the essence of salvation.

a) For the Scriptures, in fact, the human being is by nature a relational being, turned toward the other, because he has been created in the image and likeness of God. On the one hand, he has his being* only from God, in a constant relation of dependence on divine generosity, actualizing himself in an individual relationship as one who speaks with God or indeed as a responsible partner with him. The human being can exist only *from* God and *before* God. On the other hand, for the two traditions of the first chapters of Genesis, the

human being is created both as singular and plural: “in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them” (Gn 1:27); “It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him” (2:18). The woman* (*‘ishâh*) is for the man (*‘ish*) the equal that allows him to be himself, precisely through her difference. Each of them is thus created *toward the other* (2:18–24). Each fully possesses human nature. They exist as fully independent subjects, neither being a part of the other. But they are subjects open to the other, in a relationship that belongs to their nature. Hence, they are an “image of God” only in this mutual openness. Their identity is inseparable from the otherness that makes each of them fully a subject, either of whom may, however, attain realization without a communion of the *I* and a *you* in a *we*. They are persons in communion.

b) On this basis the Christian tradition established a distinction between individual and person that was deepened by its reflection on the mystery* of the divine Trinity*. There is a single human nature, but it exists only in a diversity of persons. Each person is unique, irreplaceable, not interchangeable. Each one is different, *hapax*. Now this otherness opens out onto communion. In Greek, “person” is *prosôpon*, a word made up of *pros* and a derivative of *ôps* (eye, look), hence “what is in front of the eyes of others,” as “the person opposite someone” (Chantraine 1974). The understanding implied here points to a recapitulation of the totality of human nature in a mode that, going beyond the various determinisms that human nature involves, renders it singular “in the eyes” of God and others, something that exists in freedom and otherness. The concept of the individual disregards the otherness of the concrete human being because it designates him as bearer of the objective properties of common human nature. It perceives him in his belonging to what is the lot of all human beings, the possession of what constitutes universal humanity, the definition of *homo*. The concept of person, on the other hand, distinguishes him by seeing him as an *I* set in a face-to-face encounter with other persons. To this encounter he brings that which he alone is, whatever makes him different from others. And it is precisely on the strength of this irreducible particularity that, far from blending into the identity of a common human nature, he can enter into a communion of giving and receiving. The person is revealed only in the operation of mutual relations and communion. As individual, the human being is defined by the integrity and perfection of nature in him; as person, he is defined by the singularity that allows him to go beyond himself in communion with others. When it came to an understanding of how God himself is a

communion of three persons, the tradition specified that every human being is an image of the creator God precisely because he is called on to realize himself by establishing with others a flourishing community on the basis of a single and indivisible human nature. In this he realizes his vocation (Lossky 1944). The person fulfills himself only in his relation with others by making his own originality and difference not the source of an asphyxiating self-enclosure but rather the source of a gift in which the very attributes of nature are directed toward communion.

2. The Restoration of Communio-Koinônia

For the Scriptures, the tragedy of humanity comes from the breaking of the communion with God and among human persons. Already in the Yahwist stratum of Genesis, after the break with God (3:6), the man dissociates himself from the woman (3:12). From Cain onward, the rest of history* is stamped by the transformation of what should be communion into rivalry. This is the origin of human misfortune. And the salvation offered by God has as its object the “recapitulation” (*anakephalaôsis*) of communion (Irenaeus*).

a) The Old Testament already points in this direction. The covenant (especially Hos 2:21f.; Is 54:1–17; Jer 31:2–34; Ez 16:59–63), illustrated by the relation of bride and bridegroom (Jer 2:2, 3:6–12), establishes between God and the people a bond of fidelity that is salvific for the people. But according to the law of the covenant, it is also necessary to restore fraternal bonds (see Lv 19:1–37; Dt 15:1–18), “you shall love your neighbor as yourself” (Lv 19:18). God wishes to reassemble (roots *hbr*; *koinos*) the people that has been split into two kingdoms (Ez 37:15–28; Mi 4:6; Is 43:5ff., 49:5, 56:8; etc.), and all the nations are drawn into this assembly (Is 2:2; Ps 87; etc.). Thus, the promise to Abraham—that all nations would be blessed in him (Gn 12:1–3, 17:4–8, etc.)—will be fulfilled in a communion according to the grace that is his as father of the faith*.

b) For John the Baptist the moral ideal that goes inseparably with conversion* is essentially marked by a relation to one’s neighbor and to the community (Lk 3:10f.), in a way that radicalizes the Torah. Christ deepens this message not only in the encounter with a rich man (Lk 18:18–30; Mt 19:16–30; Mk 10:17–31) but also in the totality of his words and signs. He desires to transform human relations by giving them a communitarian meaning of sharing and of attentiveness to the needs of others. This is what the Kingdom* requires. Alms and concern for little children and the suffering belong to the Good News. The dual com-

mandment to love God and one's neighbor here reveals its deepest meaning (Mt 22:36–40; Mk 12:28–34; Lk 10:25–28). It implies a challenge to any rigid separation between the just and sinners (Lk 15:1f.; Mt 9:11, 11:19; Mk 2:16; Lk 5:30, 7:34, 19:7), Jews and Gentiles (Lk 10:29–37; Mt 15:21–28). Although Jesus* states that he was sent only to the lost sheep of Israel (Mt 15:24) and before his resurrection* sends his disciples only to the Jews (Mt 10:5f.), the gathering of all humanity is proclaimed in the eschatological promise of a feast to be shared with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Mt 8:11). Jesus' commissioning of the disciples in Matthew 28:16–19 (*see also* 24:14) strikes a corresponding note. Never evoked explicitly, *communio-koinônia* does nevertheless find expression through the ministry of Jesus.

c) The Letter to the Hebrews understands the coming of the Son of God in human flesh as a *communio-koinônia*: “Since therefore the children share in flesh and blood, he himself likewise partook of the same things.... Therefore he had to be made like his brothers in every respect” (Heb 2:14–17). The reality of what the tradition calls “incarnation*” comes from the realism of this *communio-koinônia*, which makes Christians in turn “sharers” (*metokhoi*) in that which is Christ (3:14). This unites them among themselves and commits them to the *koinônia* of sharing. The mutual communion implied by the Incarnation is expressed here more explicitly than in Romans 1:3, Galatians 4:4, Philippians 2:7, 1 John 4:2, and even John 1:14. On this Son-humanity *communio-koinônia*, in our view, is grafted the *communio-koinônia* humanity-Christ. Paul sees it above all as the participation of adopted children in the inheritance of the Son (Rom 8:17; Gal 4:4–7) and in his glory* (Rom 8:17; 2 Cor 4:14–17) but also as *koinônia* in his suffering (Phil 3:10; Rom 8:17). There, everything is lived with him (*sun-*) in the Holy Spirit. The Johannine* tradition emphasizes this association differently but just as strongly (Jn 12:26, 14:3, 17:24). The church fathers (e.g., Athanasius*, *Incar.* 5. 11. 54) say that the *koinônia* of the Son and humanity is so deep and intimate that the knowledge* of God and even incorruptibility become possessions of a divinized humanity. The communion that is the Incarnation governs the divine purpose.

d) Without using the word *koinônia* in this context, the Pauline corpus (Rom 10:12; 1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28; Col 3:11) sees realized *en Christô* and *en pneumatî* the coming together of all human, religious, and social categories. But Paul (1 Cor 12:12–31) inserts that unity into the operation of mutual relations by which the body of Christ, the Church, lives (1 Cor 12:27f.). The

author of Ephesians (who uses a verb derived from *koinos* only at 5:4) explicitly links the unity of reconciliation brought about by the cross (2:13–17) and the new relations between Jews and Gentiles that follow: near-far (2:13), division-peace* (2:14f.), enmity-union in a single spirit (2:11–18), foreigner-fellow citizen (2:19). He regards this as the state of salvation (2:4–10), called on to blossom into a new life in which mutual relations are transformed into the single body of reconciliation (1:23, 4:16, 5:30), the single temple constructed by all, the single family of God (2:19, 3:6). Salvation comes through communion.

The Gospel* of John, which also presents the cross as the event that brings together (*sun-agô*) in unity the dispersed children of God (Jn 11:52), is fond of images that evoke the unity of communion, for example, the one flock (led by a single shepherd; 10:11–18), but especially the vine that is Christ (15:1–17). Individuals remain as living branches of this vine only by persevering in a mutual love that leads them to give themselves up (*tithêmi*) for others (15:13; *see* 10:15, 17:18, 13:37f.). The title of disciple requires mutual love (13:34f.) and the unity that is inseparable from it (17:20–26, where *agapè* and unity are woven together). Even though the word *koinônia* is not used, we are here at the heart of the communion with the Father that the eating of the bread of life (which signifies both faith and the body and blood of Christ; 6:47f., 53–56, 63) makes possible and maintains. For their dwelling (*menein en*) in Christ associates the disciples with his dwelling in the Father (14:20, 17:21). That dwelling then includes them in the mutual relations between Father and Son. They do not thereby lose their personal identity. Just as the Son is not dissolved in the Father but faces him as a free subject of action and of life, so the disciples are not dissolved in the Son but remain free subjects. In fact, they become not Sons (*huios*) but children of God (*tekna theou*; 1:12, 11:52), associated as such in intradivine relations. They are not understood as children of God in a purely individualized and isolated way but in virtue of their reality and being as a group (17:1–26; *see* 10:14, 26–30, 15:15). This is the source of their mutual love.

e) The first letter of John explicitly defines in terms of *koinônia* (without saying that it is a question of the Church) this dual relation of which the knot is Christ, with his blood: “so that you too may have fellowship (*koinônia*) with us; and indeed our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ” (1 Jn 1:3); “If we say we have fellowship with him while we walk in darkness, we lie and do not practice the truth; but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship with one another, and the blood of Jesus his Son

cleanses us from all sin” (1 Jn 1:6–7). Note the place of the Father and the expression “to have fellowship” (*koinônia*).

The author dwells on the demands of a fraternal *koinônia* (2:10, 3:10–20, 4:11ff.) to the extent of sharing (3:17). In this is actualized the surrender of oneself (3:16), inspired by the action of the Son and the Father (4:9ff.), who dwell in the disciples (3:24, 4:12–16) through their anointing by the Holy Spirit (2:20, 27, 3:24, 4:13), and in whom those who have true knowledge dwell (2:24–27, 3:24, 4:16, 5:20). Christian life is life in communion.

In a more static perspective, 2 Peter says that the vocation of Christians is to be *koinônoi* of the divine nature (*physis*). For that purpose they are called to fraternal friendship and the *agape* (2 Pt 1:4, 7) while waiting for the Day of the Lord (3:1–13).

Patristic thought, followed Western medieval theology, established the doctrine of grace primarily on the affirmations of the Johannine tradition and of 2 Peter, correlated with passages from Paul. Despite different perspectives, Greeks and Latins conceived of it as the gift that leads one into the entirely free *communio-koinônia* of God and his image. The East spoke primarily of divinization, the West of invisible mission, divine indwelling, the supernatural; the East of uncreated grace (the divine energies), the West of created grace. For all, grace was the work of the Holy Spirit as *communicator*: Thomas* Aquinas (*ST* Ia, IIae, q. 112, a. 1) defines it as the *communicatio* of a communion with the divine nature through assimilative participation.

III. The Divine Communio-Koinônia Trinity of Persons

1. From Oikonomia to the Trinity (Theologia)

a) It was on the basis of the divinization of believers that Athanasius, Basil*, and the Cappadocians, as well as Didymus, after having defended the divinity of the Son and then of the Holy Spirit, developed a theology of the Trinity*. In the West, Augustine* echoed them but in a different perspective. Although Scripture never states that God is *communio-koinônia* of three persons, the Johannine tradition (Jn 14:16, 16:7–15), Matthew 28:19, and particularly 2 Corinthians 13:14 (“The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship [*koinônia*] of the Holy Spirit be with you all”) encouraged a conception of the divine mystery that saw it as the *communio-koinônia* that was the origin and model of any human communion. For example, Basil (*Letter* 38, PG 32, 332a–333): “a united differentiation, a differentiated unity,” “a kind

of continual and indivisible *koinônia*.” The being of God is *koinônia*. This is so both *in se* and in his activity *pro nobis* (*oikonomia*).

b) For the East, everything in God is relational. There is not first a Father, then a Son who would then enter into relations with one another. They are Father and Son through the relation that makes one of them Father and the other Son. The single divine nature exists only in the communion that comes from the fact that the Father causes to be born from him a Son who is as much God as He is and a Holy Spirit who is as much God as He. And yet the Son and the Holy Spirit possess the entire divine nature in a unique manner that the Father could not possibly imitate without destroying himself as Father and source of Trinitarian life. The eternal generosity of the Father comes from the fact that there originate in him not copies of himself but “others than himself,” without whom he would not be. There is no more a Father without a Son than a Son without a Father. Each divine person exists only in the relation of *koinônia* with the other who gives him being. Each is neither more nor less God than the two others. They are the one God in the *koinônia* of relations that distinguishes them.

In the West the Eleventh Council of Toledo (675) declared, “What the Father is, he is for the Son, not for himself. What the Son is, he is for the Father, not for himself” (*DS* 528). The eternal act of granting to the Son everything that he is, not *a same being* as his but his *being itself*, makes the Father the Father. God is the *koinônia* of three relational beings each one of whom exists only in relation to the others. The West, which, following Augustine, emphasized above all the unity of *ousia*—whereas the East emphasized the *hypostases*—speaks in this context of subsisting relations (Thomas Aquinas, *ST* Ia, q. 29, a. 4), but it is still a matter of communion, considered here on the basis of a single nature. Neither three gods nor three modes of a single person, God is *communio-koinônia* of three persons who are one God indivisible in his unity.

2. From Trinitarian Communion to Oikonomia

a) Enlightened by this Trinitarian doctrine revealed to it by *oikonomia*, the tradition reread the latter with new eyes. It understood why in the New Testament none of the three divine persons bears witness of himself: the Father bears witness of the Son (Mt 3:17; 17:5), the Son of the Father (Jn 4:34, 5:30, 6:38, etc.), the Holy Spirit of the Father and of the Son (Jn 14:26, 15:26). The ministry of Jesus is enveloped by this *perikhôrêsis* (circumcession*) of mutual relations. We can also understand why one cannot enter into the

communion of Christ without participating in the Trinitarian communion of the Son and God's communion with human distress.

b) In this light we can look again at the creation "in the image and likeness of God." Because God is "persons in communion," the human person cannot be perceived otherwise than in a relation of *communio-koinônia* with God, with the other, with others, a relation that is directed toward those others who are in turn directed toward him. Through this reciprocity, he participates, in his very being, in the personal life of the creative Trinity. His need of others is therefore not a lack but a dignity that finds its source in participation in the being of the Triune God. His communion with the "wicked" (2 Cor 6:14), for that reason, wounds him in himself.

IV. The Church of God Is a *Communio-Koinônia*

Although Scripture never makes *communio-koinônia* the definition of the Church, it is nevertheless in the Church of God, as Scripture reveals it, that is brought together everything it says of *communio-koinônia*, including the relations among Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Augustine (*Homilies on the Gospel of John*, tract. 14. 9, 18. 4, 39. 5; *Sermon* 47.21 and *Guelf.* 11. 5,6; *De symb. ad cat.* 2. 4; *Ep* 170. 5, 238. 2, 13. 16; *Coll. cum Maxim.* 12) has no hesitation in making the Pentecostal community of Acts into an image of the Trinitarian communion (Berrouard 1987). The totality of church traditions affirms that the unity accomplished by the Word, the bread, and the cup of the Eucharist is the ecclesial *communio-koinônia* (Tillard 1992). The patristic tradition recognizes that the fabric of the Church is made of the bonds of communion rooted in the fraternity of the body of Christ. The church fathers teach unanimously that the communion of sharing with communities in need is a concrete form of the *agape* that is the life of the Church. The oldest canon law rules on sharing among Churches and particularly between preachers and communities. Finally, the right hand of *koinônia* that Cephas (Peter*), James, and John extend to Paul and Barnabas is understood as a sign of the real communion of all local* churches in the diversity of their practices. *Communio-koinônia* is not absent from any of the elements that make up the Church.

- 1) The idealized description of the primitive community of the Acts of the Apostles (2:42–47, 4:32–35, 5:12ff.) shows a fraternity conceived in the fire of the Holy Spirit (Dujarier 1991) based

on the hearing of the apostolic word, *koinônia* (2:42); the breaking of bread, prayer, and common property (*apanta koina*; 2:44, 4:32); and the sharing of possessions. The tradition reads this as the self-description of the emerging Church, which was not yet organized. There are questions about the meaning of *koinônia* (Dupont 1972; Panikulam 1979). Everything encourages us to recognize it as the specific form of friendship provoked by shared faith, which makes of all "one heart and soul*" (Acts 4:32) in solidarity (*homothumadon*; 2:46, 5:12) and equality (*epi te auto*; 2:44, 47). This primitive community is indeed the initial cell of the Church.

- 2) For 1 Corinthians (10:16–22), the bread and wine of the table of the Lord are *koinônia* with the body and blood of Christ. By sharing this one bread (*metekhōme*; 10:17), all become a single body (10:17) of which it is said (12:12–31) that it is the Church. This common participation (*metekhēin*; 10:21) makes Christians *koinōnoi* (10:18, 20) of the Lord, who creates their unity. It is not said that only participation in the Lord's Supper makes the Church since (1 Cor 12:12f.; Eph 4:5) Paul attributes this function also to Baptism and the New Testament as a whole to the Word*. Nevertheless, *koinônia* with Christ (1 Cor 1:9) takes on reality here because there is a common sharing of his body and blood. The church fathers (especially John Chrysostom*, Cyril* of Alexandria, and Augustine) say that the ecclesial body of Christ (*Christus totus*) comes from the seizure of all its diverse members by the power of the body of reconciliation, the "pneumatic" body of the Risen One received in the Eucharist, which has been the same on every altar ever since the first Easter (Tillard 1992). The Church manifests itself in its full truth as body of Christ only in the Eucharist.
- 3) According to 1 Corinthians 12:25ff., among the members of the ecclesial body there must be no division (*skhisma*) but rather mutual concern (*merimna*). This is the case first of all within each local church. There one "has *koinônia*" in faith and mission* (2 Cor 8:23; Phil 1:5; Phlm 6:17; Ti 1:4), in suffering (2 Cor 1:7; Phil 4:14ff.), and in hope* (1 Cor 9:23). There we live as members of the body by being *sug-koinōnoi* (Phil 1:7). This requires mutual aid to the extent of the *koinônia* of sharing (Rom 12:13; Gal 6:6; Heb 13:16), with all the enthusiasm of the community of Pentecost. But this sharing also extends to Christians of other churches. Paul relies on the *koinônia* of spiritual

and material goods (Rom 15:26f.) to promote collections for the poor of Jerusalem (2 Cor 8:4, 9:13). Ecclesial communion concerns the human being in solidarity called for by the very nature of the person who is saved *en Christô*.

- 4) The diversity of local Churches and their particular ways of living the one faith cannot call into question their mutual communion. The right hand of *koinônia* that, after a sharp conflict, the “pillars” of the Church of Jerusalem* extended to Paul and Barnabas (Gal 2:9) is seen as the sign of that catholic *koinônia* in the same gospel, the same faith, and the same ministry for the same mission, in a multiplicity of customs and traditions. This places the emphasis on the truth* of the gospel as the bond of *koinônia* (2:5–14), not on the fabric of fraternity or legal requirements (Reumann 1994).

Beyond mutual material aid, bonds of fraternity are tied among local Churches since they “recognize” in one another the same faith, the same hope, the same baptism—and soon the same ministry and the same Eucharist. They are sister churches (2 Jn 13), *communing* in the same divine choice (2 Jn 13; 1 Pt 5:13f.). Tertullian, enumerating goods possessed in common, concludes, “We are a single Church, everything that belongs to one of us is ours” (*De Virg. vel. 2*, 2 PL 2. 891). Around 1150, Anselm of Havelberg, relating his discussions with Archbishop Nicetas of Nicomedia (PL 188, esp. 1217–20), testifies to the importance of the theology* of sister churches for the East (Congar 1982). The Church is a communion of local churches, themselves grouped into patriarchates of equal apostolic roots and equal dignity, for which the Roman Church is neither the mother nor the *magistra* but the elder sister and the “president” (PL 188. 1217). After Vatican* I the decree of Vatican II on ecumenism*, and the dialogue between Paul VI and the Patriarch Athenagoras, the expression has resumed its place in Catholic ecclesiology* (*UR* 1 4; *Tomos Agapès* 388–91; *DC* 87, 1990. 951–52; 88, 1991. 689–90; 91, 1994. 1069–70). Within this communion the function of the first-founded see and its bishop* is above all to “watch” over the communion while respecting the dignity and responsibility of sister churches. This role has been challenged since the schisms of the Reformation, but the Orthodox churches do not deny it.

- 5) The Apostles’ Creed includes among the truths of faith the “communion of saints.” The expression comes neither from the New Testament

nor from the ancient creeds. The Nicene-Constantinople Creed does not mention it, nor do Eastern creeds. It is found in Jerome, in a rescript of Theodosius of 388 (uncertain meaning), in a mutilated text of the *Acts* of a council of Nîmes of 394, and in the Latin translation of a letter of Theophilus of Antioch of 401, the Greek original of which is lost. The *Credo* of Nicetas of Remesiana (between 381 and 408) is the first solid evidence of it and provides the earliest commentary. Nicetas (a friend of Paulinus of Nola) seems to have taken it from southern Gaul, where creeds proliferated. He understands it as the “communion of believers (*sancti*) with one another.” Others (Faustus of Rieti, c. 452, pseudo-Augustinian sermon 242) think only of a communion with martyrs and saints or with the departed faithful (Badcock 1920; Benko 1964). But it might mean, in the Apostles’ Creed, communion with holy (*sancta*) things, hence the Eucharist and probably Baptism, explaining its place between the Church and the remission of sins for resurrection and eternal life*. It would thus correspond in the Latin Credo to the mention of Baptism in the Eastern creeds.

It is clear that the living faith has gradually brought the two meanings together (Tillard 1965). They actually suggest one another, for one is *sanctus* in the communion of the faithful and by communion with holy things. The richest vision is perhaps that of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the East: “Since by a new birth they have become perfect in a single body, they are now also strengthened as in a single body by communion with the body of the Lord; and, in concord, peace, and the devotion to good, they all come to be one. . . . Thus we will unite in communion with the holy mysteries, and by that communion we will be joined to our head, Christ our Lord, of whom we believe we are the body and through whom we attain communion with the divine nature” (*Hom. cat.* 16. 13, ed. Tonneau-Devreesse, 555).

- 6) This passage appears to be the very definition of the Church in its being of grace. The Church is communion with the Father, flowering in fraternal communion, communicated in Baptism, and especially in the Eucharist, by the Holy Spirit of the one who, having fully communed with our humanity in his Incarnation, has been raised to bring us into communion with his Trinitarian life.

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See also Anthropology; Baptism; Being; Christ/Christology; Circumcision; Holiness; Love; Person; Trinity; Unity of the Church

Conceptualism. *See* Nominalism

Conciliarism

a) Conciliarism, also known as conciliary theory, is a doctrine that places the general council* above the pope* and accords it supreme power in the Church*: the power to determine the principles of faith* and to maintain unity*. The answer that it contributes in the debate about the nature of supreme power and the

place in which that power is found is the product of a reflection on the Church, its nature, and the presence of the Holy* Spirit. This is why conciliarism is not primarily a political doctrine but belongs to the history* of theology*. Although there are points of convergence among different conciliary theories, there is no

common doctrine, and the theory varies from one theoretician to another. The 15th century is considered the century of conciliarism, by reason of the decrees passed at the Council of Constance* to put an end to the division of the Church and of the radicalization of conciliary ideas that took place at the Council of Basel*. Religious Gallicanism* is considered to be a French form of conciliarism.

b) All the forms of conciliarism in the 15th century were consequences of the pontifical schism* (1378–1418). They extended and radicalized what Conrad Gelnhausen and Henry of Langenstein had timidly proposed, restoring unity to the Church by convoking a general council (*via concilii*). The sources of conciliarism are, however, much older. In addition to the recognized authority of the ecumenical councils of the early Church, we must mention, on the one hand, legal and theological documents and, on the other, practices peculiar to the medieval Church, such as the deposition of the pope and the possibility of appealing to the future general council against a pope's decision. We can cite as examples of the latter, Philippe IV the Beautiful's appeal against Boniface VIII, and the appeal of Louis of Bavaria, together with the Franciscans around him, against John XXII. Renewed at Constance on the closing day of the council, this particular practice ran into strong opposition from Martin V.

Of primary importance among the legal sources are the decree of Gratian (D. 40 c. 6) and the various commentaries on it, among which is that of Huguccio (†1210), as well as various glosses. These 12th-century documents pose the question of power in the Church and the limits of that power and the possibility of judging and deposing the pope, among others. Jurists of the time generally accepted the possibility of trying the pope for the crime of heresy*, whether open or private, without having beforehand determined who would be the judge. They established rules that would be an invaluable help to the conciliarists of Constance. For example, they determined that, "where faith is in question, the synod* is greater than the Pope" (*Ubi de fide agitur... tunc synodus est maior papa*) and that "what is of concern to everyone should be discussed by everyone" (*Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus iudicatur*). In the period of the quarrel over Boniface, various jurists and theologians repeated and reinforced the same ideas: among these, for example, were Guillaume Durand the Younger (†1331), author of the treatise *De modo concilii generalis celebrandi*, and the Dominican Jean of Paris (†1306), author of *De potestate regia et papali*. The latter argued, among other things, that the pope had limited power since full power resided in the Church as a whole; that the coun-

cil could try and depose the pope in the case of heresy, scandal, or incompetence; and that both his authority and his primacy were conferred on him by the Church. The treatise of Jean of Paris is the direct though unacknowledged source for Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, who both participated in the work of Constance, as well as for Jacques of Heaven (of Jüterborg), who was present at Basel, and for many others. In the late 14th and early 15th centuries it was generally accepted that Christ* alone was the head of the Church, that the pope held power in the Church because the Church granted it to him, that without the Church the pope was nothing, and that the Church could try and depose him for acts of heresy, simony, and other serious crimes. These were the principal points of ecclesiology* that Matthew of Krakow, for example, set out in his *De praxi Romanae curiae*, one of the sources for the conciliarism of Thierry de Niem.

The influential role played by Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham in the development of conciliary doctrines is well known. However, the conciliarists belonging to the period before the Council of Pisa (1409)—that is, Conrad Gelnhausen, Henry of Langenstein, Pierre d'Ailly, and Matthew of Krakow—seem to have been unaware of Marsilius. After Pisa and before the Council of Basel, only Thierry de Niem made extensive use of *Defensor pacis*. The opinions of these early conciliarists owed much more to William of Ockham, although he never attributed a significant role to the general council and never accepted its infallibility. (William did, however, frequently stress the superiority of the Church over the pope.) In the early 15th century William's *Dialogue* influenced both Francesco Zabarella in Italy and a group of Parisian theologians: Pierre d'Ailly, Gerson, and Jean de Courtecuisse.

c) At the opening of the Council of Constance, the principal conciliarists—Gerson, d'Ailly, Zabarella, and Niem—jointly affirmed that the promise of infallibility* and indefectibility* had been made to the whole Church and not to any individual person. As a consequence it was the Church that was the supreme body and the locus of power. So while they accepted the primacy of the pope, the conciliarists did not see him as the head of the Church. They reserved this title for Christ alone. They envisaged the pope as a constitutional monarch or prime minister, subject to the power of the council and removable. Since he was neither faultless nor infallible, the pope could be tried, deposed, and replaced. The argument, which came from Zabarella, that made the general council the representation of the universal Church (*universalis ecclesia, id est concilium*) was fundamentally important in this al-

ready structured set of doctrines. In fact it legitimated a displacement of the center of interest from the Church to the council.

The decree *Haec sancta synodus* of 6 April 1415, accepted by the Council of Constance shortly after the flight of the anti-Pope John XXIII, is the most important of the “conciliarist decrees.” In its preamble and first paragraph the council asserted its legitimacy and defined its three goals: eradication of the schism, union, and reform of the Church. Legitimately reunited, it defined itself as a general council. As such, it claimed to represent the universal Church, to derive its power directly from Christ, and to require obedience from any person, including the pope, in matters concerning faith and union (Mansi 27 590 D). On 9 October 1417, shortly before the election of Martin V and not unrelated to that election, the council adopted the decree *Frequens* (Mansi 27 1159 BE) in order to organize the convocation of future councils. By virtue of this decree, Martin V first convened the Council of Siena (1423) and then the Council of Basel (1431–49), which was dissolved by Eugene IV in the very year that it opened. The policies of Eugene on the one hand and the attachment of the Fathers of Basel to the spirit of Constance on the other at first led the Council of Basel to forbid both the dissolution of the council and its transfer to another location (decree *Cogitanti*; Mansi 29 24 D-26 A)—after Eugene IV had ordered the transfer of the council to Ferrara—to try the pope, to remove him, and to replace him with Amédée VIII, duke of Savoy, who took the name Felix V. It was, therefore, in the circumstances of a struggle against the pope that the council claimed its own infallibility. And having become an instrument of battle, the conciliarism of the Basel gathering provoked a new division of the Church and a new pontifical schism. After the experience of Basel, the papacy, followed by many theologians, would always engage itself more openly on the quest for pontifical monarchy.

d) The effects of the sudden radicalization that conciliarism underwent in Basel show, on a practical level, that no balance of power between the pope and the council was established there and that no rule was decreed either on the government* of the Church between two councils or on its government in the case of a vacancy in the Seat of Peter. On the theoretical level,

they show that there was at the time no common conciliary theology. The numerous ecclesiological treatises of the time that expound conciliary ideas express only the opinions of individual theologians, and the reconstruction of a common fund of opinions and arguments is the work of historians. And even these are not agreed on the character and value of the principal documents passed at Constance and Basel. The most controversial is the decree *Haec sancta*. Some grant this the dogmatic weight of an article of faith recognized de facto by the two councils, by Martin V, by Eugene IV (at first), and by the principal theologians of the 15th century. Others, however, emphasize that it was only because of specific historical circumstances that brought the council to decree its superiority over the pope, in order to put an end to the schism. It was thus an urgent measure provoked by the flight of John XXIII and a decision with only a limited scope, which the Council of Basel nevertheless worked very hard to change into a dogma* (Mansi 29 187).

- The main sources comprise the texts of the councils of Constance and Basel: see Mansi 27–29, Venice, 1784.
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See also Authority; Basel-Ferrara-Florence, Council of; Constance, Council of; Council; Gallicanism; Indefectibility of the Church; Infallibility; Pope; Structures, Ecclesial

Condonation. *See* **Indulgences**

Confession. *See* **Penance**

Confirmation

1. The First Four Centuries

The relationships between baptism* and confirmation have been very frequently discussed, particularly by Anglican theologians since the 19th century. In the line of A.J. Mason, Dom Gr. Dix (1946) minimized the importance of baptism in favor of the gift of the Holy* Spirit received at confirmation. In reaction, G. Lampe (1951) stressed the gift of the Holy Spirit accomplished at baptism. These debates can now be overcome on the condition of recognizing the existence, from the New Testament on, of different traditions and diverse emphases placed on the rites of Christian initiation carried out in the course of a single celebration. It is essential to take this ritual unity into account in order to understand the sacramental life of the early centuries, which had no technical term to designate the postbaptismal rites or what we now call confirmation—*baptism* at the time designated the process as a whole and thus had a broader meaning than it does today.

The difficulty of articulating the function of water and the role of the Holy Spirit appeared in the New Testament itself. There is often an opposition between the baptism with water of John the Baptist and the baptism with the Holy Spirit of Jesus* (Mt 3:11 and parallel passages; Acts 1:5, 11:16, 19:1–7). Sometimes the gift of the Holy Spirit precedes and leads to baptism (Acts 10:44–48). Most frequently, water and the Holy Spirit are mentioned together in succession (Acts 2:38; Jn 3:5; 1 Jn 5:6ff.). The Pauline writings several times

omit mention of the Holy Spirit (Rom 6:3–11; Gal 3:26ff.; Col 3:9ff.) and sometimes of Christ* (1 Cor 12:13).

This diversity continued in the ancient Church*, where three traditions* can be distinguished. The tradition of Antioch (*Acts of Thomas, Baptismal Catecheses* by John Chrysostom*) had only an anointment with *muron* (holy* oils) on the forehead, the *sphragis* (“seal”), then three immersions, and the Eucharist*. In Jerusalem* (*Mystagogic catecheses* by Cyril), the three immersions were followed by the anointment with *muron*, to which was attributed the gift of the Holy Spirit, and by the Eucharist. The West had prebaptismal rites (exorcisms*), followed by three immersions and postbaptismal rites for the gift of the Holy Spirit, carried out by the bishop*: the laying* on of hands, anointment, and sometimes the sign of the cross; everything came to a conclusion with the Eucharist. Thus, the gift of the Holy Spirit, always considered in the initiation* as a whole, was sometimes attributed to prebaptismal rites, sometimes to postbaptismal rites. The East gave a privileged place to anointment (which the New Testament seems to conceive of as a literary symbol), and the blessing* of the oil by the bishop (later by the patriarch) assumed major importance there. The East also had laying on of hands. Under the influence of the pneumatological discussions of the late fourth century (Council of Constantinople*, 381), of the greater importance accorded to the

Paulinian corpus (particularly Rom 6), and also probably of the reconciliation of heretics carried out by rites similar to postbaptismal rites (B. Botte; see Saint-Palais d'Aussac 1943), in the late fourth century, the East adopted postbaptismal anointment with pneumatological implications. The three rituals preserved in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (III. 16; VII. 22; VII. 39) give evidence of these modifications.

We can thus observe in Christian antiquity that initiation was accomplished through a variety of rites but in the unity of a single celebration. This diversified unity is attested in the West in both liturgical practice and theological reflection. The *Apostolic Tradition* (Rome, early third century) describes catechumenate and initiation in the framework of a vigil (probably at Easter); baptism took place in a baptistry and concluded with a christological anointment done by a presbyter*; the baptized then went into the church, where the bishop gave them a Trinitarian anointment, a pneumatological laying on of hands, and the sign of the cross. Also, speaking of Novatian—the validity of whose ordinations he questioned—Pope* Cornelius wrote to Fabius of Antioch (251), “However, after having escaped from illness, he did not even obtain the others (ceremonies; *ton loipôn*), in which it is necessary to participate according to the rule of the Church, and he did not receive the seal (*sphragisthênai*) of the bishop; not having obtained all that, how could he have obtained the Holy Spirit?” (Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE* VI. 43. 15; SC 41.157).

For his part, Cyprian* wrote that Christians are born from either sacrament* (*sacramento utroque nascantur*: *Ep.* 72. I. 2 and 73. XXI. 3); in each case he relied on John 3:5 and thus was most probably thinking of water and the Holy Spirit. And even if these passages are not to be interpreted in the (posterior) framework of doctrine of a sacramental septenary, they evidence an awareness in the West that the Holy Spirit is given most especially to Christians, in the course of their initiation, by postbaptismal rites carried out by the bishop.

In the late fourth century (baptism* II, 1 end), the increase in the number of Christians gave rise to different practices. The East favored the unity of initiation, for which the presbyter became the usual minister; the relationship to the bishop was maintained by the use of oil that he had blessed (Spain also had this discipline for a time). The West permitted presbyters to celebrate baptism and the Eucharist, but confirmation retained its link with the bishop. This Western discipline was established by the time of Innocent I, who in his letter to Decentius, bishop of Gubbio, in 416 recognized that presbyters had the right to baptize, but bishops alone could confirm (“record”). “From the point of view of

the history* of the liturgy*, this is the origin of confirmation or, more precisely, the framework in which confirmation came to be understood as a particular sacrament” (Kretschmar 1983).

2. The Middle Ages

a) Terminology. The vocabulary of *confirmatio*, to designate the intervention of the bishop after the rite of water, appeared in Gaul in the mid-fifth century; the first mention is found in canons 3 and 4 of the Council of Riez (439; CChr.SL 148, 67). “The terms *perficere*, *perfectio*, *confirmare*, *confirmatio* express the conviction that the rite of confirmation adds to baptism a kind of perfection. . . . All that the word expresses is the feeling that confirmation is a complement to baptism” (Botte 1958; see Fischer 1965). The relationship to the eucharistic meaning of *confirmare* is eloquent (De Clerck 1986). From there, the terms passed into liturgical books from the eighth century on.

b) Growing Dissociation of Baptism from Confirmation. The new situation created in late antiquity was well expressed in the Pentecost homily delivered by a bishop in southern Gaul, probably Faustus of Riez (formerly attributed to Gallican Eusebius [between 460 and 470], CChr.SL 101, 331–41; see Van Buchem 1967). He presents the question in these terms to his listeners: “After the mystery* of baptism, what good can be done for me by the ministry* of the one who is going to confirm me?” His answer relies on a military comparison: the soldier, after having enlisted in the army, has to be armed for combat. Hence, “The Holy Spirit . . . in baptism gives fully as to innocence, and at confirmation grants an increase as to grace* (*augmentum . . . ad gratiam*). . . . In baptism we are washed, after baptism we are strengthened” (Van Buchem 1967). This homily points then in the direction of a theological justification for the recently established practice; it tends to recognize the distinction between baptism and confirmation by attributing specific effects to them. It had unexpected success in history since the False Decretals of the ninth century attributed it to a fourth-century pope (Melchiades or Miltiades; PL 130. 240–41); it later passed into the *Decretal* of Gratian (III. V. 1–2; Friedberg I, 1413). The Scholastic* theologians accepted it as a papal authority* of the fourth century. During the High Middle Ages, in episcopal cities, Christian initiation continued to be celebrated by the bishop at Easter; confirmation often took place a week later (R. Maur, *De clericorum institutione* II. 39, PL 107. 353). In rural areas, the priest baptized and gave the Eucharist (in the species of wine); the relationship to Easter gave way to a relationship to birth. It

was stressed that parents should not fail to present their child to the bishop for confirmation on his next visit, if it were to take place. The ritual of confirmation was barely developed; there was no pastoral role (Gy 1959). At the time there was no attempt to justify the delay in confirmation; one has the feeling that what began as an exception had slowly become the rule. For example, Alcuin, a great scholar educated by the reading of the fathers* of the church, listed the sacraments blithely in the order baptism, Eucharist, and confirmation (*Ep.* 134 and 137; PL 101. 613–14; MGH. *Ep.* 4. 202 and 211).

In the 12th century, the practice of baptism *quam primum* had been established; confirmation took place during the bishop's visit, and the Eucharist was delayed until the Age of Reason. We thus find again the sequence of Christian antiquity, but the rites, considered as three of the sacraments of the septenary (1150), had become autonomous. It was on these grounds that Scholastic theologians were to create the theology* of confirmation. With formulations that go back to Faustus (*augmentum gratiae—robur ad pugnam*), they stated that the specific grace of confirmation is the gift of the Holy Spirit; like baptism, it confers a character, that delegates to the spiritual combat; its material is the oil blessed by the bishop and its form the formula *Consigno te* (Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* IIIa, q. 72).

3. The Reformation and Modern Times

The fundamental critique by the Reformation of confirmation was its lack of a biblical basis; Reformation Churches thus did not see it as having sacramental value, although they maintained it as an ecclesiastical ceremony. Bucer*, however, considered it as a sacrament, although he noted that its meaning was that of a profession of faith at the conclusion of the teaching of the catechism (Bornert 1989); this novel view, accepted by Lutheranism* and Anglicanism*, had considerable influence. As for Calvin*, he abolished confirmation. The Council of Trent* reasserted the sacramental value of confirmation, for which the bishop was the usual minister (*DS* 1628–30). The *Catechism* of Trent stipulates, "It is not fitting to administer this sacrament to those who do not yet have the use of reason*; and although we do not think it necessary to wait for the age of twelve, it is at least appropriate not to administer it before the age of seven" (chap. 17, §4).

In the 18th century, the Reformed Churches, under the influence of the Swiss pastor J. F. Ostervald, reintroduced a confirmation, understood as the personal adhesion of the baptized to what his parents had asked for him; the Geneva liturgy* of 1945 calls it "the normal complement (and as it were the second half) of the baptism of children" (von Allmen 1978). This appears

to be a clear indication of modernity; after the Renaissance, in a world ruled by subjectivity, the baptism of little children seemed culturally inconceivable without the possibility of a later personal repetition. This role has often been played by confirmation.

In the Catholicism* of this period north of the Alps, there was a constant delay in the age of confirmation (Levet 1958). This explains why in those countries the decree of Pius X on the first communion of children by the age of six or seven (1910) officially reversed the order of succession of sacraments, while that order remained intact in the Mediterranean countries.

4. Vatican II and the New "Ritual"

The council* documents do not contain a renewed presentation of confirmation; only *LG* 26 specifies that the bishop is the *originating* minister. This slight terminological change has wide bearing; it legitimates the practices of the Eastern Churches since late antiquity and allows bishops to delegate priests to confer confirmation, and it thereby removes the principal historical cause of the separation between baptism and confirmation.

Still more important was the publication of the new *Ritual* (1971), which opens with the apostolic constitution *Divinae consortium naturae*. This asserts for the first time in an official document "the unity [of the three sacraments] of Christian initiation"; it is thereby explicitly linked to the ancient tradition, passing over the historical development of the West since the High Middle Ages (a vision that the *CEC* [1992] faithfully reproduced). The apostolic constitution defines the effect of the sacrament as being the gift of the Holy Spirit itself (*donum ineffabile, ipsum Spiritum Sanctum*). An essential change, "as a profession of the unity of a single sacrament" (Gy 1986), it replaces the medieval sacramental formula with that of the Byzantine liturgy (Ligier 1973): "N. be marked by the Holy Spirit, the gift of God." And in a convoluted expression, it finally specifies the essential rite of the sacrament: "The sacrament of confirmation is conferred by the anointment of the holy chrism on the forehead, done by laying on of hands, and by these words: '*Accipe signaculum Doni Spiritus Sancti.*'"

In the ecumenical area, the relationship between baptism and confirmation continues to raise difficulties. For example, in the *Report on the process of 'BEM' and Reactions of the Churches* of 1991 (*Clarification Notes* 10), one reads, "a) The reactions to the BEM... reveal... disagreements about the manner in which the anointment and the seal of the Holy Spirit should be expressed in the baptismal rite, and on their relationship to communion and participation in the Eucharist. b) In fact, an evolution is coming to light in the

attitude and the practice of Churches as to confirmation, while they are at the same time increasingly rediscovering that in the beginning there was only a single complex rite of Christian initiation. They continue to consider confirmation from two different perspectives. For some, confirmation is the special sign of the gift of the Holy Spirit, a sign which takes its place in the entire process of initiation; for others, confirmation is especially the opportunity for a personal profession of faith on the part of those who have been baptized at a younger age. All agree that the first sign of the process of initiation into the body of Christ is the rite of baptism with water; all agree that the objective of initiation is to be fed by the Eucharist."

5. Theology and Pastoral Expression of Confirmation

The theology* of confirmation is most clearly expressed in the relationships it has with baptism, the Eucharist, the Holy Spirit, and the Church.

a) Relationship to Baptism. In contrast to Scholastic attempts, it now seems futile to attempt to find in baptism and confirmation specific effects that can be properly distinguished. It is more fruitful to view them as two poles in the dynamic continuity of Christian initiation. Any theology of confirmation that does not closely associate it with baptism turns out to be ill founded from the point of view of the tradition*. The relationship between the two sacraments is often expressed by the relationship between Easter and Pentecost, between the mission of the Son and the mission of the Holy Spirit.

b) Relationship to the Holy Spirit. This is the common denominator of what can be said about confirmation. This relationship, however, is not exclusive, as though the Holy Spirit were not at work in the other sacraments. But it takes on a particular force. Following many other documents, the apostolic constitution *Divine consortium nature* asserts that through confirmation the baptized receive, as an ineffable gift, the Holy Spirit itself. Just as Christ is at work in all the sacraments, but the Eucharist provides to communicants His body and His blood themselves, so through confirmation the Holy Spirit communicates itself in an entirely special manner to Christians, as the breath of their personal life and the strength necessary for the evangelical mission*. The new sacramental formulation makes it possible to unfold these meanings while not denying that the Spirit blows where it wishes.

c) Relationship to the Bishop and the Church. This relationship, which was strictly maintained in the Western

tradition until Vatican II, is also affirmed by the East, which attributes a great deal of importance to the blessing of the oil by the bishop or by the patriarch. Although it has often been explained by a difference in power between the bishop and the presbyter, it is more meaningful to see it against the background of the relationship between the third and fourth articles of the Credo, between pneumatology and ecclesiology*. It is in fact the Holy Spirit who gives body to the Church (second epiclesis* of the Eucharist prayers), as it gave His human body to Jesus ("conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary*") and as it gives Him His eucharistic body (first epiclesis). The presence of the bishop (or of his delegate) as minister of confirmation thereby indicates that to become a Christian means opening oneself to a communion* with the entire Church for which the bishop is responsible (Bouhot 1968).

Confirmation thus clearly appears as a sacrament, an ecclesiastical act mediating an action of God*, a sacrament of initiation, intended for all Christians in order to communicate to them the supreme gift of God, and not only for the most committed among them to a particular responsibility in the Church (Moingt 1973). As for the order of succession of the three sacraments of initiation, it is far from a matter of indifference despite the avatars of Western history. It is in any event important that Western theology never attempted to justify confirmation conferred after the Eucharist (Bourgeois 1993).

d) Pastoral Problems. The pastoral realization of confirmation poses many problems, for its most usual practice is set in opposition to its *Ritual* and its theology. The two currents noted above in the report of the WWC are also found within Catholicism*. As a function of the current conditions of Christian witness, the second tendency is leading to a delay of confirmation to a later age, in light of a deeper Christian commitment. It takes its place in the line of the Western tradition (Bourgeois 1993). However, it risks confusing confirmation, a sacrament of initiation, the pneumatological seal of baptism, and commitment. The latter, which represents a fundamental dimension of Christian life, is, however, coextensive with the whole existence of Christians, without being particularly linked to a specific sacrament. We should avoid thinking a priori that confirmation provides the pastoral answer to all questions posed by the Christian development of the young.

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See also **Baptism; Eucharist; Initiation, Christian; Sacrament**

Congar, Yves. See **Thomism**

Congregationalism

Congregationalism is a radical form of Protestant ecclesiology* in which every local community (congregation) gathered around its ministers fully embodies the universal Church*. Its chief characteristics are the independence and strict autonomy of each community, the democratic government of the communities, and the logical application of the theology* of the universal priesthood* of the baptized.

The story of Congregationalism is centered on the English-speaking world and begins with the realization that the ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth I

(1533–1603) was not tending toward the establishment of a rigorously Protestant* Church of England but rather to the choice of a middle way between Rome* and Geneva (the Elizabethan Settlement). As early as 1550, groups ("Separatists") had broken away to form purely protestant cells. This movement gathered momentum after the promulgation of the Act of Uniformity of 1559; and in 1582, when R. Browne (c. 1550–1633) published two works championing a Congregationalist theology of the Church, his stand found enough answering expectation for these tendencies to

become an organized movement, known initially as "Brownists." Congregationalist parishes were created at Southwark, Norwich, and elsewhere. Browne himself fled to the Netherlands after being imprisoned for schism, then broke with his community and returned to the bosom of the Church of England, but his successors at the head of the movement completed the split.

Congregationalism was then faced with immediate persecution, and the Congregationalist leaders J. Greenwood, H. Barrow, and J. Penry were executed in 1593. Congregationalism went underground in England, and an emigration ensued, chiefly to America. The conflict between Charles I and Parliament permitted the Congregationalists to make an official reappearance, henceforward under the name of "Independents," and Cromwell's policy allowed them (as it did the Puritans, with whom their early history is closely intertwined) to conceive the dream of an English Christianity with a Presbyterian or Congregationalist structure. The Restoration put an end to this dream, and in 1662 a new Act of Uniformity made the Congregationalists and their allies into "nonconformists." The Toleration Act of 1689 nonetheless granted them the right to exist.

Despite the status imposed on it, Congregationalism was to exercise a real influence on English intellectual and religious life over the following two centuries. Excluded from the universities, the Congregationalists founded academies of a high caliber and would later play a part in the foundation of the University of London. And while there was no Congregationalist theology strictly speaking—rather, Congregationalists practiced a moderated Calvinism*—Congregationalism still numbered among its ranks some theologians of high standing, such as J. Owen (1616–83), T. Hooker (1586–1647), I. Watts (1674–1748), and P. Doddridge (1702–51) and (in America) J. Cotton (1584–1652), J. Edwards*, and H. Bushnell (1802–76).

The governing principle of Congregationalism never condemned the Congregationalist communities to isolation. From the 17th century it was clearly accepted that the absolute independence of the communities did not preclude a degree of interdependence, the first goal of which was to organize evangelical activity, then external mission*. In 1790 "county unions" were set up. The year 1831 saw the creation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. In 1920 the former districts were regrouped into provinces, each having a "provincial moderator" responsible for coordinating the appointment of ministers*. In 1970 the Congregationalist communities founded the Congregational Church in England and Wales, and then in 1972 the largest part of the new Church merged with

the Presbyterian Church of England to form the United Reformed Church. Similar processes of federation and union took place in America and in the mission countries. A significant minority of the English communities refused this development, however, and these still maintain the principle of the total independence of the local cells within the body of the (liberal) Congregational Federation and the (evangelical) Evangelical Fellowship of Congregational Churches.

Although Congregationalism has always refused to equip itself with confessional texts that would set a norm, circumstances have led to the drafting of a number of professions of faith. In the Declaration of Savoy (1658), a text closely faithful to the 1643 Confession of Westminster, 120 communities declared themselves in favor of an ecclesiastical constitution of the Congregationalist type and not of the presbyterian-synodal model. The Declaration of Faith, which followed the establishment of the Congregational Union in 1832, is notable for the way it distances itself somewhat from Congregationalism's original Calvinism. The Declaration of Faith of 1967 is original in presenting the positions of other Christian Churches alongside the confessed theology of Congregationalism. The most representative Congregationalist texts are, however, the "contracts of alliance," ratified by the communities, in which they express in a consistent and stereotyped manner the ecclesiological ideas that have impelled Congregationalism since its inception. Lastly, the Congregationalists celebrate the Eucharist* and baptism* and practice infant baptism.

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See also Anglicanism; Calvinism; Local Church; Puritanism

Conscience

Narrowly defined, conscience refers to the painful awareness of wrongdoing and to the seat of such feelings. A broader definition speaks of conscience as an inner source of moral authority that judges and guides us. The history of the idea of conscience is extraordinarily complex, touching most aspects of the history of morality. The concept cannot simply be explained through the history of terms (conscience, *Gewissen*, *conscientia*, *synt[d]eresis*, *suneidesis*) because their meanings vary depending on their contexts. One must look at what determine conscience in each case and especially at the concept of personality and the type of society that are involved. In Christian theology*, the concept of conscience varies according to given anthropological and soteriological concepts as well as the understandings of moral life in relation to God*, Christ*, and Spirit.

1. Antiquity

The first instance of the word *suneidèsis* is found in Democritus (VS B 297); the corresponding verb can be found, for example, in Xenophon (*Memorabilia* II) or Sophocles (*Antigone*) and means a “sharing of knowledge.” The activity of conscience was unknown in primitive Greek culture. Homer’s heroic characters, lacking in reflective moral awareness, locate the goodness of an action* not in intention* but in the consequences that it entails, especially with respect to reputation or dishonor. Moral identity is a function not of conscience but of the approval or disapproval from the group, which bestows honor or shame depending on whether one respects the conventions linked to traditional social roles. The tragedians are more interested in moral conflicts because tragic figures are less completely identified with convention. Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*) and especially Euripides (*Orestes*) describe the torment of the guilty person conscious or his fault by interiorizing the myth* of the Furies pursuing the criminal. This is still remote from later notions of conscience: the tragic hero suffers not only from internal conflict but also from the defilement imposed by destiny. Neither Plato nor Aristotle systematically discusses conscience. Later Platonists seemed to recognize conscience in Socrates’ demon*, who warned him against wrongdoing (*Phaedrus*), although it was probably divinatory in character. In Aristotle, ethical knowing and judging are attributed to *phronèsis*.

The crucible for Western views of conscience was Roman Stoicism, for which conscience is an internal moral guide that approves or disapproves a conduct. The highest element in the human being is the presence of natural law* (Cicero, *De legibus*; Seneca, *Epistulae*), which can morally guide behavior and is known as such by reason. This is why Cicero identifies “right conscience” (*recta conscientia*) and “right reason” (*recta ratio*) in *De finibus*. This view of conscience as “a sacred spirit within us that observes and controls our good and bad actions” (*sacer intra nos spiritus malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator et custos*; Seneca, *Epistulae*), also found in Tacitus, Livy, and Quintilian, drifted into popular usage and formed part of the background to the New Testament.

2. Scripture

a) *Old Testament*. There is no term for conscience in the Old Testament, which nevertheless describes the troubles caused by remorse (1 Sm 24:5f.; 2 Sm 24:10; Ps 32:3f.; Is 57:21) and the peace* brought on by a clean conscience (Ps 26; Jb 27). “Heart” (1 Kgs 2:44, 83:38; Eccl 7:22; Jb 7:6) is the seat of self-knowledge, which depends on God’s omniscience and omnipresence as lawgiver and judge (Is 139; Prv 16:2, 20, 27). The concept that conscience would play a deliberative or guiding role does not appear, however. In the Old Testament, reflective distance from God may be covert disobedience (Gn 3:1–7), and knowledge of God’s law must be affective and practical rather than a cause for thought. The Septuagint (ancient translations* of the Bible) rarely uses *suneidèsis* (Eccl 10:20; Wis 17:11; Sir 6:26, 42:18).

b) *The New Testament*. Conscience is not an essential concept in the New Testament. The term is absent from the Gospels*, where the “heart” is still the center of moral knowledge and will (Mt 5:8, 5:28, 15:10–20; Mk 7:18–23; Lk 6:45). Conscience appears a number of times in the Paul’s letters but without the connotations that it has today. Conscience is not the central theme of Pauline theology. Paul appeals to his good “conscience” to justify of his ministry* (Rom 9:1; 1 Cor 4:4; 2 Cor 1:12; compare Acts 23:1, 24:16) and waits for a similar judgment from others (2 Cor 4:2,

5:11). Romans 13:5 contains an anticipatory idea of conscience: Christians must obey the state to avoid a later condemnation. When Paul speaks of conscience when discussing the issue of flesh sacrificed to idols (1 Cor 8:1–13, 10:18–31; Rom 14)—passages that would be key in later theological developments—conscience is the capacity not of moral direction but of self-condemnation. The “strong” conscience, who knows the nothingness of idols, is free from self-accusation about consuming meat sacrificed to them, but this strong freedom should not scandalize the “weak” conscience, which, not possessing the same knowledge, may be wounded by such action. Here, conscience is not a source of absolute moral certainty (it is knowledge, not conscience, that liberates from scruple); nor does conscience act autonomously (the strong act out of love* for the weak). A further crucial passage for later thinkers is Romans 2:14–16; although the text is often thought to furnish exegetical warrant for the idea of a “natural law” written in the heart and guarded by conscience, it may be that Paul referred only to those pagans who “by nature do what the law requires” and not to humanity in general. Moreover, the center of gravity in Paul’s thinking lies elsewhere: it is Christ*, not nature, conscience, or law, that is ultimate (Gal 3:24). The pastorals refer to “good conscience” (1 Tm 1:5, 19), “clear conscience” (1 Tm 3:9; 2 Tm 1:3; compare 1 Pt 3:16, 21), and its opposite (1 Tm 4:2; Ti 1, 15), to speak of honesty. Although the usage here is less immediately soteriological (and closer to post-apostolic usage; see 1 Clem 1, 3, 24 and 41, 4), the connection between conscience, understood in this sense and faith* (1 Tm 1, 5, 19 and 3, 9) is important. In Hebrews, conscience is the locus of guilt, which is cleansed by Christ’s priestly sacrifice* (Heb 9:9, 14, 10:22; compare Ignatius, *Trall.* 7).

In the New Testament, therefore, conscience is a secondary notion. Introspective concerns are generally absent from the New Testament, which does not explain or justify behavior in terms of an “inner voice” attributed to God. Partly this is because of the weight accorded to public conventions and roles in a culture oriented to honor and shame. Further, the language and perspectives used are not that of later theologies or philosophies. What would be later associated with the notion of conscience, such as moral experience, control, and approval, is expressed in the New Testament in terms of Spirit, justification*, faith, and the return of the Lord to judge human beings (*parousia**). In this light, the New Testament differs both from Stoicism and from Philo’s notion of conscience as the organ of reproof (*elegkhos*) and inner judge (*dikastes*) presiding over and evaluating actions (*De fuga et inventione*, §118; *De decalogo*, §87).

3. Patristic and Medieval Period

a) The Fathers. Although systematic treatment of the subject is rare in the Fathers*, the notion of conscience gained importance during the patristic period. Drawing on Stoic sources (Christian Stoicism*), Origen develops the notion of moral principles universally known (*Contra Celsum* 1, 4, SC 132), and, in an important commentary of 1 Corinthians 2:11, he identifies conscience and the Spirit of God within us (*In Psalmos* 30, 6, PG 12, 1300 b), an idea that would be taken up again later. John Chrysostom* turns conscience into a key factor of morality: the voice of conscience reveals the moral law, which is the general or natural context in which Christian morality shows its specificity (*De statuis, Opera omnia*, 1834). Augustine*’s view is significantly different: natural law theory is chastened by its repudiation of the moral optimism of Pelagianism*, and, although he can speak of the golden rule (Mt 7:12) as “inscribed in the conscience” (*scripta [in] conscientia*; *Confessions* 1, 18), conscience is essentially knowing that God knows us (10, 2) and a confirmation of divine judgments (*Enarrationes in psalmos* 7, 9, CChr.SL 38) rather than in relative detachment from divine presence.

b) The Medieval Period. Medieval discussions of conscience generally focus on two terms: *synteresis* (a corrupt translation of *suneidèsis*) and *conscientia*. In general, the discussion emerges from the passage in Pierre Lombard’s *Sentences* (c. 1100–60), in which he wonders about Romans 7:15 if there are two wills within the sinner in conflict with himself and in which he briefly refers to Jerome’s commentary of Ezekiel 1:4–14. Jerome identifies the eagle in Ezekiel’s vision with what he calls *synteresis*; if this capacity was retained after the Fall, Jerome asserts that some wicked persons did not retain what he calls *conscientia*. Commentators solved the contradiction by distinguishing *synteresis* as the ultimate ground of moral knowledge from *conscientia* as the application of principles. The distinction receives sophisticated treatment from Bonaventure* and Thomas* Aquinas. For Bonaventure, *conscientia* belongs to affectivity; as such, it is a *habitus*, a disposition, not a deduction. Aquinas, by contrast, views *conscientia* as an act of bringing moral principles to the actual situation (*De veritate* 17, 1), whereas *synteresis* is the *habitus* that contains the basic principles of natural law (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 94, a. 1, ad. 2). Unlike what would be done later, however, Aquinas views these principles more as a formal framework than as a set of rules whose application is to be determined with the help of a casuistry*.

The distinction between *synteresis* and *conscience*

explains how the issue of knowing whether conscience is always an obligation is dealt with. *Synderesis* cannot err; conscience, however, may err by not applying the principles correctly, but it must always be obeyed since obedience to God's law is a basic principle of *synderesis*. To disobey even a mistaken conscience is therefore to act against *synderesis*.

In all these debates, conscience is increasingly viewed as a guide in the moral realm rather than the seat of guilt. Although it operates in relative independence and not under God's direct impulse, conscience should not be construed subjectively. Aquinas's insistence on practical reason's reference to an objective moral order distinguishes him sharply from Abelard's intention-oriented and quasi-absolute conscience: "There is no sin that is not against conscience" (*non est peccatum nisi contra conscientiam*; *Ethica* 13).

4. Reformation

A decisive shift occurs with the Reformers, especially Luther*. Conscience no longer is associated with vows, asceticism*, and penance* (association strengthened at the Fourth Lateran* Council, which had made confession obligatory). Henceforth, faith rather than practical reason becomes key with regard to ethics. Conscience is no longer treated as part of the metaphysics of created personhood* but is integrated into the soteriological notion of sin* and grace*. For Luther, conscience is the site of a struggle between hopeless ethical and religious justification through law on the one hand and faith in the justifying word* of God on the other. When conscience is "terrified of the Law... rely only on grace and the word of comfort" (WA 40/1, 204). No longer naturally oriented toward God, but set in the context of Christ's liberating work, conscience really is a matter of faith: "faith born of this word will bring peace of conscience" (WA 1, 541). Conscience is not the center of moral judgment since faith acknowledges God's judgment about the person rather than conscience's judgments about the person's acts. Good conscience thus comes before doing good deeds and not the reverse. Moral and pastoral theology must thus move away from the formation of conscience or its instruction in religious observances to deal first and foremost with conversion* and trust. Calvin*, similarly, emphasizes that conscience is best understood in relation to salvation*; freed by Christ's gift (*Inst.* III, 19, 15), conscience need not heed anyone, even though externally it is due to civil obedience.

5. Modern Times

a) *Philosophy* Modern thinkers often read the Reformation as asserting the rights of individual conscience

over Church authority*. It is mistaking faith for subjectivity, as well as underestimating the objective character of classical Protestantism*. To turn Christianity into a religion of conscience (Holl), one needs a certain philosophy of modernity, in which authority is accorded to conscience as an autonomous faculty of self-governance, increasingly detached from rational consideration of moral reality. Montaigne describes it as a mean of self-knowledge ("I have my laws and my court to judge myself"; *Essais* III). Descartes* conceives conscience as affective rather than rational (*Passions de l'âme*). Spinoza understands it within the perspective of his ethics of self-preservation (*Ethica* IV). Conscience thus becomes the nucleus of personal decision around which orbit other realities (authoritative doctrines, public conventions) that furnish material for debate. Conscience is close to moral freedom seen as autonomy, whose concept entails that the essential condition of moral existence is the absence of determination by nature or society. Such affirmations find their political expression in the principle that "it is nothing but tyranny to wish to predominate over conscience" (Bayle), a principle that lies at the heart of liberal pluralism.

The English school of "moral sense" (the Earl of Shaftesbury [1671–1713], Francis Hutcheson [1694–1746], and Joseph Butler [1692–1752]) turns conscience into "a principle of reflection in men, by which they distinguish between, approve and disapprove, their own actions" (Butler). Against this, Hume (1711–76) argues that conscience is a matter of feeling and not reason (*A Treatise of Human Nature*), thereby distancing conscience from nature and giving his theory a distinctive voluntarist twist. In the German idealist tradition, Kant* and Hegel* bring conscience closer to subjectivity. For Kant, conscience, self-sufficient and subject to no guidance, is "moral judgment passing judgment upon itself" (*Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*); that is, moral reason is judging itself. Rather differently, Hegel considers conscience as "formal subjectivity" (*Philosophie des Rechts*), a view that would deeply affect later philosophers, notably Heidegger* (*Sein und Zeit*) and Ricoeur (*Soi-même comme un autre*), for whom conscience is to accuse but a call to authenticity.

The influence of theories of the pathological genesis of conscience should also be noted. According to Nietzsche* (*Zur Genealogie der Moral*) and Freud*, conscience arises in the struggle between desire and external constraints and is no more than an arbitrary mechanism confronting the self. The conventional character of conscience has also been underlined by sociology, which views conscience as an internalization of social representations.

b) Theology. Post-Reformation Protestantism shifts the issue of conscience to subjectivity. Calvinists such as Perkins (1558–1602) or Ames (1576–1633) look for subjective certainty of salvation in conscience. It means a rigorous examination of one's behavior in light of the commandments casuistically interpreted. This moralism, quite different from the Reformers' insistence on the priority of divine acquittal, can also be found elsewhere, for example, in the writings of Jeremy Taylor (1613–67), who understands conscience as well as Christian living in a way that, although not quite Pelagian, emphasizes the role of will. These developments helped reinforce the individualist conception of conscience: since it had but a distant relation to the doctrine of salvation, conscience had to become a concern for the conformity of the person to him- or herself. This concern for personal authenticity had other roots also: idealist philosophy of consciousness, pietism*, and the rise of a religious notion of subjectivity, in which the moral self is the seat of divine presence. Thus, Schleiermacher* defines conscience out of God-consciousness of the community (*Der christlicher Glaub*) followed by liberal Protestantism (Biedermann, Gass, Schenkels). In the first half of the 20th century, a quite antithetical position was espoused by Bonhoeffer* (*Ethik*) and especially in Barth*'s protest (*Ethik*) against "the ethics of naturalist or idealist subjectivism" and his trust in the evidence of conscience. For Barth, conscience depends on our adoption by God; it is not a reality that we have because conscience is participation in God's knowledge of the redeemed, and its primary activity is not self-examination but prayer*, which corresponds to the almost miraculous rarity of its apparition.

Recent Catholic work on conscience has often abandoned the juridical tone of manual traditions of moral and pastoral theology in favor of personalist understandings of conscience. Vatican* II even gave official encouragement in its emphasis on freedom: "the gospel has a sacred reverence for the dignity of conscience and its freedom of choice" (*Gaudium et spes* 41). Post-Vatican II theologians, such as Auer, Fuchs, or Böckle, make conscience the center of moral existence, which is characterized by responsibility.

6. Systematic Issues

Formal and material issues are closely tied in theories of conscience. At the formal level, we may distinguish those accounts that begin with analysis of the agent from those that begin with consideration of the field within which the agent exists. The former seldom refer

to the theological categories, and philosophy or the social sciences are a favored ground for Christian anthropology. In the latter, by contrast, the process is essentially theology, and there is little concern with finding harmony between Christian and non-Christian anthropologies. On a material level, one can start with the experience of obligation and define personal existence in terms of constitutional human decisions and acts: conscience is then seen as freedom, will, or personal commitment, only secondarily related to authority, tradition*, or revelation*, which are construed heteronomously. By contrast, one can deem essential the instances external to the person and think that moral existence is determined by something other than itself: the others, society* and its organization, and, above all, God's creative and redemptive acts. Then it is faith, not consciousness, that prevails; moral reason is not introspection but discerning an objective order; tradition and authority shape rather than inhibit authenticity. On all these issues, the debate remains open.

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See also Casuistry; Ethics; Ethics, Autonomy of

Consequentialism. *See* Utilitarianism

Constance, Council of

1414–18

Forced to close the Council of Rome almost as soon as it had opened and to flee the Papal States, Antipope John XXIII had to seek the support of Sigismund, King of the Romans (Church* and State). A new council was announced and convoked by the latter, but it was to take place within the territory of the empire, at Constance. Gregory XII, the pope* of Rome* who lived in Rimini, would be represented; but Benedict XIII, the antipope of Avignon, would forbid his supporters to attend. The council opened on 1 November 1414 by John XXIII.

For decision-making purposes, the council was organized, on the model of the universities, into “nations,” each of which held one vote. The Italian, French, Germanic, and English nations were established at the outset, and the Iberian delegations subsequently combined to form the Spanish nation. The other countries represented at Constance were attached to one or another of these five nations. The cardinals made up a separate college, holding a single vote. These divisions were the cause of endless discussions, numerous violent arguments, and the domination of the debates by the academic clergy. They echoed both the geographical and the sociological composition of the council. The five nations grouped together delegations from all the states and ecclesiastical provinces of Latin Europe, and these delegations contained a high number of professors and university-educated prelates. The ecumenical nature of the Council of Constance is still debated.

The council had three goals: the return to union (Church unity*), the reform of the Church and of the Curia, and the defense of the faith*.

a) The flight of the antipope in March 1415 helped the council, which was opposed to him. Apprehended

and brought back to Constance, John XXIII was tried and deposed. As a result of this decision, Gregory XII spontaneously abdicated. The council then sent a delegation, led by Sigismund, to obtain Benedict XIII's abdication. Benedict refused to yield and was therefore tried and deposed in July 1417. The delegation did, however, obtain agreements from several countries in the region that they would switch their allegiance.

Now acephalous, the Church found itself governed by a council for the first time. The question then arose of whether to elect a new pope without delay or to carry out reforms before the election and force the pope, once elected, to abide by them. Sigismund favored the second solution, which would ensure his domination of the council. The cardinals, on the other hand, afraid of being subjected to the reforms carried out by the radicals, wanted the election to be brought forward. The council, modifying slightly a proposal by Pierre d'Ailly, then decided that the electoral college should be made up of all the cardinals and six representatives from each nation. On 11 November 1417, the electors chose Cardinal Oddo Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. This election reestablished union and marked the end of the pontifical schism*.

b) Although a commission of “reform of the Church in its head and in its members” was created in 1415, the difficulty of the undertaking and the multiplicity and range of the proposals, along with the conflicting machinations of different parties, made it impossible. The council did not attend to the matter until the summer of 1417. However, on 6 April 1415 it published the decree *Haec sancta synodus*, which asserted the General Council's precedence over the pope in matters of faith, Church union, and reform; and then, on 9 October 1417, it published the decree *Frequens*, which

laid down regulations for the convocation of future councils and the handling of any future schism. Together, these represent the key acts of 15th-century conciliarism*. Christendom hoped for the reform of Church structures* and financial affairs—which included the encouraging and perpetuating of simony, the accumulation of profits, and pontifical collations, that sorry legacy of the Avignon papacy—wishes that remained unfulfilled. Before the closing of the council on 22 April 1418, however, the Fathers and Martin V did draw up a list of the reforms that the pope would have to undertake with the help of the Curia.

c) As for the eradication of heresy*, condemnations fell principally on John Wycliffe and his supporters. The council condemned Wycliffe (who had died in 1384) as a heretic. It declared Jan Hus* and Jerome of Prague to be heretics and condemned them to death. They were burned alive at Constance. It also decided that communion* of the laity in both kinds, which had recently become the practice in Bohemia, was heretical. The French and the Poles joined forces to call for the condemnation of John Parvus and John Falkenberg, the apologists for tyrannicide, but were unsuccessful. This last endeavor, moreover, revealed a major point of disagreement between these two delegations and Martin V on the right of appeal to a future

council, which the new pope immediately decided to prohibit.

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See also Church and State; Conciliarism; Ecclesiology; Eucharist; Government, Church; Pope

Constantinople I, Council of

381

a) *History*. The First Council* of Constantinople, which met in May 381, was at the outset a council of the East, convened by Theodosius. It was chaired first by Meletius of Antioch until his death, then by Gregory* of Nazianzus until he tendered his resignation, and finally by Nectarius, the new archbishop of Constantinople. The council brought together approximately 150 bishops*; its best-known members were part of the Cappadocian group of the friends of Basil*, who had died prematurely: his brothers Gregory* of Nyssa and Peter of Sebaste, his close friend Gregory of Nazianzus, his correspondent Amphilochius of Ico-

nium, and Meletius, the controversial bishop* of Antioch, whom Basil never stopped supporting. Cyril of Jerusalem and Diodorus of Tarsus were also present. The proceedings of the council are lost, and the historical documentation at our disposal is very incomplete. It was not an “ecumenical” council in the same sense that this adjective had when it was conferred on Nicaea* because this time there was no participation by the West. The synodal letter of 382 sent by the Fathers* to Rome* does refer to the “ecumenical synod* of Constantinople”—but this assembly remained in fact shrouded in almost total silence for three-quarters

of a century. The debates between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius, at the time of Ephesus*, always refer to the text of the symbol of Nicaea and seem to be unaware of that of Constantinople. The latter's ecumenical authority would not be recognized until this symbol was read and acclaimed at the Council of Chalcedon*; this was to lead, in consequence, to a recognition of ecumenical authority* and of the ecumenical authority of the council itself. Since then, the Council of Constantinople has been universally regarded as the Second Ecumenical Council.

b) The Doctrinal Work of Constantinople I. The work of Constantinople I consisted chiefly in putting an end in the East to the Arian heresy*, confirming the decision of Nicaea and proclaiming the divinity of the Holy* Spirit, which had been challenged since 360 by three distinct currents. The radical Arianism* (Anomean) of Aetius and Eunomius saw the Holy Spirit as a creature of the Son and the Son as a creature of the Father*. The Egyptian "tropics" (who reasoned on the basis of "expressions" [*tropoi*] from Scripture*) were orthodox as far as the Son* was concerned but saw the Holy Spirit as a created angel*. Athanasius* had replied to them in his *Letters to Serapion Concerning the Holy Spirit*. Finally, in the East, the "combatants against the Holy Spirit" (*pneumatomachians*), who were also called the Macedonians, after Macedonius, the deposed archbishop of Constantinople, pointed to the natural inferiority of the Holy Spirit due to the inferiority of its creative role. It was the pneumatomachians who mainly preoccupied Constantinople I. The council attempted to reconcile them, but in vain.

c) The Symbol of Constantinople. The decisions of Constantinople I were expressed in a symbol received since then in all the Churches* as a liturgical symbol and often called the symbol of "Nicaea-Constantinople."

The Council of Chalcedon attributes the paternity of that symbol to the Fathers of Constantinople. Its obscure origin, however, has prompted a number of hypotheses (Kelly, Ritter, Abramowski). It does not take up the text of the symbol of Nicaea or that of Jerusalem* (Harnack), and the hypothesis that Epiphanius of Salamina was its first author in 374 is no longer accepted. The Fathers probably used an Eastern symbol that had integrated the typical additions of Nicaea (Ritter). The part written by the Fathers of Constantinople is uncertain, except for the third article, dealing with the Holy Spirit, for which the influence of the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil's friends, appears to have been instrumental. This article offers in fact a recapitulation of Basilian pneumatology.

The second article takes up again the *consubstantial** of Nicaea, but it renounces the formula "of the Father's substance," probably considered ambiguous because it is partitive.

The third article comprises the new sequence on the Holy Spirit, made up of five formulas: 1) The first formula states the divine character of the Holy Spirit, by emphasizing that it is "Holy" in nature, like God*, sanctifying, and not sanctified the way creatures are. 2) The second does not proclaim that the Holy Spirit is God, as Basilian reserve, in a spirit of reconciliation, had always refused to do, but it calls it "Lord," a specifically divine name given it by Scripture (2 Cor 3:17). 3) The function of the Holy Spirit is divine since it "gives new life" (Jn 6:63; 1 Cor 15:45) thanks to its creative and deifying role. 4) "It proceeds from the Father": this formula calls on the only New Testament regarding the origin of the Spirit (Jn 15:26). But to a sentence that had an "economic" meaning (the going forth of the Holy Spirit toward the world), the council gives the meaning of an eternal procession* of the Spirit within the Trinity*. The Spirit "proceeds," in the same way that the Son is begotten. Therefore, it is not a creature. The procession expresses its hypostatic property; it is a way of expressing the Spirit's consubstantiality with the Father and the Son without actually using the word. The Spirit's link to the Son is left undetermined, and thus it opens the way to the future controversy about the *Filioque**. 5) "With the Father and the Son, he is jointly worshipped and glorified": this formula, which takes up a famous argument by Basil, is based on the link between *lex credendi* and *lex orandi* so as to express in a different way the Holy Spirit's affiliation to the Trinity. Constantinople I performed that work of reconciliation and of peace*.

The council had another important by-product. In a synodal letter sent to Rome* in 382, the same Fathers delivered the first Greek version of what was to become the Trinitarian formula common to East and West: "One sole divinity, power, and substance of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, all equal in honor and in coeternal royalty, in three perfect hypostases, or still in three perfect Persons*" (*DCO* II/1, 81). This formula was used again by the Second Council of Constantinople*.

d) The Disciplinary Canons. The council also promulgated four canons, the third of which remained the most famous. It was intended to affirm the authority of the bishop of Constantinople, the new Rome: his seat had assumed considerable importance since the city had become the capital of the Eastern Empire; he was given "the preeminence of honor after the bishop of Rome." This canon was never to be accepted by the popes* of

ancient Rome and similarly with canon 28 of Chalcedon.

• COD 21–35 (DCO II/1, 67–95).

♦ J.N.D. Kelly (1950), *Early Christian Creeds*, London (3rd Ed. 1972).

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See also Creation; Creeds; Fathers of the Church; Filioque; Nestorianism

Constantinople II, Council of

553

The Second Council* of Constantinople, the fifth of the ecumenical councils, was convoked by Justinian to provide a definitive orthodox interpretation of the Council of Chalcedon*. The main tasks that the emperor put to the council were to reformulate the teaching of Chalcedon in terms that would be more universally acceptable and to declare nonorthodox three “chapters” or elements representative of the christological tradition of Antioch* that the Council of Chalcedon had not condemned: the person and works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the first of the great theologians of Antioch; the polemical works of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, directed against Cyril* of Alexandria; and Ibas of Edessa’s *Letter to Maris*, in which Ibas also had strongly attacked Cyril. Theodore of Mopsuestia had not been explicitly named at Chalcedon, while Theodoret and Ibas, who had condemned the heresy* of Nestorius, had been recognized as orthodox.

a) Aftermath of Chalcedon. For the great majority of Eastern Christians, scandalized by the affirmation at Chalcedon of the equality and relative autonomy of the human nature of Christ*, these “three chapters” from Antioch were the very symbol of the Chalcedonian spirit of compromise with the century. Only a more divine notion of Christ, such as formulated by the Alexandrian doctors* Athanasius* and Cyril, could be the norm for Christian faith* and worship. As for the Latin West, it saw in the formulas of Chalcedon both a

Christology* that better suited its more practical conception of salvation and a tribute to the doctrinal authority* of Leo, bishop* of Rome*. Therefore, to abandon Chalcedon would be an offense against both orthodoxy* and papal primacy. Episcopal hierarchies opposed to Chalcedon had been in place in Egypt and Syria since the 480s, and there were many of them by the end of the 530s; on the other hand, the “Acacian schism” (484–519) between Rome and Constantinople had been provoked by the pope’s disquiet over the attempts of the patriarchs of Constantinople to formulate a Christology not based on Chalcedon.

b) The Role of Justinian. As soon as he became emperor in 527, Justinian understood the political and religious necessity for an official formulation of Christology and an interpretation of Chalcedon that would rally the empire. After a fruitless attempt at dialogue with the bishops opposed to Chalcedon (533), Justinian had the local synod* of Constantinople condemn those who clung to an exclusively pre-Chalcedonian terminology (536). The emperor, who was himself a highly original theologian, took the initiative in orienting theological study toward a new conception of Christ’s person*. His goal was to reach a synthesis between the Chalcedonian formulas, which were opened to a variety of interpretations, and the explicitly theocentric Christology of Cyril, which 20th-century historians have called “neo-Chalcedonianism”

or “neo-Cyrianism.” The rejection of the “three chapters” from Antioch was the essential negative element in this new synthesis.

Between 543 and 545, Justinian published his first edict condemning the “three chapters,” most of which has since been lost. On 13 July 551, he issued a second edict, *De recta fide*, which was accompanied by a long treatise setting out the reasons for condemning the chapters (*Epistula contra tria capitula*). Pope Vigilius (537–555), who had arrived in Constantinople, either voluntarily or under compulsion, at the end of 546, seems to have agreed with Justinian, and he condemned the “three chapters,” in April 548, in his *Judicatum*. There was a storm of protest in the West over this apparent abandonment of Chalcedon, which forced Vigilius to renege his position. After a period of open conflict with the emperor, he retracted his “judgment.”

c) A Turbulent Council. Only a council officially assembled by the emperor could reestablish unity. Convoled by Justinian, 152 accredited bishops, among whom perhaps 11 were from the Latin West, sat between 5 May and 2 June 553. The emperor could be certain of the docility of this gathering, which was dominated by Greeks and under the authority of his influential adviser, Theodore Asquidas. He therefore left the direction of the council to the bishops alone. On 24 May, Vigilius, who did not attend any of the meetings out of fear of negative reactions from the West, sent a letter to the emperor (*Constitutum*) stating his position: the theological errors of the three doctors of Antioch needed to be condemned, but their persons and their works had to be spared out of respect for Chalcedon and for the dead. On 26 May, Justinian responded by sending two letters to the council reflecting the changes in Vigilius’s position and telling the bishops that they should cease to be in communion* with him as long as he would not accept their collective judgment.

At its eighth and final session, on 2 June, the council approved a document comprising an introduction and 40 canons. The last four canons condemned the “three chapters” as well as a classic list of heretics, including Origen*—whose “school” seems to have been condemned for various reasons, and at Justinian’s request, even before the council opened. By contrast, the first 10 canons form a systematic Christology, combining the terminology of Chalcedon with that of Cyril and affirming clearly that the Divine Word* is the sole subject of Christ’s actions, the only hypostasis that exists in his two natures (canons 2–3, 5, 9). This declaration excludes any conception that might separate the natures within Christ and limits the distinction between them, however irreducible they may be, to “a merely

conceptual consideration” (canon 7). It also recognizes the legitimacy of some of Cyril’s expressions, which the Council of Chalcedon had not accepted (canon 8), and makes his conception of the uniqueness of Christ’s person normative. This is based on a “hypostatic or composite union” (canon 4; hypostatic* union), which wholly excludes any interpretation that might imply a “confusion” of Christ’s two natures into one (canon 8). Finally, the document forcefully reaffirms the principle of “communication of idioms*”: it is literally accurate to apply the title “Mother of God” to Mary* (canon 6), and the council also ratifies the confession of the “theopaschites,” that “he who was crucified in the flesh, Our Lord Jesus Christ, is truly God and Lord of Glory, and one in the Holy Trinity” (canon 10).

Six months later, the pope declared that he was ready to accept the canons of the council, and he made his agreement public in a declaration, *Constitutum II*, dated 23 February 554, which completely contradicts his earlier position. The reaction of the Western bishops was extremely negative, especially in Africa, where there had been a whole body of literature hostile to the council and its decrees, as well as in northern Italy and Gaul. Under Vigilius’s successor, Pelagius I (556–61), the church of Aquileia seceded from Rome over the question of the “three chapters,” starting a schism* that lasted until the late seventh century. Gregory* the Great indicated that he accepted Constantinople II, along with the other ecumenical councils, but he also felt a need to insist that the condemnation of the theologians of Antioch did not in any sense contradict the teachings of Chalcedon (*Epistulae*, 1, 24; 3, 10; 9, 148). Apart from these popes, Western writers took time to include Constantinople II among the ecumenical councils, and many Greek sources from the seventh century and later seem to have only a vague notion of its work.

Nowadays, historians tend to minimize the doctrinal importance of Constantinople II, seeing it as no more than an instrument for Justinian’s clumsy policy toward the Church. Some 20th-century Catholic writers (Amann, Moeller, Devreesse), seeking to weaken the very powerful affirmation of Christ’s divinity formulated at Constantinople II, have argued that the council’s decisions were not canonically valid because it was not in communion with Rome when it promulgated them and that it was merely the condemnation of the “three chapters”—which in itself has no doctrinal significance—that was accepted later by Vigilius and his successors. More recently, however, Orthodox and Protestant historians (Chrysos, Meyendorff, Frank) have shown that there was substantial continuity in procedure and doctrine between the first four councils and Constantinople II and have recog-

nized the dogmatic declaration of this, the fifth council, as both a genuine clarification of the teaching of Chalcedon and an authentically ecumenical attempt to take account of the value of rival theological formulas.

• Acts: *ACO* IV/1 and IV/2.

Text of the dogmatic declaration, *ACO* IV/1, 239–45.

Decrees: *COD* 107–22 (*DCO* II/1, 240–71); *DS* 421–38 (can. only).

Justinian's Edicts in *Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians*, ABAW. PH NS 18.

Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, CSEL 35, 230–320.

Vigilius, *Constitutum II*, *ACO* IV/2, 138–68.

Facundus d'Hermiane, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum*, CChr.SL 90 A, 4–398.

Liberatus, *Breviarium*, *ACO* II/5, 98–141.

Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, 10–38, Ed. J. Bidez, L. Parmentier, London, 1898, 160–89.

♦ J. Bois (1908), “Constantinople (Ile concile de),” *DThC* 3/1, 1231–59.

E. Schwartz (1940), “Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians,” ABAW. PH NS, 2, 32–81.

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E. Amann (1950), “Trois chapitres,” *DThC* 15/2, 1868–1924.

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See also Anhypostasy; Chalcedon, Council of; Christ/Christology; Ephesus, Council of; Hypostatic Union; Idioms, Communication of

Constantinople III, Council of

680–81

The Third Council of Constantinople, also known as the Fourth Ecumenical Council, affirmed the reality of the two wills and the two activities, divine and human, within Christ*, by condemning the doctrines of monothelitism* and monoenergism*. This dogmatic definition, preceded by that of the Lateran Council of 649, was the final outcome of the long labor of theological clarification accomplished by Maximus* the Confessor.

a) The Role of Maximus the Confessor. Like Pope Honorius, Maximus had approved the *Psèphos* (decree) of Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople (patriarchate*) and had first been disarmed in front of the novelty of the problem posed by the prayer* of Jesus* at Gethsemane: his human will appeared to be contrary to the divine will, and Sergius had concluded in favor of the negation of that will. Maximus subsequently highlighted the reality of that human will and showed its soteriological importance.

In the first place, between 634 and 640, Maximus affirms that Christ really does have a human will by applying to the particular case of the will his own

logos/tropos distinction. It thus becomes possible to distinguish between the notions of *otherness* and of *opposition*, which had been confused up until that time. The contrariety of the human will in relation to the divine will is not due to its *logos*, in other words, to its essential reality, but to a certain *tropos*, that is, a personal mode, a “tendency” of the sinner’s human will. But the fact that this human will is other than the divine will is due to its essential reality, to its *logos*. Hence, the opposition is not necessary in the hypothesis of the two wills. Since Christ is perfectly holy and without sin*, any opposition of his human will to his divine will is excluded a priori (*see Op* 4, between 634 and 640, PG 91, 60 A–61 D; *Op* 20, before 640, 236 A–237 C).

Then, between 641 and 646, Maximus interprets Jesus’ Gethsemane prayer in a new way by considering his human will no longer in the apparent refusal but in the act* of free acceptance of the cup (Mt 26:42). To answer fully the problem of the opposition of the human will to the divine will, Maximus highlights this free consent of Jesus’ will, which reveals his perfect agreement with the divine will (*see Op* 6, c. 641, PG

91, 65 A-68 D; *Op* 7, c. 642, 80 C-81 B; *Op* 16, after 643, 196 C-197 A; *Op* 3, c. 645-46, 48 BD). The will being the principle of activity, the problem of monoenergism was solved at its root.

In doing this, Maximus was enhancing in Christology* the active role of the humanity of Christ in its historical reality. The agreement between human will and divine will is part of Jesus' earthly life, in his perfect obedience to the Father*, which takes him to his death on the cross (*see Phil* 2:8). At Gethsemane, the union of the two wills reveals itself in the interpersonal relation between Son and Father, as this relation has unfolded humanly, according to the dynamic of a free will. Obedience is the exact word to describe this fully human attitude of the Son toward his Father, in the order of freedom* (*see PG* 91, 68 D).

b) The Local Council of the Lateran. Maximus became the principal adversary of monothelitism, and he victoriously confronted Pyrrhus, the former patriarch of Constantinople, in a public dispute in Carthage in July 645 (*PG* 91, 288-353). In 646 he started living in Rome*, which had become the center of resistance to monothelitism. While Emperor Constans II, in his *Tupos* of 647, strictly forbade talk of one or two wills or operations, Pope* Martin I summoned a council in the Lateran, in October 649, in order to affirm dogmatically the two wills and operations and to condemn monothelitism and monoenergism. Maximus was the theologian of that council, and he certainly wrote the main texts, in which it is possible to recognize his expressions (*Op* 6, *PG* 91, 68 D). Faced with the hypothesis of the two contrary wills, the council affirmed that the two wills of Christ, divine and human, are united in full agreement; and faced with the hypothesis of two subjects desiring opposing things, the council affirmed one sole subject, Christ, who divinely and humanly desires one single thing: our salvation* through his Passion*. The two operations were affirmed in the same manner (*see DS* 500, 510, 511). What was new in these affirmations concerned the human will and its soteriological role through the activity that ensues. To express the meaning of Jesus' free consent at Gethsemane, it had to be said that our salvation had been desired and realized humanly by a divine being*.

Constans II reacted by arresting Martin and Maximus, who would both seal with their martyrdom* the affirmation of Christ's human freedom in his agony; the death of the pope in 655 and that of the theologian in 662 also expressed the freedom of the Church* against political power.

c) The Third Council of Constantinople. This dispute ended up at the council, which took place in Constantinople from November 680 to September 681,

during the reign of Emperor Constantine IV. Against monothelitism and monoenergism, that council clearly affirmed the reality of the two wills and of the two operations of Christ, in the perspective of Chalcedon*'s definition, whose expressions were reused word for word (as well as Leo's expressions from his *Tome à Flavien*), the wills and the operations being considered properties of the two natures of Christ: "We proclaim in him, according to the teaching of the Holy Fathers*, two natural wills and two natural operations, without any division, any change, any partition, and any confusion. The two natural wills are not at all, as the impious heretics have said, opposed to one another. But Christ's human will follows his divine and all-powerful will; it does not resist it and does not oppose it; it rather submits to it [...]. The natural difference in this unique hypostasis can be seen in the fact that each of these two wills desires and acts in its own domain, in communion with the other. For that reason, we glorify two wills and two natural operations participating together in mankind's salvation" (*DCO* II-1, 287-91).

By the same token, the council condemned all those who had professed monothelitism and monoenergism, among whom was counted Pope Honorius (*DS* 550-52). That unique case—a bishop* of Rome condemned as a heretic by an ecumenical council—gave rise later to great discussions (in particular with regard to infallibility*). In reality Honorius was never formally a heretic, having died in 640, long before the solution of the problem. He therefore did not have the time to retract his unfortunate monothelite formula of 634. Maximus always defended his memory, and the council of 649 did not condemn him. The dogmatic assertion of the free human will of Christ and of the resulting operation guaranteed the full humanity of Christ, considered from his center, from his heart*.

• Acts: *ACO*, *Series secunda* II/1 and 2.

Decrees: *COD* 124-30 (*DCO* II/1, 273-93).

♦ P. Sherwood (1952), *An annotated date-list of the works of Maximus the Confessor*, Rome.

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M. Doucet (1972), *La Dispute de Maxime le Confesseur avec Pyrrhus*, Montreal.

Ch. von Schönborn (1972), *Sophrone de Jérusalem*, Paris.

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J.M. Garrigues (1976), "Le martyre de saint Maxime le Confesseur," *RThom* 76, 410-52.

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See also Chalcedon, Council of; Christ/Christology; Maximus the Confessor; Monothelitism/ Monoenergism

Constantinople IV, Council of

869–70

a) Prehistory. In 858, Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed for political reasons and replaced by Photius, a layman. Pope* Nicholas I challenged that election on two grounds: the patriarch of Constantinople could not be deposed without the agreement of Rome*, and the election of Photius did not conform to the canons in any way whatsoever. At the same time, Nicholas demanded the reintegration, under Roman jurisdiction*, of Illyricum, Calabria, and Sicily, which had been annexed to the patriarchate of Constantinople by the iconoclastic emperors.

A synod* that met in Constantinople in 861 confirmed the deposition of Ignatius, with the agreement of the Roman legates, who were to be subsequently disavowed by the pope.

In 863 a synod at the Lateran deposed Photius and those he had ordained. Nicholas I invoked the primacy of Rome (which gave it the right to intervene in the affairs of the other patriarchates*), contested the doctrine of the pentarchy (equal dignity of the five patriarchates: Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem*, and Rome), and recognized only three “apostolic” patriarchates: Rome, Alexandria and Antioch.

In response to this, Photius sent an encyclical letter to the Eastern patriarchs in which he stated that the rank of the bishops* depended on the political importance of their city and also condemned Rome’s addition of the *Filioque** to the symbol of Nicaea*. In 867 he organized the meeting of a council in Constantinople (known as the “Photian council”), which anathematized Nicholas I (this was the “Photian schism”).

A political upheaval in Byzantium caused the departure of Photius and the return of Ignatius. In June 869 a Roman synod, presided over by Pope Hadrian II, anathematized Photius and burned the acts of the Photian council. In October of the same year, and at the request of the Byzantine emperor, the Fourth Council of Constantinople was opened.

b) History and Issues. This council lasted 10 sessions. What was at issue was Rome’s intervention in the internal affairs of another patriarchate and its role as a source of orthodox faith*. The subject of the *Filioque*, raised for the first time in Photius’s encyclical letter to the Oriental patriarchs, was not broached.

The final decree (*horos*) of the council recognized the first seven ecumenical councils and condemned Photius.

The council’s 27 canons deal with tradition*, Roman primacy, the patriarchates, images*, the heretical doctrine of the two souls*, and disciplinary questions (election of a layman* to the patriarchate, intrusion of political power in the affairs of the Church*, etc.)

c) Reception. The council’s decisions pertaining to Photius were abrogated in 879 by Pope John VIII and by a synod held in Constantinople under the chairmanship of Photius himself (who had been reconciled with Ignatius and had again been made a patriarch) in the presence of the pope’s legates and of the Eastern patriarchs.

Constantinople IV is acknowledged as ecumenical by the Latin Church but not by the Greek Church, which holds to the “seven ecumenical councils.” Some Orthodox theologians consider the 879 synod to be ecumenical.

• *COD*, 157–86 (*DCO* 1, 354–407).

Acts, Mansi 17, 373–725.

♦ D. Stiennon (1967), *Constantinople IV*, *HCO* 5, Paris.

P.-Th. Camelot, P. Maraval (1988), *Les conciles œcuméniques*, I: *Le premier millénaire*, Bibliothèque d’histoire du christianisme 15, Paris.

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See also **Church and State; Council; Creeds; Heresy; Pope**

Consubstantial

a) *Traditional Foundations.* Although the word “consubstantial” did not begin to circulate before the beginning of our era, its semantic roots join the most ancient usages of words such as “essence” (*ousia*), “substance” (*hupostasis*), or “nature” (*physis*). In this respect, three main and independent authorities played a constant role as sources of inspiration and of language throughout the genesis of patristic thought: Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. Plotinus, however, was the first to use *homoousios* in philosophical language. In his *Enneads* (IV, 7 [2], 10), he states that the human soul*, in its intrinsic goodness, has something divine “because of the kinship and the consubstantial” with “divines things,” *dia suggeneian kai to homoousion* (Bréhier). Porphyry uses *homoousios* five times; Jamblic, once, to pick up on Plotinus’s idea: the soul is mixed with divinity (*Mysteries of Egypt* 3, 21). In the fifth and sixth centuries, an isolated use of *homoousios* would be seen again among each of the two last great masters of neo-Platonism, Syrianus and Simplicius. Meanwhile, the Christian authors of the same period would have used this term more than 200 times, according to G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. One can see from which side the term “consubstantial” triggered a truly intellectual creation, judging by its literary vogue.

b) *Pre-Nicene Christian Usage.* Beginning with Irenaeus* and Tertullian*, the Fathers* denounced the Gnostic usage, declaring the consubstantiality of spiritual beings with divine Plerome. The first Trinitarian usage of *homoousios*, foreign to the Gnostic context, appeared in the correspondence between the two Dionysius, the homonymic bishops* of Rome* and Alexandria, only around 265, although neither one made personal use of it. Not long afterward, in 286, a synod* condemned Paul of Samosata at Antioch; a homousian *Letter of Sirmium* stated in 358 that this synod had censured *homoousios*; but this was a mere supposition, easily understood in the tumult of ideas after Nicaea*.

c) *The Nicene “Consubstantial.”* “The exact signification of *homoousios* in the Nicene Creed is not only difficult to elucidate, it is useless to pretend to search for it,” observed C. Stead (1994) at the end of an ex-

cellent analysis of the non-Christian and Christian recourses to the concept or to the word before Nicaea. A relevant remark from a historian of classical thought but who forbids himself to grasp the *pastoral* nature of the choice of this term at the council* of 325. Let us try, then, to define precisely the original signification of Nicene “consubstantiality.” In the *Exposition (of faith) of the 318 Fathers* (DCO, II-1, 1994), this word first refers to monogenesis, “unique engendered” (see Jn 1:18; 3:16, 18) which the creators of the symbol detached from “Son of God,” to which it is always adjoined in analogous formulations of faith* of the period, and which they joined to “born of the Father*” in lieu of the traditional formula “before all centuries” (Skarsaune 1987). The design of the origin of the Son (filiation*), understood as divine “generation,” is thus detached from the reference to cosmology according to a shift in perspective that started with Alexander of Alexandria, *Letter to Alexander of Thessalonica*. Thus, both words, *monogenesis* and *homoousios*, or rather the two expressions that carry these words, one made of traditional elements, *ek tou patros monogenès* and one that constitutes a polemical addition that is not scriptuary and is completely unknown to tradition, *homoousios tô patri*, explain each other. Consequently, this “consubstantiality” refers back to the unique generation of the Son by the Father.

Indeed, the two parallel expressions ensure, along the same line, the inclusion of other polemic additions introduced in the formula of baptismal faith that serves as a basis for the drafting of the Nicene Creed:

- 1) *toutestin ek tes ousias tou patros*, “that is to say of the Father’s essence,” a logical precision formulated according to Theognostos, bishop of Alexandria between 250 and 280, who served to reinforce “born of the Father, unique engendered”
- 2) *theon alethinon ek theou alethinou*, “the true God of true God,” scriptuary allusion (Jn 17:3) corroborating the metaphor that is both Johannine (1 Jn 1:5, 8:12) and eminently Origenian (Boularand 1972) and that precedes *phôs ek phôtos*, “light born of light,” a metaphor absent from other classical creeds and thus still an Alexandrian sign characteristic of the Nicene Creed

- 3) *gennethenta ou poiethenta*, “engendered, not created” (“made”), a reference to the Scripture* (at least for “engendered”: Ps 110:3; Prv 8:25), serving to immediately introduce *homoousios*

In short, here *homoousios* takes on meaning focusing on the origin of the Son. Such a focus, imposed by the Arian contestation, is the distinctive particularity of Nicean *homoousios*. The identity of the nature between the Father and Son is not defined in itself, but it is affirmed as far as the origin of Monogenesis, as was required by the common faith. If the Nicene Fathers could have accepted such recourse, it is precisely because in the immediate context of their creed, *homoousios* was no longer situated, at least in their eyes, on the level of philosophy* or of the gnosis* of the past, where it would remain burdened by ambiguities. The signifying value of the term, in harmony with the pastoral need of the hour, consisted of expressing the still radically mysterious origin of the Son.

The reception* of *homoousios* in its proper theological dimension would impose a strong effort of original invention for generations of thinkers, beginning from the pioneering work of Athanasius of Alexandria*, *Against the Arians* (c. 340), up until the clear distinction between the three hypostasis and the divine essence in the Cappadocian synthesis, in particular among Gregory* of Nazianzus (*Theological Orations*, c. 380). During this debate of ideas, Christian thought determined how Nicene “consubstantiality” signified a

union of numeric nature without imposing a Trinitarian modalism* and how it suggested a specific union of hypostasis without shattering the essential identity and simplicity* of the divine Trinity*. For the first time, in 382, a synodal letter explicitly extended the consubstantiality of Christ* to the entire Trinity. At the Council of Chalcedon* (451), the same concept would be used to clarify the double consubstantiality of Christ: it designates in the order of divinity the unity of the first substance and in the order of humanity, the specific identity of the second substance.

- *Conciliorum oecumenicorum Decreta* II-1 (1994), 34–35.
- ◆ I. Ortiz de Urbina (1942), “L’*homousios* preniceno,” *Orientalia christiana periodica* 8, 194–209.
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See also **Arianism; Athanasius of Alexandria; Nicaea I, Council of; Trinity**

Consubstantiation

A term unknown to the Scholastics and to the early Reformation, “consubstantiation” appeared around 1560 in Calvinist polemics to characterize Lutheran eucharistic theology (which asserted the presence of Christ* “in, with, and under” the bread and wine of the Eucharist*. Theories of consubstantiation go back to the patristic use of christological concepts in eucharistic theology (Betz 1979): just as Christ is truly man and truly God*, so the body of Christ is truly (“substantially”) present, while the bread and the wine themselves remain truly present. The current eclipse of

the Greek and medieval concept of substance and the disappearance of physical explanations of the Eucharist have in this instance done away with any real difference between Catholic and Lutheran theories or demonstrated that there never was any such difference in the first place. Consubstantiation has also been spoken of as an “impanation”; they are synonymous.

- J. Schaedtke (1977), “Abendmahl III/3,” *TRE* 1, 106–22.
- J. Betz (1979), *HDG* IV.4.a.

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See also **Being; Eucharist**

Contemplation

The concept of *contemplation* has a double history—that of Greek (*theoria*) and Latin (*contemplatio*). The passage from *theoria* to *contemplatio*, like all translations of Greek theological vocabulary into Latin, was accompanied by a mutation of the content. Here is how this mutation can be roughly characterized: While *theoria* is a concept of philosophical origin, keeping a certain ambiguous ground between theology* and philosophy*, *contemplatio* is a concept bound to Latin Christian theology and, more specifically, to one of its subdivisions, spiritual* theology. From Augustine* to Teresa of Avila, by way of Bernard* of Clairvaux and the Carthusian Spiritual School, the concept of *contemplatio* historically underwent a gradual deviation toward psychology, drawing on Augustinianism*, where it had already come to designate a “spiritual state of mind.”

1. Philosophical and Scriptural Elements in the Origin of the Concept

We should distinguish two different kinds of elements constituting the concept of *contemplatio*: on the one hand, Platonic and Aristotelian definitions, on the other, a biblical element from the Old Testament (essentially in the figures of Moses and Elijah), as well as from the New Testament—Martha and Mary (Lk 10:38–42) and Paul’s ecstasy (Acts 9:3–9, 22:6–11; 26:12–18; see Stolz 1947).

The Platonic and Aristotelian definitions of contemplation—*theoria*—do not coincide. For Plato, *theoria* was the high point of knowledge delivering the best of the human being (*Rep.* VII 532 c.) It is exercised by the *nous* (*Phaedrus* 247c) and relates to love* (*Symposium* 192 c) by being part of the Good*, a good that is beyond being* (*The Republic* 509 b). This definition opens for the Greek Fathers the possibility of deification through *theoria*. In Aristotle, on the other hand, *theoria* is defined as the high point of virtuous life, “life by the intellect” (*Nicomachean Ethics* X, 7), which opens the way for “divinization of the intellect” along the lines of *De Anima* III:5: “If the intellect is something divine as opposed to human, then life by the intellect is also divine, as opposed to human life.” For Plato, *theoria* is something mysterious (*Symposium* 209 e), a revelation of the Beautiful that is inaccessible

to any conception (*Symposium* 211 a), an ecstatic science of the Beautiful itself (*Symposium* 211 c)—in a word, an intuitive knowledge of the absolute. In Aristotle, on the other hand, *theoria* is unrelated to the regressive knowledge of pure Action, a disjunction thus opening between *De Anima* III:5 and *Nicomachean Ethics* X:7 on the one hand and *Metaphysics* I, 9 on the other, a problematic space of articulation that engulfs Avicenna (who synthesized divinization through the agency of the intellect in conjunction with the Primary Driving Force) and then Christian Aristotelianism*, especially radical Aristotelianism of the 13th century. The Aristotelian and Platonic ideas of *theoria* underwent an attempt at unification on the one hand within pagan and possibly anti-Christian Neoplatonism (Plotinus, Proclus, and Damascius) and on the other within the Christian Platonism* of the Greek Fathers (Origen*, Gregory* of Nyssa, and Maximus* the Confessor), including and above all in its most radical attempts at negative* theology (Pseudo-Dionysius*).

We cannot emphasize enough the importance of Plotinus’s doctrine of *theoria* (see Arnou 1921), which is definitely the first coherent synthesis of contemplation in the West. As a continuation of Plato’s *Letter VII*, Plotinus developed an ineffable view of the subject of *theoria*, expanding its sphere into the whole *phusis*—in his system, the *phusis* contemplates, it has a contemplative nature (*phusis philotheamon*): “Nature . . . is capable of a kind of contemplation and it produces all its works in accordance with contemplation, which, however, literally speaking it does not possess” (III, 8, 1), all this in opposition to Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics* 10, 8, 8), where *theoria* is restricted to the gods and humans. Plotinus also accomplished a change in relation to Plato that influenced a whole series of contemplative doctrines. He insisted that the soul* should withdraw within itself in order to be divested of all form (*Enneads* VI, 9, 7) and arrive at viewing the One, a principle of forms having no form itself (*Enneads* I, 6, 9.) The ascensional dialectics of the soul toward Good (Plato) is replaced by a conversion* of the self into the One by means of voluntary deprivation and progressive interiorizing. On this basis, Plotinus prepared the essence of the Augustinian *contemplatio*.

Sources in Scripture are limited in number. In the Old Testament we can name the parable* of Leah and Rachel, the episode of Moses and the burning bush, and Elijah's vision of God*. The Song of Songs has a special status. While it served to support the development of the nuptial mystique* of contemplation and, therefore, played a major role in the history of the doctrines of contemplation, it contains no descriptive canonical text of contemplation or contemplative life. In the New Testament we must distinguish between the crude materials on contemplation or contemplative life—the parable of Martha and Mary, the episode of the Transfiguration (Mt 17:1–9 and parallels), and Paul's elevation to the seventh heaven—and secondary theological elaborations, mostly in Paul's epistles.

Strictly speaking, contemplation is not a biblical concept. But the event of transfiguration can be interpreted as a passage from Elijah's and Moses' fear-dominated contemplation to a contemplation of the Son guided by love* (Mt 17:7–8.). These sources point to the following traits of contemplation. In the Old Testament it is accompanied by a theophany* (the bush and the cloud). It is an unbearable face-to-face meeting with God, appeasing the nostalgia for his appearance, a nostalgia experienced by all creatures. It is a face-to-face meeting revealing the intolerable “otherness” of God. Therefore, contemplation appears as the experience* of a radical otherness (one would not be able to see God without dying). In the New Testament the episode of the Transfiguration corresponds to a theophany* in the person* of Christ*; what is contemplated there is the glory* of Christ's divinity through his humanity. This element of mediation transforms the act of contemplation from a terrifying face-to-face meeting into the very condition of deification. (God became man so that I can contemplate him and be able to become God myself.) Paul's experience marked the act of contemplation with an ecstatic touch that became an inherent part of it. We should emphasize that the two parables of the two different kinds of life (Leah/Rachel in the Old Testament and Martha/Mary in the New) make contemplative life superior to active life. Thomas* Aquinas thus distinguished a form of beatitude* that was peculiar to active life from another that was peculiar to contemplative life, so that contemplation became confused with this bliss, which anticipated the bliss of the blessed ones, or supreme bliss.

Hugh of Saint Victor (*Myst. Theol. Quest. Diff.* 23–26) distinguishes between contemplation (Rachel; see Gregory* the Great, *Moralia* VI, 18, *Hom sup. Ez.* XIV) and ardent love (Mary). On the one hand there is “the intellect or the capacity of knowing” and on the other “affection or the capacity to love.” Two different “paths to excellence” correspond to these two capaci-

ties. One is contemplation, and the other is the intuitive wisdom of love, which is its superior and above all knowledge, “knowing through ignorance that is uniting above the mind” (Pseudo-Dionysius; see Ruello, *Intr. to Hugh of Saint Victor*, SC 408, 47 *Sq.*). This typology linking the parables of contemplative life in the Old Testament with those of the New Testament draws a dividing line between intellectual contemplation and affective contemplation, thus leading to questions about the subordination of the latter to the former and the nature of knowledge achieved through love.

The scriptural element was reinterpreted from the standpoint of philosophical *theôria*. For example, in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*, the face-to-face meeting between Moses and God is subject to exegesis* by means of the Platonic conception of *theoria* (SC 1 *bis*, 117 *Sq.*, the burning bush, 211 *Sq.*, darkness).

2. From the Philosophers' Theoria to the Theoria of the Greek Fathers

The transformation of pagan *theoria* into Christian *theoria* was accomplished within the critical acceptance of Platonism by the fathers* of the church,* especially the Greek Fathers (Ivanka 1964). The concepts of *theoria* and theology pre-dated the Fathers. These were Greek concepts that had evolved prior to the Christian dogma*. But they were reworked in dogmatic Christianity in a way that changed them profoundly (and maybe betrayed them). Their transformation has never been studied systematically in its totality, but we can at least outline some traits of the Fathers' concept of contemplation.

In addition to by the term *theoria*, borrowed from the philosophers, the Greek Fathers explain contemplation by *gnosis* (see *DSP* 2/2, 1765–66). This term is more specific to religion and more widely accepted than *theoria*—“it is the light that penetrates the soul as a result of one's obedience to the commandments” (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* III, 5, 44). In a sense, *gnosis* prepares *theoria*. *Theoria* is the goal of life, the goal of the wise man, one of the characteristics of (Christian) gnostics, a pure prayer* (Clement of Alexandria). Origen distinguishes three levels: one moral (Abraham), one natural (Isaac), and one of *inspection*, or contemplation (*inspectivus*, Jacob). Clement sees a *theoria* through the person of Christ and a direct *theoria* of God, subdivided into a beatifying, angelic, and human *theoria*. Gregory of Nyssa distinguishes two stages, that of the cloud (intellectual *theoria*) and that of darkness (mystical *theoria*), corresponding to two stages in the life of Moses. He often uses the term *theognosis* to name mystical contemplation (e.g., in his *Life of Moses* PG 44, 372 d, SC 1 *bis*, 203).

Theognosia is to be distinguished from *theoria*: “Philosophies fail before arriving at the light of *theognosia*” (*Life of Moses* PG 44, 329 b, 113). The Song of Songs is simultaneously *theognosia* and *philosophia* (PG 44, 788 c). Evagrius Ponticus (†399) turns *theoria* into “the essential activity of the intellect, its life, its happiness” (*Centuries* 1, 24). The supreme *theoria* is the *theoria* of the Trinity*, “uniform gnosis” (*Centuries* I, 54), surpassing the *theoria* of the intelligible. It is supreme contemplation, a “state above all forms” (*Centuries* 7, 23) that Evagrius most often names *theologia*. Pseudo-Dionysius gives each level of the hierarchy (angelic or ecclesiastical) its own degree of *theoria*, as befitting. He does not equate *theoria* and negative theology (as John* of the Cross does). *Theoria* goes further than negative theology—the latter puts a limit on the intellect that *theoria* transgresses. *Theoria* is conceptualized as deification (*theosis*) and as ecstasy, by giving ecstasy a nonpsychological meaning. Ecstasy is a “departure from the human condition” (R. Roques, *DSp* 2/2, 1898).

For Pseudo-Dionysius and for a whole branch of the Dionysian tradition following him on this point, contemplative ecstasy is beyond intelligence and beyond reason (*De Div. Nom.* 872 a-b): “The most divine knowledge* of God is the one acquired through ignorance in a unification that is beyond intelligence (*hyper noun*), at the moment where intelligence, having moved away from all beings and subsequently detached itself from the self, unites with the most radiant light.”

For Aristotle, *theoria* is accomplishing what is peculiar to man—that is, living by intellect and virtue. For Plotinus, ecstasy is also an intellectual abandon of the self. Therefore, the pagan conception and the Dionysian conception are clearly opposites: contemplation is either surpassing humanity by leaving the human behind or accomplishment of humanity through the divinization of the intellect.

3. Contemplatio, from Augustine to the End of the Middle Ages

The term *contemplatio* originates with Cicero (*De Nat. Deorum* I, 14, 37) and Seneca (*Letters to Lucilius* 95, 10). Augustine*, in his doctrine of *contemplatio*, is indebted both to Latin Stoicism* and to Plotinus. He defines it as a face-to-face vision of God in eternal life*, as an end to all action and supreme bliss (*De trin.* 1, 8, 17; 1, 10, 20). Mary, as opposed to her sister Martha, epitomizes contemplative life (*Sermon* 169, 13 Sq). The philosophical distinction between *bios praktikos* and *bios theoretikos*, or between *otium* and *negotium*, is frequently used in the exegesis of Martha and Mary. In his *Summa Theologica*, Thomas* Aquinas devotes

questions 179 to 182 of *IIa IIae* to this issue and declares that contemplative life is preferable for the following reasons: it is intellectual, more lasting, more delightful, and self-sufficient; leisure and rest; it is also preoccupied with things divine and peculiar to man. We must point out that Thomas attributes the contemplative/active division to life as transformed by the intellect. Taken on its own, life does not know this distinction (q. 179, a. 1).

Augustine starts from a theory of the soul in order to determine the nature of *contemplatio*. He does this, first, by making *contemplatio* the highest activity of the soul, the supreme level, just below apprehending true being (*De quant. An.* 33, 76). This activity consists in seeing the truth, in a celebration of Good (*fruitio, perfruitio*). And he continues further by reversing and shifting the analogy* of the *Republic*. Making the soul an *analogon* of the Trinity*, he introduces *contemplatio* inside Trinitarian life. In so doing, he achieves the interiorization Plotinus had begun. *Contemplatio* is accomplishing loving from inside; it is simultaneously a vision of Truth*, hearing and being in contact with the Word*, in a system of spiritual meanings that was not invented by Augustine (it goes back to Origen) but was endowed by him with a rich phenomenology of the sensibility and affectivity that evolved further throughout all the Middle Ages and was completed by Bernard.

This double definition of interiority, as love, and of *contemplatio*, as an intra-Trinitarian act, contains a risk. In fact, it contains even its own reversal, that of psychologizing *contemplatio* or reducing it to the sphere of the affective. From the time of Augustine, there have been two rival conceptions of *contemplatio*—one intellectualist and the other affective—and this rivalry would punctuate the history of *contemplatio* doctrines in the Middle Ages. Meister Eckhart and Dante* defended to a certain extent the intellectualist position, although with some important nuances. We must note, however, that Eckhart has no doctrine of *contemplatio* (unlike Dante, who exhibits an elaborate doctrine).

Yet things are not that simple, and there was a whole spiritual movement that developed a type of negative Augustinian theology in competition with or parallel to Dionysian negative theology. During the Middle Ages, almost all authors of treatises on the subject of *contemplatio* drew from these two sources, combining their elements in various ways.

Certainly, Augustinian negative theology of *contemplatio* has a more obvious affective character (e.g., in Thomas Gallus), but Dionysian negative theology has an affective dimension, too. This is a major point in determining the place of the concept of *contemplatio* in

the economy of metaphysics. In fact, the affective conception of *contemplatio* prepared the change that saw on the one hand theology splitting into dogmatic theology and spiritual* theology and on the other philosophical knowledge breaking away from spiritual experience.

a) *Place of Contemplatio*. There is a text from the 13th century that has been constantly cited and pilaged as an authority. It is the *Scala Claustralium* by the Carthusian Guigues II, which was long attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux. This work allows one to place *contemplatio* at the top of a series of exercises—reading, meditation, prayer, *contemplatio*—that constitute the four ascending levels of spiritual* life. Bernard had already distinguished *contemplatio* and *consideration* (*De Consid.* II, 2): “Contemplation can be defined as the ability of the soul to have a true and infallible intuition about things (*verus intuitus*)... while consideration is... an intention of the mind in search of truth.”

Hugh of Saint Victor distinguishes *cogitatio*, *meditatio*, and *contemplatio* (PL 175, 116), marking the difference between the last two in terms of *topos*: “what meditation seeks, contemplation finds.” He also uses a quaternary schema distinguishing “four modes of contemplation”: meditation, soliloquy, circumspection, and ascension (*De Cont. et eius speciebus* I–IV). If the first three levels are defined by Guigues II according to their function (*officium*), contemplation is defined according to its effect (*effectus*), which is that “man becomes almost entirely spiritual” (*De Cont. et eius speciebus* VII, 1. 174). Contemplation is “the pleasure of being gentle” (*Scala Cl.* III, 1. 48), “a gentleness which delights and revives” (*Scala Cl.* III, 1. 46). It has, therefore, a specific place in the regulated planning of spiritual exercises in monastic life, being conceived as an institutionalized form of contemplative life, and is described in terms of emotion and desire, not knowledge.

b) *Structure of Contemplatio*. Pseudo-Dionysius (*De Div. Nom.* 4, 8; see also Thomas Aquinas, *ST* IIa IIae, q. 180, a. 6) applies to the soul the Aristotelian distinction between the three types of movement (circular, oblique or helicoidal, and linear or longitudinal). Since contemplation unites the powers of intellection, he identifies it with the circular movement. This conceptual transference was to be utilized in at least two ways in the history of doctrines: first, in the opposition between meditation, which is linear, and contemplation, which is circular (Quiroga, *Apologia Mistica* 4, 1 *Sq* for an informed summary), and then, in the distinction that is inherent to contemplation, namely, between speculative contemplation, which is linear or heli-

coidal, and anagogic contemplation, which is circular or linear (see, e.g., Guigues du Pont, *Treatise on Contemplation*). Speculative contemplation is intellectual, and anagogic contemplation is affective: “There are two types of this contemplation, to test a small number: speculative and anagogic, or affirmative and negative, or even intellectual and affective” (*ibid.* III, 4.) The first one rises to God by affirmation and speculation; the second, by negation and affection. Anagogic linear contemplation is a direct and violent movement toward God, while anagogic circular contemplation is a movement bringing the soul back to itself to discover God there (introversion). Thus, the conceptual schemes are interwoven to the extreme: a physical classification serves as a basis to a mystical one that is dependent, in its turn, on the Plotino-Augustinian model of introversion, from turning back to oneself—toward God, or toward God through the self.

c) *Theological Value and Object of Contemplatio*. Thomas Aquinas systematized the philosophical and mystical elements we have outlined here in his theory of contemplation. According to Aquinas, contemplation furnishes true knowledge of the divine being, but this knowledge must be distinguished from that of the divine essence achieved through beatific* vision. In fact, theologians have hesitated on the issue of what the object of contemplation is (attributes*, glory*, God’s being or essence). The current negative response was not unanimous in the Middle Ages. Augustine and Thomas himself hesitated and even maintained that contemplation provided a vision of God himself, particularly for Moses and Paul (see *ST, Summa Theologica*, IIa IIae, q. 175, a. 3 and q. 180, a. 5), while at the same time they affirmed that the vision of the divine essence was inaccessible even to those who were blessed (Thomas Aquinas, *In Ev. Sec. Ioh.* C. 1, lec. 11, n. 1). For example, Pseudo-Dionysius, who identifies the essence of God with “unlimited light,” refers to the Platonic *topos* of the dazzling intellect and declares divine essence to be out of his reach. The goal is “to be united in ignorance with the one who is beyond all essence and all knowledge” (*On Myst. Theol.* 1, 1). How can we fit the contemplation of man on his journey with the contemplation of the blessed one, supreme terrestrial beatitude with supreme celestial beatitude?

Aquinas’s solution is to reinterpret Aristotelian *theoria* in order to make it a preparatory stage of the contemplation (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 180): *Theoria* is a contemplation of God within Creation*. Thus, *theoria* is defined as knowledge through speculation (*cognitio specularis*) that is distinct from contemplation, which is plain intuition (*intuitus simplex*, III *Sententiarum*, d.

35, q. 1, a. 3, ad 2.). Contemplation is *unio* and *informatio*, a union with the Principle and acquisition of form (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 3, a. 5, ad 1); it contains the substance of human beatitude. Aristotelian *theoria*, a terrestrial and scientific aspiration, leads, in return, only to limited beatitude (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 3, a. 6 resp. et ad 1–3). And even if contemplation is an act of the speculative intellect (*intellectus speculativus*, *ST Ia IIae*, q. 3, a. 5), we must distinguish between contemplation and speculation. Contemplation is nondiscursive, as it possesses truth and enjoys it, while speculation is a discursive searching for the truth (see *In Eth.* 10, 10, no. 2092). Beatitude and life are susceptible to being contemplative, while it befits intellect, knowledge, and science to be speculative. Therefore, contemplative life, which leads to supreme beatitude, supposes exercising a speculative intellect and procures a speculative kind of knowledge. The Aristotelian divorce between practice and theory, which Plotinus tried to override by emphasizing the theoretical element of all praxis, thus finds a twofold expression in Aquinas. The speculative is opposed to practice, but the contemplative, which presupposes the speculative, is to overcome this opposition. And by making Aristotelian *theoria* an anticipation of contemplation, Aquinas implicitly reproaches Aristotle for remaining in a state of scission.

4. *Contemplatio in Modern Times*

a) *Mutations of Contemplation.* The Renaissance marked a turning point in the history of mysticism (Certeau 1982). The introduction of an autobiographical system in the description of “superior states” (Musil), the massive invasion of hysteria as a figure of truth or of neurasthenia (Surin), and the promotion of femininity—all these constituted an irreversible evolution. From the perspective of historiography, this interpretation is very fragile. The ecstasy of Ostia contains all the required autobiographical elements; the feminine mystique is a major trait of medieval spirituality (Hildegard of Bingen and Hadewijch of Antwerp) and so on. Yet it has some validity. Indeed, the Renaissance underwent a subjectivist turn in relation to the mystical doctrines of contemplation, but this turn must be described within these doctrines and not only within the categories of the psychoanalysis of history*.

From this immanent point of view, the transition can be characterized as the mutation of the very concept of contemplation that passed from a cognitive acceptance to a purely psychological acceptance. The question of the objective content of knowledge of the act of contemplating, which is a central question for any Thomistic dogmatic theology or the mystical theology

of someone such as Hugh of Saint Victor but also equally important to Nicholas of Cusa (whose thought lies at the borderline between two worlds), loses its pertinence in the modern schools of spirituality, such as the Salesian* School, the French schools evolving from Pierre de Bérulle*, and the reformed Teresian school of Carmel*. Certainly, there are some great mystics in the baroque and classical ages (Benoît de Canfeld, Angelus Silesius, Jean de Saint-Samson, and Bérulle), but there are almost no contemplative theologians or philosophers. When Suarez* writes his *De oratione*, we have to do with a distinct work in terms of its metaphysics; when Spinoza speaks of contemplation, the latter is deprived of its primary meaning.

This drifting is typical of the Latin Church. The Eastern Church never experienced it, no doubt because its doctrines of contemplation have always had a mystic and practical character at the same time. Its theological tradition* has a more pronounced mystical orientation, and its *theoria* is always related to divinization (*theosis*). Ascetism is the common good of the Church.

On the other hand, the cultural phenomenon of the Renaissance had no effect on religious thought in the traditionally Orthodox countries (mostly Russia and Greece). The major event in the East was a complex transfer of Byzantine mystical theology into a Slavic context, marked, among other things, by the absence of autochthonous Scholastics*, which gave, for instance, the opportunity for a revival of Hesychasm* in the 19th century. But this transfer does not fit into the organizational model of Western history, which is that of a Renaissance break with the Middle Ages. Philosopher-theologians such as Solovyov*, Florensky, and even Berdyaev represent, from this point of view, cultural exceptions inasmuch as they continued to attribute a normative value to contemplation for metaphysical knowledge—something unthinkable in the post-Teresian and post-Kantian West.

b) *From Contemplation to Prayer, the Reformed Carmelite Order.* Although the writings of Teresa of Avila appear to be generally autobiographical, they contain a very traditional teaching of mystical theology. Teresa’s originality lies elsewhere—namely, in creating a landmark in the movement to subjectivize mystical life (see, e.g., Certeau 1982). Some were only too happy that Teresa broke with Pseudo-Dionysius in order to lay the foundations of a psychological method in mystical matters.

Teresa does not speak of *contemplation* but of *orison*, a term she borrowed from the Spanish spiritual leaders Osuna, Peter of Alcantara, and John of Avila, who sympathized with the movement of the *recogidos*.

Prayer is the act of praying (*oratio*). Therefore, it designates, first of all, a specialized activity, an “interior occupation” (Jean-Baptiste de la Salle) of the psychological human subject (the angels* do not offer prayers, but they contemplate; nature does not pray, while, according to Plotinus, it does), a strictly religious activity (if there is a “philosophical contemplation,” however disputable its status, there is no “philosophical prayer”). With prayer, contemplation is emptied of all metaphysical content. (And John* of the Cross, who has a true doctrine of contemplation, a heritage of the finest tradition, does not differ on this point from the Teresian conception.)

Teresa distinguishes five levels of prayer: 1) prayer of meditation, 2) prayer of peace, 3) prayer of dormant powers, 4) prayer in union with God, and 5) prayer of spiritual marriage (*Book of Life* and *The Interior Castle*). In *Abodes of the Soul*, Teresa distinguishes between the prayer of meditation (corresponding to the first three abodes) and the prayer of contemplation (the last four abodes), which parallels the classical distinction between meditation and contemplation, only here the distinction is made in the dynamic subject of the soul, moving from the more superficial to the more profound, reducing the introversive movement to an introspection of the states of the soul. The goal Teresa seems to set herself is providing readers with psychological criteria and allowing them to find their own place in this argument: “Peace of mind, union, ecstasy—these are all expressions that in the beginning had a theological meaning, without relating directly to any special psychological experience. Hence, this theological meaning has passed into the background” in Spanish mysticism (Stolz 1947).

These psychological states, finally, contain visions, ecstasies, and revelations* preparing one for spiritual marriage. Nuptial mystique, which has one of its sources in the metaphor of the Church as the spouse of Christ—“the marriage of the lamb is come, and his bride has made herself ready” (Rev 19:7)—and, earlier, in the metaphor of Israel* as the spouse of God—“Therefore, behold, I [God] will allure her [Israel], and bring her into the wilderness, and speak tenderly to her” (Hos 2:14)—draws its origin from the allegorical commentary of the Song of Solomon. The comments by Origen and Gregory of Nyssa fixed its framework of interpretation—namely, in terms of spiritual meanings and of the overall significance of the text, which is seen as describing simultaneously the union between God and the Church and that between the soul and God. The emotional theories of contemplation resorted on a massive scale to this type of allegory (see, e.g., the commentaries by the anti-intellectualist William of Saint-Thierry or those of Thomas Gallus, who is an

affective Dionysian). Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Sermons on the Song of Solomon* are, therefore, taken within the framework of the entire movement that they synthesize and, in fact, largely surpass. This nuptial mystique finds a complete literary expression in the *Poems* of Hadewijch of Antwerp and *The Spiritual Canticle* of John of the Cross. Ecstasy is an important element in the life of prayer that Teresa depicts in detail in her *Interior Castle*. It is a decisive characteristic for the psychologization and subjectivization of contemplation.

Taken by itself, ecstasy is only a superficial phenomenon that may accompany contemplation, but, in fact, it signals the weakness of human nature, which is why the ancient authors mistrusted it in the first place and warned the contemplatives against it. Ecstasy poses a conceptual problem—that of knowing if, in the act of contemplation, the intellect goes out of itself. Is ecstasy a movement of the soul going out toward the fine point of the intellect, or is it a radical movement of the intellect going out of its own self?

It was within the traditional framework of negative theology that John of the Cross developed his rich and complex doctrine of contemplation. He believed that contemplation was “mystical theology” (*Ascent of Mount Carmel* II, VIII): “This is why we call contemplation, which gives us understanding of the highest knowledge of God, ‘mystical theology’—that is to say, the secret wisdom* of God, since it is hidden from the understanding that receives it.” This contemplation is considered inborn: “Since contemplating is nothing but a secret, peaceful, and loving infusion of God” (*The Dark Night of the Soul* I, XI); “this secret, dark... contemplation is mystical theology... a hidden sense that according to Saint Thomas is communicated and injected into the soul by love” (*The Dark Night of the Soul* II, XVII). Defining contemplation as a “dark night,” he thus revives the Dionysian tradition of caliginous contemplation: “This night that we name ‘contemplation’” (*The Dark Night of the Soul* I, VIII). Contemplation is a beam of darkness, a shadowy light, an enlightened night, a “dark cloud making the night bright” (*Poems* IV).

The caliginous contemplation of medieval authors originates in the Dionysian doctrine of divine darkness. For Pseudo-Dionysius, God is found in a “superluminous darkness,” “unbound light” that equals “darkness” (see *Letter to Caius*, *Letter V to Dorothea*, PG 3 1066 A and 1074 a). Gregory of Nyssa also developed a mystique of the cloud in his *Life of Moses* (PG 44, 360 D, SC 1 bis 177 Sq) and in his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (PG 44, 1000 CD.) Contemplation is a “science of love” (*ibid.* II, XIX), a “mystical intelligence, confused and obscure” (*ibid.* II, XXIV). It is supernatural, peaceful, solitary, sub-

stantial. That is why John of the Cross could call it “an overall and obscure infusion” (*The Living Flame of Love* III, 3). Contemplation is a science but it is also delightful, which makes it close to “secret knowledge.” It is a “knowledge in love with God” (*Dark Night* II, 5), a “secret science of God.” In *The Spiritual Canticle* XIX, 5, he writes, “This delightful science . . . is mystical theology that is a secret science of God, that spiritual people call ‘contemplation’; it is extremely delightful because it is a science by way of loving.” Mystical theology or negative theology is a science “achieved through love, where one not only ‘knows’ but at the same time savors” (prologue to *The Spiritual Canticle*). John of the Cross insists on the fact that it is God who introduces the soul to contemplation and, in His grace*, operates in it. The soul just accepts and has nothing else to do but “pay attention to God lovingly, without wanting to feel or see anything . . . to receive the light supernaturally infused is to understand passively” (*Ascent to Mount Carmel* II, 15). The main difficulty of the contemplation doctrines—the ranking of intellect and affect—is resolved by equating contemplation with a science that is identical with love, a science that is knowledge. In a vocabulary that is still traditional, this solution consecrates the divorce between mystical contemplation and philosophical contemplation. Thus, mystical theology received a considerable existential autonomy, and contemplation, in solidarity with radical negative theology, became completely self-sufficient. The Thomistic problem of overcoming the opposition between the speculative and the practical—through contemplation—disappeared. Natural understanding is a prisoner of the senses and is even enlightened by supernatural intelligence, “which in the prison of the body has no disposition, nor capacity, to receive a clear notice of God” (*Ascent to Mount Carmel* II, 8).

Thus, the following axiom may be derived: “More or less everything the imagination can conceive and the mind can receive or understand in this life, is only, or can only be, a means for future union with God” (*Ascent to Mount Carmel* II, 8). It is not the natural character of understanding that impedes the intellectual apprehension of God, but it is “this state”—that is, the mortal condition of finitude—that does so. That which is of supernatural* order does not alter this limitation that is inherent in creation; it only opens Nature to a superior passivity, bending it to the demanding conditions of an obscure and arid contemplation. The double recognition, first, of Thomas* Aquinas as a magister of dogmatic theology (by Leo XIII in 1879) and, second, of John of the Cross as a magister of mystical theology (by Pius XI in 1926) would ratify the

scission and shift of the well-appropriated roles in the 16th century.

c) *Perspectives.* From John of the Cross until the present day, the history of the concept of contemplation has evoked few commentaries. Contemplative minds have continued to experiment and theologians to systematize, but the concept of contemplation has remained overall unchanged. We must, however, distinguish clearly the history of Latin spirituality and that of the East.

Catholicism, after the Council of Trent* and after Teresa, experienced two complementary phenomena: on the one hand, a greater specification of congregations and religious orders in the various kinds of spirituality, adding various shades of meaning to the concept of contemplation, and, on the other, solid systematizing in describing the various states of contemplating, partly related to the controversy over “acquired contemplation,” in which the Carmelites played a major role. This feud, which had its origins in the quarrel of quietism* (as well as in the Molinist background), revolved around the line to be drawn between what is natural (acquired contemplation) and what is supernatural (infused contemplation). Saint Joseph, a representative of the Salamanca School that contributed a systematic rereading of John of the Cross in the light of Thomas Aquinas, deals with it, for example, in his *le Cursus Theologiae Mysticae Scholasticae* (1736). The quarrel reached its climax in around 1900 in a debate between A. Soudreau (*La Vie d'union à Dieu*, 1900) and A.F. Poulain (*Des grâces d'oraison*, 1901), at the time when two great Carmelite contemplatives—Theresa of Lisieux (called Theresa of the Child Jesus, 1873–97) and Elizabeth of Dijon (called Elizabeth of the Trinity, 1880–1906)—picked up the Saint Johnian concept of contemplation. We can say of Theresa that she caused contemplation to pass through a form of modern night, nihilism, whence it emerged restored to its original appearance. Theresa gave it a full ecclesiastic dimension (Balthasar 1970) and was probably the first person to describe the clash between contemplation and atheism*, which gave her writing an inimitable character as a result.

The Eastern Church, thanks to the publication of an anthology of ascetic texts titled *Philocalie* (compiled in 1782 by Nicodemus the Hagiorite), saw, in the 19th century, a revival of both monastic and lay spirituality and of the techniques of contemplation deriving from Byzantium, specifically Hesychasm*. By its sheer mass (2,500 pages) and its ability to put things in perspective (the collection starts with the Fathers of the desert and concludes with Gregory* Palamas and Palamism), this anthology contributed a great deal to the powerful identity of contemplation in the Orthodox Church, espe-

cially in Russia, which witnessed a true regeneration of the “prayer of the heart.” This regeneration is called detachment, for example, in the teachings of the startzi or on Mount Athos, say, in the spirituality of someone such as Silouane (1866–1938), where contemplation relates, at the same time, to compassion.

We cannot say that contemplation was simply marginalized or omitted from the secular world. On the one hand, it certainly has not escaped the movement of secularization*, where esthetic contemplation came to replace mystique, since it is currently attributed the characteristics of immediacy, being above rational discourse, bringing intuitive knowledge of the universe and eventually knowledge* of God. On the other, the clinical devaluation of some states of mind related to contemplation has tarnished it with the discredit of a normative psychiatric science (see the works of Janet). It was only with Lacan’s *Seminar* that female contemplative ecstasy has been rehabilitated as a “mystical relishing in things,” which confirms the psychologized conception described previously, while at the same time opening a gap between it and this unambiguous attempt at psychological reduction. This fact seems to warrant a rethinking of contemplation for its own sake taking into consideration the critical contribution of philosophy*, namely, phenomenology.

Finally, multiple possibilities for a reevaluation of contemplation have been outlined by the “atheist mystique” of such writers as Wittgenstein and by the experience of boundaries as described by Blanchot, Klossowski, Bataille, and others. The state of mind these authors experienced and described escapes the traditional characterization of ecstasy and contemplation, but it borrows from both of these the desire for abandoning the self, giving up all control, breaking with immanence without creating a hierarchy between the here-and-now and the beyond, and without attaching these movements of the spirit to any theological framework. All this helps destroy the cosmological order in the realm of the psyche. If a theory of contemplation remains at all possible, it will be outlined henceforth against this background of disaster—but by agreeing to pay this price, it would be able to frustrate any reductionist endeavors.

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See also Asceticism; Beatitude; Life, Spiritual; Mysticism; Prayer; Spiritual Theology; Vision, Beatific

Conversion

1. Vocabulary

The biblical vocabulary of conversion is constituted of images, mostly images of return. The Hebrew verb *shoûv* means "to turn back," "to return to the point of departure." On the existential or ethical level (occurring more than 100 times), it connotes a change of direction, a modification of behavior. Rarely does this return consist in distancing oneself from God* (Nm 14: 43): it almost always involves coming back to him (prepositions 'el, le-, 'ad, 'al) or to steer away from evil* (*min* and its compounds). The causative form "to make one return" gives God or his representative the initiative of return (Ps 80:4). The Greek equivalent is *strephô*, and its compounds are *apo-* or *epi-*, which most often conveys *shoûv* in the Septuagint. In the New Testament, *epistrephô* is often used to speak of conversion, especially in Acts.

In the Bible*, conversion also involves searching for God or the good* (Hebrew verbs *biqqésh* and *dârash*: Dt 4:29; Sol 1:6). It especially means to regret evil. The verb *niham* describes this aspect of conversion, which consists of changing one's mind if there is still time or of repenting if evil has been committed. Besides the human being experiencing repentance (Ex 13:17; Jer 31:19), God (*see* J1 2, 13f.) is often the subject of this verb: he goes back on a decision (Ex 32:14) or regrets a past choice (Gn 6, 6f). Rarer than *shoûv*, *niham* is translated in the Septuagint as *metanoëô*, a mostly neutral verb in secular Greek ("to remark after the fact, to change one's mind, have regrets"). In the Bible it expresses religious and moral conversion, and in the New Testament specifically its lexical field associates it with faith (Mk 1:15), with baptism* (Acts

2:38), and with the forgiveness of sins (Lk 17:3). Conversion (*metanoia*) is also linked to return (Acts 3:19, with *epistrephô*).

2. Preaching: Sin, Conversion, Salvation

a) The Prophets. In prophetic preaching*, sin*, in whatever form (infidelity, Hos 2:7; rebellion, Is 1, 2ss; taking the Name* in vain, Am 2:7; abandonment of YHWH and idolatry*, Jer 2:13; etc.) is an evil that disturbs and corrupts the relationship between Israel* and God, to the misfortune of the former. Until the exile, the prophets* continuously denounce sinners and call them to return to God in order to restore a just relationship with him (Am 5:4, 14f.; Mi 6:6ff.), by rejecting idols (Hos 14:2ff.), and by a genuine change in their actual behavior (Is 1:16f.). Rituals and words are not enough (Hos 6:1–6). The reminder of God's mercy (Hos 2:16ff., 14:5–8) and the threat of judgment* (Is 6:9f.; Am 3:2) encourages Israel to return to God. There is not much hope since sin is deep rooted (Am 4:4–13; Jer 17:1), but "the rest will return" (Is 10:20–23).

From Jeremiah onward, the language of conversion begins to change: the prepositions that make of the return a step toward YHWH are replaced by those that make of it a refusal of evil. For Jeremiah, the misfortune that strikes a country constitutes a final call to listen and to convert (Jer 4:14, 25:5f., 26:2–5). Hardening* (18:11f.) leads to catastrophe (13:20–27). After this, God will return (12:15), he will make his people come back in order to enter into a new covenant* with him (31:18ff.). For Ezekiel, who in-

sists on personal responsibility (Ez 18), conversion is a gift from God (36:25–32). The Deuteronomist Isaiah and Jonah considered the conversion of nations to the God of Israel (Is 45:14; Jn 1:3) (universalism*).

b) Deuteronomist School. Consciousness of a sin constantly threatening the covenant between Israel and its God is present in Deuteronomist theology, at least after the exile (Dt 9:24; Jos 24:19). Furthermore, the call to fidelity (Dt 6:4f.) is reinforced by an urgent invitation to conversion. (Dt 4:29). Stories illustrate its importance: salvation* is linked to the return to YHWH (Jgs 10:6–16; 1 Sm 7:2–12), and discourses throughout the Deuteronomist history* continuously remind us of this (1 Kgs 8:46–51; 2 Kgs 17:13). Moreover, conversion is a matter of urgency: a day will come when it will be too late (2 Kgs 23:25ff.). The Chronist works extend this message (Ezr 9:5–15; Neh 9) by insisting even more on the role of the Law* in the return to God (Neh 9:29). Thus, after the exile, repentance plays a key role in biblical spirituality (Dn 9:4–19). This is also seen in the Wisdom* theme found in the late writings (Wis 11:23f., 12:2; Sir 17:25f., 39:5).

c) Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. The prophetic discourses reemerge right at the beginning of the Gospels*, where John the Baptist urgently calls people to conversion so that they will be saved from judgment (Lk 3, 7ff. par.). The baptism he administers signifies the will to return to God by turning away from sin (Mk 1:4f. par.). Jesus takes up this message but places it in a positive perspective as the Good News of the Kingdom* (Mk 1:15 par.). As signs that the kingdom has come, miracles* are also calls to conversion (Mt 11:20–24). To choose the will of God (Mt 7:21) and to renounce sin is essential to life, for hardening* is sterile (Mt 12:41s; Lk 13:1–9). But Jesus' attitude to sinners shows that, in his tenderness, God seeks those who are lost (Lk 5:32 par., 15).

d) The Church of the New Testament. The apostolic mission*, in which the announcement of the Resurrection* goes hand in hand with the invitation to confession (Acts 2:36ff., 3:13–26), continues Jesus' mission* (Mk 6:12; Lk 24:47): a turning away from evil and toward the Lord, who has been raised from the dead to forgive sins (Acts 10:42f.), will allow one to escape

judgment (17:30f.) and to obtain life (11:18). Baptism is a sign of conversion (2:38). This is also the case in Paul, who extensively develops the connection with the Resurrection. Conversion (1 Thes 1:9f.; Tm 2:4f.) consists of breaking from the old leaven to celebrate Easter with dignity (1 Cor 5:7f.), of assuming Christ* (Gal 3:27), of becoming a new creature in the image of the risen Lord, dead to sin but alive to God (Rom 6:1–14, 22ff., 12:2; Col 2:12f., 3:5–11). Paul also develops the ethical* consequences of this conversion (Col 3:12–17; Eph 4:17–32). John's Jesus speaks of a new birth (Jn 3:3, 5) and calls all people to the light (12:35f.) and to the source of living water (7:37f.) by renouncing darkness (3:19ff.), lies (8:44), and vain-glory (12:37–43) in order to become the child of God through faith (1:12). The child born blind (Jn 9) is the Johannine model of conversion.

3. Gestures and Words of Conversion

There are gestures, rituals, and words of conversion in the Bible. Thus, fasting, sackcloth and ashes (2 Sm 12, 16; Is 22:12; Jl 1:13; Jon 3:5f.; see Mt 11:21), lamentations, and cries and tears (Jl 2:12f.; Est 4:2f.) are signs of mourning but also penance*. There are penitential liturgies* (1 Sm 7:3–6, Hos 6:1–6), and, after the exile, a more or less standard kind of prayer* expresses the sense of sin (see Dn 9). In addition to the annual day of Expiations* (Lv 16), there are days of penitence (Jer 36:6; Zec 8:19). The prophets do not reject these rituals, but they do demand ethical truth* of those who practice them (Is 58: 3–7). Their preaching undoubtedly influenced the prayer of sinners that is echoed in the penitential psalms* (32, 38, 51).

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See also Baptism; Eschatology; Hardening; Heart of Christ; Judgment; Kingdom of God; Mission; Penitence; Preaching; Sin; Spiritual Theology

Corpus Christi. *See Eucharist*

Cosmos

A. Biblical Theology

1. Vocabulary

Kosmos (verb: *kosmein*) in Greek generally denotes “order” or “ornament (*taxis, tassein*: only “organization”); it also designates the universe (space-time) and its harmony (see Origen*, *Princ.* 2, 3, 6). In the Septuagint, *kosmos* and *kosmein* are associated primarily with the Hebrew lexicon of ornament and sometimes with that of the cosmos created by God*, notably in The Wisdom of Solomon (16 times: “universe”). Biblical Hebrew has no equivalent for “universe”; *‘ôlâm* means “indefinite time*” or “eternity” (“universe” in postbiblical Hebrew). The *chuqqôt* (decrees) establish the cosmic order according to a kind of covenant* (*berît*). *Çèdèq/çedâqâh* (frequent par. *mishepât*) may apply to the “good order” of creation* (Schmid 1968; Murray 1992).

2. Old Testament

The Old Testament preserves traces of ancient warrior (Ps 74:13f.; 89:9f.; Is 27:1; etc) or merely violent cosmogonies (Ps 104:7ff.; Jb 38:9ff.; Jer 5:22; Prv 22–31). The most demythologized text is Genesis 1:1–2:4: God creates order by speaking, by a series of acts of separation (*bdl*), by the division into species (*mîn*: Beauchamp 1969), by the establishment of the calendar (week, sabbath, celebrations). In the Torah, the blessing* that maintains the order of the cosmos and the curse that overthrows it (Lv 26; Dt 28) are articulated in the terms of a covenant to which heaven, earth (Ps 50:4), and mountains (Mi 6:1; see Dt 27:12f.; Ps 50:1f.) are witnesses. With the flood, God responds to human disorder by unleashing cosmic chaos (Gn 7–8), after which He promises to maintain the order of the seasons (8:22), regulates the use of violence* (animals*), and enters into an “eternal covenant” (*berît* *‘ôlâm*: 9:8–17) with humanity and all living things.

The oldest occurrence of this theme is probably in Hosea 2:20–24 (Hebrew; 18–22ff. in translations), since Jeremiah 33:20 (day and night), Isaiah 54:9f. (reference to Gn 9), and Isaiah 24:5 date from the exile. Ezekiel 34:25–31 promises a “covenant of peace*” (*berît shâlôm*) that animals will observe. Noncanonical writings attribute cosmic order to a divine oath (*1 Hen* 69:16–25) or to the power of the Name* (Prayer of Manasseh 3; see magic texts).

The cosmic and social order is subject to the influence of God, of human sin*, and, in mythologies, chiefly of gods or devils. Traces of this remain in the Old Testament (Ps 82; Gn 6:1f.; Is 24). *1 Hen* 6–10 again gave them prominence, perhaps recalling the Greek theory of the conflict of cosmic elements. Where lesser importance is attributed to cosmic and supracosmic factors, human error comes to the fore. The cause of cosmic evil* is generally human error, punished by God (Hos 4:1ff.; Jl 1–2). It is God who “creates light and darkness, good and evil” (Is 45:7), who threatens a new flood (Zep 1:2f.), and promises a return to harmony (Is 45:9f.).

This return to cosmic *shâlôm* can be achieved by ethical* or liturgical means. Beginning with the Babylonian festival of Akitu, the ritual of which is known, scholars have found traces of an autumn new year celebration. Although not designated as ritual texts, the royal psalms* 72 and 89 illustrate the cosmic and royal import of the themes of *çèdèq*, *mishepât*, and their fruit, *shâlôm* (Ps 74, 82; Is 11:1–9, 24, 32–33). In most ancient societies, temples*, including the temple of Jerusalem*, were representations of the creation and of the divine realm: heaven and earth met in them (Patai 1967). In the course of social change, the myth* remained but was reinterpreted. Genesis 1, for example, demythologizes “the army of the heavens” and the

monsters of the deep. Genesis 2 grants humanity (Adam*) royal status. Certain hymns (e.g., Ps 72) or oracles (Is 11:1–9) were transposed into eschatology* (Murray 1992). Apocalypses reread archetypes in order to decipher contemporary events. A similar cosmic breadth appears in writings that are simultaneously apocalyptic* and wisdom writings (Stone 1976), such as Job 38–39, Ecclesiastes 1:4–7, The Wisdom of Solomon 7:17–20, and *1 Hen*. Close to Stoic conceptions (regularity of the cosmos: see the hymn to Zeus of Cleanthes), Philo interprets the solemnity of the new year as a reconciliation of the *stoikheia* in conflict (Schweizer 1988; see Wis 16:17–22, 19:18–21).

3. New Testament

Jesus* was to disappoint and reject messianic expectations in the form that they had assumed. His disciples recognized in him the Lord of the cosmos through his charismatic power and his intimate connection to created things—expressed in hymnal form in Ephesians 1:3–10, Colossians 1:15–20, and John 1:1–4. In him, God has “recapitulated” all things. Paul (Gal 4:3, 9; see Col 2:8, 20) fights against the subjection of some to the *stoikheia tou kosmou*, “cosmic elements,” or (with reference to Jewish observances considered obsolete) “rudiments,” also called “angels*,” “principalities,” or “powers” (Schweizer 1988). Jesus has freed us from their ascetic or ritual requirements by his victory. Paul asserts both the filial condition of the Christian in Christ* and the present suffering of all creation (Rom 8:18–23; v. 19: *ktisis*) (Fitzmyer 1992), which cries out for deliverance. For him, “justification*” (*dikaiôsis*, *dikaiôma*), the central theme of Romans,

preserved all the semantic breadth of the Hebrew *çêdêq* (*çedâqâh*); it included the cosmic order. There could not possibly be any salvation* outside the teleological perspective of the cosmos.

Revelation interprets present suffering and the coming manifestation of Christ as Lord of all. The cosmology of the book adopts the schema of the parallel between heaven and earth and adapts Jewish eschatology* to a millenarian Christian vision, which explains the reservations of a part of the ancient Church*. The history of Johannine theology later showed the relevance of those reservations.

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See also Adam; Animals; Covenant; Creation; Ecology; Eschatology; Liturgy; Pauline Theology; Temple; Time; World

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

To the theologies* that meditated on it, the experience of Israel* bequeathed first of all a cosmos that was radically lacking in divinity or numinousness. For the Greek notion of an “order of the world” and a “friendship” among heaven, earth, gods, and men, as Plato describes it (*Gorgias* 507e–508a), the creation* narratives* substitute the perception of a created universe in which beings taken as objects of worship by pagan cults (sun, moon) are no longer anything but divine artifacts. Although desacralized, the cosmos nevertheless continues to call forth jubilation and praise*

from the believer. It is the throne of YHWH (Ps 93[92]:2), it is established and strengthened by Him (Ps 1, 24[23]:1f., 65[64]:7, 74[73]:17, 89[88]:12, 136[135]:6). And even if the primeval experience of Israel was of a God* who saves, the song of the “wonders” of God describes Him as both author of the law* and creator of heaven (Ps 19[18]), and YHWH is praised for having created the “greater lights (Ps 136[137]:7) as well as for having brought Israel out of Egypt (Ps 11ff.).

Both Cosmic reference to the created order and his-

torical reference to an economy of salvation* were preserved in Christian writings, Patristic and medieval, with no apparent tension between the two. To gnostic soteriology (Jonas 1974), for which man occupies in the cosmos only the position of the stranger—the “foreign”—and who must therefore be saved *from* the cosmos and from the “archons” who govern it, orthodox theology opposes the experience of believers perfectly at ease in “such a beautiful creation” (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* II, 2, 1). And by asserting that the totality of things not only takes its origin in the creative benevolence of God but also has an eschatological destiny (Rev 21:5), Christianity seemed to be forearmed against any forgetfulness of the cosmic dimension of existence.

However, a factor of confusion entered into theological debates with the growing development of the physical sciences. Until the 12th century, the cosmos was only a theological object. But after the introduction of Aristotelian philosophy* of nature in the 13th century, and particularly after the first steps toward modern science in the 16th, the monopoly of theological discourse disappeared. Thereafter, cosmology became primarily a question for the physicist. But even though historians of science generally agree (Jaki 1980; *see also* Funkenstein 1986) that modern science would not have been possible if Judaism* and Christianity had not transmitted to it the concept of a created universe governed by its immanent laws, a theoretical misunderstanding ensued that saw theology first challenging the validity of scientific images of the cosmos (in the name of a biblical image that was supposed to possess a strictly descriptive value) and then ending up losing any interest in the cosmic dimension of Christian experience. The cosmos illustrated by the *Canticum of All Creatures* of Francis of Assisi was thus followed, in the early period of modern science, by a universe devoid of any theological significance whose “eternal silence” terrified Pascal*’s libertine. And a theology ill prepared to defend and illustrate its theological knowledge of the cosmos and unable to recognize that a theological hermeneutics cannot be contradicted by a physical description of the nature of things came, during the same period and for a long time thereafter, to favor an a-cosmic logic of Christian experience.

Already present in the withdrawal to inwardness known in the classic age—and then in pietism*, also present in any theology tempted to reduce man to his immortal soul* and to forget his body that is promised resurrection—theology lacking in the cosmic dimension no doubt reached its apotheosis in the 20th century under the theoretical aegis of the concept of “existence.” Bultmann* (1940), for example, explains that “the idea of creation” is in no way a “cosmological

theory”; when the New Testament uses the word *kosmos*, this is in a sense “incommensurable” (Bultmann 1940) with that of the Greeks: man is not part of the cosmos as of a reassuring totality, he is alone before God, and the theological coordinates of his experience can be elucidated without reference to his position in the midst of all the created universe. And while existential theologies reduced every relation to being-before-God, the theologies for which the “history of salvation” provided the governing concept were led to marginalize the doctrine of the creation and its corollaries in favor of a primordial experience (the experience of the covenant* and salvation given in history*), dismissing any other.

It is, however, noteworthy that interest in the cosmic order that cannot leave theology indifferent has resurfaced on the contemporary intellectual stage. It is not without significance that Heidegger* (1954; *see* Mattéi 1989) attempted in his late philosophy to describe with the enigmatic “quadripartite” (*Geviert*) a “world” made out of the “mutual belonging” and the “interplay” of four realities—earth, heaven, divine beings, and mortals—“communion” among which defined the Platonic cosmos. It is significant that in a much more sober enterprise, Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–61) attempted, starting from sensory experience, to rediscover a perceiving subject who would no longer be “an ‘a-cosmic’ thinking subject” (1945), but a subject whose “natural world,” *omnitudo realitas*, would be “the horizon of all experiences” (1945). And it is not without importance that the scientific description of natural realities, by dint of emphasizing the ordered beauty* of the physical universe, which thereby genuinely deserves the name of cosmos, seems to have put an end in 20th century to the terror that arose in the classic period when the “closed world” of the Middle Ages disappeared.

To the muddled theism* or pantheism* sometimes suggested to the man of science by the beautiful order of reality and the elegance of the theories that account for it (*see, e.g.,* d’Espagnat 1979 and Barreau, *RMM* 1981), theology should provide diverse responses. Everyone (no doubt since Teilhard de Chardin) is certainly convinced that, in principle and in their concrete organization, there is no contradiction between the language of science and the language of faith. The universe of the scientific cosmologist and the cosmos of the theologian are not a single theme. There is, however, no ambiguity: the adoption of divergent perspectives does not abolish the commonality of the object, and a theological doctrine of the cosmos speaks of the same realities as physics does. There are, however, major divergences sufficient to prevent complete concord. 1) In its theological reality, first of all, the cosmos

is understood as the “visible and invisible universe”—as a whole of which only a part constitutes a physical object. Science says that nonphysical objects (angels*, “souls in purgatory*”) are unknowable to it, that they do not exist for the rationality embodied by science. Theology, on the other hand, must be able to argue in favor of *invisibilia* whose existence is confessed by faith (see, e.g., Newman* 1838). 2) The cosmos, moreover, does not constitute the first among theological objects. The coordinates of biblical experience are primarily historical, and a theological logic of the cosmic order must take that priority into account. Creation and covenant (salvation) must be thought of together, something that Barth* (*KD III/1*) thoroughly demonstrated; and this can occur only in a theology to which the *ordo inventionis* supplies its order of reasons, in a theology that recognizes in the Lord of heaven and earth the Lord that it first knew in the form of the God of promises. 3) More than a question of origin, it is in fact an eschatological question that should give impetus to a theological discourse on the cosmos. Despite all the elegance of cosmic realities, man occupies in this cosmos the place of one who knows he is going to die and that death* is embedded in the order of things. Theology, of course, speaks on this side of death, but it does so in the name of eschatological promises* whose anticipatory realization it commemorates in the Resurrection* of Jesus*—and it is in fact the Resurrection that provides it with its best model for a rescue from nothingness* and for creation *ex nihilo* (Jüngel 1972). The present dwelling of man in the cosmos and the present theological meaning of the cosmic order are thus attached to the promise of a *new totality* (Rev 21:5). There is a physics only of spatial and temporal realities. These same realities that physics measures

and describes nevertheless go beyond their scientific description, beforehand—as created realities—and afterward—by the absolute future that is promised for them and that they await “in a labor of childbirth” (Rom 8:18–23). It is centrally because it has at its disposal a doctrine that cannot be lost, of “new creation” (2 Cor 5:17) that Christianity owes it to itself to recognize the present theological meaning of the created world, as it is and in its entirety.

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See also Creation; Ecology; Eschatology; Gnosis; History; Hope; Myth; World

Council

The “council” is the assembly of legitimate representatives of the Church* meeting on a local or universal (ecumenical) level to deliberate and rule on Christian practices and ecclesiastical organization with a concern for unity* in matters of faith*. The Latin word *concilium* (also occurring as *consilium*) comes from *concalare*,

“convene” (see Greek *ekklesia*, “church”) and is synonymous with *synod*, *conventus*, *coetus*. It appears in its Christian meaning for the first time in Tertullian* (*De jejuniis* 13.) It has been reserved for the assemblies of the universal Church since the Middle Ages, while regional ecclesiastical assemblies are usually called synods*.

1. The Birth of the Institution

The council has its precursors in the Greek popular assemblies, then in Rome in the colleges* of priests* and provincial assemblies. Since John Chrysostom* (*Hom.* 32 and 33), the institution of the council has largely been referred to the biblical model of the so-called council of the Apostles* (Acts 15). The latter episode exemplifies the defining characteristics of the council: the Church leaders (among whom Peter* plays an especially important role), faced with a conflict threatening the unity of the Church, assemble to exchange their views. They assume the responsibility of speaking for the entire Church with the help of the Holy* Spirit, and they take decisions that will be binding on the whole Church. In the second century A.D., the need to resolve certain local and regional conflicts, first in Asia Minor (against Montanism*), necessitated the holding of ecclesiastical assemblies. In the following century these became institutionalized, regularly gathering the Church representatives of one or more imperial provinces or of the entire western part of the empire (Arles, 314). After the conversion of Constantine, these gatherings came to rank as an official authority of the *oikoumene* (that is to say, of the Roman Empire) whose decisions acquired an obligatory character for the entire Church (ecumenicity.) In all their forms and at all levels, these invariably remained assemblies of bishops*; but there is also testimony to the presence of presbyters*, deacons*, and laypeople* (Cyprian*, *Ep.* 71, 1; Synods of Carthage [255] and Elvira [c. 302]). Subsequently we also find monks (mainly monastic superiors). All resolutions must be taken in “a spirit of unanimity” (by a two-thirds majority at Vatican* II).

2. Historical Evolution of the Ecumenical Councils

The councils, which were born of the will to preserve the unity of the Church in the face of theological and disciplinary crises, played a vital role in the area of ecclesiology and of canon law. This role, however, was differently defined, depending on the occasion, the context, and the image that the Church or the Churches involved had of themselves. Thus, different types of council appeared, and there were divergences between the denominations as to their number and ecumenicity. The following classification is based on unofficial Catholic historiography and has been adopted since Bellarmine*.

a) *The Old Church.* The first eight councils were convened and presided over by the emperor (be it directly or via his representatives) to confess the faith in Christ and the Trinity and to organize the Church. Their reception* by the universal Church was of crucial importance. Since the fifth century it had become

indispensable that the bishop of Rome* approve them. The decisions of the councils had the value of imperial laws.

b) *The Medieval Church.* After the break with the Eastern Church in 1054, the eight General Councils of the Western Church were convened and conducted by the pope* as an extension of the reforming synods of the 11th century. They claimed an ecumenical character inasmuch as they rested on principles valid for all the Church.

c) *The 15th-Century Church.* There can be seen emerging, under conciliarism*, the pattern of the reforming council: in view of certain perils threatening the Church (Great Schism*, Eastern Schism), the bishops gathered (with the emperor's support in the case of the Council of Constance*) to reestablish unity and carry out Church reform. Nevertheless, the papacy successfully affirmed its primacy over the council.

d) *The Modern Church.* Henceforth, councils would be dominated by the papacy (convocation, agenda, direction, and the putting into effect of resolutions—Vatican* I: “*sacro approbante concilio*”—are all prerogatives of the Roman pontiff) and appear as a vehicle of the Church's renewal in the face of secular and inter-Christian attacks (the Reformation). Yet Vatican II established a council of a new type: if the council was still to be organized by the pope, the participants would at least be permitted to discuss freely and in line with their pastoral responsibility (even contrary to the propositions of the Curia), without excommunication. Nevertheless, all official public pronouncements are made by the pope “*una cum ss. Concilii Patribus*.”

3. The Theology of the Councils

a) *General Points.* The institution of the council finds its theological ground in the conciliarism of the Church of Christ, that is, of the people* who, “united by virtue of the unity of the Father* and the Son* and the Holy Spirit” (Cyprian, *De orat. dom.* 23, *plebs de unitate Trinitatis adunata*), must confess the gospel and convey it in its unchangeable purity to the whole inhabited universe (*oikoumene*). It is therefore a constitutive element of the Church, whose unity and catholicity it concretizes. There is fundamental agreement between the Christian denominations on this point despite those differences that, as we have said, issue from their specific ecclesiologies.

b) *The Orthodox Churches.* Only the first seven councils are recognized as ecumenical by the Ortho-

dox Churches. Numerous local councils were later accepted by the whole of Orthodoxy, but none received the title “ecumenical.” Since the beginning of the 20th century, there have been some attempts to convoke a pan-Orthodox council that might become the eighth ecumenical council (preliminary conference in 1930; pan-Orthodox conferences in 1961, 1963, 1965, and 1968; precouncil assemblies in 1976, 1982, and 1986). The theology* of *sobornost* (term introduced by the disciples of A. S. Khomiakov [1804–60]; see Orthodoxy* mod. and cont.) has played an important role. Defining the Church by its catholicity as the communion* of all its members (*catholica* corresponds to the Russian *sobornaya*, from the root *sbr*, “gather”), Orthodox theology implies that episcopal and conciliar resolutions are valid only if they are accepted of one accord.

c) *The Roman Catholic Church.* The current understanding of the council was defined by Vatican II (*LG* 22, 25; *CD* 4 *Sq.* 36–38) and by the *CIC* of 1983 (can. 337–41, where this topic is no longer treated in a specific section as in the *Codex* of 1917 [can. 222–29]) but is included in the article “*De Collegio Episcoporum.*” The episcopal college exercises its ecumenical power (*potestas*) through the council, with the prerogative of infallibility* if need be; only the pope can convene, conduct, adjourn, interrupt, or dissolve the council. It is also he who creates the agenda and who must accept, ratify, and promulgate the decisions before they become valid. All the bishops (including titular ones, i.e., those who do not effectively preside over any local Church) take part in the council, but other persons may also be invited by the pope.

d) *The Churches of the Reformation.* For the first reformers, the ecumenical councils were fallible institutions founded only by human law and having no authority* for the Church except if they interpreted Holy* Scripture correctly. This was mostly the case with the first four councils. The idea of conciliarity survived in the synodical structures of these churches (synod*).

e) *The 20th-Century Ecumenical Movement.* Since Vatican II the topic of the council has constituted an important subject in the bilateral ecumenical dialogues with the Catholic Church. The Anglican Communion pays special attention to this question (Venice 1976; Windsor 1981), which becomes all the more acute with the idea of *conciliar communion* or “conciliarity” (COE: Nairobi 1975) understood 1) as a joint process of deliberation and decision demonstrating the fundamental unity of churches and 2) as a disposition for mutual recognition on the basis of apostolic faith and an agreement on the sacraments* and the ministries* of eucharistic communion.

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See also Catholicism; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Ecumenism; Government, Church; Heresy; Hierarchy; Indefectibility of the Church; Local Church; Orthodoxy; Protestantism; Regional Church; Synod

Counsels. *See* Precepts

Couple

Like other cultures, the Bible* frames very carefully the reality of the couple. Moreover, the Bible develops its identity and its symbolic impact in such a way that, while being removed from the domain of the sacred, it nevertheless becomes a central reference point of revelation* and of the history* of salvation*.

a) The Couple, Reality of Creation. The creation* stories of Genesis 1–3 immediately suggest a sexual humanity. On the sixth day, “God created man in his own image... male and female he created them” (Gn 1:27). In chapter 2 the story mentions an original Adam* whose solitude immediately calls for a counterpart, hence the creation of woman*. God, however, as creator of this couple, is carefully disassociated from sexuality. So, in this way, the Bible weakens the connection that is frequently made between Eros and the sacred, removing sexuality from the divine sphere. The couple is given autonomous status.

This human couple is described in strictly positive terms as the image of God, and the relationship between man and woman is evoked in a story filled with harmony and admiration (Gn 2:23ff.). The story of original sin (Gn 3) alters this relationship. The sin* described here is not sexual in nature, but its first effect involves the bond that unites man and woman. Henceforth, “seduction” and “domination” (3:16) is introduced into their experience as a couple. This new system, however, does not obliterate the positive vision offered in the first two chapters of Genesis.

The stories of the patriarchs illustrate the fact that a new era has been initiated, by touching both on Jacob’s love* for Rachel (Gn 29:1–30) and the stories of violence* and rape (Gn 34:1–6). Positive depictions of couples (Hannah and Elkanah, 1 Sm 1:1–8; Tobias and Sara, Tb 7:13–8, 8, etc.) and negative ones (Samson and Delilah, Jgs 16:1–21; Job and his wife, Jb 2, 9, etc.) succeed one another in the Bible, and thus conjugal experience is represented in all its variety.

b) The Couple and the Covenant. Marked by sin, the reality of the couple is nonetheless maintained and confirmed within the biblical drama with the emergence of the covenant* theme. YHWH reveals himself as one who enters into a covenant with his people*. Derived from a political vocabulary, the word

“covenant” had a connotation of conjugality as early as the eighth century in prophetic literature. Among the many names* used to designate YHWH in his relationship to Israel*, the word “bridegroom” occupies an eminent position. Hence the terms “prostitution” or “adulterous” are used to designate the infidelity and sin of Israel. The book of Hosea attests to this point of view: the prophet* receives the order to marry a prostitute, and in this symbolic couple the people will have to recognize its own unfaithfulness with regard to YHWH. Elsewhere, the relationship between a prophet and his wife acts as a sign and omen for Israel (see Isaiah and his family in Is 8:4–18; Ezekiel losing his wife in Ez 24:15–27). It is when receiving the order not to take a wife that Jeremiah (Jer 16:1–9) announces the imminent coming of days of judgment* and affliction. Nevertheless, the announcement of a new era, when the heart of Israel will be renewed and when the covenant will be protected from human infidelity, is also conveyed by means of nuptial references. Such references play a large role in the Zion oracles of the second Isaiah and in the texts that follow (49:21, 54:1–10, 61:10, 62:1–5, 66:7ff.).

This valorization of the couple culminates in the Song of Songs. In its most immediate literal sense, this dialogue praises the beauty and goodness of love between a man and a woman who are in a relationship of complete parity, one in which there is the original fullness referred to in Genesis 1 and 2. It should be noted that the entire tradition* of Jewish interpretation of the text sees it as celebrating the relationship between YHWH and Israel, while the Christian tradition sees it as the dialogue between Christ* and the Church*. The Song of Songs therefore serves to express in a supreme manner the full reality of that covenant between YHWH and Israel of which the prophets speak. But it is evidently highly significant that the perfection of this covenant finds expression in words that are charged with the richest human implication. Modern interpretation of the Song of Songs, in readily considering anthropological as well as spiritual aspects of the text clearly highlights how the Bible closely knits the human reality of the couple to that which guarantees it spiritually: the covenant.

Furthermore, it may be noted that the book of Proverbs (1–9) refers to divine Wisdom in the figure of a

loving and loved wife; the sage is the spouse of this Wisdom*, of whom Solomon declares, “She is the one that I chose in my youth, I strove to have her as my spouse, and I became the lover of her beauty” (Wis 8:2).

c) *The New Testament*. In their opening chapters, the Gospels* according to Matthew and Luke mention the couple of Mary* and Joseph, parents of Jesus*. Beyond that, the question of the couple is not thoroughly explored. The nuptial theme nevertheless surfaces in Matthew 9:15 par., as well as in John 3:29, where Jesus is referred to as “the bridegroom,” a title the prophets had given to YHWH. Another passage (Mt 19:1–12) deals explicitly with the man–woman relationship, when Jesus forbids any man to renounce his wife. Beyond its relevance in terms of moral discipline, the text in fact says something important about the person* of Jesus. Granted by Moses, divorce belongs to what is now an outmoded dispensation. But Jesus has inaugurated a new era, one in which humanity will find in itself the ability to transcend its weaknesses and so experience the original relationship of man and woman (see Gn 1–2).

On the other hand, the question of the couple is dealt with quite frequently in Saint Paul’s Epistles. Galatians 3:28, by declaring, “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus,” seems to question sexual difference. The verse poses difficulties because it lists pairs that belong to separate orders of reality and discourse. Concerning the difference between the sexes, which Genesis 1 designates as a fundamental and good reality, it is rather unlikely that Paul simply wanted to announce the overcoming or the suppression of this difference. It seems, rather, that his words should be read as part of a text centered on the novelty of Christ: union with Christ allows the division and the violence designated by Genesis 3:16b to be overcome. This means that man and woman exist at last in accordance with God’s original plan.

The letter to the Ephesians reflects the long development of a theory that helped shape ecclesiology that draws a parallel between the Christ–Church relationship and the conjugal relationship (Eph 5:21–33). This

text is the final extension of the prophetic tradition and defines the greatness of the conjugal relationship. The woman is invited to submit to love, while the man is called to love, as Christ loves the Church. In this way the couple becomes a reflection of the relationship between Christ and the Church. Paul comments, “This mystery* is great”; in developing the theme further, the church fathers* would readily interpret the story of the creation of woman in Genesis 2 as a prophesy of the birth of the Church, the goal of creation, a goal revealed in the Incarnation* and made accessible in the sacramental life of the Church itself.

Running parallel to this and departing from ancient tradition, we witness in the New Testament the promotion of a celibacy that rests for its justification on the text of Matthew 19:12. This celibacy indicates a more fundamental relationship than the conjugal relationship, being both its source and its future. The Bible, in the Apocalypse, nevertheless closes with a nuptial image (the vision of the new Jerusalem* descending from the sky “prepared as a bride adorned for her husband” [Rev 21:2]). This is the last reference to the reality of the couple, recapitulating the figures of prophetic and wisdom texts at the point when the biblical revelation comes to an end.

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See also Adam; Anthropology; Ethics, Sexual; Marriage; Messianism; Mysticism; Woman

Covenant

The covenant, a central concept in the Bible* and in Christian theology*, designates the relationship between God* and his people* by analogy with privileged relations that men establish with each other by contract. This relationship, which is often described with the use of categories borrowed from nature or the fabrication of material objects, is projected into the field of individual and collective existence. Law, notably the law governing treaties and contracts, is part of the concept. Various different covenants between God and man are mentioned in the Bible and taken as articulations of the story of Salvation*. In modern times the covenant has also been used as a guiding theme in some global theological projects—known as “federal” theologies.

The idea of the covenant goes back to the Hebrew word *berît* and to its Greek equivalent, *diathèkè*, used in the Septuagint (LXX), the first Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, begun in the third century B.C. However, it also covers other terms—*édout*, for example, and other words meaning “oath.” Exegetes and theologians rightfully speak of covenant with respect to literary forms or narratives* where the idea is found without explicit use of the term. In the Christian tradition* the Greek word *diathèkè* also introduced the use of the word “testament,” notably in the division of the canon* into an “Old” and a “New” Testament.

I. The Old Testament

1. Human Covenants

a) *Terminology.* The etymology of *berît* is still disputed. The primitive meaning was undoubtedly that of a “bond,” an “obligation.” The word often designated a legal act or a contract and, at the same time, the obligations and commitments it entails. Parallel to *berît* there are words meaning “oath”; a contract of covenant was ritually sealed under oath, and this often took place inside a sanctuary. Thus, the divinity was the guarantor (“witness”) of the operation. Steles were also erected as “witnesses.” In that event, documents were drawn up (*sefer ha berit*, “document of covenant,” often mistranslated as “book* of the covenant”), and symbolic acts were performed. The contracting parties exchanged gifts, traded clothing or arms, shook hands,

partook of a meal (sacrificial meals including rites based on salt or blood), or called down malediction on themselves if they should break the treaty (this was, e.g., the meaning of the rite that consisted of passing between the two halves of a sacrificed animal).

The human relation sealed by the *berît* was first and foremost a bond of fidelity and peace, which was experienced as a familial attachment. A man was said to be the “brother, father, or son” of the person with whom he made a covenant, and “love* and fidelity” should be paid to him. This is why marriage* could also be considered a sort of *berît*. The particular services that the parties mutually imposed on themselves and guaranteed entered only in second place in the marital relationship. Strictly speaking, the laws* of Israel* should not be called “laws” but contractual obligations, as they were most often proclaimed in the form of covenant treaties.

Contracts could be concluded between peers or between partners of unequal power. The stipulated obligations might be reciprocal or unilateral. When the contract stated only the commitment of a powerful party to protect the weak or, conversely, only the obligations of a subordinate to his superior, the implicit counterpart was considered as self-evident, and therefore it was not necessarily stipulated in every case. The contracting parties could be individuals, small groups, or large political entities.

In all these forms Israel reproduced the social structure based on privileged contractual relations, which prevailed at that time in the Middle East and the pre-classical Mediterranean region. Abundant comparative material on this subject is available (see D. J. McCarthy 1978), particularly in the field of relations between states and relations between sovereigns and their governing elite (including pacts between powerful sovereigns, oaths of civil servants, treaties of vassalage, diplomatic correspondence, royal inscriptions, charters granting fiefs, and royal donations). Despite numerous historical transformations, a surprising continuity in vocabulary, ritual, and literary forms can be recognized across regions and periods. In Hittite vassalage treaties of the second millennium B.C., the exposition of provisions is preceded by a recall of past relations between the parties, known as the “historical prologue” (which also played an important role in late

Old Testament texts treating the divine covenant). And this typical form is still found in a seventh-century treaty of Assurbanipal. The notion of a covenant with the divinity is also attested, though rarely, outside Israel; one example is found under the reign of Urukagina of Lagash (24th century B.C.), and two others are found in the Neo-Assyrian cultural area. However, such a transposition of the idea of the covenant is marginal outside Israel.

b) Forbidden Covenants. According to Exodus 23:32 and 34:12–16, in the earliest times Israel was forbidden to make covenants with non-Israelite groups living in the land. Although the dating of these two passages from Exodus is disputed, they are certainly anterior to the exile. The prohibition may not have been in effect everywhere, but where it did apply it was related notably to Israel, “a people dwelling alone, and not reckoning itself among the nations” (Nm 23:9). The foundation of the empire by David necessarily changed this state of affairs within the land as well as in international relations where Israel began to get a foothold. This aroused criticism from the prophets* against the policy of covenants between states. Later, in the period of exile and return, the prohibition was reinstated in Deuteronomistic legislation (Dt 7:2). It ensued from the privileged contractual relationship established by the divine covenant between YHWH and Israel.

2. The Covenant between YHWH and Israel

a) The Prestate Period. A “theology of the covenant” that integrated all the traditions of Israel in a systematic concrete form did not appear until the time of the Deuteronomistic theologians. However, theologians of the time of Josiah (seventh century B.C.) seem to have adopted an antique conception of the privileged contractual relationship established between Israel and God.

There are frequent attempts to give a rather recent date to the passages related to this theme and to explain them as ulterior additions reflecting the Deuteronomistic conception. In fact, many points are unclear here. It is also true that not all the pre-Deuteronomistic indications necessarily go back to the origins of Israel. Nevertheless, the absence of any idea of covenant before the Deuteronomistic period is not the most credible hypothesis. The narrative recapitulations in Deuteronomy already presuppose the essential pattern on which the pericope of the Sinai is built in the book of Exodus, with its recall of the founding covenants contracted between YHWH and Israel. And this pericope itself contains elements that could come

from a period preceding its literary composition. It is most likely a primitive core of Exodus 34:10–26 and the (more contested) primitive core of Exodus 24:1–11. Exodus 19:3–8, on the other hand, might belong to the stage of the final writing of the Pentateuch as well as the organization of the whole pericope on the model “conclusion of the covenant-renewal of the covenant.”

The pre-Deuteronomistic decalogue*, of uncertain dating, is designated in Deuteronomy by the term *haberîṭ* and in the sacerdotal document by the term *ha-‘édout* according to what seems to be already a traditionally accepted usage. It is not at all certain that the “terminological argument” can be alleged by eliminating the supposed Deuteronomistic additions in Joshua 7:11–15 and Deuteronomy 33:9 and even less in Hosea 8:11 and Joshua 24:25. As for the Psalms*, there is no certainty about their dating (*see, e.g.,* Ps 50:5 and related passages in Ps 81 and 95). Of course, the “formula of the covenant” (YHWH is the God of Israel; Israel is the people of YHWH) does not rightfully bear its name unless it is accompanied by the obligation of Israel to follow the divine laws. It expresses then the act by which YHWH establishes his relation with Israel, specifying the ensuing obligations for his people. In this form it is attested earlier in Deuteronomy, but in a brief form that would be more adequately designated as “formula of belonging,” and is already presupposed in Hosea. The notion of Israel as the “people of God” goes back to the earliest times. It is already attested in the ninth century in a ceremony of covenant performed on the occasion of a coronation rite in Jerusalem* (2 Kgs 11:17) with expressions that do not have authentic Deuteronomistic parallels. Again it is by a covenant that Josiah commits himself, along with the whole nation, to follow the book of the Torah found in the Temple* in 622 B.C. (2 Kgs 23:3), and it is difficult to imagine that in so doing he would introduce an entirely new style in the politicoreligious symbolism.

It may be that this royal ritual was revived only in Jerusalem and that the idea of a covenant with God no longer functioned outside Jerusalem. Before the foundation of the state, however, that bond with God had been the model of self-comprehension of this tribal society*, which, once liberated from Canaanite and Egyptian tutelage, refused to establish a central governing body within its own ranks, as seen in Gideon’s declaration (Jgs 8:23). Power did not belong to a suzerain or even to a king brought forth from the heart of Israel but to God alone, who demanded exclusive submission. With the creation of the state, however, this privileged obligation to YHWH was concentrated on the king, who represented the people as a whole.

b) Covenant with the King. This was the starting point of the idea of the covenant of God with David (2 Sm 7:1–29, 23:5; Ps 89; Is 55:3; Jer 33:17–22), which undoubtedly suggests the covenant of God with Abraham (or other patriarchs). This appeared at the latest in the proto-Deuteronomistic revision of the Tetrateuch. Genesis 15:18 speaks of a covenant (*bérît*) between the Lord and Abraham, whereas these texts habitually spoke of the “oath” of God. The central contents of the commitment to Abraham is the granting of a territory; to David it is the duration of his dynasty. It is also a matter, in this context, of the vassal’s fidelity and service. At the time of the exile, after the collapse of the Davidian dynasty, Deutero-Isaiah transferred the covenant with David to the whole people of Israel (Is 55:3–5).

c) Deuteronomist Theology. During and after the Neo-Assyrian domination of Judah, theologians of the Deuteronomistic school restored the ancient concept of the divine covenant. They rejected the Assyrian power structure, which was largely tributary to treaties and oaths of loyalty, but adopted its terminology and outer forms. The covenant was then founded on the oath of God to the Patriarchs. It had been concluded on the basis of the Decalogue on Mount Horeb (Mount Sinai) during the Exodus, and renewed in the land of Moab when the people came out of the desert, after the proclamation of the Deuteronomic Torah. The latter was considered to be the document of the covenant. This whole construction clearly finds its starting point in the free gracious act of God.

Deuteronomy 26:17–19, the central passage for understanding the Deuteronomic law as the “covenant of Moab” (Dt 29:1), is built on the model of a contract between peers, but the text itself rejects all notion of equality between the human and divine partners. Formal analogies with the model of the Hittite treaty of vassalage are found only in the late Deuteronomistic writings (e.g., in Dt 4:29–31; Jos 23; 1 Sm 2). Deuteronomy 5–31 gives a narrative account of the covenant concluded in the land of Moab. Presentation of the document of the covenant (Dt 5–26) is accompanied by a number of ritual-performative language acts. They include the constitution of the assembly that concludes the covenant (Dt 29:9–14, in the context of a narrative recapitulation), a protocolary formulation of the relationship established by the treaty (Dt 26:17–19), declaration of God’s support pronounced by Moses and the priests (Dt 27:9–10), and expressions of blessings* and curses (Dt 28).

During the period of exile, the Deuteronomistic theory of the covenant was a means of accounting for the collapse of Israel by presenting it as the result of

the rupture of the covenant with God. But no new hope* could flow from a covenant that had brought about curses. When the prophets who aroused such a hope appeared, in exile, it became necessary to reverse the poles of the Deuteronomist theory of the covenant. This is what occurred, more or less simultaneously, in different ways.

d) Deuteronomistic Revision of the Prophetic Books. The “Deuteronomistic” book of Jeremiah and a late layer of Ezekiel, which is dependent on it, countered the covenant of the exodus, thenceforth broken, with the future remission of sins*, the return and reassembling of Israel, and the establishment of a “new” and “eternal” covenant in which God—by the correlative gift of the “Spirit”—would renew the human heart* in such a way that men would never again break their commitments (Jer 30:3, 31:27–34; see 24:5ff., 32:37–41; Ez 11:17–20, 16:59–63, 36:22–32, 37:21–28; see also Ps 51:12ff.).

e) Sacerdotal Document. The narrative entity of the priestly school transforms the idea of the covenant. On God’s side the commitment is eternal and will never be renounced. The generation that falls into sin is excluded from the covenant, but God reestablishes his former commitments in the next generation. This is why the sacerdotal document connects the covenant of God with Israel to the covenant concluded with Abraham (Gn 17) rather than its manifestation on Mount Sinai. The former, it is true, is not fully developed until Exodus 6:2–8 and particularly in Exodus 29:45–46. The covenant of Abraham was preceded by that with Noah, by which God bound himself to all of humanity and the animals* (Gn 9:8–17) in promising he would never again provoke a deluge. The law of saintliness, subsequently inserted into the Sinaitic pericope of the priestly document, attempts to integrate the Deuteronomistic conception of the covenant into this pure theology of the covenant of grace* (Lv 26:3–45). Still later, the sabbath* is introduced in the Pentateuch (Ex 31:12–17) as a new sign of the covenant (in addition to the circumcision imposed in Gn 17).

f) Deutero-Isaiah. Though the covenant is not given a central place in Deutero-Isaiah, as in the late layers of Jeremiah or Ezekiel, completely new actions of God are announced. The covenant with David—which legitimized the state and thus in the final instance brought about the ruin of Israel—had to be restored, but in the form of a covenant between God and the whole people who would assume collectively with regard to other peoples* the role of David (Is 55:3, a passage that also gives the key to 42:6 and 49:8; see also

61:8). This fits the idea of covenant into the vision of a pilgrimage* of peoples. The covenants of Israel and David are confounded, and even the covenant of Noah is included in the synthesis (Is 54:10).

g) Late Layers of Deuteronomy. All these new approaches are reflected and sometimes even anticipated in the late layers of Deuteronomy. A revised passage in Deuteronomy 7–9 develops a primitive form of the Pauline doctrine of the justification* of sinners (Dt 9:1–6) and introduces the priestly conception of the covenant with the patriarchs (Dt 7:12, 8:18, 9:6). Similarly, in Deuteronomy 4:1–40 (4:31) the universal perspective of the monotheism* of Deutero-Isaiah is profiled (Dt 4:6–8, 32–39). The extension of this layer in Deuteronomy 30:1–10, with the “circumcision of the heart,” touches on the center of the “new covenant” theme (30:6).

h) Covenant as Encompassing Concept of the Hebraic Canon. The Pentateuch (i.e., the Torah, or the Law) is of a higher rank than the other parts of the biblical canon. The theme of the Law, in giving the motifs found at the beginning and end of the prophetic books of the Hebraic canon (Jos 1 and Mal 3), traces the literary framework within which they will appear as a sort of prophetic commentary on the Torah, the literary development of the promise* of Deuteronomistic law concerning the prophets (Dt 18:15–18). And the book of Psalms opens with an evocation of the study of the Law, in a psalm that is attached by certain key words to the end of the Torah and to Malachi 3. In Deuteronomy 4, 6ff., it is “wisdom*” as a whole that is subordinated to the Torah.

The concept of the covenant is not as determinant. However, the Torah and the covenant are closely related, at least in the Deuteronomistic writings. In Deuteronomy, Israel receives the Torah in concluding the covenant with God. The law given with the covenant of the Exodus period remains the same in the new promised covenant (Jer 31:33). This also applies to the Pentateuch as a whole and, therefore, given its central role, to the whole of the Hebraic canon. Thereby the covenant itself becomes a central concept not only in its Deuteronomistic acceptance but also as employed by other theologies and other literary entities.

This notion makes it possible to connect all the decisive themes of the Bible throughout a diversity of theologies. It is connected to the whole narrative history of Salvation by the covenants of Noah and Abraham and the other covenants concluded in the course of history. It is connected to the Law by the pericope of the Sinai and Deuteronomy. By Jeremiah 30–33 and paral-

lel texts, it sums up all the prophetic promises. Inasmuch as it serves to designate the Decalogue and particularly the first commandment, it evokes the essence of the relation with God. The covenant is the site of the Torah where it unfolds in its multiple dimensions.

Naturally, at this level of the canon, widely varying theological systems do not combine into a new system. But they contribute, through the connection established between them by the common theme of the covenant, to establishing the unique situation of hearing the canonical text. The reading of the Torah in the synagogue is interrupted with the death of Moses on the threshold of the Promised Land and resumes with Genesis. The covenant is given, but its promises are not yet fulfilled. After the exile Israel will continue to live in dispersion or will return to Jerusalem, a Jerusalem that does not radiate with an eschatological light. This people has already experienced in its own body the effects of the rupture of the covenant and the ensuing malediction; it has faith in the fidelity of God and his pardon but still awaits concrete signs. Different theologies of the covenant can be attributed in this situation: 1) Deuteronomistic theology because it establishes the transgression and exposes the Torah that will be valid to the end, 2) the prophetic universalistic theology because it bears hope*, and 3) the priestly theology because it discovers the last reason of hope in the eternal fidelity of God that no human infidelity can discourage. Thus, the covenant, too, becomes an encompassing characteristic of the Hebraic canon.

There is no passage anywhere in the canon indicating that the new covenant promised for the end of time is not explicitly destined for Israel alone but extended to the peoples who come to Zion on pilgrimage. At the least, this idea appears in the use of the “formula of the covenant” with respect to other peoples besides Israel (e.g., in Is 19:25 and 25:8f.) and in the rereading of ancient texts of the Psalms, solely attested on the level of composition (e.g., Ps 25:14, 100:3).

i) Covenant in the Greek Canon. The structure is unchanged in the enlarged corpus of the Greek canon. Though the order of the books is modified under the influence of Greek models, the Pentateuch remains the base, and all the other books are only “commentaries.” By evocation of motifs of the Law at the beginning (Jos 1) and end (Mal 3), they refer back to the prophetic entity. The books newly integrated into the canon contain, notably, the theory of the identity of Law and Wisdom (especially Sir 24 and Bar 4) as well as an initial systematization of the history of the foundation of Israel by seven covenants, in which the priestly element is given an important place (Sir 44–47). A similar approach is found—whatever the

differences in details of arrangement—in certain Jewish authors of the period, whose writings, however, are not accepted in the canon but are considered apocryphal*—for example, the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Biblical Antiquities* of the Pseudo-Philo.

II. Judaism in the Time of Jesus

In the time of Jesus* the word *berît* had become so common that it could simply designate, as one of the various names of the “Law,” traditional religion. It evoked above all the covenant of Sinai, that is, Israel’s commitment to follow the Torah.

The Book of Jubilees organizes the biblical narrative around liturgy*; all the successive covenants are concluded on Shavuot (the Festival of Weeks or Pentecost), which is the “festival of the covenant.”

It seems likely that this was the day on which the Essenes renewed by oath the covenant with God and the covenant between members of the community. Qumran’s *Rules of the Community* describe a ritual of “entry into the covenant” (I QSI:16–II:18), a covenant that was renewed this way every year (I QDSII:19–23). In the *Damascus Document* the group is designated as the community “of the new covenant of the land of Damascus.” They believed that the prophecy made in Jeremiah 31—as well as that of Ezekiel 36—had been fulfilled within the community (see, e.g., 1QH XVIII:25–28). But since the eschaton was still to come, the “new covenant” was not understood as a reality reserved for the end of time.

The same does not hold true for the Midrashic tradition, no doubt respected by the Pharisees of the time of Jesus. This tradition interpreted the “heart of stone” that must be replaced in the world to come by a “heart of flesh” (see Ez 36:26) as a figure of the “bad instinct” present in its own doctrine.

III. The New Testament

In the New Testament, as in Qumran, the promise of a new covenant is deemed to be already fulfilled—in Christ*, naturally—but unlike the Pharisees, the New Testament understands this covenant as simultaneously eschatological and terminal—that is, it cannot be gone beyond.

1. Tradition of the Last Supper

The tradition of the Last Supper is the heart of the theology of the new covenant. In an ancient layer of the text, Jesus, recalling Exodus 24:8, speaks of “my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many” (Mk 14:24), or “my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins” (Mt

26:28, with an allusion to Jer 31:34). A more recent layer, represented by Paul (1 Cor 11:25) and Luke (22:20), specifically designates the chalice as the “new covenant.”

2. Paul

Paul presents himself as a “minister of a new covenant” (2 Cor 3:6). He knows that his ministry to the peoples (universal ministry) fulfills the promise of the coming of the Holy Spirit and the gift of a heart of flesh (2 Cor 3:3). Failure to understand this is to remain in the “old covenant” (2 Cor 3:14); the two covenants confront each other (Gal 4:24). But this terminology is the exception. The idea most often used by Paul to oppose the covenant, or “testament,” as a promise made by God to Abraham is the Law (see Gal 3:15–18), meaning the law of Sinai. By its way of reasoning—for example, when Paul begins by asking whether it is God or man who is “in the right” (*diakaios*)—and by its way of citing the Old Testament—for example, the citation of Deuteronomy 30:12ff. in Romans 10:6–10, legitimized in the light of Deuteronomy 30:1–10—and also of forging ideas—for example, the notion of righteousness in Romans 10:3 (see also Dt 9:4)—Pauline* theology of the law is nourished principally by the theology of the covenant, such as it is developed in the late layers of Deuteronomy under the influence of the prophetic texts. However, Paul integrated not only Deuteronomy itself but also certain essential views of priestly theology. The commitments made in the framework of the covenant of Sinai being assimilated with the “law,” the term *diathèkè* is then liberated to designate the promises made by God to the Patriarchs (Rom 9:4; Gal 3:15, 3:17; see also Eph 2:12). The justification of Abraham by faith* without law can be understood as an anticipation of the justification in Christ (Gal 3, 15–25; see also Rom 4).

Having adopted this linguistic usage and organized in that way his system of thought, Paul must necessarily ask himself if this Israel, which had rejected the message of Jesus, still took part in the covenant. He examines the question in Romans 9–11. He starts with the supposition that the covenants, *diathèkai* (Rom 9:4), belong by rights to Israel. He ends by affirming the certainty that when all other nations have been redeemed, Israel too will be admitted into the new covenant (Rom 11:25ff.), “for the gifts and the call of God are irrevocable” (Rom 11:29).

3. The Epistle to the Hebrews

The term *diathèkè* becomes a central concept in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it appears particularly between Hebrews 7:22 and 10:16. In addition,

Jeremiah 31:31–34 is cited in Hebrews 8:8–12 and 10:16f. The epistle distinguishes between the “first” covenant and the “new” covenant, the imperfect covenant and the perfect covenant, the transitory covenant and the eternal covenant. This typology being on the level of cult, the “first covenant” may perhaps refer only to the rites established on Mount Sinai. Christ is the guarantor (Heb 7:22) and mediator (8:6, 9:14–18, 12:24) of the new covenant. By virtue of his sacrifice* (10:12–22), this covenant cancels the sins forever (9:11–15, 10:11–18), sanctifies (10:10, 10:29), and gives access to God (7:25, 10:19–22) and to “the promised eternal inheritance” (9:15ff.).

4. *Nonterminological Development of the Vetero-Testamentary Theology of the Covenant*

Without using the word *diathèkè*, the New Testament adopts in many other places the motifs grouped together in Jeremiah and Isaiah around the theme of the new covenant. This is true of the Johannine* writings, for example, in the first farewell speech of Jesus in John 14.

The interpretation of 1 Peter 3:21 would subsequently have a particular function. From this text—“Baptism, which corresponds to this, now saves you, not as a removal of dirt from the body but as an appeal to God for a clear conscience, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ”—it was understood that baptism* is a personal covenant with God. Luther*, for example, rendered it as, “Baptism is the covenant of a good conscience with God.” This is not without verisimilitude. By taking the part for the whole, *eperôtèma* could mean the conclusion of a treaty (the ritual interrogation of the parties as to their respective obligations). The text would then refer to the vow that the baptized were asked to take in the ancient Church*. The notion of baptism as covenant was important in questions of personal piety and in the justification of the baptism of adults and Anabaptism.

IV. Christian Spirituality and Theology

1. *Hermeneutics of Biblical Writings*

At an early stage, the Christian canon made the distinction between the Holy* Scriptures of the “Old” and the “New” Testaments. This was based on 2 Corinthians 3:3–18, where, strictly speaking, it is only a matter of the Decalogue or, at the most, the Pentateuch. This distinction is fundamental for the hermeneutics* of a plurality of meanings in Scripture. Up to the beginnings of modern Bible science, it decisively marked the interpretation of the Bible and, moreover, theology and spirituality as a whole.

2. *Spirituality and Mysticism*

The expression “new covenant” used in the account of the Last Supper is central to the celebration of the Eucharist* and thus of the liturgy* as a whole; thereby the idea of the covenant could become an increasingly important factor in personal piety and the mystical experience*, particularly the nuptial mystique*. Intelligence of the primitive contents of the thought of the covenant could be maintained, at least in the Western Church, due to the fact that Saint Jerome translated the Old Testament *berît* as *foedus* and not as *testamentum*.

3. *“Federal” Theology*

The production of systems of theological thought centered on the idea of covenant can be attributed in particular to the Zurich reform movement. Huldrych Zwingli* early on came up against this radical wing of the new movement, which would give rise to the Anabaptist* current, prolonged in our day by the Mennonites and Hutterites. The theoretical debate centered principally on the singularity or multiplicity of covenants. From there, the covenant became one of the master themes of reform theology, culminating in the “federal” theology influenced by the work of the Leyde theologian Johannes Coccejus (1603–69). With the expression “*foedus seu testamentum*,” the discussion turned around questions such as the distinction between the “*infralapsaire*” and the “*supralapsaire*,” and everything that had been treated by Scholasticism* under the heading “*lex naturae*,” “*lex vetus*,” “*lex nova*.” Broad systematic consequences followed from the number of covenants recognized and the way the different covenants mentioned in the Bible were interpreted and ranked.

Since then, this insistence on the idea of covenant has been particularly perpetuated in pietism* but also in Catholicism* by a “biblicist” vision of the story of Salvation, structured according to the various divine covenants.

It may well be that, again as a result of this “federal” theological approach, the word *covenant* has recently taken on greater importance in the dialogue between Jews and Christians. Since Pope* John Paul II spoke of the “never revoked covenant” of the Jews of our day, continuous debate has been under way to find out if Jews and Christians live under the same covenant or two distinct covenants and what the consequences on their mutual relations are.

V. Modern Bible Science

Undoubtedly modern Bible science rejects this “biblicist” theology of the covenant and contests the historical reality of most of the covenants on which it rests.

Wellhausen, for example, considers the covenant as a theological category that appeared, at the earliest, with the decline of Judaism* at the end of the monarchy. A later generation of scholars thought they could bring to light an institution of covenant with traditional festivals, rituals, and texts belonging to the first times of Israel. But that construction is speculative and is now revealed to be untenable. Biblical theologies based on such hypotheses (such as those of Walter Eichrodt and Jean L'Hour) are no longer considered satisfactory.

Furthermore, scholars in Bible science realize that their vocation, above and beyond the study of historical realities, is the interpretation of texts. Consequently, the biblical theology of the covenant is subject to synchronic analysis based on canonical texts, using current methods of literary criticism. This approach, which is only at its beginnings, promises many fruitful surprises for theology. Because the covenant is a central element of biblical texts, the new perspectives will necessarily have an impact on hermeneutics as well.

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See also Bible; Canon of Scriptures; Couple; Creation; Decalogue; Grace; Israel; Law and Legislation; Liturgy; Promise; Universalism

Creation

A. Biblical Theology

I. Vocabulary

In Hebrew, general terms—*ʾāsâh*, “to make”—or terms used metaphorically—*yâsad*, *koûn*, “to found”; *bânâh*, “to build”; *yâçâr*, “to mold”—may assume a sense close to “to create,” especially when God* is the agent. But *bâraʾ* (48 occurrences, relatively late to appear) is the only verb specific to our concept of creation, never taking any subject other than God (suggested etymology: “to clear,” “to make a clean sweep”; see Is 4:5 and context). Creation and conception are brought together in Isaiah 43:7 and 45:10 (see Ps 22:32, 102:19), favoring the polysemous *qânah* (to acquire, create, beget): Genesis 4:1, Psalms 139:13, Proverbs 8:22 (see 8:24f.), and Genesis 14:19. *Bâraʾ* is associated with “marvels” in Exodus 34:10; in Numbers 16:30, its derivative *berîʾâh* (a unique occurrence) “something new” appears, and elsewhere it is juxtaposed with other words signifying “newness” (Is 48:6f., 65:17; Jer 31:22; Ps 51:12, 104:30; see 102:19). As early as the Septuagint and then in the New Testament, the idea of creation was expressed by *ktizein* and its derivatives (principal sense: “to found”), coupled in 2 Corinthians 5:17, Galatians 6:15, Ephesians 2:15 and 4:24, and Colossians 3:10 again with the theme of newness.

II. Location and Development of the Theme

1. Location

a) In the Old Testament. Biblical representations of creation abound, though they are too often reduced to just the one. In Genesis 1:1–2, 4 a, the action takes place within the rhythm of an inaugural time*, with the establishment of the calendar (Gn 1:14) and above all of the Sabbath. All parts of the cosmos* are made equal before the Creator. The word*, chief instrument of creation, separates, names, and blesses. The text, suggestive of a completely reworked warlike theophany* (1:2–3 a), attributes to the Creator the sentiment expressed in the hymnic formula. A synthesis (wrongly taken for a compilation) of several doctrines, the text belongs to a rhetorical genre employed in

hymns of praise* in the sanctuary and in enforcing the rules of separation, particularly those concerning food (a source referred to as “priestly”). Made in the image of God, the human couple* is called on to “have dominion over . . . every living thing” (Gn 1:28) without eating their flesh. The reader will discover, in Genesis 9:2f., how this vegetarian diet was abolished after the Flood (see Gn 6:11ff.). These two passages come from the same source and are connected in terms of their ethical intention (violence*; animals).

Genesis 2:4b–3, 24, less pure than Genesis 1 and formally more archaic, is concerned not with the creation of the cosmos but with the harshness of the human condition. The Creator, referred to as “YHWH God,” involves himself in the vicissitudes of his plan. Man is responsible. The theme of the “image of God” is dramatized: its ambiguity emerges with the voice of the serpent-tempter, who wins the struggle but not in perpetuity. The text resembles wisdom* literature and in particular the riddle genre (see 1 Kgs 10:1ff., 5:12f.).

Written during the period of exile, Deutero-Isaiah (Is 40–55) is the first document that combines the notion of creation with monotheism in a formal and didactic testimony. It sets out to hold together several different motifs in juxtaposition: creation and salvation*, cosmos and history*. In Jeremiah (10:11–16; see 23:23f., 27:5, 31:35, 32:17), the broadening of Israel*’s horizons (see Dt 4:32ff.) calls forth the theme of the creation. The Psalms* (above all the hymns) and the books of Wisdom are the classic locations of the theme. The words of praise enumerate the components of creation (Ps 104, 136, 148) or commemorate and evoke within the Temple*, center of the cosmos, its initial phase (Ps 19, 29, 93, 96–99). They culminate in the uttering of the Name* (Ps 8:2; see Am 4:13, 5:8). The Wisdom texts see in the permanent organization of the created order a principle that goes beyond it (Prv 3:19f., 8:22–31; Sir 1:4, 9, etc.). Ecclesiastes, for example, often takes its inspiration from Genesis 1–3 (Sir 16:26–17, 14; 33:7–15; 39:12–40, 11; 42:15–43, 33; 49:16). Job, faced with the misfortune of the just man, describes the creatures which surpass mankind. The Song of Songs contrasts the meaning of creation with idolatry* and illustrates the “end of the wise”

through the perspective of a “renewed” creation, with a typological rereading of Exodus.

b) The New Testament. Romans 1:18–32 sets out four concepts: the refusal of the message of creation, idolatry, the corruption of sex and (1:31) of the heart, and the unity of human destiny. Classical pronouncements are restated, but the texts that associate Christ* with the act of creation are of later origin.

2. Development

The texts that integrate the most elements relating to the idea of creation do not pre-date the exile. Our knowledge of the chronology of the Psalms is particularly deficient. The core elements of Genesis 2–3 may go back well into the period of the monarchy. A distinction must be made between the dates of the texts themselves and those of the traditions* they incorporate. For example, the attribution to Melchizedek, the Canaanite priest-king of Salem, of a cult* of “God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth” (*qonéh*) (Gn 14:19; see Ps 124:8, 134:3) preserves vestiges of beliefs older than Israel (the *’l qn ’rs* [“God the creator,” or “owner,” of the “earth,” or of the “land”?] of Karatepe in Phoenicia took the form *El-ku-ni-ir-sha* among the Hittites). In short, what is late to appear is not so much the belief in a creator God as the combination of this concept with the others.

III. Israel’s Neighbors

Long before the existence of Israel, every variation of the creation theme was represented in the Near East, sometimes in magnificent works. Indeed, Israel itself was a people* of composite origin and therefore well placed to embrace a diversity of currents. Traces of cultural infiltration remain, as do those of a vigorous backlash. Considering only a few themes, we may note that creation often proceeds by means of a gesture that separates the intermingled elements or strikes the waters. In Mesopotamia the *Enuma elish* (11th century B.C.) told of the struggle of Marduk, sun god and god-son, against Tiamat (Hebrew *Tehôm*: Gn 1:2), who was split in two, and Apsu. The origin of mankind was explained in various ways: man was created to do the gods’ work for them and sustain them with offerings, or else he was molded from clay and the blood of a god. At Ugarit (a port in the north of Canaan), Baal, the sun god, struck the sea with a club made by the Kushar-wa-Hasis, the twin divine craftsmen. For the Canaanite world, however, creation was achieved above all through the vital energy (Cunchillos, *Creation in the Ancient Near East*) of sex, a view not unrelated to that of the Egyptians. In Egypt, Shu, or breath,

was held to have separated the sky and the earth, but the theme of combat hardly appeared: the principal deity brought himself into existence and produced the earth from his own substance. Maât, the goddess of cosmic order, was present at the creation. In all the ancient cultures creation and providence* were seen in the same light.

IV. The Act of Creation

1. Its Objects

The created object is often partial: a mountain (Ps 78:54 [Dahood Bib 46, 1965]), a people (Ps 74:2; Is 43:1, 7, 15, etc.), a city* (Is 65:18), an institution, or living things (Gn 2:5–25). The origin of the human body is one of the points at which the idea of creation is associated with the experience of a manifestation without a proportionate cause (Ps 139:13f.; Jb 10:8f.; 2 Macc 7:22; see Prv 30:18f.). That which inspires praise is not merely the simultaneous creation of “heaven and earth” but the uniting of power and compassion in one act (Ps 147:32). The Creator himself feels love* and compassion for what he makes (Wis 11:23f.; Sir 18:13). The creative act even finds its consummation in the “creation” of a new (Ps 51:12) and converted (Jer 31:22) heart. It is no accident that a sense of the vastness of the cosmos and a penetration to the core of ethics* come together in writings of the same period. Israel’s return to grace* is the heart of the creation: while it is compared to a resurrection* (Is 26:19; see 66:14), it is also represented as a scene of creation (Ez 37).

2. Its Forms

The image of creation as combat is to be found in Isaiah 27:1 and 51:9f. and Psalms 74:12–17, 89:10–13, 104:7, and so on, which call to mind the archaic cosmogonies. This motif, though resembling other mythologies, maintains its originality by reserving victory to a single God. What is more, it links the progress of salvation to the beginning of time. On the other hand, the artisanal conception is a peaceful one. The artisan, for example, is also a builder (Jb 38:4–7). In this context the solidity of the created work is perceived by the heart as a promise*: the earth “will not move” (Ps 93:1f., 96:10, 104:5). The making of idols is regarded as a parody of the creative act (Is 41:7; Sg 13:16). The idea of creation fits comfortably into the sphere of wisdom, which is celebrated in terms not only of skill but also of speech; and the nature of speech raises the question of origins. God, who creates with or “in” wisdom (Jer 10:12; Ps 104:24; Prv 3:19f.) or “by” wisdom (Wis 9:2), also creates while

speaking (Ps 33:6–9, 147:4f., 15–18, 148:5f.) or even “by” speech (Wis 9:1). God’s intimate relationship to his speech and his wisdom (Wis 8:3, 9:9f.) suggests the metaphor of conception (Prv 8:22), so opening the way for the New Testament texts that unite the Son of God and his speech in the creative act. A creation by means of speech comes close to a creation of everything out of nothing—an idea rarely expressed though presupposed in Proverbs 8:22–31 and clearly detectable in 2 Macc 7:28 (see Rom 4:17; but see Wis 11:17).

It is not surprising that, according to the Bible*, the concept of creation should be apprehended both by reason* (Rom 1:20) and by faith* (Heb 11:3). In the Old Testament, the choice* of a people by YHWH and the creation of the universe are gradually revealed as distinct but inseparable in the action of a single God. The action proceeds from his singularity, from his sanctity, and, paradoxically, from what is most incommunicable in him. The identity of God the creator with God the savior prepares the way for those texts—among the latest written of the New Testament—in which creation, the basis of a universal relationship with God, proceeds by way of the Unique: Christ (Col 1:16), the Son (Heb 1:2), or the Word* (Jn 1:3; see Rev 3:14). In him, creation is to be recognized as the first and last word of a God who takes up the narrative* of his acts under his Name.

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See also Adam; Animals; Cosmos; Couple; Ecology; Filiation; Monotheism; Myth; Temple; Verbe; Word; Word of God

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

1. Antiquity

The primitive Church* inherited a faith* in God* the creator and so did not need to define the doctrine of the creation. Indeed, this was present from the first baptismal formulae, which profess faith in the “all-powerful Father*” (*pantôkrator*).

This phrase implicitly contains the idea of creation, both as noun and as adjective (“All-powerfulness... signifies that by his power... God made the universe from nothing” [fifth or sixth century, BSGR, §227]; “the doctrine of creation expresses in the clearest manner... what the words ‘All-powerful Father’ already said” [Barth*, *Credo*, section IV]). The Father is inseparably creator of the world and Father of Jesus Christ, as the invocation of Polycarp (end of the first century/beginning of the second) emphasizes: “All-

powerful Saviour..., Father of Jesus Christ..., God of the angels*, of the powers and of all creation” (*Martyrdom* of Polycarp* 14, 1, SC 10 bis). Polycarp’s formula is notable for expressing directly the unity of divine action—the fact that it is at once creative and salvific—something that remains to this day a subject of theological comment.

a) *Clarification of the Doctrine.* However, this formula remained to be clarified. Its meaning could not be regarded as self-evident in a world where the cosmos* was generally represented either as derived from the One by a process of necessary emanation or as due to the organization of uncreated matter by a demiurge like that of the *Timaeus*—powerful no doubt, but not all-powerful, and not always good, as in the case of the

Demiurge of Gnosticism*. Nor was this a secondary matter but rather the “first and most fundamental point”—prior even to the notion of salvation*: “the Divine Creator who made the sky and the earth and all that they contain” (Irenaeus*, *Adv. Haer* II, 1, 1). So, as early as the second century, the church fathers*, in particular Irenaeus in his struggle against gnostic dualism, took up the task of defining the doctrine. The essential idea was that the “demiurge” of the universe—a title widely applied from the outset to God and/or Christ* (e.g., 1 Clem. 59, 2 [SC 167]; Justin, *Ap.* I, 13; Tatian [c. 160], *Ad Graecos* 45, PTS, 1995; Origen* in *Jo.* I, 19, §110 [SC 120]; formulae from baptismal or local rituals in BSGR, §26, 30, 131, 153, 204)—was the creator of the very matter that he organized, its “inventor,” to summarize Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* II, 7, 5; 10, 4), and that he was not a lesser god but the trinitarian God himself (see *Haer* IV, 20, the first clear expression of the Trinity* as creator [Kern 1967]). The attribution to the Father was “natural” inasmuch as he was the origin (*ST* Ia, q. 45, a. 6, ad 2; see Balthasar*, Com[F] 1988, 16–17). This fundamental point of the creation of the very matter of the world would be upheld even by those theologians closest to emanationism, such as Pseudo-Dionysius*: “As every being proceeds from the Good*, so matter proceeds from it also” (*Divine Names* IV, 28), and even if it is “by an overflowing of his own essence that God produces all essences,” he remains no less “transcendent” of all the beings which proceed from him (*Divine Names* V, 8).

b) Creation Ex Nihilo. This clarification culminated in the celebrated formulation of creation *ex nihilo* or *de nihilo*, which was already present in Scripture* (see above A IV 2), and remains widespread to this day in all denominations (see, e.g., Barth 1949; Tillich 1953; Lossky 1944; CEC 296–97). The phrase from Heras’s *Shepherd* (SC 53), “you made all things pass from nothingness* to being*” (*ek tou mē ontos*, Mand. I, 1), was often taken up by the fathers (from Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer* IV, 20, 2 to John of Damascus, eighth century, *De fide orthodoxa* II, 5, PG 94, 880), and the expression was generally adopted in the second century (Irenaeus, loc. cit.; Theophilus of Antioch, *A Autolycus* II, 4, SC 20), thus entering common and liturgical usage (“You have drawn all things from nothingness into existence, by your only Son...”: *Apostolic constitutions*, VIII, 12, 7, SC 336). Augustine*, who produced five commentaries on Genesis, also used it (*de nihilo*, e.g., in *Gen. ad litt. imperf.* I, 2, PL 34, 221; *Conf.* XII, 7) against Manichaeism and Neoplatonist emanationism. Against Manichaeism he argues that since there exists only one creative principle, so matter comes from God and is therefore good, just like its maker. On

a rather different front he opposes emanationism by stating that the being of the world does not derive necessarily from the being of God since no evolution can be allowed in God. Certainly, everything exists only because he exists—*quid enim est, nisi quia tu es?* (*Conf.* XI, 5)—but nothing exists other than by his free choice. By means of his Word*, God gives rise to the universe (*Conf.* XI, 6–7), including time*, that which defines the material, perhaps even the created, condition: “There was no time before God created time” (*Gen. contra man.* I, 2, 3, PL 34, 174; *Conf.* XI, 13), and neither was there space (*Conf.* XI, 5).

The expression was intended to present as the least objectionable a type of origin that had never before been conceived and that, more than any other, resisted representation. If God derived creation neither from some preexistent matter (which would imply dualism) or from his own substance (which would imply pantheism*), he must have created “from nothing.” This “nothing” was not the mythical expression of a something, a name given to some formless matter or substrate of the world—an interpretation not excluded by the “earth without form and void” of Genesis 1, 2. Tertullian* writes of those who still believe that the world was made out of some matter and not *ex nihilo* (*Adv. Marc.* II, 5, 3, CChr.SL 1, 480)—and see Justin (creation “from formless matter,” *Ap.* I, 10) and possibly Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* V, 14, 89; 6; 90, 1, SC 279). This point had constantly to be reiterated since it contradicted a fundamental conception (see, e.g., Anselm*, *Monologion* 8; Thomas* Aquinas, *De pot.* III, I, ad 7; see *ST* Ia, q. 45, a. 1, ad 3; Breton 1993, 144). Creation *ex nihilo* signified that being was God’s free gift. It derived from an excess (*hyperbolè*) of goodness on his part (John of Damascus, *De fide orth.*, PG 94, 863) and not from some need in him. But the fact that creation was not necessary meant also that it was not a degradation of the divine. The world was not a “here below fallen from some unknown disaster” but a precious world because willed: a free and gracious gift. In Julian of Norwich’s paradoxical vision (14th century), the world is tiny, like a hazelnut in the palm of the hand, but also solid and durable “because God loves it” (*Revelations of Divine Love* 5).

By the end of antiquity, *ex nihilo* had become a technical term to characterize accounts of creation (see Meginhard of Fulda’s profession of faith, ninth century: the Holy* Spirit is not created because it is not *ex nihilo*—*neque factus, quia non ex nihilo*, BSGR, §245).

2. The Middle Ages Up until the 13th Century

a) Before the 12th Century. Before the 12th century, Latin theology* contributed nothing new that was of

any significance to the idea of creation. Historians (Scheffzyck 1963; Grossi 1995) agree that, within the context of the Augustinian Platonism*, which served as a model before Aristotle (Christian Aristotelianism*) became current, there were two tendencies. One tendency understood the creation as the beginning of the history* of salvation (especially in the school of Saint*-Victor), while the other approached it more philosophically (above all in the school of Chartres*), though Anselm (*Mon.* 6–14) should also not be forgotten.

b) Peter Lombard and Lateran IV. Between the second half of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th, the main elements of a clear doctrine of creation were established by Peter Lombard's (c. 1100–1160) account in his second book of *Sentences* and the dogmatic* definition of the creation by the Fourth Lateran* Council* (1215). According to Peter Lombard (*Sent.*, d. 1), there was a single creator of time* (contrary to Aristotle's notion of the eternity of the world, d. 2) and of all things visible and invisible, and he was the one Creator. He was the only one, indeed, who "makes something from nothing" (a clear distinction between *facere* and *creare*), as opposed to Plato's demiurge (*artifex*)—see also Bonaventure*'s formula: "Plato commended his soul* to its maker (*factori*), but Peter* commended his to its Creator (*creatori*)" (*Hexaemeron* IX, 24). God created freely, through goodwill and not from necessity, because he wished to communicate his beatitude* to others beside himself (*Sent.*, d. 3). And since this beatitude could be shared in only by means of intelligence, God created creatures possessed of reason (angels* and human beings), able to apprehend the sovereign good by intelligence, to love it as they apprehend it, to possess it as they love it, and to enjoy it as they possess it (d. 4).

As for Lateran IV, it reiterated, against the Cathars (Catharism*) that there was only "one single creative principle," God in three persons*, "who by his all-powerfulness created spiritual and corporeal creatures *de nihilo*, at the beginning of time" (*ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo*, the first use of the phrase by the magisterium*, *condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem*). In this way, the council insisted on the goodness of creation.

3. From the 13th Century to the End of the Middle Ages

a) Exitus-Reditus. These ideas were so clear that the great theologians of the 13th century, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas in particular, were able to set their theology of creation firmly in the context of the "emer-

gence" of beings from their principle and their "return" to this principle—*exitus-reditus* (Aquinas, I *Sent.*, d. 2 *divisio textus*) or *egressus-regressus* (Bonaventure, I *Sent.*, d. 37, p. 1, a. 3, q. 2, c.)—and to use the whole vocabulary of emanation (*emanatio, processio, diffusio, exitus, fluxus*, and so on) without the slightest equivocation. This had not been the case for John the Scot Eriugena (c. 810—c. 877). This Neoplatonic scheme, modified since antiquity by the concepts of divine liberty* and the economy of salvation (see Irenaeus), was developed still further by the attempt to consider creation as something embedded in the very life of the Trinity (Bonaventure, *Hex.* VIII, 12; *Breviloquium* II, 1, 2, e.g.; Aquinas, *ST* Ia, 45, 6). Creation was certainly a result of divine goodness—according to the Dionysian principle, taken up throughout the Middle Ages, that "goodness diffuses itself"—but of a goodness that decided to communicate itself and that would not be diminished if it did not communicate itself (Aquinas, *De pot.* III, a. 15, ad 1; a. 17, ad 1, ad 7). The sovereignty of the divine initiative with respect to the creation was absolutely safeguarded as a theological principle and therefore also its sovereignty with respect to the economy of salvation, of which the creation was at once the first moment and the abiding condition. In spite of the importance of the philosophical means employed, this was certainly a theological approach to creation. "The emanation of all that exists" from God, "that is what we call creation" (*ST* Ia, q. 45, a. 1). But this "emanation" was not some initial impulse in which the cause then lost interest. Rather, it set in motion what we might call a dynamic of return (*circulatio, regiratio*, Aquinas, I *Sent.*, d. 14, q. 2, a. 2), so strongly desired by God that he made himself flesh to enable it to come about.

God became incarnate to make this return possible since it had been rendered impossible by sin*: this at least Aquinas's opinion on the question of the motive for the Incarnation* (IIIa, q. 1, a. 3). Would the Word have made himself incarnate even if humankind had not sinned? Some theologians claimed as much, so as to endow the universe with a perfection worthy of the Creator's glory*. This opinion was generally characteristic of the "Franciscan school," but the first to formulate it was apparently Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075—c. 1130) (Scheffzyck 1963). It recurs in the work of Alexander of Hales (c. 1186—1245), *Summa halensis* IV, n. 23 a. Robert Grosseteste (c. 1175—1253) adverts to it with a characteristic formula: "There would have been no completion of the natural order if God had not made himself man" (*non esset... consummatio in rerum naturis nisi Deus esset homo*, *Hexaemeron*, ed. R.C. Dales, London 1982, 276). Duns* Scotus treats of it in a systematic way (*Lectio parisiensis in*

Sent. III, d. 7, q. 3 and 4). Bonaventure thought it possible, in qualified terms, though he preferred redemption as a motif for the Incarnation (III *Sent.*, d. 1, a. 2, q. 2). See also Nicholas* of Cusa, Suarez* (Scheffczyk), Malebranche (*Entretiens métaphysiques* 9), and Schleiermacher* (according to Barth, *Credo*, section IV, 37). Aquinas initially considered both assumptions tenable (III *Sent.*, d. 1, q. 1, a. 3) but finished by rejecting the “Franciscan” view, basing his opinion essentially on scriptural arguments while yet admitting that it was in itself possible (IIIa, q. 1, a. 3). But “it was sufficient for the perfection of the universe that creation should be naturally (*naturali modo*) ordered towards God as to its proper end” (ad. 2).

b) *Bonaventure.* Bonaventure departed from the classical position: “The whole machine of the world (*universitas machinae mundialis*) was brought into being by a single sovereign principle, in time and from nothing (*ex tempore et de nihilo*)” (*Brev.* II, 1, 1). *Ex tempore* since creation supposes a beginning in time: it is contradictory to speak of the eternity of a created world (ibid., q. 2; *Hex.* VI, 4). The creation is known only by means of revelation* (II *Sent.*, d. 1, q. 1, a. 3) and is revealed only with salvation in mind. Scripture speaks of creation (*de opere conditionis*) only with a view to “reparation” (*propter opus reparationis*, *Brev.* II, 5, 8; see ibid., 2). It is made only to lead human beings to God: the world is like a book in which the creating Trinity shines forth (*Brev.* II, 12, 1). But one must know how to read this book, not taking it literally (*Hex.* II, 20) by attending merely to things since these are above all “vestiges” (traces*) of the Creator—*umbrae, resonantiae, picturae, vestigia, simulacra, spectacula*, and so on (*Itinerary.* II, 11)—in short, signs of God. What is important is to pass “from the sign to the signified” (ibid.).

c) *Thomas Aquinas.* Two points characterize Aquinas’s concept of creation: the radical contingency of its creatures and the definition of creation as a relationship. The first point is made clear in the way in which he treats the problem of the eternity of the world. We know that Aquinas judged its noneternity impossible to prove (*ST* Ia, 46, 2). Creation in the strict sense of a beginning in time (*novitas mundi*, see *De pot.* III, 3, ad 6; Ia, 45, 3, ad 3) is known only through revelation (Ia, 46, 2) and thus by faith (a position for which Barth would be grateful to him, *KD* III/1, 2) even if the general dependence of things on the first Cause is accessible to reason* (Ia, q. 46, a. 2, 1). But to say, anyway, that an “eternal” world would be a created one (*nomen creationis potest accipi cum novitate, vel sine*, *De pot.* III, 3, ad 6) is a way of highlighting

the contingency of every possible world. The duration of this world makes no difference, even if the fact of having a beginning expresses it better in the eyes of creatures who are themselves temporal (*De pot.* III, 17, ad. 8). In any case, an indefinite duration would have nothing in common with the eternity* of the Creator, which does not involve succession (Ia, q. 46, a. 2, ad 5), as Boethius* (cited by Aquinas) and Augustine (*Conf.* XI, 14) had already observed. This contingency stems from the fact that the created being is entirely relative, in the literal sense of existing only by its relationship to the Creator. Creation is defined by the relation of things to their source, is indeed no more than this relation (*ST* Ia, q. 45, a. 3; see q. 13), and without this relation the created being is nothing; see the emphatic wording of the *De aeternitate mundi*: the creature has no being other than that which is given to it (*nisi ab alio*); left to itself and considered in itself, it is nothing (*nihil est*); nothingness is more natural to it than being (*unde prius naturaliter est sibi nihilum quam esse*) (see Ia IIae, q. 109, a. 2, ad 2).

There is no continued creation (Ia, q. 45, a. 3, ad 3, e.g.): one and the same divine action creates and keeps in being a creature that exists only by its constant relationship to God (*semper refertur ad Deum*, *De pot.* III, 3, ad 6; see Ia, q. 104, a. 1, ad 4; *CG* III, 65; *De pot.* V, a. 1, ad 2). But by the same token, this creature exists fully since God gives being ceaselessly and in superabundance—so much so that paradoxically (and this is the very paradox of the analogy* of being, e.g., Przywara 1932), this vision of radical contingency is also a vision of the being of beings and of the richness of their existence in actuality. To deny the consistency, the autonomy, or the “perfection” of creatures is to insult the Creator (*detrahare perfectioni divinae virtutis*, *CG* III, 69). It was with good reason that Chesterton saw Aquinas as “Saint Thomas of the Creator.”

d) *The Later Middle Ages.* Even though the later Middle Ages were far from being a period of intellectual decline, it must be admitted that they witnessed some “decline” (Scheffczyk 1963) in the theology of creation, inasmuch as the separation of faith and reason was emphasized and creation was seen as a matter of pure faith. It was dependent on God’s incomprehensible omnipotence: as Duns Scotus saw it, there would have been no contingency in the world without contingency in divine causality itself (*nisi prima causa ponatur...contingenter causare*, *Opus oxoniense* I, d. 39, q. unica, no. 14). With Ockham’s nominalism*, the link between God and the world was “loosened in the extreme” (Scheffczyk) since there was no longer any exemplary causality, and God, in an absolute freedom limited only by the principle of contradiction, brought

into being entirely new creatures unrelated to any essence.

4. The Modern Era

a) The Reformation. The Reformation did not call into question the dogma* of creation, which had been reaffirmed at the end of the Middle Ages by the Council* of Florence*. Melancthon is the most traditional of the reformers in the way he presents faith in the creation (“God, the Father of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, with the Son... and the Holy Spirit, created from nothing the sky and the earth, angels and men and all that is corporeal,” *Loci praec. theologici*) and in his manner of finding the “traces of God” (*vestigia Dei*) everywhere in nature, which is made, “created,” in order to “reveal God.” According to Calvin* (*Inst.* 1, 14), what the Scriptures say about the creation is sufficient, and it is neither “permissible” nor “expedient” to speculate on the question. For Luther*, it is both important (e.g., WA 24, 18, 26–27) and difficult (*ibid.*, 29–33; see WA 39/2, 340) to believe in the creation. He gives this faith an existential tone: it begins with the belief that we can do nothing by our own power, so dependent are we on God (WA 24, 18, 32–33; 43, 178, 42–179, 1). Moreover, it is a matter for all individuals on their own account—see the formula of the Catechism, “I believe that God created me, along with every creature” (WA 30/1, 183, 32–33 and 247, 20–21; 293, 15–16). In fact God draws each person ceaselessly from nothingness (e.g., WA 12, 441, 6) by the power* of a truly creative Word: “The words of God are realities, not mere words” (*res sunt, non nuda vocabula*, WA 42, 17, 24), and each person is a word or a syllable of the divine language (*loc. cit.*, 19). See Bonaventure’s “every creature is a word of God” (Bonaventure*, III, 1, b) and Aquinas, *ST* Ia, q. 37, a. 2: “the Father uttered by his Word... himself and his creatures” (*se et creaturam*) // Ia, q. 34, a. 3; *Quodl* IV, q. 4, a. 6. On the theme of creation and speech, see Kern (1967).

b) The 17th and 18th Centuries. The modern period saw the theme of creation slip from the hands of the theologians: they either lost interest in it—in the 18th century, for example, the Carmelites of Salamanca did not comment on the treatise on creation in *ST* “since this question is not generally dealt with in the schools” (*Cursus theologicus*, Proemium, §IV)—or, like Suarez, regarded it as a matter more philosophical than theological. In the 18th century the question of creation belonged to the field of philosophy*: Descartes*, Malebranche, and Leibniz* each had his own concept of it. One of the most interesting was undoubtedly that of Leibniz, who visualized the monads being born

“from continual lightning-flashes of Divinity” (*Monadologie*, §47); but the idea of the best of worlds and the principle of sufficient reason would undergo a degeneration (by way of the work of Wolff [1679–1754]) in Enlightenment theology, which combined an optimism often worthy of Pangloss with a rudimentary understanding of causality. This is evident, for example, in W. Paley’s (1743–1805) *Natural* Theology* (1802): since there is no clock without a clockmaker (I), so nature, in which a universal adaptation of means to ends may be seen, especially among living things, cannot be without an “intelligent creator” (III, 75, and *passim*). Paley thus proposes a “cause” for the world “perfectly adequate” in its effect (XXVII, 408), without being aware that he is at best proving the existence of an “architect of the world” and “not a creator of the world” (Kant*, *KrV*, AA, III, 417). This “cause,” uniquely efficient though of a purely constructive efficiency and fulfilling (albeit badly) the simple role of explaining the realities of nature, was the first in a long line of unequivocal statements of reality. Such a cause, which may doubtless also be discerned in the degenerate forms of the cosmological argument (proofs of the existence* of God), is practically worthless and theologically meaningless since the image of God the clockmaker has nothing to do with the Creator of which the Bible* speaks. This notion of causality, which became widespread at this period, reveals the impoverishment of ideas about the creation in the official theologies of the different denominations during the 18th century. The situation was scarcely to improve in the 19th century in spite of some timid efforts (see Scheffczyk).

We can see here a mistrust of the category of cause that remains strong to this day, with many theologians joining Heidegger* in bemoaning the “tendency” of “the Catholic theology of creation to rationalize” (unpublished text cited in coll., *Heidegger et la question de Dieu*, Paris, 1980). “A ‘supreme cause’ (*Weltgrund*) has nothing in common with the all-powerful Father confessed by the Christian faith” (Barth*, *KD* III/1, §40, 10; see *Grundriß* VIII, 59), especially when the relation of causality is actually conceived as existing within this world (Ratzinger 1964; Rahner 1976; Moltmann 1985). W. Kern (1967), on the other hand, advocates a reconsideration of causality.

5. The 19th Century

This impoverishment had two main effects. First, as in the 17th century, it left the field open to philosophy, which held sway over discussion of the creation in the 19th century. The concept underwent some remarkable developments in the great romantic idealist theories of Schelling* and Hegel*, whether in terms of a fall from

or into the Absolute, of the advent of liberty in itself, of a creative fission in God, or of the dialectical unfolding of the Idea. For all their philosophical grandeur, these “detheologized theologies” (Przywara 1932) are hard to distinguish from pantheism*, particularly in view of their confusion between the Spirit of God and spirit pure and simple (in other words, really, the human spirit). Feuerbach (1804–72) clearly suspected as much: “The true meaning of theology is anthropology*” (preface to the second edition of *L’essence du christianisme*). And while “God is the essence of man,” creation *ex nihilo* (I, 9, and Appendix, X–XI) is merely a projection of man’s belief in his omnipotence and his desire to control nature, the means by which he sets himself up as “the goal and the savior of the world” (XI).

Next, theology found itself helpless before the new problems posed by biblical criticism (exegesis*) and the theory of evolution, with their questioning of the creation narratives* in Genesis 1–3. Certainly, faith in the creation was firmly upheld in the Catholic Church by the definitions of Vatican* I, but this was primarily in opposition to the philosophical currents of the period. The first chapter of the constitution *Dei Filius* actually repeats the definitions of Lateran IV, adding an explicit affirmation, in the face of the modern forms of monism and emanationism (can. 4, *DS* 3024), of the liberty of creation (*liberrimo consilio... de nihilo condidit creaturam*, *DS* 3002) and of the distinction between God and the world (*re et essentia a mundo distinctus*; *ibid.*). All this may have safeguarded the idea of the creation, but it said nothing of the relationship between myth* and history and left unsolved the question of how and to what extent the idea of creation can be distinguished from the images that transmit it. The world of faith was becoming parallel to that of the sciences*, bringing the danger either of a double truth* or of a continual alternation between materialist positivism and creationism (*see* Traducianism*) on the one hand and fundamentalism* on the other. And this problem persists today, at least in terms of public opinion, which does not clearly distinguish between faith in the creation and creationism.

It should be added that, from this point of view, the doctrine of creation was now only vaguely connected with the history of salvation. The creation was among the “preludes to faith,” truths accessible in principle to human reason (this is implicit in the texts of Vatican I—explicitly, it is the existence of God as deduced from created things that is so considered, *DS* 3004 and 3026; *see DThC* III/3, 2192). It was not made explicitly part of the economy of salvation and so was in danger of being taken as that first moment with which one need no longer be concerned.

6. The 20th Century

a) *Karl Barth*. It is easy to understand Barth’s protest against the idea that the first article of the Creed is a sort of “gentiles’ lobby” where “natural theology can be given free rein” (*Grundriß* VIII, 55, 58). For him, on the contrary, the creation is known only through revelation (for which reason the “doctrine of creation” in *KD* III is presented as a commentary on Gn 1–3). Creation was essentially a divine act that initiated the history of salvation. It was the precondition of the covenant*, its “external foundation” (*KD* III/1, §41, 2), performed so as to render it possible; and the covenant in turn was the “internal foundation” of the creation (*ibid.*, §41, 3) since it determined the nature of the creature desired by God’s freely given love*. This reintegration of the creation into the history of salvation, this reunion of protology and eschatology*, gave the doctrine back its religious meaning, which explains Barth’s enormous influence from this standpoint, even on Catholic theology (e.g., Ratzinger [1964] is very Barthian and acknowledges his formulation on the relationship between creation and covenant (*LThK2* 463; *see CEC* §288).

b) *A Crisis in the Doctrine of Creation?* The isolation of the doctrine of creation from all “natural theology,” however, cut it off from all the speculative efforts of the centuries (which were also attempts to reach an understanding of faith), with the result that the theology of creation was once again impoverished. The overemphasis of the theme of salvation actually had the effect of devaluing that of the creation (a “contraction” already visible in the Roman liturgy* of antiquity, as Hamann [1968] points out), all the more so because it was often accompanied by an almost exclusive concern for an earthly salvation for humankind. A number of conventional discourses on “the God of the Exodus” as opposed to the God of the creation have revealed a lack of interest in the creation on the part of theologians. This is evidenced in essays that ask questions such as, “The creation, an outdated doctrine?” (*Études*, August–September 1981, 247–61) or “Should we be interested in the creation?” (*ETR* 1989, 64/1, 59–69). The apparent lack of interest is also evident in certain aspects of the reception* of Vatican* II. Without explicitly dealing with the subject, the council had developed in GS (chap. III) “a veritable theology of the creation” (Théobald 1993), implementing a very clear “anthropocentric bias” as compared with the ancient position (*see* GS, no. 12, §1) and defining mankind’s activity as the “prolonging of the Creator’s work” (no. 34, §2). This point of view, which allowed a positive conception of technology and more gener-

ally of mankind's role in history, as "a reflection of the creative act" (Breton 1993; Ratzinger 1964, qualified in Ratzinger 1968), certainly did not imply a contempt for the cosmos or an actual acosmism in the spirit of the council, though it appears that it has sometimes been interpreted in this way. It gave rise to an insistence on human creativity, as an image of a divine creativity that is, however, put in parentheses (Ganoczy 1976; on this subject, see the uneven but profound work of Berdiaev 1914). It also brought about a neglect or dwindling of the role of the creation in the catechetics* of the Churches: see S. Jaki (1980, 56; "the most neglected dogma in the Creed"), Ch. Schönborn (*Com(F)* XIII/3, 18–34), or Ratzinger (1986, English tr., appendix, 1995), who saw clearly that this led to a conception of God unrelated to matter, a negation of the fact that the true name of nature is creation, a neglect, indeed, of the world's horizon, which could not be without consequences for anthropology. The environmental movement, with all its excesses, has had the virtue of bringing back attention, however brutally, to the existence of the cosmos. The simplistic formulae that replace humankind's domination of the created world with "stewardship," or the standpoint of Moltmann (1985), who subordinates the "relevance" of faith in the creation to the solutions it offers to the ecological crisis, are hardly satisfactory; yet the critical function of environmentalism deserves to be taken seriously.

The pluralism of contemporary theological research makes it difficult to generalize, but a number of strands suggest that a better equilibrium is being reached: a better understanding of biblical narratives, a dying down of the controversies over evolution, a movement beyond the futile attempts to reconcile Scripture with science, the reasonable desire for a measure of intellectual unity that would take science seriously without turning it into a theological authority (Peacocke 1979; Pannenberg 1986; Polkinghorne 1988; see Fantino 1991, 1994), and above all a reintegration of the creation into the history of salvation, without its being absorbed therein (e.g., *Creation and Salvation*, 1989). After all, the creation has never been preached as mere knowledge but rather as a means of (re)introducing people to a relationship (Hamann 1968) that is the origin and end of the human individual: "Thou shalt love Him that created Thee" (*Epistle of Barnabas*, chap. XIX).

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See also Being; Evolution; Father; Glory of God; God; Messianism/Messiah; Omnipotence, Divine; Providence; Secularization; Work

Credendity. *See* **Credibility**

Credibility

Understood as a matter of the "natural" rational grounds that lead human beings to the threshold of "supernatural" faith*, the question of credibility is recent, although its treatment calls on the most classic motifs of Latin theology*.

a) From Patristics to Vatican I. In terms ritually repeated by all later analysts of faith, Augustine* defined it as the act of "thinking with assent," *cum assensione cogitare*, and explained that "no one believes anything if he has not first thought that it was necessary to believe" (PL 44. 963). The Council* of Orange (529), at which Augustinianism* was officially adopted by the Latin Church, defined the strictly supernatural character of faith: human beings do not bring themselves to believe, but God* himself leads them to believe through grace* (DS 375). Faith is an act of knowledge* and an act of the will, *cognitio* and *affectio* (e.g., Hugh of Saint-Victor, PL 176. 331), giving rise to the expression "voluntary

certainty," *voluntaria certitudo*. The balance between the cognitive factor and the factor of will was maintained without difficulty by Scholasticism*. The content of faith is believable, something that Thomas* Aquinas expresses by relying simultaneously on objective reasons and on divine illumination: "Whoever believes has a sufficient motive to induce him to believe. He is in fact led to belief by the authority* of the divine teaching that miracles* have confirmed and, what is more, by the inner inspiration of God which encourages belief" (*ST* IIa IIae. q. 2. a. 9. ad 3).

External signs do exist that are capable of bringing about the intellectual attitude, situated between opinion and absolute certainty, that Thomas calls "vehement opinion," but he never proposes reliance on natural credibility as a normal precondition for the act of faith.

Bonaventure* uses very similar language. Because faith is not a form of knowledge, the will to believe is

essential to it (*In Sent.* III. d. 23. a. 1. q. 2 resp.). Knowledge has its own certainty, “speculative certainty,” just as faith has the “certainty of adhesion,” and because the latter deals with primal truth*, faith is more certain than knowledge (*ibid.*, q. 4 resp.). Finally, it is necessary that “the intellect be taught what is given to be believed (*credibilia*) so that it might think about it and that it have an inclination so as to be able to give its assent to what is to be believed” (*ibid.*, a. 2. q. 2 resp.). There is a crucial point that should not be overlooked: the medieval theology* of faith had the goal of interpreting the *virtue** of faith, and its principal intention was not that of interpreting the reasons for belief offered to the unbeliever (although it recognized their existence); the idea of an apologetics of credibility was virtually unknown. And finally, although the idea of a “dead” faith devoid of all charity and the idea of the faith of demons* were always taken into consideration, these were aberrant cases; the faith that it was important to describe was living faith tied to hope* and charity.

It was probably because of contact with modern philosophy* that the theological analysis of faith was obliged to engage more vigorously with the believing subject and the rational grounds for credibility. After Descartes* it seems that Michel de Élizalde (in 1662) was the first to propose the hypothesis of a reasoning based on grounds of credibility, making it possible to attain infallible evidence of the fact of revelation*. But it was not really until the 19th century that its struggles against rationalism* and fideism* led Catholicism* to formulate an openly apologetic theory of credibility. Against rationalism, Vatican* I reaffirmed the doctrine of the fully supernatural character of the act of faith and the specificity of its grounds: faith does not believe by relying, as knowledge does, on *intrinsic evidence* but on *extrinsic evidence*; it believes “by reason of the authority of the God who reveals.” But against fideism, the council asserted just as clearly the existence of a credibility intended for any form of reason* and endowed with evidence superior to that of simple probability. Among the factors of credibility offered to the unbeliever, the council (greatly influenced on this point by the apologetics of Cardinal V. Dechamps) gave a major place to the “fact” of the Church*, a privileged sign in favor of the revelation that it transmits.

b) From Vatican I to Rousselot. Vatican I was responding to internal theological debates, but it also established the status of credibility in an age of secularization*, and apologetic concerns were to dominate subsequent theological discussions. “Preambles to faith” then assumed a central position. To the unbeliever, said Father Pègues, apologetic reasoning may

offer a certainty that is scientific and demonstrative, “a demonstration in the strictest sense of the term” (*RThom* 1912). Later, Father Harent said that in the view of reason, the act of faith “would appear as the conclusion of a series of propositions” (*DThC* 6/1), with reason in the end appearing no longer as a faculty of knowledge shared by all but as a speculative faculty at work in the mind of an intellectual to be converted.

Three stages in the critique of this discursive approach may be distinguished. 1) The diachronic schema according to which the intellect proceeds to a judgment of credibility and then deduces from that the duty to believe (the barbarism “credentity” frequently replaces the normal expression), before the will to believe opens the field of faith, was fully accepted by L. Billot, S.J. (1846–1931). The demonstration might be “unclear and slightly rudimentary.... It may also be perfect and scientific” (1905). The essential step is a break. By means of the critical and suspicious interpretation of evidence, reason may attain a “scientific faith.” Faith in the strict sense (supernatural faith) is, however, a “faith of simple authority,” or a “faith of homage”: a faith that recognizes once and for all that it is dealing with a witness worthy of faith whose every word deserves belief. The theory does not require too much of reason: the vague idea of a supreme being*, a “spontaneous reasoning prior to any art of the syllogism” (*ibid.*), and one that includes veracity* among the perfections of that supreme being may provide sufficient rational preambles to faith. But it also expects too little from grace, which basically intervenes only to carry out in human beings the transmutation of a scientific faith into a “faith of homage.” 2) The theory proposed by A. Gardeil, O.P. (1859–1931), is less unsatisfying. The diachronic schema is maintained and worked out in great detail. The analysis of faith discerns first “a phase of searching, of various consultations with the aim of determining in detail the truths that are to be believed,” then “at the conclusion of this deliberation, the judgments of credibility and credentity, followed by a consent to the message and a choice of the faith proposed” (1912). But between the first and second editions of the book a preliminary step was introduced, that of a supernatural preparation. The entire procedure described in fact presupposes “an initial affection for God, the final end,” and something like a “pre-existence of faith in...the intent to believe” (*ibid.*). Judgments of credibility and credentity are rational, but they are also the work of a reason that is made for the purpose of believing. The intellectualism* of the theory is also moderated by a concession: there are “psychological substitutes” for the purely rational perception of credibility, such as a “flair” or a “tact.”

3) The analyses of P. Rousselot, S.J. (1878–1915), are broader in scope. Any linear schema in which grace would intervene to move the will after reason, perhaps operating on its own, had formulated its judgments of credibility and credentia is rejected in favor of a unifying interpretation of the “eyes” of faith. Here intellectual and affective factors occupy a position of reciprocal priority in which “love* gives rise to the faculty of knowledge and knowledge legitimates love” (1910). The objective visibility of signs of credibility (the “external fact”) calls forth the capacity to see them (the “eyes of faith”), and this capacity (the “internal fact”) is the sympathy of the subject with its object. The judgment of credibility is thereby replaced by an intellectual synthesis that has no need to be discursive; the analysis is explicitly aimed at granting no privilege to the faith of intellectuals over the faith of ordinary people. In the face of the realities that call forth faith, the subject responds by a certain use of the “illative sense” conceptualized by Newman*. In the final analysis the act of faith is supernatural from beginning to end; it cannot be thought of without reference to “an innate affective habit which, making us sympathize with the supernatural being...provokes in us a new faculty of sight” (ibid., 468). The abstract logic of arguments of credibility is thus replaced by a logic of attraction; and attraction operates, indistinguishably and simultaneously, on intelligence and on liberty*. A disciple of Rousselot, G. de Broglie, extended his intuitions in a theory of knowledge through signs and of the knowledge of value (knowledge of the “sign-value”).

c) *Contemporary Perspectives.* Father Harent criticized Rousselot for reducing the perception of truth to the perception of beauty (*DThC* 6/1); this was at least a prediction of the direction in which H.U. von Balthasar* would continue Rousselot’s analysis, the direction of a “theological aesthetics” that establishes congruence between “subjective evidence” and “objective evidence” in the perception of an articulated totality (of a “figure,” *Gestalt*). But if for Rousselot faith, in the final analysis, had eyes only to see arguments, for Balthasar the attraction exercised by primal truth operates in a strictly Christocentric context; faith is no longer asked so much to give its assent to revealed doctrines “by reason of the authority of the God who reveals [them],” as to give its assent to the God who reveals *himself*.

These continuations presuppose some mediations. They presuppose the acceptance by theology of philosophies of the person*; for example, J. Mouroux says that “search by the person is what explains the understanding of credibility; encounter with the person is what explains the certainty of faith” (Mouroux 1939). They

presuppose that the question of certainty and doubt is no longer posed in speculative but in existential terms; for example, Gabriel Marcel sought an “existential indubitable.” They presuppose the reappropriation of a rich sense of ecclesial mediation, according to which the Church does not act primarily as magisterium* transmitting propositions to be believed but as a field of experience* and as a sign (already present in Dechamps, later in the “liturgical movement,” and so on). They also presuppose that there has been a reappropriation of traditional thinking about the supernatural*, either through the philosophical influence of Blondel* or the later theological influence of Lubac*: not, to be sure, the notion of a “supernatural demanded by us” but a “supernatural demanding in us” (E. Le Roy).

In any event, perspectives seem to be fairly clearly established. Faith comes to human beings from the outside, from listening to a word* (*fides ex auditu*): the a priori possibility that this word is audible is a traditional teaching well reformulated by Rahner*. If faith is directed not toward propositions but toward “things” (Thomas Aquinas), and if the “thing” toward which it is centrally directed is a supreme good* revealed as love, then the problem of credibility cannot fail to become indissociable from the problem of divine “lovability.” To Thomas’s dictum that “nothing is loved unless it is first known,” it may seem that contemporary Catholic theology tends to prefer a theory of the cognitive powers of love and a fortiori a theory in which divine love is knowable by man only by being the object of a love (*amor ipse intellectus*, said William of Saint Thierry). This tendency perhaps provides a point of convergence with Protestant theology. The latter has tended to be absent from debates about credibility because it has little interest in anything resembling a “scientific faith” and because it is suspicious of any theological enterprise that might seem to attribute an element of autonomous responsibility to reason in the act of faith.

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See also Faith; Grace; Knowledge of God; Reason; Revelation; Supernatural

Credo. *See* **Creeds**

Creeds

A. The Symbols of Faith

1. Definitions

Faith*, created by grace*, is an act* involving the whole person*, expressing commitment to God* as the one who reveals himself and saves the faithful. This act manifests itself in the totality of the Christian's life. But it appears more specifically in certain circumstances: when one confesses and proclaims in words the content of faith among believers (prayer*, praise*, sacramental liturgies*), when responding to heresy or opposing nonbelievers (this is the subject of the present article), or when bearing witness, to the point of martyrdom, to the firmness of one's commitment (martyr*). Verbal confessions of faith can take many forms, but they take a particular and privileged form in certain formularies called "symbols of faith," or "creeds" (from "Credo," "I believe"). These bring together—as the word "symbol" indicates—the three "articles of faith" concerning, respectively, the Father*, the Son, and the Holy* Spirit. Among the numerous creeds

left to us by the first Christians (Hahn 1897), two are especially important: the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed later developed by the Council of Constantinople and called the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople.

2. History

The study of the creeds, promoted by Harnack and Kattenbusch, dates back to the 19th century. The declarative form of the symbols they showed is not the oldest form of creed. This distinction belonged to the liturgy of Baptism* and originally consisted of three questions posed to the catechumen at the moment of the triple baptismal immersion "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (see Mt 28:19). But the need to prepare catechumens led to the creation of a catechesis* that explained the "rule of faith" (second century). This was expressed at the time in affirmative texts rather than interrogative ones, which is

the origin of declarative creeds. The initiated had to respect the rule of mysteries: creeds were part of the esoteric teachings of the Church* and could not be divulged to nonbelievers.

a) In the West. An ancient legend has it—a legend especially cited by Rufinus—that after Pentecost and before dispersing on their respective missionary paths, the Twelve, filled with the Holy Spirit, each specified one of the truths of faith. The sequence was to form the current “Apostles’ Creed.” This belief survived until the 15th century (Council of Basel*-Ferrara-Florence). It was meant to signify that this particular creed stemmed directly from the apostolic kerygma recorded in the discourse of Acts and the Epistles. But the story of the Apostles’ Creed is more complex. This creed is a variation on the old Roman Credo, which combined two major affirmations: that of Trinitarian faith and of the redemptive death* and resurrection of Christ*. It insists on Jesus*’ life on earth.

The Roman creed appeared in a more or less definitive and official form only at the end of the second century, in the Church* of Rome*, almost simultaneously in Greek and Latin. Kelly says that it emerged before the reign of Pope* Victor (189–197). The mention of the Descent* into Hell and the Communion* of Saints came later, appearing during the second half of the fourth century and apparently having Eastern origins. The dominance of the Church of Rome in the West caused local* Churches to agree on the Roman text. Among the various recensions, which vary infrequently from one another, and even then only in minor ways, the one that was ultimately adopted amplifies the Roman creed supposedly used in the south of France around the year 600. It was successful because of Charlemagne’s attempt at making liturgy uniform (*see below*). The Apostles’ Creed was never approved by an ecumenical council.

It is also important to mention the apocryphal creed known as the Athanasian or *Quicumque* (from its first word). An *expositio fidei* more than a symbol of faith, this text played a major role in the West during the Middle Ages and was even honored by reformers (Luther*, e.g., in *Die Drei Symbole Oder Bekenntnisse des Glaubens Christi*, gives it almost as much importance as the Roman and Constantinople creeds). This text was attributed to several ancient figures, Caesar of Arles and Fulgentius of Ruspina (Stylgmaier 1930), and the first mention of its existence can be found in a letter written by Augustine*. It is at least certain that its first version was in Latin. Even recently the *Quicumque* played a role in the liturgical life of the Christian West beyond the frontiers of Catholicism* (e.g., in Anglicanism*).

b) In the East. As in the West, the Eastern symbols emerged in the liturgical context of baptism, first in interrogative form and respecting the rule of mysteries. But because of the freedom and autonomy that the local churches had, there was a profusion of different creeds, and a single model did not evolve. Sharing essential elements, these creeds nevertheless vary in accordance with the theological emphasis (orthodox or heretical) of their authors. Their terms are often more speculative than the Western examples.

The Nicene Creed was written at the First Council of Nicaea* (323), the first ecumenical council*, called together by Constantine to put an end to Arianism*. The council was directed principally by Ossius of Córdoba, and the creed it produced consists of three articles (the one regarding the Holy Spirits was not developed) and a series of anathemata.

The First Council of Constantinople (381), convoked by Theodosius, slightly modified the second article of the Nicene Creed, while particularly developing the third, in opposition to pneumatomachian thought (Holy* Spirit). This new version of the Nicene Creed is called “Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople.” Debate went on in the period between these two councils in response to the persistence of Arian heresy and the aversion of Eastern Christians, even the orthodox, to the nonbiblical term *homoousios* (the Son is *consubstantial* with the Father) that was included in the Nicene Creed. Moreover, the term was ambiguous because of the possible equivalence drawn between *ousia* and *hupostasis* at that time. The major protagonist in this controversy was Athanasius* of Alexandria, nevertheless accused by Eastern Christians of coming too close to Marcellus of Ancyra’s modalism. It was the Cappadocian *mia ousia, treis hupostaseis* (Basil of Caesarea), finally accepted by Athanasius from 362 (Council of Alexandria), that resolved the problem.

The 1054 schism* between the East and West (Orthodoxy*) was partly due to the Western addition of “*filioque*” to the original writing of the Constantinople symbol, which had been drafted by an ecumenical council recognized by all.

3. Place and Moment of Creed

Up until the present time the rite of Baptism included one creed, presented in its oldest form as a threefold question and answer. The place of the Credo in the Eucharist* reminds Christians, more often than Baptism does, of the content of their faith. The inclusion of the Constantinople Creed in the eucharistic celebration was rapidly established in the East, following the Council of Chalcedon* (451). The initiative for this lay with the Monophysites, who wanted, in this way, to insist on the adequacy of a symbol that had been writ-

ten prior to this council. In the West, the practice of chanting the Constantinople Creed was introduced progressively. This happened first of all in Spain, in opposition to Arianism (Third Council of Toledo, 589), and then in Ireland. Soon after this, Charlemagne imposed it in 795 as way of countering adoptionism*. Rome finally accepted it at the beginning of the 11th century. The role of the creed in the eucharistic liturgy varied: in the East it came just before the anaphor, after the Gospel or before the Communion in the West. Since this time, the Apostles' Creed and the Constantinople symbol have coexisted in Western tradition. The former is connected to the Eucharist and the latter with baptismal catechesis.

4. Role and Need for Such Expressions

Confessions of faith need to exist for the life of the Church and personal faith. In reciting a creed, each person gives content to his faith and acknowledges the unity* of the Church to which he belongs. Faith includes many other truths as well, but those set out in the symbols are central and irreplaceable. Karl Rahner* underlined the importance of these brief creeds while at the same time suggesting the possibility of reformulating faith today in a noncanonical way, in other possible texts, provided that such texts specify a faith in the historical Jesus*.

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See also Baptism; Constantinople I, Council of; Faith; Filioque; Heresy; Martyrdom; Nicaea I, Council of

B. Protestant Tradition

"For one is not acting like a Christian if one fears affirmations: on the contrary, a Christian must take joy in affirming his faith*, or else he is not a Christian. And first and foremost [...], what does this expression mean: 'a theological assertion'? It means to strongly bond with one's conviction, to affirm it, confess it, and defend it to the end with perseverance" (Luther*, *Oeuvres* 5, Geneva, 1958).

This passage by the German reformer clearly illustrates the importance of creeds in the Protestant perspective and just how intertwined with the very essence of Christian faith is the act of confessing that faith. Of course, in this matter the Protestant tradition* understood itself to be following in the steps of the early Church*; and when it came time to collect the source texts in books of rites, the Protestant Churches did not hesitate to include the ancient creeds of the Apostles, Nicaea-Constantinople, and Athanasius.

Therefore, it agrees with the ancient tradition that creeds are indispensable elements, for prayer* and praise* as well as preaching*, catechesis*, and teaching. In the context of the 16th century, creeds nevertheless took on new connotation, and these would mark Protestantism* up to the 20th century.

1. Insistence on the Doctrinal Element

To this day the Protestant tradition certainly uses creeds liturgically in the context of worship. But in the interconfessional confrontation of the 16th century, it was mostly as a clear definition of fundamental specifics that creeds doctrine played a decisive role. This doctrinal aspect can first be explained by the fact that the reformers debated the idea of a hierarchical and centralized Church authority*. Henceforth, the Church structures* that were established could be very diverse in terms of their place and time. The central

reference of the Protestant faith was the doctrine, the coherent body of fundamental affirmations of that faith. The different creeds of the Protestant tradition aim to formulate this doctrine by giving it a visible, historical expression. They therefore play an essential role in the establishment and the life of Churches. Thus, when the pastor* is ordained, his admission to service in the Church depends not on his promise of obedience to a bishop* but on his acceptance of a creed.

At the same time, this doctrine is understood to play a role in the life of all believers and ought to enable them to assume, in full personal responsibility, a life before God*. In this case, the catechism acts as creed, and it is not by chance that the two are found side by side in Protestant confessional books.

2. The Principal Creeds: The Confessional Books

Creeds played an important part in the historic process of developing and strengthening different Protestant traditions. Regarded as the authorized expression of doctrine, they quickly gained force and appeared, beside the catechisms of various Reformations, in collections of reference texts called *Confessional Books*. Lutheranism*'s collection of confessional writings, the *Book of Concord* principally contains the creed known as the *Augsburg Confession* (1530) and its *Apology* but also the *Smalkadic Articles* (1537–38) and the *Formula of Concord* (1577). In the reformed work representative of Calvinism*, are the *Confession of La Rochelle* (1559), the *Later Swiss Confession* (1566), and the *Canons of the Synod of Dordrecht* (1619). In the case of Anglicanism* there are the *Thirty-nine Articles* (1571) in its *Book of Common Prayer*.

3. Theological Challenges

Because of their central place within the structures of Protestantism, creeds are of major theological importance.

a) *Authority of Scripture and Authority of the Creed.* Because the Reformation strongly emphasized recourse to Scripture (*sola scriptura*), it is advisable here to make a connection between creed and Scripture. In relation to the gospel, both Scripture and creed play the role of an authorized norm that aim to lead to the true living word* of God* that proclaims a Christ* to whom alone authority, strictly speaking, belongs. But at the same time there is a difference between them: the creed, in fact, is answerable to the Scriptures and only comments on it: it is, in other words, a “normed norm” (*norma normata*), whereas Scripture, in comparison, is a “normalizing norm” (*norma normans*).

b) *Condemnation of Heresy and Concern over the Unity of the Church.* A creed takes sides in both positive and negative senses. It reaffirms the essence of faith and counters threats against it. It therefore reveals abuses and condemns heresy*. Consequently, there is a divisive effect, and the Protestant Churches are today working on reinterpreting the divisions caused by 16th-century creeds. Indeed, in examining these divisions we can discover the true intention of creeds, which is unity* of the Church. In aiming to express what is essential, creeds call for a unity that strives to be universal. Particularity and universality constitute an irreducible tension in all creeds.

c) *Confession of Faith and Witnessing.* The preceding point emphasizes the importance of creeds in the Church. However, creeds also have a bearing on the life of the believer in a way that is expressed in witnessing. For the believer, a creed is the school in which individuals are apprenticed to the task of witnessing, of attesting to their faith before the world, by both word and deed and through their concrete commitments.

4. Recent Developments

a) *Modern Debate.* In modern times the act of confessing faith has often attracted criticism. Pietism*, for example, favored the living piety of the heart over dogmatic formulas, and during the Enlightenment, creeds were discredited, being seen as representing a servile and immature submission and as the source of fanaticism. As for historical criticism, it separated the traditional authority of ancient creeds by revealing the complexity of their history. And 19th-century liberal theology*, giving priority to religious feeling, denounced creeds as the obsessive objectification of this sentiment. This “liberal” rejection may have led to the emergence of national Churches (Reformed) that did not have creeds in their constitution.

b) *Reaffirmation of Creeds in the 20th Century.* In view of this debate, it was up to dialectical theology*, starting between the world wars, to reestablish the value of creeds. For Karl Barth*, for example, this resulted from the rediscovery of the word of God as something that demands a clear answer from its addressee. It was under the influence of this theology of the Word, emphasized by Dietrich Bonhoeffer* after Barth, that Protestant groups, in opposition to Nazism and its influence in the German Church, formed a Confessing Church as early as 1933–34. Its aim was to maintain the integrity of the Christian community during the crisis situation. In May 1934 a synod in Bar-

men adopted a declaration known as the "Declaration of Barmen," in which the status of creeds is discussed.

c) Status Confessionis. As early as the 16th century the distinction between those things that involve creeds and those that are indifferent in this respect (*adiaphora*) stirred up animated debate (the points at issue were things such as Catholic ceremonies and then, in the context of pietism, card games, dancing, and so on). This question was raised again by Bonhoeffer in the political context of the fight against Nazism when he declared that the Jewish question stemmed directly from faith and sin*. Throughout the 20th century the affirmation of *status confessionis* came to the forefront again in different sociopolitical debates (apartheid, nuclear arms, political asylum).

d) Multitudinist Churches and Creeds.—In accordance with concern over public space pronounced by the reformers, the Protestant churches considered themselves to be mostly multitudinist. The Churches born from the radical reform, however, asked for a much clearer commitment from members in terms of creeds and witnessing. And if this resolution may turn into a closing off, it remains true that the openness of multitudinist Churches does not necessarily entail the dissolution of creeds. Faith is not expressed once and for all. None of

the creeds in history* would therefore be proposed as *the* creed par excellence. The unceasing confrontation with creeds inherited from the past does not mean that new ones cannot be written as part of the dialogue between the present situation and the Holy Scriptures.

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See also Authority; Family, Confessional; Holy Scripture; Magisterium; Word of God

Cross. *See* Passion

Crusades

In any theological dictionary the Crusades are of primordial importance both for relevance to the Christian Church's process of self-definition, particularly with regard to the relationship between sacerdotal and secular jurisdictions over matters that are not entirely spiritual and, second, on account of the development of the Western Church's penitential regime. They were also,

outside any theological context, a major episode in the ongoing struggle between the Eastern and Western parts of the Christianized old Roman Empire.

Theologically, the Crusades were regarded by the participants, at least ostensibly, both as holy wars and as penitential pilgrimages for the purging of guilt, of greater atoning value than such alternatives as fasting

and the self-infliction of physical pain. In fact they naturally also provided an outlet for territorial aggression in a way that allowed it to be regarded as spiritually enriching. In an era in which the unicity of a single sovereignty, both sacerdotal and secular, was being strongly reasserted in the form of papal overlordship of secular sovereigns, the extra spiritual benefit of visiting the places of Jesus' life and death, of standing on holy land, served to reaffirm what we can now see to have been a confusion between the temporal and the spiritual. The pilgrimage as penance seems to have arisen in the early eighth century. It gained its firm hold on the penitential practice of the West with the Cluniac revival, beginning in the 10th century.

The wars became possible, and perhaps inevitable, with the swelling in the numbers of pilgrims. In 1064, there were some 7,000 pilgrims to Jerusalem headed by the archbishop of Mainz. Later pilgrims joined together under armed guard for their own protection, gradually forming the view that the holy places belonged by right to the Christian Church and regarding their Turkish Muslim opponents as the aggressors. Crusading belligerence could then easily be transformed into a tool in the ecclesiastical and feudal diversion of purely aggressive martial instincts into righteous, holy, and spiritually beneficial warfare while also serving the apostolic ends of the Church, which aimed at the conversion and salvation of the infidel as well as the territorial extension of ecclesiastical power.

At the same time, the Crusades protected the West from the danger of being overwhelmed by the Islamic world, which existed almost constantly from the seventh century to the 17th. By keeping that danger at bay, the crusaders allowed the Church to develop its own practices and hierarchical structures, to have its legal system cloned in the secular world, and to elaborate its theology, relying heavily on antique concepts that had actually been mediated and modified as much by Arab theologians from Jerusalem as by those from northern Africa. The Crusades are therefore of importance in the Church's process of self-definition and in particular in forcing its ecclesiology to begin its retreat from claims to secular jurisdiction, whether direct or by means of a feudally conceived overlordship of secular sovereignties.

Relations between the Latin Church and Jerusalem at first remained good after the Hegira, or move of Muhammad to Medina in 623, and Muhammad's subsequent conquest of his native Mecca. They reached a peak of cordiality under Charlemagne. Only in the 11th century did they seriously deteriorate. The church of Christ's sepulchre was destroyed in A.D. 1010, and in 1071 the Seljukian Turks captured Jerusalem from

the Arabs. The West was looking for new overland routes to the Far East, and the events of 1071 resulted in a Seljuk revival that temporarily crushed the Greeks and posed a serious commercial, military, and religious threat to the West.

In the ninth century, Leo IV had already promised spiritual profit to those who defended the Italian mainland against the Arabs, so assuming that spiritual sovereignty demanded temporal domination and could be used in its defense. In the late 11th century, Gregory VII, rallying to appeals from the East to protect Eastern Christendom from the incursions of the Islamic Turks, began to assemble an army. When Alexius Comnenus, the Byzantine emperor, appealed for reinforcements to recover Asia Minor for Eastern Christendom to Urban II, the pope gathered together in 1095 an army whose aims were not so much to recover Asia Minor for Alexius as to conquer Jerusalem for themselves. It was in Urban's pontificate that the term "Roman curia," with its overtones of pretensions to temporal power on the imperial model, appeared for the first time in a bull of 1089. The provision of military reinforcements to ensure the protection of Eastern Christianity had been turned into a holy war for the acquisition of sacred territory.

Furthermore, Urban granted a plenary indulgence* to all who took the Cross and either died on the crusade or won through to Jerusalem. This indulgence set a double precedent. It was apparently the first time a "plenary" indulgence, remitting all the vestigial punishment due to sin after absolution from guilt, had ever been issued, and it radically extended the pope's claim to be able not only to "bind and loose" in the sacrament of penance but also to usurp the divine prerogative of judgment after death.

Ways were invented in which the pope could be seen to be dispensing from an existing pool formed from the merits of Christ and the justified dead superfluous to what was necessary for the redemption and the justification of the righteous but that still further complicated the ecclesiology implied by the arrangement, introducing what could be mistaken for a system of weights and measures into the salvific work of Christ's redemption. The ability to grant plenary indulgences, later to become exploited widely and frequently, practically demanded a system that elevated the powers of Christ's vicar into those which were truly divine and were of their nature incapable of delegation.

There are many historical reasons, largely connected to the sociological consequences of plague and famine across northern Europe, for Urban's success at the March synod of Piacenza in 1095. They make understandable the wild enthusiasm generated by Ur-

ban's speech at Clermont later that year calling for the conquest of Jerusalem and promising members of the expedition the equivalent of full and complete penance. The crusade, preached in France on the basis of Urban's harangue, was essentially French. It established a French kingdom in the East, and the Crusades themselves quickly became both political, with French princes aspiring to establish principalities in the East, and mercantile, with predominantly Italian merchants seeking to establish profitable enterprises in the Middle East. What is important in the present context is the theological concept of papal dominion that underlay them and that had also underlain the investiture controversy of the 11th and 12th centuries.

When Jerusalem was finally taken after a month's siege in July 1099, there was some discussion about whether its government should be secular or theocratic. The matter seems to have been decided in favor of a lay ruler largely on grounds of available personalities, with a cleric to fill the vacant position of patriarch. The legal system adopted gave slightly more authority to ecclesiastical courts than was customary in the West, allowing them jurisdiction in all matters where Church property was concerned and also over all marital disputes, but this was not enough to imperil the principle adopted of independent lay sovereignty in temporal matters.

Although historians have given the Crusades numbers, they were in fact virtually continuous. After the second, which was preached by Bernard of Clairvaux but that failed, their religious nature was fortified by the launching of a successful counterwar by Saladin in 1187, an Islamic jihad that captured Jerusalem. The Third, Fifth, and Sixth Crusades were directed against the Islamic rulers of the holy places, but the word is also used of the Fourth Crusade against the schismatic Greeks, of the crusade against the Albigensian heretics of southern France, and against unsubservient Christian princes such as King John of England and the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II. "Crusade" came to denote virtually any military movement against insurrectionary, hostile, or heretical forces.

The Third Crusade to recapture the recently lost Jerusalem, while religious in conception and inspired by the idea of spiritual reform, was not papal but was organized in 1188 by the secular monarchs of Germany, England, and France. It was also much more conciliatory, finally ending with political union reinforced by marital arrangements and the foundation of the kingdom of Cyprus in 1195. The Fourth Crusade took place in the reign of Innocent III, who attempted to inspire the respect and power due to the vicar of Christ, his preferred title.

The Hohenstaufen emperor Henry VI, son the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, had died in 1197 preparing the Fourth Crusade after a reign of active hostility to Celestine III, who lived until 1198. Henry appointed his own bishops, spurned those nominated by the pope, and curtailed papal power in Sicily. However, he needed good relations with Celestine in order to have his son Frederick baptized by the pope with a view to becoming emperor and making the post hereditary. He offered to lead the Fourth Crusade but died before it was ready.

Innocent III attempted to adopt it and vainly sought to bring it back to its ecclesiastical objective and clerical direction. In the end, control was wrested from him by lay (mostly French) princes for their secular ends, forcing the papacy to retreat further from its aspirations to temporal sovereignty where that was possible and to feudal overlordship where it was not. The slow decline of an ecclesiology based on a theocratic ideal, vestiges of which would linger on into the 17th century, was forcing a major change in the way in which the Church was able to define its function. The crusading ideal, still much alive in the 17th century in France, where Père Joseph, Richelieu's gray eminence, was its staunch advocate, was by the early 13th century already declining into a political game. Even the crusade against the Cathars degenerated into a land-grabbing maneuver by the northern French barons.

ANTHONY LEVI

See also **Catharism; Nationalism**

Cult

a) *The Experience of a New Cult.* “Cult” and “cultish” designate a certain number of acts and practices for which early Christian communities did not have a common term, one that would have “embodied in its unity the diversity of new practices being formulated” (Perrot 1983). Conscious of the newness of the gospel and because they were participants in a thriving and rather agitated community life, the first Christians inherited a vision of cult that was mostly introverted and moralizing, drawing on the prophets* (Is 29:13), the Wisdom writings (Wis 3:6) or psalms (Ps 50, 51), and the preaching* of Jesus*. They were familiar with the terms that designated the ritual and ceremonial practices of the Temple*, but to a certain extent, they modified them. It was the life of Christ*, having become a salvaging destiny, the *opus salutis* of God*, for God and in God, that they henceforth considered in cultish terms: oblation, sacrifice*, priesthood* opening the way to God. A new word designated the “Lord’s supper,” that is, “Eucharist*.” The new “service of God” led by the Holy* Spirit of Jesus thus was intertwined with the new life lived according to the Beatitudes* and the Ten Commandments and with the service of neighbor and the proclamation of the gospel (Lyonnet 1967). Inaugurated by Baptism*, this new life was marked by fervent prayer*, both individual and common, by the use of a christological hymnology (Phil 2:6–11; Col 1:15–20; Rev 15:3), by an attentive reading of the Scriptures*, and by listening to preaching and sharing the Lord’s supper. All these practices fostered the status as an original, “new cult.” To designate services and roles, general terms such as *leitourgia* or *diakonia* were used (Lengeling 1968) or terms that were as far as possible from the sacerdotal vocabulary of the Temple (and a fortiori from the vocabulary of pagan cults). The words that were retained—apostles*, elders (*presbuteroi*), *episkopoi*—seem to insist on the function of legitimate guides who could ensure the instruction, cohesion, and fervor of a group of believers (Lyonnet 1967). The development of Christian institutions, together with the establishment of forms of prayer, religious exercises (e.g., fasting), liturgical gatherings, and the calendar, would later cause new problems. Such problems were often inextricable from specific doctrinal developments: the need to give equal adoration to the three divine persons*, the understand-

ing of the eucharistic action, the question of what degree of homage was due to the Mother of God and so on. As it extended into areas of mixed population, pastoral work had to face practical questions concerning familial cults, funeral customs, and the many superstitious practices of everyday life. The confrontation with state paganism* in times of persecution, the merging of various religious movements (Neoplatonism, gnosis*), the success of Cicero’s and Seneca’s Roman conceptions—all these may have led Christian theologians and leaders to consider the domain of “cult” in concert, even if discordant, with various religious movements to which Christianity was opposed.

b) *Augustine on Cult.* This is, in fact, what is boldly highlighted in book VI of *City of God*, where it seems Augustine* wants to settle definitively the debate that opposed the Church to the cultish beliefs and practices of Greek and Roman antiquity. The first problem was one of vocabulary. In terms of “cult,” the language of Roman religious practice—even though it was adopted by authors as serious as Varro—could not properly express the uniqueness of Christian practice and thought. Latin translations* of the Bible*, on the other hand, tended to use terms in the *colere/cultus* family (absent of psalter) to designate pagan or Jewish acts (Dn 3:17; Acts 17:23) and, more specifically, the cult of idols in passages where the Greek used *eidōlōlatreia* (1 Pt 4:3; 1 Cor 10:14). Furthermore, its usage clearly showed that *colere* was never used in the first person (as an action) in private or public prayer, by contrast with verbs such as *laudare*, *benedicere*, *adorare*, and *glorificare*.

The theoretical problem is immediately raised in the preface of book VI. If cult is understood as a relationship of homage, recognition, and attachment, to be established with a divine being by means of ritual practice, a divine being to whom or to which this relationship is due as a form of service (*servitus*, Gr. *Latreia*), how can the truth of Christianity itself be expressed in terms of such a relationship, bearing in mind the failure of paganism? Augustine’s argument consists of showing that the cult relationship can concern only a unique and true God, the creator of all corporal and spiritual beings and the one solely capable of

giving eternal life. It does not involve a multitude of gods each with a specific function (*officium*) that relates to the beliefs and needs of the city* or the material help that an individual expects. After briefly acknowledging *Antiquities* by Varro, a universal scholar, Augustine criticizes him for basing cult on human needs and the demands of civic life (“as if the painter came before the painting,” VI 4) and of thus degrading the figures of divinity. As for Christians, they certainly do have a “cult” (*Nos Deum colimus* VII), but the uniqueness of God the creator removes from cult any sense of a divinized intermediary to whom might be attributed a given element of the world or ownership of a given creature. On the other hand, this unique and true God needs neither our gifts nor our praises*, and our sinful condition makes us unable to harmonize with the liberality and gratuitousness of his gifts. It is therefore in Christ, the Word* of God and his light, that the *verus veri Dei cultus* announced by the *sacramenta* of the ancient covenant* can be established (VII). Therefore, in order to designate such a reality, the available words have to be readjusted. Too closely associated with Roman religion and capable of being used in profane and disrespectful ways, the terms from the *colere/cultus* family are discredited (X). The Greek term *latreia*, on the other hand, seems least inappropriate to express the absolute sovereignty of God and simultaneously opens up the opposite category of idolatry*. And because it also expresses the idea of a “cultish service” (*servitus*) susceptible of taking shape both in sacred signs (*sacramenta*) and within ourselves (*in nobis ipsis*), it can simultaneously consider cult as gesture and act and as interiorized attitude (X).

This interiorization can therefore be understood as God’s indwelling of the temples that we are, and this is the idea behind all harmony. Augustine can therefore extend the “cordial” cult metaphor in which the heart is the altar (*ara cordis*), the Son the priest*, and the sacrifice a life exposed “to the point of blood” and in which the incense is the fragrance of a sanctified love*. Within this temple of the heart there is a circulation constituted of gifts given and returned. Within the heart’s sanctuary, commemoration is made of divine gifts in a manner that recalls feasts and holy days. And in order for this commemoration to give rise to a sacrifice of fervent praise, the heart must purify itself of covetousness. In this way it certainly does imply a “consecration” (*ejus nomine consecramur*), a reorientation of the entire being away from desire (*appetitus*). The true cult, therefore, is a choice to be made over and over again since, in the end, it involves an exclusive love of God (*in toto corde, in tota anima, and in tota virtute*). Augustine later condensed his lyricism in

a formula that won great success: *nec colitur nisi amando* (there is no other cult than love; *Ep.* 140, ad Honoratum 18, 45).

In a similar vein to Augustine, *cultus* also appears, something rare, in the text of a liturgical prayer. Indeed, in the Verona Sacramentary we read that in Christ “the fullness of the divine cult has come to us,” *Divine cultus nobis est indita plenitudo*. The writers of Vatican II’s constitution on the liturgy* would draw on this formula (c. 1, §5).

c) *Cult and Virtue of Religion in Thomas Aquinas*. Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa Theologica* is most certainly influenced by Augustine in its approach to cult, yet its true originality emerges when Thomas links cult, the very and immediate act of virtue* of religion (*religio est quae Deo debitum cultum affert*, IIa IIae, q. 81, a. 5), with the cardinal virtue of justice*. The formal goal of religion is indeed to express reverence toward the unique God (*exhibere reverentiam*) in terms of his excellence and his sovereignty as creator and ruler of all things (q. 81, a. 3). Acknowledging divine excellence and his own submission, man shows the fundamental axis of cult, and this axis operates according to a double movement, either as a manifestation toward God (*exhibendo aliquid ei*) or as appropriation of what comes from God, in particular, the sacraments* and the divine names* (q. 89 prol.).

The exterior acts of cult, it goes without saying, are subject to an interior attitude, a spiritual activity that is directed toward God (*ordination mentis ad Deum* q. 81, a. 7) and is stable enough to form a virtuous habitus—the virtue of religion. The habitus can be enriched only by such acts. Moreover, with regard to the virtue of religion, these exterior acts do not only maintain a simple relationship of spontaneous manifestation or even of pleasure. The exterior cult in which body and sensibility are involved (q. 84, a. 2) is a cult rightly due (*cultus debitus*): created and in possession of creation*, man must return the creation to God, its creator, as a tribute of “glorification.” Cult therefore pays homage to God’s creative sovereignty; it is the reflection of a faith* that is revealed in the signs that sustain it in such a way that cult in fact surpasses the banal opposition between interior and exterior: gestures contain their own intentional and significant interiority.

The connection between cult and the virtue of religion, which itself stems from justice, led Thomas to develop some paradoxes that were not without consequence. Although, for example, one cannot measure charity, one can measure cult and religion: because they stem from a “moral” virtue, they fall under the discernment of “just measure” (q. 93, a. 2). Discernment should first focus on the status of those to whom

cultic reverence is addressed and therefore on the particular cultic form this reverence is to take on each occasion: the cult of “latria,” reserved for God alone, or the cult of “dulia,” expressing reverence due to a created being according to various degrees of honorability (q. 94, a. 1, q. 103, a. 3). Any departure from the just measure will henceforth come from superstition, which is the excessive and undue transferral of the religious relationship to objects that do not call for it. Idolatry is its most serious form.

The connection between cult and virtue of religion also led Thomas to consider the fact that cultic realities stemmed first from natural reason*, even if a positive right would be the element to determine the precise rules and forms of rites (q. 81, a. 2). It seems there is room here for an anthropology of rites and cult that involves understanding man as a religious animal. However, the transition that leads the general function of the cult to its positive ends obliges one to consider the irreversible historicity of the Incarnation* and Passion* of Christ and therefore “the strictly Christian regime of religion” (*ritum christianae religionis*) (IIIa, q. 62, a. 6). The Thomist interpretation of cult goes from a theocentric explanation of the cultic relationship to a Christocentric interpretation, and the latter aims to redefine more than one concept in the first explanation.

At the heart of this interpretation a particular thesis is proposed and supported: God is not the object of the cult but its end. It is the nature of theological virtue to have God as its only object, as when one says that the believer gives faith to God (*credere Deo*) (q. 81, a. 5) or that charity truly “reaches” God (q. 24, a. 5). The divine cult, however, is the object (formal and material) of the virtue of religion, which organizes and arranges the means, attitudes, and acts and so appears as one of the signs of faith (*protestatio fidei per aliqua signa exteriora*) (q. 94, a. 1). Thus, despite the relative autonomy that it seems to have, the cult cannot be considered as a kind of sacred mechanism that will “reach” God independently of grace* and of divine communication, which is the realm of theological virtues. Thomas specifies his position by referring to the concept of *instrumental cause* (IIIa, q. 62, a. 4), as used in the theology* of the sacraments. The sacrament, which is part of the divine cult, is all the more involved in God’s saving and sanctifying action (IIIa, q. 60, a. 5) in that it perfects the habitus on which the cult thrives in terms of the passion of Christ, founder of the new cult (IIIa, q. 62, a. 5). As an act that uses words, things, and people in a significant and palpable way, the sacrament cannot be reduced to a simple message. As an “instrumental cause,” it refers—in its very manifestation and with a drive that strictly stems from

practice—precisely to the domain in which unfolds the action of which it is the sensible figure. It also refers to the domain of God’s good and sovereign will, which works to sanctify those with whom he has made a covenant.

Most important, in the end, is the specific refinement that Thomas contributed to the understanding of the cultic relationship in general and of the sacraments. The articulation of cultic life and the sacramental experience can be understood by reference to the Eucharist since it is in the Eucharist that “the divine cult is the main principle, in that it is the sacrifice of the Church, and the end and consummation of all the sacraments” (q. 63, a. 6). The Eucharist can be understood through the order*: for it is through order that the agents, legitimately qualified to transmit the sacraments, are born. It can be understood through Baptism and Confirmation since it is through these that emerge subjects who are capable of participating in the cultic and sacramental life of the Church*. The three sacraments (Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Orders), which grant a “character,” entitle the believer to the legitimate and sacred practice of divine cult. More precisely, “each believer is delegated to receive or transmit to others that which concerns the cult of God” since each believer participates in the priesthood of Christ, “to which the faithful are configured” (q. 63, a. 3 and 5) and that constitutes the principle of the entire cult.

d) Reforms and Cultural Spirituality. To a great extent the crisis of the Reformation revolved around questions of theology and cultural practice. Within the diversity of theories and countertheories, one can acknowledge that all the various Reformation movements (one can include the artisans of Catholic reform) championed the same cult policy of opposition to the cult—a confrontation between established forms and interior attitudes meant to correspond to them. Luther* and Calvin* did not hesitate to question the whole logic of established cultural forms (critique of sacramental and ecclesiastical mediation, concept of sacrifice). The Council of Trent*, besides reaffirming the Church’s sacramental and cultic practices, set itself the task of revalorizing them by restoring their “interior fullness” (Duvall 1985). It was hoped that this program would be through a renewal of Christian instruction—as well as by going back to the traditional form of cult and sacramental celebration—by providing the Church with ministers who could celebrate its cult and by favoring a genuine “participation” of the faithful. The *Catechismus ad Parachos* published in Rome* in 1566 (one of the first pastoral works to come out of Trent) offers a theory of this participation of the faith-

ful, linking it, in the case of the Eucharist, to the central character of the sacrificial action (the only one that made full satisfaction, as was established in the council's session 22). Participating means "to participate in the fruits of sacrifice." However, the sacrifice of Jesus is both action and interior attitude: it is this attitude and this "mystery*" that pastors* have to carefully explain so that believers can develop an analogous attitude within themselves (can. 18, §7). Particularly revealing here is the distinction between the adverbs "sacramentaliter" and "spiritualiter." These were used to designate two dimensions that were intertwined in cultic practice (*see* session XIII of Trent, can. 8), and it justifies the practice of communion*, which would specifically be said to be "spiritual." This is a paradoxical conception, but it simultaneously leaves a vista open to a piety in which the Eucharist is the permanent horizon of thought and virtuous life, the horizon to which multiple forms of private and public devotions are connected (Duval 1985; Bremond 1932).

Pierre de Bérulle*'s disciples were to take the theological and ascetic notion of cult to its furthest extreme. As supreme act of adoration and reverence, cult is identified with the spirit of religion that allows the creature—once it recognizes the supreme sovereignty of God—to attain its highest dignity. This spirit of religion culminates in the person, the states and the sacrifice of Jesus, the incarnate Word, the "principle of grace and love in our nature" (Rotureau 1944). For this reason, any detachment from a noticeable good must be carried out and interpreted in terms of the religious states of Jesus Christ. It is sacrifice that is the key dynamic of these states and that sums up the entire work of Christ. Christians can participate in this through the Eucharist.

Such a vision of cult, beside its ascetic and moral weight, also involved ecclesiological theories since a central role was granted to the sacerdotal dimension of the ordained ministry, an idea that would be revived by the disciples and successors Bérulle, Condren, Jean Eudes, and J.-J. Olier. And it is finally notable that what appeared to be an entirely "spiritual" vision of cult and priesthood in fact revitalized the concrete forms of cultic action. Not only would the cult of the Church be the outside and formal facade of a religion that was experienced internally, but it was essentially meant to be an invitation to interiorize the "*exteriora*," to existentially conform to what one does when celebrating the mysteries. Vincent de Paul and Olier would make this principle the key to training priests.

e) Impoverishment and Revaluation of the Cultic Experience. History* nevertheless seems to show that the way Tridentine reforms were imposed on often unwilling populations led to a kind of drying out of cult

thought and practice (Certeau 1975). This fact clearly appeared in the division of ecclesiastic teaching subjects. According to an entirely non-Aquinas perspective, cult is linked to morality, which is itself directed back to one's duty to God and expressed in the Decalogue*. Cult is discussed in terms of comments on the first three commandments. The sacraments themselves are partly analyzed in this way and presented as supplementary to moral life or as prescribed or recommended observances ("commandments of the Church"). Thus, cult was brought back to unanimity of good example and the ceremonial to a mostly uninspired didacticism. The instrumentalization of public cult during the Enlightenment (precisely on this point, Schleiermacher* mocked the "pedagogical mania") was most certainly related to a particular conception of divinity. "Christians," wrote Y. Congar (1959), "had somewhat lost the feeling of the inclusion of God's 'philanthropy' in the theological. Henceforth, this very theology was no longer a perfect theology of the Absolute and Love. It tended to become a theology of cult, yes, a cult, a duty carried out for an Absolute that was thought to be enthroned very high, in a kind of celestial Versailles." Around the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, many religious thinkers shared the feeling that the cult experience was impoverished. The emergence of awakened movements serve as an example in the Protestant milieu. Within French-speaking Catholic circles it was perhaps in the work of a very close disciple of the first Lamennais, the Abbé Gerbet, that the tendency described by Congar was most obviously overturned; and it was in Dom Guéranger's work that the modern concept of cult most distinctly appeared. 1) In the *Considérations sur le Dogme Générateur de la Piété Catholique* (1829), Gerbet attacks rationalism* and deism*, but also, without naming it, he attacks the moral and disciplinary rigor that Guéranger would later denounce as having Jansenist origins. Before the spectacle of this "moral desert where the springs of love are drained, from where the living cult withdraws," he dismisses the solution proposed by pietism*. Instead he promotes a return to what he considers to be the "communion" dimension of cult, carried by a dogma* of which the content is precisely a "theandric" divine act. "Divine philanthropy" thus finds itself reestablished in its rights. "Rational charity" can give way to a "mystical charity" that finds "in every man's face the mark of a noble fraternity with the Man-God." The Catholic cult can therefore "banish the law of fear" and rediscover in itself its constituent dimension of "divine familiarity"; it can therefore reconcile dogma with the most experienced life. 2) Guéranger's *Institutions Liturgiques* (1840–51) adopt Gerbet's understanding of the fundamental link between cult and incarnation*,

but the approach is more ecclesiological. The cult is an act, and fully an act as such: it cannot be reduced to its moral effects. This act is an act of the Church in the reality of society*. The Church exists as cult “in an act of religion,” and its liturgies are the “social form” of its religion. It would be a mistake, therefore, to find a pretext for “seeking religion in one’s own heart” since one would thus depart from “communion with this holy society,” a communion that is the foundation of religion itself. “What makes Christianity perfect is that the eternal Word of God [...] *became flesh* in time*, and *lived among us* to found religion on the true cult, the *visible* symbols of which contain grace, and, at the same time, signify it.” Thus, the social and tangible aspect of cult, henceforth considered “liturgy,” contains both the principle and the means of its renewal and, for Guéranger, becomes the primary source for Christian regeneration, the way to transform the means of expression into a genuine work of civilization (Guéranger 1885).

The term “liturgy” would henceforth be considered more adequate for designating the essentially active dimension of cult. H. Clérissac found it to contain the “hierarchical life of the Church” (Clérissac 1918). O. Casel, when reading the Fathers* again and granting liturgical requests* that continue to thrive in the Church of the East, aimed to reconsider the objectivity of the cultic action independent of the subjective feelings of its participants. Considered in terms of the category of “mystery*,” cult is then seen as “divine action revealed with the intention that the celebrants participate in the very reality that is celebrated.” Christianity, therefore, cannot be reduced to a dogma and morality and emphatically not to a ritual apparatus concerned with aestheticism and ceremonial: the “mystery of cult” is simultaneously the revelation* and the fulfillment, “in Christ,” of what is revealed of Christ and by Christ (Casel 1922). In 1947 Pius XII (encyclical *Mediator Dei*) integrated the contributions of the liturgical movement with the official teaching of Catholicism*. Understood analogically in all its extended forms, the concept of cult here served as a means to think about the way all human existence was orientated toward God. Associated by Christ with the new cult of the new covenant, the Church, Christ’s mystical body, best expresses this orientation through liturgy. “The sacred liturgy is therefore the public cult that our redeemer, as head of the Church, renders to the Father; it is also the cult rendered by the body of believers to their founder, and through him to the eternal Father. It is, in short, the integral cult of the mystical body of Jesus Christ, that is to say, of the Head of his members” (*La Liturgie*, Solesmes 1954). Vatican II’s dogmatic constitution on the liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, cites this definition in part. Nevertheless, it uses the vocabulary in an intentionally limited way. The overall concept here involves *opus*, the work

of salvation*, considered in terms of its fulfillment in and by Jesus Christ. Carried out in the mystery of Easter, this work combines the salvation of human beings and the glorification of God. Derived from the very humanity of the Word, it introduces the “richness of the divine cult” to the human milieu. Henceforth the Church announces and exercises through its sacred liturgy “this work of salvation with which Christ associates it, and through which God is perfectly glorified, and men sanctified.” Thus, one sees “cult” giving way to “liturgy,” the latter concept seeming more able to realize the mystagogical impact of the officiating act and its “invitatory” character (Audet 1967). The terms “cult” or “spiritual cult” would then designate all that stems from an internal attitude of reverence and adoration experienced before God and, more generally, everything that a human existence includes that is “an agreeable offering to God” (Vatican II, GS 38, §1). And from this perspective, liturgical work would indeed include a cultic dimension, something that the *CIC* of 1983 clearly expresses (can. 834–40).

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See also Liturgy; Mysticism; Religion, Philosophy of

Cult of Saints

a) The Fundamental Idea. Very early in the history of Christianity, and even though Paul uses the term “saints” to mean the group of the baptized (Rom 1:7; 2; Cor 13:12), a division was created between two classes of the dead. This distinction influenced family practices at tombs, practices that in large measure the Christians held in common with the pagans. There were the dead for whom Christians prayed, and then there were those whose prayers* they invoked, notably the martyrs, and soon other saints along with them. This invocation of the saints had two aspects. On the one hand, there was the celebration of the anniversary of their birth into heaven, their *dies natalis*. On the other hand, and more generally, their prayers were sought. To the latter was spontaneously added the veneration of their tombs or their relics* and soon their veneration also in the liturgy* itself. Recourse to the prayer of the saints is one of the features of the “communion* of saints,” which is at once a communion of holy people and a communion with those holy things that are the sacraments*.

b) Historical Development. Around the seventh century, in Rome as in Constantinople, the cult of the Virgin Mary* and of the saints in general had to some extent become delocalized—the universal celebration of a saint had earlier been an exception. From this time on, the cult was tied less strictly to the tombs of saints, even though these of course continued to be venerated. And in this way there would develop, within the Roman liturgy’s sphere of influence and more specifically in the Frankish countries when the Carolingians decided to adopt this practice, a general calendar of the feast days of the saints supplementing that of the principal liturgical* feast days. This new calendar was itself completed by the inclusion of certain feasts of a more local character. In addition to the Virgin Mary (Annunciation of our Lady, Assumption, Nativity of the Virgin), of Saint John the Baptist, and of the apostles*, with, after Christmas, the feasts of Saint Stephen, Saint John Evangelist, and the Holy Innocents, this calendar included primarily the Roman martyrs. From Charlemagne’s time, All Saints’ Day, when all the saints are invoked together, was added to it. Of Irish origin, this feast seems to have been introduced to the European continent by the English scholar Alcuin.

c) The Place of the Cult of the Saints in the Liturgy. In the Roman liturgy, and subsequently in the Roman-Frankish liturgy, on feast days the cult of the saints affected principally the mass, the chief canonical hours of the divine office, and possibly processions. Similarly, in various circumstances the singing of the litany of the saints, the core of which first appeared in Rome in the seventh century, in Greek and later in Latin, introduced for the first time the direct invocation of the saints: “Saint Mary, Saint Peter, pray for us.”

d) In the Mass and in the Divine Office. In the mass, at least since the time of Augustine, it is clear that the eucharistic* sacrifice is offered not to the saints but to God* in honor of the saints, who were commemorated on the day of their birth in heaven and mentioned every day in the Eucharistic Prayer. This practice followed the distinction made by Augustine (e.g., *The City of God*, X,1) between the worship rendered to God (in Greek *latreia*, latria) and the honor of a cult rendered to the saints (*douleia*, dulia). This distinction, which was to become classic in medieval theology (such as in Thomas Aquinas, *ST* IIa, IIae, q. 84–85 and 103), would be completed in the 13th century by the special category of the *hyperdulia* to the Virgin Mary (see Bonaventure*, *In Sent.* III, d 9, q. 3).

In the Roman liturgy the prayers, readings, and hymns of the old feast days have in many instances remained unchanged from the Carolingian period until the 20th century. In addition to the Eucharist*, the saints have been celebrated by the canonical hours of the divine office, particularly in nocturnal vigils, which held an important place among the pious practices of Christians. From the Carolingian period on, it was also during the divine office that the name day martyrology, a quotidian list of martyrs and other saints, was read.

e) The Calendar of Saints. The Middle Ages saw the number of feast days increase considerably, and the hierarchy of feasts came to be organized in a more complex way, with the latter even taking precedence over Sunday*. The new feast days concerned new saints or even newly honored aspects of sainthood—thus the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (8 December) celebrated Mary as one who, from her very conception, had been exempted from original sin*. From

the 10th century, the task of the entering of the name of a saint (canonization) on the list of saints (martyrology) fell more and more to the pope. From the 12th and 13th centuries, popes reserved for themselves the exclusive right of canonization, and since the end of the Middle Ages, Catholic theologians have considered that canonizations involved papal infallibility*. Moreover, in the second half of the Middle Ages it became the general custom to give the name of a saint to a child at the time of its Baptism*. Following the Council* of Trent*, the calendar was pruned, and an official edition of the Roman martyrology was added to the liturgical books. All matters concerning canonization were entrusted to a new institution, the Sacred Congregation of Rites (1588). In the 17th century, a new distinction was made between the saints and the blessed, the second category enjoying only a local liturgical cult. It was also from this period that scholarly research was undertaken into the history of the saints and their cult (hagiography), particularly among a specialist group of Belgian Jesuits, named “Bollandists” after their founder.

The constitution of Vatican* II on the liturgy stressed the necessity of defining clearly the cult of the saints together with the Easter mystery* (SC, no. 104) and stated the timeliness of exempting certain feast days from general celebration by the Roman calendar (no. 111). In order to lessen the number of saints to be celebrated obligatorily, the new Roman calendar (1969) took into account the work of historians. It introduced a new balance between saints associated with Rome* itself and the saints of different continents. In

the liturgical texts the spiritual originality of every saint is emphasized more clearly. A new Roman martyrology is still in preparation.

f) The Protestant Reformation and the Cult of Saints. While strongly asserting the primacy of Christ* and protesting against the abuse of the cult of saints, Luther* intended to purify the cult: he did not reject it. Article 21 of the Augsburg Confession states that the memory of saints should be preserved, but they should not be understood as mediators of grace. Calvin* rejected the cult of saints (*Inst.* I, 12, I), but he attached great importance to the “host of the elect,” understood as models of faith*. The Council of Trent proclaimed both the validity of the cult of saints (*DS* 1821–25) and the necessity of fighting against its possible abuses.

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See also **Holiness; Liturgical Year**

Culture. *See* **Inculturation**

Cyprian of Carthage

c. 200–58

Born into a wealthy pagan family, Cyprian converted to Christianity about the year 246. Having become bishop of Carthage in 249, he had to go into immediate exile to escape Emperor Decius's persecution, and he guided his community by correspondence for a year and half. On 14 September 258, he suffered martyrdom* under Valerian. We can lay aside his apologetic and moral theology, strongly influenced by Tertullian, in order to consider his theology of the Church* and its sacraments*, such as it emerges from his two most famous treatises and his bulky correspondence.

a) The Question of the Apostates. At the end of 249, Decius ordered his subjects to perform an act of piety toward the Roman gods, and many Christians obeyed. Later, these *lapsi* ("fallen ones") wanted to reenter the Church. Certain of the "confessors" (those who, for the faith, had endured prison and tortures) took on themselves the authority* to readmit them without conditions. Cyprian was opposed to this practice and in 251 published his *De lapsis* (on the Fallen Ones). He found extenuating circumstances for those who had yielded under torture (§13) but deplored that many had so easily chosen apostasy (§7–8) when they should, according to Matthew 10:23, have gone into exile (§10). He exhorted them not to demand an immediate pardon but to do penance and to give alms deducted from that wealth that, in order to escape persecution, they should have been capable of abandoning (§35).

On the other hand, and in the name of goodness and divine mercy*, Cyprian defended the reintegration of the apostates against the intransigence of Novatianism*. He rejected the view of the Church as a society of pure people: "When the apostle says 'In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver but also of wood and clay' (2 Tm 2:20) how can one dare to seem to choose the gold and silver vessels and [...] condemn the wooden and earthen ones?" (*Ep* 55, 25, 2).

b) A Certain Idea of the Church. Similarly, in his *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate* (On the Unity of the Catholic Church) of 251, Cyprian fought schisms* linked to the problems caused by the *lapsi* by preaching fidelity to the Church: "One cannot have God* as a father when one does not have the Church as a mother"

(§6). He based the principle of Church unity on the cohesion of the Trinity* (§6, citing Jn 5, 8) and especially on concrete signs: Christ's tunic (§7), the family* gathered at Rahab's (§8, following Jos 2, 18 et seq.), the commandment to eat the paschal lamb* in a single house (§8, after Ex 12:46), and the dove that settled on Jesus* at his baptism* ("a simple and joyful bird, with no malice," whose pairings know "peace* and harmony") (§9). And to the unity* of the Church corresponds a single episcopate, "one and indivisible."

Scribal tradition gives two versions of the famous §4: one speaks of the "primacy" (*primatus*) given to Peter*; the other, although more developed, does not utter a word about this. Certain specialists think that the short text is a forgery from the fourth-century Roman Chancellery; many others attribute both drafts to Cyprian. It was said that, at the time of his quarrel with Pope Stephen I, Cyprian had corrected a passage that he thought would prove too favorable to Rome's claims. Whatever the result of the philological debate, it calls for two remarks. On the one hand, letters by Cyprian present the see of Rome as the "matrix and root of the Catholic Church" (*Ep*. 48, 3.1) or as "The principal Church, which engendered episcopal unity" (*Ep*. 59, 14.1). On the other hand, at the time the first publication of his *De unitate*, Cyprian was already saying—as he would when opposing Pope Stephen (*Ep*. 72, 3, 2)—that "every bishop himself directs his own actions and his administration, on condition that he renders an account of them to the Lord" (*Ep*. 55, 21, 2). In short, he saw in the choice of Peter by Jesus* a sign of unity for the whole Church and not the justification of third century Roman ambitions.

c) The Quarrel about the Baptism of Heretics and Schismatics. Pointing to tradition*, Stephen, bishop of Rome from 254 to 257, considered that whoever had received baptism from a heretic or schismatic bishop could rejoin the Great Church—the whole of the churches in communion with the Roman one—without a new baptism. Invoking an African Council held about 220, Cyprian refused to follow Rome on this point. According to him, "without exception, all heretics and schismatics are divested of all power and all authority" (*Ep*, 69, 1.1). Having no proper idea of

the Trinity or of the Church, they could not confer a valid baptism (*Ep.* 73, 23,1). The conflict ended only with the martyrdom of the two adversaries. Cyprian's view continued to prevail in Africa in the fourth century, particularly in Donatism*. Augustine contributed to the victory of the Roman custom.

d) On the Eucharist. Cyprian's long Letter 63, sometimes titled *De sacramento calicis Domini* (On the Sacrament of the Lord's Chalice), is the first piece of writing entirely devoted to the Eucharist*. While certain people (the "Aquarians") celebrated this sacrament by pouring only water into the chalice, Cyprian thought that wine should be mixed with it in order to "do [...] what the Lord himself had done" (10, 1). In his opinion the Eucharist constituted "an oblation and a sacrifice*" that corresponded "to the Passion*" (9, 3). The union of the water and the wine "shows" the union of Christ and his people* (13, 3), while the bread "shows" the unity of the Church: "just as many grains gathered together, milled and mixed together, form a single loaf, in exactly the same way in Christ, who is

the bread of heaven, there is [...] only one single body" (13, 4).

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See also Apologists; Baptism; Bishop; Church; Donatism; Eucharist; Martyrdom; Novatianism; Rome; Tertullian

Cyril of Alexandria

c. 380–444

a) Life and Works. Cyril was born into a family that had migrated from Memphis to Alexandria*. It was no doubt under the supervision of his uncle Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria (385–412), that he received the serious lay and religious education to which his later writings attest. Hagiographic sources recount in a very picturesque way his five-year stay in the cloister of Makarios in Nitria (PO I/1, chaps. 11–12). In 403 his uncle Theophilus took Cyril to Asia Minor to the rather grim Synod of the Oaktree (Chalcedon)*, where, on Theophilus's initiative, John Chrysostom*, archbishop of Constantinople, was deposed following false accusations (PG 103, 105–13). It was the first confrontation between Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch*, the town in which John Chrysostom had been educated. In 412, Cyril succeeded his uncle to the see of Alexandria. He was prominent from the outset

through his very strong—and sometimes muddle-headed—concern for orthodoxy*, simultaneously opposing the Arians (Arianism)* and the Novatians, the Jews, and the pagans. The "hyperanimosity" for which Isidorus Pelusiota reproached him at the time of the struggle against Nestorius (Nestorianism*) had revealed itself well before this particular great quarrel (PG 78. 362).

Cyril's theological works are prolific. The year 429 is the watershed that divided them fairly clearly into two parts, with the start of the controversy with Nestorius. Two immense volumes on the *Pentateuch* (PG 68–69) constantly present Christ* as the prophetic truth* (*tupos*) of Mosaic law*. The Gloss on the *Psalms, Isaiah*, and the *12 Minor Prophets* (PG 73–74) reveals the same preoccupation. The commentary on the *Gospel according to John* (PG 73–74), on account

of its size and its wealth of doctrine, is, however, the most remarkable of Cyril's exegetical writings. His interpretation is less prone to the kind of allegorizing associated with writers such as Origen or Didymus and through his concern for the literal meaning. He sometimes even borrows from the work of Jerome (Kerri-gan 1952).

His specifically dogmatic works deal with the Trinity*: the *Thesaurus* (PG 75) and the *Seven Dialogues on the Holy Trinity* (SC 231, 237, 246). Cyril took his inspiration from Athanasius* and the great Cappadocians of the previous century, but he often rearranged the elements of the Christian views into an original synthesis. Man's kinship with the Word* incarnates him corporally and spiritually with God*. The Trinity, the Incarnation*, the Eucharist*, Baptism*, the indwelling of the Holy* Spirit, deification: all these major themes of his teaching Cyril constantly connected to each other, following the tradition of church fathers such as Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa.

b) The Conflict with Nestorius. From 429 until his death* in 444, Cyril would focus his attention on the danger, to his mind, of the teachings of Nestorius, the priest from Antioch who, in 428, was chosen by Emperor Theodosius II to hold the see of Constantinople. Henceforth, letters, homilies, treatises (e.g., *Five Books against Nestorius*; PG 76–9–248) would have a single objective: the refutation of Nestorius's teachings on Christ. As early as 429, Cyril reacted against the new patriarch's sermons (Easter Homily, No. 17) (PG 77, 767–800, and his letter to the Egyptian Monks, ACO I, 1, 10–23). Cyril thought that Nestorius's objection to calling Mary* the Mother of God (*theotokos*) was a threat to the unity and even the divinity of Christ. Cyril wrote in an early letter to Nestorius that they have reached the point in certain circles "of no longer tolerating the admission that Christ is God; they prefer to say that he is the instrument or tool of the Deity; a theophoric man, or such like" (Ep 2: ACO I, 1, 23–25). A polemical exchange thus began in which Pope* Celestine was involved. Local synods were held in Rome* and Alexandria, which led to the emperor's convocation of an ecumenical council in Ephesus. Cyril hurriedly obtained the condemnation of Nestorius on 22 June 431.

c) Cyril's Christology. The Council of Ephesus thought that Cyril's second letter to Nestorius (Ep. 4; DCO II/1, 104–12) gave the authentic meaning of the Nicaean* symbol with regard to "the fact that the Word issued by God became flesh and became a Man": "The Word, having joined together by means of the hypostasis (*kath'hypostasin*) a living flesh and a rational soul*,

became a man in an inexpressible and incomprehensible way and received the title of Son* of man, not by a simple wish or whim; neither, in addition, because he only took on the figure of a man (*prosôpon*); and we say that different are the natures gathered together in a true unity, and that from both together resulted a single Christ and a single Son, not that the difference in natures was eliminated by the union, but rather because the divinity and the humanity formed for us our unique Lord, Christ, and Son, by means of their ineffable and inexpressible coming together into the unity [...]. It was not an ordinary man who was first born of the Holy Virgin and on whom the Word descended later, but it is because, having been joined to his humanity from the very womb he is said to have suffered carnal generation, so much so that he appropriated generation through carnal means [...]. It is for this reason that the Holy Fathers have dared to name the Holy Virgin the Mother of God" (DCO II-1, 107–13). The unity of Christ required that the Word of God should himself be born of Mary. Were this not the case, we would be confronted by two subsistents, the Word and an ordinary man born of Mary. It is on account of the last-named attribute, the exercise of the concrete act of existing (*hupostasis*), that the Word claims as his own or assumes for himself generation through carnal means.

Cyril was perhaps the first to take up again in a christological context the distinction, first used to describe the Trinity, of the person* (*Kath'hypostasin*) and the nature (*phusis*). He also distinguished the *hupostasis*, the person that one is, from the *prosôpon*, the figure that one represents. The union realized here, which places the humanity of the Word made flesh in the category of the being* and not of the having*, is opposed to the union that would be created by "simple wish or whim."

Giving *phusis* a concrete meaning, Cyril would speak elsewhere, somewhat ambiguously, of a union *kataphusin* or *phusikè* (third letter to Nestorius, third Anathematism, DCO II/1, 142) and would also speak of "the unique, incarnated nature of the Word of God" (*mia phusis tou thesou logou sesarkômènè*) (*Contra Nestorius* I, PG 76, 60–93), an expression that he thought he was borrowing from Athanasius but that in fact came from Apollinarius (Apollinarianism*) (Ep. ad Jov. 250; ACO I/5, 65–66). These phrases would for a long time earn Cyril the title of the father of monophysitism*.

d) Reputation and Influence. Approved by the Council of Ephesus, integrated by those of Chalcedon* and Constantinople* II and III, the exegesis of Nicaea that Cyril had defended became a property of the Church*. Maximus* the Confessor, John of Damascus, Thomas* Aquinas, Denis Petau, and Scheeben*, among other theologians, would look back to Cyril. In

1882, Pope Leo XIII declared him a doctor* of the Church. In 1944, Pius XII devoted to him an encyclical letter, *Orientalis Ecclesiae* (AAS 36, 129–44).

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GILLES LANGEVIN

See also Appropriation; Christ/Christology; Ephesus, Council of; Hypostatic Union; Monophysitism; Nestorianism; Trinity

D

Daniel, Book of. *See* Apocalyptic Literature

Dante

1265–1321

Dante Alighieri cannot only be considered one of the greatest European poets but also a philosopher and a theologian of the highest rank. He knew how to use his poetic genius to express ideas that were often original and innovative.

1. Life

Dante was born in Florence in May or June 1265 in a noble but modest Guelph family. After elementary schooling in Latin grammar, his encounter with Brunetto Latini (politician, poet, and philosopher) and with the poetic and political milieu of Florence and of Bologna was decisive. It allowed Dante to deepen his knowledge of the Latin classics, rhetoric, philosophy*, and French poetry and to come into contact with contemporary Italian poetry. He completed his education, in all likelihood, auditing freely some courses at the Franciscan Studium of Santa Croce and at the Dominican Studium of Santa Maria Novella. This academic formation, received by Dante outside formal school-

ing, allowed him to make his own personal synthesis of the various elements of knowledge he had acquired.

At the age of 20 Dante married Gemma Donati, who bore him three or four children. In 1295 he embarked on a brief and disastrous political career: initially elected to various councils in Florence, he became prior in 1300 (15 June–15 August). Implicated in conflicts between the White Guelphs and the Black Guelphs, Dante sided with the former. Because of this he was condemned to exile at the beginning of 1302 and then to death. He lived for a while with other exiles on the outer edges of Tuscany, seeking a return to Florence, but around 1304 he started traveling in search of hospitable lords. He lived in various places, in Treviso, Lunigiana, Casentino, and Lucca, assuming some responsibilities in diplomacy or in chancellery. Profoundly marked by exile, he supported the expedition of Henry VII into Italy (1310), with the hope that this monarch would restore justice, peace, and freedom. But the premature death of the emperor (24 August

1313) brought an end to his dreams of ethico-political renewal. He spent his last years in Verona and Ravenna, where he never ceased hoping, until his death on 14 September 1321, that he would be allowed back to Florence because of his poetic merits (Paradise XXV).

2. Works

La Vita Nuova (c. 1294) marks the first step in Dante's career as a writer. The "libello" is made up of 31 poems interspersed in a text in prose (thus the name of *prosimetrum*) that is used as an autobiographical and self-interpreting framing device. Beatrice's presence acts as the fabric of this work—from the first encounter to a death that transforms Woman* into a "mediator of knowledge and of salvation*" (Contini)—in a path that will lead to the *Commedia*. Along with the *Vita Nuova* we should also mention the *Rime*, which bear witness to an "endless experimentation" (Contini), the *Fiore*, and the *Detto d'amore*, as well as two adaptations of the *Roman de la Rose* whose attribution to Dante rests on serious arguments. The Latin treatise *De vulgari eloquentia*, composed during the early years of exile (1303–5) and interrupted in book II (chap. XIV), presents itself, with good reason, as an original piece of work. Dante's goal is to offer a theoretical justification of the use, by writers in particular, of the so-called *vulgar language*, since this language enjoys priority and comes more naturally than Latin, which is fraught with artificiality. The treatise also includes original and important anthropological comment on the origin, the function, and the nature of language.

Composed during those same years and likewise unfinished (we have only 4 treatises instead of the projected 15), the *Convivio* was the first philosophical work to be written in Italian. A self-interpreting treatise, it owes much to Albert* the Great and Thomas* Aquinas. It presents itself as a collection of lessons given in the form of poems (the *Vivanda* of the *Banquet*) accompanied by a rich doctrinal commentary (*Il Pane*). In the first book Dante expounds the reasons for writing his commentary in Italian. His choice of language was made because the treatise was meant for a certain public: the people who have remained *nella umana fame* (in human hunger) for wisdom on account of family or civil obligations. In the second book, which relates the conflict between the old love (Beatrice) and the victorious love for *la donna gentile* (Philosophy), Dante expounds his views on the meanings of Scripture, which he then goes on to apply to his own work. He thus makes a distinction between the allegory of poets and the allegory of theologians. The former exposes a spiritual truth hidden under imaginary and untruthful facts; the latter exposes a spiritual truth hidden under historical facts (this dif-

ference will be eliminated in the *Commedia*, which uses allegory in both a poetic and a theological fashion). The third book is an opusculum that praises philosophy and is comparable to numerous contemporary opusculum written by masters of the Faculty of Arts. Finally, the fourth book is devoted to the study of the notion of nobility understood as "*perfezione di propria natura in ciascuna cosa*." In it, Dante tackles for the first time the political themes that are also central to the Latin treatise *Monarchia* (probably composed from 1316–17 onwards). Dante demonstrates with a remarkable syllogistic rigor the necessity of a universal monarchy; he makes of it the indispensable condition of peace* and of allowing the whole human race to realize its goal through the final actualization of the possible intellect (intellectualism*). Having stated the legitimacy of the Roman nature of the empire (book II), Dante goes on, in the last book, to establish its autonomy in relation to the Church*. He vigorously refutes the hierocratic interpretations of the pope's temporal authority and notably proves the illegitimate nature of Constantine's donation. Finally, he maintains that imperial authority has been delegated directly by God*: since human beings, who participate in corruptibility as well as incorruptibility, are ordained to two distinct ends, earthly beatitude and eternal beatitude*, God has delegated two distinct and independent guides, the emperor and the pope. That political doctrine, based on a clear distinction between theological and philosophical viewpoints, between the domain of faith and that of reason, was the result of some meditation, through which Dante—in spite of a constant presence of Thomist thinking—clearly broke away from Thomism*.

To these works should also be added a collection of 13 Latin epistles. Epistles V, VI, and VII were written on the occasion of Henry VII's expedition to Italy. Epistle XI was sent to the Italian cardinals assembled in a conclave to elect the successor of Clement V. Epistle XIII is a fundamental introduction to the *Commedia* and represents the third Dante commentary by himself. We should also mention two Latin eclogues (1319–20) and a lesson in natural philosophy entitled *Questio de aqua et terra* (1320).

3. The Divine Comedy

Composed in all likelihood between 1307 and 1321, not only is the *Commedia* Dante's major work, it also represents his theological synthesis. Rigorously structured around the numbers 3 and 10 for rhythm, the *Commedia* is made up of 100 cantos in "*terza rima*," divided into three canticles (Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise), each consisting of 33 cantos. The *Commedia* is the narrative of a penitential journey to the three king-

doms beyond the grave. The poet accomplishes the journey during Holy Week in the jubilee year of 1300 and is guided by Virgil in the first two kingdoms and by Beatrice (replaced finally by Bernard* of Clairvaux) in the third. A real summa of knowledge mixes several literary genres, showing in particular an excellent grasp of travel literature. The poem is the multifaceted expression of an experience* that is simultaneously poetical, philosophical, and theological. It accomplishes, while transcending it, the *Convivio*'s doctrinal and pedagogical project. The narrative is governed by a practical and moral intention: the Dantesque journey is the journey of knowledge and at the same time one that is an ethical, political, and ecclesiastical renewal.

a) *Hell*. Located, according to Inf. XXXIV, at the center of the earth, which, in turn, is itself right in the center of the universe, hell* has the appearance of a crater divided into nine concentric circles. This place, where the damned suffer, is structured according to a strict ethical order, which is intelligible to the human mind. Virgil—whose explanations on hell's order (XI) are thought to be very clear because they explain “very well this abyss and those who are in it”—bases his classification of human misdemeanors on an Aristotelian distinction (EN VII, 1, 1145 a 15–17) between “incontinence, malice, and mad brutality.” As a consequence the first circles of hell enclose those who have indulged excessively in the sin of the flesh, in gluttony, and in temporal pleasures (circles II–V). To establish a hierarchy of sins* related to malice and brutality, Dante makes use of a Ciceronian distinction (De off. I, 13, 41) between injustice (*iniuria*) by force and injustice by fraud. Violence* against one's fellow human being (seventh circle) includes tyranny and violence against oneself, which includes suicide (XIII). Among those human beings whom he considers violent against God, Dante includes the blasphemers (XIV), the sodomites (XV–XVI), and the usurers (XVII). He describes with particular meticulousness, in the 10 “bolgias” (or chasms) of the eighth circle, the manifold forms of injustice that human beings can inflict upon others through deception: these range from flattery (XVIII) to hypocrisy (XXIII) and simonists (XIX), thieves (XXIV), treacherous counselors (XXVI–XXVII), and forgers. The ninth circle represents the indescribable “bottom of the whole universe” (XXXII) where, in a lake of ice, those who have betrayed their parents, their benefactors, and—even worse—the empire (Brutus and Cassius) and the Church (Judas) suffer with Lucifer, “Emperor of the kingdom of grief” (XXXIV). Since free will constitutes the foundation of this ethical (ethics*) topography and of its corresponding punitive

system, those who are indolent—among whom are to be found the neutral angels* (III) and the great minds of ancient times (IV ☉ Paganism)—cannot find their place there. Heretics occupy a place apart in the sixth circle, between those who are incontinent and those who are violent.

b) *Purgatory*. According to Dante, purgatory* is a mountain located in the middle of the ocean. It was formed at the time of the fall of Lucifer and is divided into seven circular terraces where depraved tendencies are expiated through purgative sufferings whether of the physical or the moral order. Purgatory is preceded by the antepurgatory (for all those who were late repenting), and it is followed by the Garden of Eden, where the last acts of spiritual regeneration are accomplished. As with hell, the description of this kingdom is entrusted to Virgil, and it is to be found in the central canto of the *Purgatorio* (XVII), but it overflows, together with its doctrinal implications, into the adjoining cantos. In canto XVI the irascible Marco Lombardo, faithful to Thomas Aquinas (*ST* Ia, q. 115, a. 3–6), affirms in the face of astrological determinism the “*libero voler*” (76) of human beings, and he highlights the fact that “if mankind is perverted at present” (82), the ethico-political responsibility falls entirely on man's shoulders. The architecture of purgatory, described in canto XVII, follows precepts of a Scholastic (Scholasticism*) origin (they are partly at variance with the Aristotelian-Ciceronian criteria for hell). The distribution of souls (soul*-heart-body) on the seven terraces follows the order of the capital sins established by Gregory* the Great, and the doctrinal foundation borrowed fairly strictly from Thomas Aquinas is dependent on the Christian concept of love* as the cause of all actions (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 28, a. 6). Dante makes the distinction (*ST* Ia, q. 60, a. 1–3) between natural love (not culpable) and elective love (root of vices and virtues*). From this distinction follows a subdivision into three levels, as in hell, because love can be culpable in three different ways (95–96): “for the wrong object” (love of harming [evil*] others: pride, X–XII; envy, XIII–XIV; anger, XV–XVII), “for lack of vigor” (love for God expressed halfheartedly: laziness, XVII–XVIII), or “for too much vigor” (immoderate love for the material riches of this world: miserliness, XIX–XXI; greed, XXII–XXIV; lust, XXV–XXVII). Freedom and love are again analyzed in a synthetic fashion in canto XVIII, as factors in human action. Asked by Dante, Virgil explains what love is within the limits of reason and how man is free to follow an amorous impulse. Endowed with a natural disposition for love (identified with the desire to be joined with some exterior person or object), man pos-

sesses the freedom to evaluate—that is to welcome or to reject amorous passions*—while following his aspiration (which is also innate) for the real good*. The root of freedom is therefore in the intellectual soul and more precisely in the faculty of making judgments, a faculty that is found between understanding (its prerequisite) and appetite.

c) *Paradise*. To present the climb toward God, Dante relies on the cosmology of his time. In this, the third part of the *Commedia*, the ascent initially follows the order of the seven planets; then the pilgrim rises to the crystalline heaven of the fixed stars; and he finally reaches the empyrean. The celestial topography is bound by a rigorous logic. Those who have practiced the four cardinal virtues* (temperance, prudence*, fortitude, and justice) are accommodated in the first six heavens. In the eighth heaven Dante undergoes an examination on the three theological virtues (faith*, hope*, charity, XXIV–XXVI) before acceding to the crystalline heaven, where Beatrice, who represents theology*, explains the angelic world to him (XXVIII). And when, at the completion of his purification, Dante gets to the empyrean heaven, the pure kingdom of light, he has reached “that goal of all longings” (XXXIII). At this point the ardor of desire dies out in the presence of a light, truth* itself, which dwells in itself alone, knows itself, and which by understanding itself, loves itself. The sight of God, principle of the love that moves the sun and the other stars, constitutes, therefore, both the completion of the sacred poem and the goal of human existence. But never at any point does the doctrine erase Dante’s ethical and political concerns: we hear Saint Peter* heaping out invectives against papal abuses (XXVII), then Beatrice complaining that the human family is running wild for lack of rule and control (XXVII); canto VI celebrates the empire, and in canto XXX Beatrice shows Dante the Emperor Henry VII’s seat, placed in the celestial rose. The examination to which the apostles (apostle*) Peter, James, and John subject Dante, under Beatrice’s supervision, demonstrates the Comedy’s deep theological convictions. This

context does not only help Dante formulate his Credo (XXIV), it also allows him to remind us that love is the main driving force of existence.

It would be absolutely disastrous to consider the Comedy as the mere narrative of a journey to the hereafter or even the expression of an extraordinary mystical (mysticism*) experience. In fact it is a work that uses all the knowledge of its time in order to describe the transcendent world, and it does so with a view to accomplishing a political and ecclesiastical reform of that world. It depicts the fate of human beings in the hereafter to show what must be. It is therefore quite fair for Dante to claim, as he does in his Epistle XIII, that the *Commedia* is an ethical work.

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See also Contemplation; Eschatology; Intellectualism; Naturalism; Political Theology; Scholasticism; Scripture, Senses of

Day of YHWH. See **Parousia**

Deacon

a) New Testament. Usually connected to the episcopates (bishop*) (Phil 1:1; 1 Tm 3:2, 8, 12), the office of deacon is described in 1 Timothy 3:8–13. The Seven from Acts 6:1, 6 were not the first deacons, even though the tradition is often associated with them. The office of the Seven was different: preaching*, baptism*, evangelizing (mission*) (Acts 6:8ff., 8:5–13, 8:26–40, 21:8). They did not receive the title of deacon, although it was given to the Christian woman Phoebe (Rom 16:1).

b) Patristic Period. Rather vague on their functions, Ignatius of Antioch declared deacons to be messengers of the bishop (*Philad.* 10, 1; 11, 1). The *Apostolic Tradition* 8 underlines the direct link between the deacon and the bishop; the *Apostolic Constitution* (II, 29–32; SC 320, 248–50; III, 19; SC 329, 160–64) details his ministry* to the bishop: role in the liturgical assembly, tending to those in need (widows, orphans, sick, foreigners, etc.). There are deaconesses*, too, especially in the East.

In Rome* the seven deacons (for 42 priests), as everywhere, were in charge of finances and outside relations, which put them in a better position than priests for succeeding the bishop. Little by little, however, the deacons were entirely subordinated to the priests. And Jerome, by equating priests and bishops (*Ep.* 146), would arrive at a linear hierarchy of the three orders. Only the archdeacon was not included, while retaining a position of “vicar-general,” responsible for temporal matters and for the clergy.

The success of this “*opinio Hieronymi*” fed the medieval thesis of sacramental equivalence between bishops and priests, and, in turn, this thesis partially explained why the Reformed churches only rarely kept the episcopate.

c) Waning of the Diaconate. From the sixth century onward, and even in the East, deacons were restricted to liturgical service, and the rest of their tasks—their deaconship—were given to others. In the 11th century the archdeacon became a priest, and the diaconate simply became an intermediary position, except for a few cardinals (as, for example, in the case of Antonelli, secretary of state of Pius IX. Antonelli died in 1902).

d) Reestablishment of the Diaconate as a Permanent Ministry. Drawing mainly on French and German pastoral and theological thought, and encouraged by Pius XII (who ascertained the sacramental value of the diaconate in his *Sacramentum Ordinis* of 1947), Vatican* II reestablished the diaconate as a permanent ministry (*LG* 29; *see AG* 15–16). The *Relatio* before the vote (*Acta Syn* III, III, I, 260–61) clarified the distinct character of this ministry. Priests and deacons are ministers of the word* and the liturgy*: the pastoral ministry defines the former, the deaconship and charity the latter. The long list of tasks assigned to deacons does not express the essence of the diaconate and has no empirical value. The *CIC* of 1983 certainly seems to talk about deacons as pastors (pastor*) and representatives of the Christ-head. Their participation in the three functions of Christ* differs only slightly from that of priests and bishops. But when it specifically discusses the subject of the pastoral in can. 517 §2, it places deacons and laity (lay/laity*) on the same footing.

In terms of this ministry, the expectations of Vatican II are complex: to revive the deaconship within a Church that is poor and sees itself in a serving role to create new resources for ministry; to modify the canonical status of the cleric*; and to rediscover the full diversity of the ministry within orthodoxy*.

e) Systematic Theology. The backbone of the diaconate is the deaconship. It is not the aim that the ordination of a particular few of these individuals should give an example of service. Rather ordination gives them grace* and requires them to stimulate and organize the Christian service for everybody and to take the necessary initiatives in this direction. This focal point of their ministry colors their service of the word and their liturgical responsibilities in a way that conforms with tradition. In fact, the deacons of antiquity did not preach. It was only in 1925 that they became extraordinary ministers of baptism* and funerals, and until Vatican II they did not perform nuptial blessings in either the East or the West.

The ministry of deacons makes those who hold it the born helper of bishops, because, in doctrinal terms, deacons are not auxiliaries to priests. They can per-

form extra-parish or diocesan responsibilities and thus receive a sector-based authority* vis-à-vis the priests. Thus, the relationship between bishop-priest-deacon is more triangular than vertical; and it is not an isosceles triangle, since according to Nicaea* (can. 18) the “deacons, servants of the bishop, are situated one degree below priests” (COD 14–15).

f) *Pastoral Interests.* Intended to revitalize service in poor and serving Churches, the diaconate mostly grew in rich churches: 62 percent of the world’s deacons can be found in the United States and 40 percent of European deacons are in Germany. The ministry of deacons was meant first of all for young churches (AG 15–16), but 98 percent of deacons can be found in former Christendom.

The deacon promises a thorough evangelization: living in a family*, in a neighborhood, having a profession (able legally to participate in union activity and even in politics), deacons can bring social organizations and the Church closer together. Their experience can benefit preaching and decision making, and not only wedding (marriage*) celebrations, baptisms, funerals, and so forth.

Finally, Catholics can, thanks to deacons, be trained by a married, ordained minister and, moreover, can be called to the ministry*, a request that could be an-

swered in the future. Most were called without volunteering, according to the needs of serving the gospel in the local church*, and on the basis of their known abilities rather than on the basis of candidature, something that is mandatory for priests (see *Instruction de la Congrégation des Sacrements*, AAS 23, 1930).

g) *Ecumenical Perspective.* The permanent diaconate draws a parallel between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Although the Reformation, focusing on the pastoral ministry, stressed the diaconship, the “document of Lima” (BEM n. 31) offers a significant opening by proposing to all that the threefold ministry be adopted and by describing the diaconate in terms acceptable to Catholics.

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See also Bishop; Liturgy; Ministry; Presbyter/Priest; Vatican II, Council of

Deaconesses

a) *In the Ancient Tradition.* The name deaconess (*Diakonissa*) appeared in the fourth century, in both Greek (First Council of Nicaea*, can. 19) and Latin (*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v). In the New Testament, however, there is one instance (Rom 16:1f.) of a woman named Phoebe, *diakonos* of the church* of Cenchreae. Historians are not sure about the exact significance of Phoebe’s role or of the role of deaconesses and widows in the Christian communities of the first centuries. Neither at that time, nor in the centuries that followed, was there a straightforward symmetry between the respective tasks of the deaconesses (mainly to help during the baptism* of adult women) and the deacons* (mainly the service of the Eucharist table

and the proclamation of the Word*), nor between their respective liturgical and theological statuses. The deacons were greatly active in charitable service, but it is not clear whether deaconesses had a comparable role.

In the Byzantine liturgy* the rite of investiture or ordination* of deaconesses was particularly close to that of the ordination of deacons, but their role seems to have evaporated with the disappearance of adult baptism. In the 11th century the great Greek canonist Balsamon (PG 137, 441) noted this discontinuation. He considered the ordination of deaconesses of the abbesses of certain monastic communities to be “improper” (*katakhrèstikôs*). The possibility of restoring a

female diaconate was discussed in the Catholic Church after Vatican II, taking into account on the one hand the differing witnesses of tradition on this question (Vagaggini, Martimort), and on the other hand the possible interpretations of the office of deacon and its relation to the Eucharist*.

b) In Protestantism Communities. In Protestantism communities, deaconesses developed from the 19th century onward. Their aim was to put into practice the New Testament notion of deaconship, not unlike cer-

tain Catholic communities that were committed to helping the poor.

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See also **Deacon; Ordination/Order; Woman**

Death

A. Biblical and Systematic Theology

From the beginning, human beings have constantly sought to give meaning to the unthinkable thing that is death by inventing either immortality or a beyond. But in contrast to the eschatologies* attested in many religions, in Christianity there appears the idea of a God* who triumphs over death in and by death itself. However, before being able to speak of a Christian sense of death and elaborating a theology of death, it is necessary to reconstruct the biblical experience of death, in all its complexity and with all its hesitations, up to the threshold of the New Testament.

I. The Biblical Experience of Death

1. The Experience of Death in the Old Testament

The elements of biblical literature concerning the experience of death cannot easily be harmonized. This experience, in fact, appears to be deeply ambiguous. On the one hand, death is experienced as the natural culmination of life, and the people of the Old Testament may believe in God without believing in a beyond. On the other hand, death is felt to be an ordeal, an enigma, a non-salvation; and there appears, even if rather late, some hope* in a victory won by God over death.

a) Death as the Natural Culmination of Life. For the Israelite, earthly life is the quintessential gift of God and to live "old and full of days" (Gn 35:29) is the sign of God's blessing*: "Abraham breathed his last and died in a good old age, an old man and full of years" (Gn 25:8). According to the logic of Hebrew anthropology*, death affects not only the flesh (*bâsâr*) but also the soul (soul*-heart-body) (*nèfesh*). Thus, man who is made from dust returns to dust (Gn 2:7; 3:19; Ps 90:3; Jb 34:15; Eccl 12:1–7). Human beings have received the earth as a legacy, and their vocation is to make it fruitful and themselves to multiply. Death is a natural inevitability that engenders no tragic feeling, and the absence of survival is compensated for by a large posterity (see 2 Sm 14:7).

But for the just man of the Old Testament, fullness of life is not reduced to prosperity; it is life lived with God. For this reason, Sheol*, or the dwelling of the dead, a place of darkness (Jb 10:21f.), is a fearsome place; there man is definitively cut off from God and can no longer praise him (Is 38:18). The dead live in a permanent sleep; their existence is so insubstantial that it is close to nothingness*. In addition, the many ritual prescriptions intended to protect against contact with death as against a fundamental impurity (purity*/impurity) indicate how difficult it was for Israel* to integrate the realm of death into its life of faith, and they

constitute a major difference from the surrounding paganism, which maintained a thriving cult* of the dead.

b) Death as an Ordeal and a Curse. Death as the peaceful culmination of life is only one aspect of the believer's experience of death in the Old Testament. Another aspect is indeed the scandal of sudden death "in the middle of my days" (Is 38:10). The Psalms* in particular speak of the threat of a "bad death" whose harbingers are illness, poverty, solitude, and despair. We then see the appearance of a link between death and sin*, and the only recourse making it possible for the just to escape from a "bad death" is to turn toward God, the source of life: "For you will not abandon my soul to Sheol, or let your holy one see corruption" (Ps 16:10).

For the consciousness of Israel, the supreme enigma is nevertheless that the just man, too, experiences a "bad death." Not only may he die too soon, but he also faces the fearsome threat of death while he is living; death is as much a curse for the just as it is for the sinful. Thus in the Old Testament (particularly for the Yahwist) there is a foretaste of a consequence that only the New Testament affirms clearly: something in any case inherent in human finitude, death is also the wages of sin. The narrative* of Genesis thus presents death as the punishment of the sin committed by Adam* and Eve (Gn 2:17), and the same teaching is found in the Wisdom of Solomon (2:24). But one may "wonder whether it is biological death that is seen by Genesis as a consequence of sin and not rather the 'spiritual' death which consists of the prohibition of the tree of life (*see* Gn 3:22)" (Gesché 1995). By disobeying, Adam has chosen to live under the rule of death. There is, however, an alternative: a fullness of life with God, symbolized by the tree of life. "See, I have set before you today life and good, death and evil" (Dt 30:15).

YHWH is the master of life and death: "I kill and I make alive" (Dt 32:39). But the forces of death are always at work in creation*, and it was centuries before the biblical tradition* began to formulate the idea of a definitive victory over death. It was only from the second century B.C., in the Book of Daniel and in the Second Book of Maccabees, that there appeared the explicit affirmation of a resurrection* of the dead. This late belief—but one that was widespread (*see* Puech 1993)—pays tribute to the universal power (omnipotence*) of God, which reaches as far as Sheol, and to his justice*, which cannot possibly leave unrewarded those who have died as martyrs in the name of their faith in YHWH.

2. The Meaning of Death in the New Testament

Of the two faces of death represented in biblical experience, it seems that the New Testament does not ex-

hibit the first, death as the natural culmination of life, but only the second, death as the power of sin, which makes of that culmination an absurd interruption. This is demonstrated in the attitude of Jesus in the face of death; and it is verified above all in the letters of Paul, which contain a veritable theology of death. In Johannine* theology death is a distinctive characteristic of the "world*," contrasted dualistically to the kingdom* of life that Christ* has come to bring. Whoever believes has already passed from death to life (Jn 5:24), but on condition that he love his brother; whoever does not love has remained in death (3:14).

a) It would obviously be presumptuous to claim to know the inner feeling with which Jesus* experienced the instant of his death. However, many signs indicate that he experienced the anguish, solitude, and sorrow that accompany human death. He experienced neither the "good death" of the just of the Old Testament nor the peaceful death of Socrates (e.g., Jüngel 1971). He took on the death of the sinner; and if he asked his Father* to take "this cup" from him, this is perhaps because he experienced his death as the failure of his mission. His cry "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mt 27:46) can be interpreted as a cry of despair; but as the reference to Psalms 22 in Matthew and Luke suggests, it is at the same time a surrender to God, the source of life. In the death of Jesus, human death experienced under the sign of sin becomes an access to life. God thus remains faithful by raising Jesus into a new life. "Through the death of Jesus, the history* of the suffering and the death of the world is introduced into the history of God" (Greshake 1974).

b) Reflection on death is one of the keys of Pauline* theology, where death is directly linked to the apostle's teaching about sin, the flesh, the law, baptism, and the *pneuma*. All human existence is in fact understood as a field of tension between death and life. It is in Paul, furthermore, that the link between sin and death is affirmed in the most explicit manner (Rom 5:12; 6:23; 1 Cor 15:21), and in a way that was to be adopted by the entire subsequent Christian tradition. The old law was in the service of death (2 Cor 3:7ff.), and this death-dealing power of the law is conditioned by the flesh* (*sarx*) (Rom 8:3). Although the *sarx*, taken in itself, is not an active power of death, it is in it that the power of sin is manifested. What the law could not accomplish, God can; he thus sent his Son, who took on a flesh of sin to liberate us from the law of sin and death through the power of his spirit (Rom 8:2). Human beings are subject to biological death "because of sin"; but for whoever "dies with Christ," death is

definitively conquered thanks to the Spirit that inhabits the Risen One.

For whoever is baptized in Christ, daily life is a death and a resurrection with him (Rom 6:2f.). Baptism* is a death mysteriously connected to the death and resurrection* of Christ; and for the baptized, all of Christian life, including physical death, is nothing but a permanent dying with Christ (Phil 3:21–23). By rejecting a life that wishes to be attached to itself and that is in reality only a death, the believer who lives in communion* with Christ has already conquered death. And this is why physical death, despite its somber and threatening character, is fundamentally relativized. “If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord. So then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord’s” (Rom 14:8).

II. For a Theology of Death

1. The Official Teaching of the Churches

This teaching can be summarized in a few propositions.

a) *Death Is a Consequence of Sin.* This is a classic patristic affirmation (Origen, *Com. in Joh.* 13. 60, PG 14. 513B; Cyril of Alexandria, *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* 16, J. Aubert I, 554). The Council of Trent* adopted it explicitly in the decree on original sin (*DS* 788ff.). The same assertion is found in the constitution *Gaudium et spes* of Vatican* II: “Christian faith teaches that this bodily death from which man would have been preserved had he not sinned will one day be conquered.” (18). Similarly in the CCC of 1992: “Even though man’s nature is mortal, God had destined him not to die” (1008). The magisterium* refers to several scriptural passages, in particular Genesis 2:17; Wisdom of Solomon 2:23f.; Romans 5:12; 6:23. But it should never be forgotten that this traditional teaching presupposes a doctrine of immortality that conceives it as a preternatural gift inherent in the state of original justice and not as a natural property of human beings before the Fall. The thesis is also present in Protestant confessions of faith, for example, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession (FEL §91) and the later Swiss Confession (CCFR 220ff.).

b) *Death Is a Universal Fate.* Even though the tradition prefers to speak of “dormition,” Mary herself, who did not know sin, passed to God through death. And in 1 Corinthians 15:51 Paul asserts that those who are alive at the Parousia* will experience a radical transformation. The entire hymnography of the Byzantine Feast of the Dormition rings variations on this theme.

c) *Death Is the End of Earthly Life.* Catholicism*, and along with it the principal current of Christianity, rejects the idea of a universal salvation or a final restoration of all souls (apocatastasis*, anathematized by the Second Council of Constantinople; see *DS* 411), and it does not extend the concept of liberty* to its account of the afterlife. Death coincides with God’s definitive judgment* (*DS* 464, 530ff.). The idea of a final restoration is also rejected by the Augsburg Confession (FEL §23) and by the Catechism of Heidelberg (CCFR 150). In the same perspective, Christianity has always rejected the idea of reincarnation, regardless of the way in which it is understood.

2. The Recent Orientation of Theology

Traditional treatises on the Last Things proposed an implicit theology of death, but one that was concerned principally with the fate of the dead after death, and they frequently indulged in a kind of cartography of the beyond. Under the influence of existentialist philosophies (Marcel, Sartre) and of phenomenology (Heidegger*, Fink), theological analysis has recently concentrated on the question of dying, that is, on the very instant of death.

a) *The Inadequacy of a Definition.* Death is a specifically human event that concerns the entire being, inseparably spirit and flesh. Death is a biological given common to all living beings. But strictly speaking, only humans are “mortal,” insofar as they alone are capable of establishing a relationship with their own death. Following Heidegger, dying can be defined as the way of being by which *Dasein* relates to its death. We know death only through the death of others. But that is still death apprehended in a general sense, not death as the “inmost, absolute, uttermost possibility” of *Dasein* (*Sein und Zeit* 250). In defining existence as a being-toward-death, it is understood that human death is not an accident that comes from outside but a permanent possibility. Further, it is not only a sign of the innate finiteness of the human being; it can be the sign of an authentic existence. In contrast to Sartre, for whom death is an absurd interruption of temporality, for Heidegger it is precisely the daily confrontation with death that gives meaning to existence.

This ontological approach to dying brings out the inadequacy of the classic definition of death as the “separation of the soul from the body (soul-heart-body).” Indeed, this says nothing of the specificity of human death, insofar as it concerns the entire person as a spiritual and carnal entity. It designates death as the interruption of life but not death as a possibility immanent throughout existence and as a culmination

of liberty. It is content with expressing in a descriptive way the traditional doctrine according to which, whereas the body decomposes after death, the soul of the just is introduced into communion with God. But in accordance with the unitary anthropology of the Bible*, the “soul” must be perceived “not as a part of man alongside the body, but as the vital principle of man considered in his unity and his totality, in other words, his ‘ego,’ the center of the person” (Katholischer Erwachsenen-Katechismus 1985). And it is possible to assert of the soul, understood in this way, that in death itself it experiences a greater proximity to the unity of this world of which the body is only a part. K. Rahner* (1958) goes so far as to think that “in death the soul does not become a-cosmic but, if one may say so, pan-cosmic.”

b) The Interpretation of Death as the Wages of Sin. The scriptural passages on which the traditional theory of death as the consequence of sin is based call for a hermeneutics* that does not confuse the religious import of the biblical message with teaching of a scientific order. God does not will death. But that does not mean that human beings, had they not sinned, would have had an unlimited life on earth. The death that punishes the sin of the first man is not biological death but “spiritual death,” that is, non-access to eternity, experienced in suffering and anguish as a fatal and absurd destiny; and the victory achieved by the risen Christ is not a victory over natural death but over the separation between man and the eternity* of God, of which it has become the most meaningful sign.

c) Death as Necessity and as Freedom. Human death is profoundly ambiguous. Just as man is spirit and matter, freedom and necessity, person and nature, so his death is a complex and dialectical reality. It is both the culmination of man as a spiritual person, that is, the fullness of his free spiritual reality, and the interruption of his biological life, that is, the most radical dispossession of the self (see Rahner 1985).

On the basis of this dialectic between necessity and freedom, between passivity and supreme accomplishment of the self, some theologians (Boros, Troisfontaines, Schoonenberg) thought it possible to develop the thesis of the final choice, according to which the instant of death coincides with an ultimate decision for or against God. But this hypothesis is by definition unverifiable, and the phenomenon of dying has all the appearances of a total dispossession of the self. Moreover, if we attempt in this context to think of a final act of freedom coinciding with the instant of passage, it has already escaped from temporality. The

theory would therefore contradict the teaching of the Church on the irrevocable character of death as the definitive seal on our moral fate.

d) Death as a Paschal Mystery. If, finally, we leave the impenetrable instant of dying in order to take into account the death experienced by the dying person, that is, the passage, then, in a Christian perspective, we must speak of the two faces of death. Death indeed changes signs depending on whether it is the tragic manifestation of the power of sin (as a break with God) or the crucial site of the encounter with God. “Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on” (Rev 14:13). Death can become a salvific event that brings to completion in man a sacramental encounter with Christ inaugurated by Baptism and the Eucharist*. Insofar as it is identified with the death of Christ, human death is the paschal sacrament of the passage from this world to the Father.

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CLAUDE GEFFRE

See also Adam; Life, Eternal; Resurrection of the Dead; Sin; Sin, Original

B. Moral Theology

a) Thou Shalt Not Kill. God* alone is the master of life, from its beginning to its end (*Donum vitae*, intr. 5). Taking his place in deciding on the death of a human being, one's own or that of another, constitutes not only an injustice, because man is disposing of what does not belong to him, but above all an act of idolatry*. This explains the prohibition in the Ten Commandments (Decalogue*): "You shall not murder" (Ex 20:13). This prohibition is total: the commandments represent the absolutes of love. It therefore has no exception or dispensation; it is never permissible to kill one's neighbor. Only the realms of war (doctrine of the just war and of legitimate defense) and justice (application of the death penalty [punishment*]) require that it be subjected to qualification. In the Christian tradition*, life received at birth is not given over to the arbitrary will of man, for he is not himself his own beginning. He is therefore not the owner of his life but its steward; it is entrusted to his prudence*; he will be required to account for the way in which he has maintained it. This placing of life in the hands of the only created being that God willed for itself entails a series of moral duties, sometimes assuming a positive form (an obligation to act), sometimes a negative form (a prohibition against acting).

b) Duty to Protect One's Life. The first positive duty consists of preserving the life entrusted to the vigilance of the subject, thus of defending it from threats weighing upon it. This duty is expressed in two principles: legitimate defense and the moral obligation to preserve one's own health; only the second is analyzed here.

Contrary to what may have been said of it, the Christian tradition has never made of physical life a moral absolute. Of course, it has declared that "life is sacred," but this must be interpreted as follows: the human person* is sacred because he is created in the image of God and destined for Trinitarian life; this applies, by extension, to everything that makes up the person. Just as there is a "hierarchy* of truths" in dogmatics (dogmatic* theology), so there is a "hierarchy of duties" in morality, in which the preservation of physical life does not rank highest. On the contrary, man has the duty to expose his life to pay tribute to higher values such as charity, truth, and justice, or to accomplish the mission that providence has entrusted to him.

The martyr illustrates the first case: he confesses his faith* and offers his life as a token of homage to the

one from whom "we hold life, growth, and being*." Martyrdom* has sometimes been likened to suicide. Of course, the witness knows that his act will cost him his life, but he does not seek death for itself. Circumstances force him to recognize that his witness can take on no form but a bloody one; but it is this witness that he seeks ("direct will") and not its consequence, death ("indirect will").

Every Christian has received a mission to bear witness, and he must place his health at the service of that mission and thus preserve it. This term presupposes a definition of health. In a century dominated by utilitarianism*, emphasis on mere good physical condition has become dangerous. The person risks being reduced to mere material actions and social contributions. But health implies the harmonious development of all human faculties, physical, psychological, intellectual, social, moral, and spiritual. "A complete view of human health assumes the greatest possible harmony between the forces and energies of man, the most fully developed spiritualization of the corporeal aspect of man, and the finest possible expression of the spiritual. True health manifests itself in the self-realization of the human person who has reached the freedom that mobilizes all energies to accomplish his complete human vocation" (Häring 1975).

Human beings thus have the moral duty to preserve their health with the means appropriate to their condition: rest, relaxation, and daily hygiene in normal circumstances; recourse to medicine and application of suitable therapies in case of illness. Premature aging due to the negligence of the subject constitutes a moral fault.

c) Prohibition of Suicide. The divine prohibition of murder and the obligation to preserve one's health suggest the reasons that led the Christian tradition to condemn suicide. Suicide in fact represents a threefold injustice. It runs counter to the natural love that every man should bear love toward himself: suicide is an injustice against oneself. It unilaterally breaks the bonds of solidarity with other human beings, in particular with the members of one's own family*: suicide is an injustice against others. Finally, it amounts to using one's life as though one were its owner: suicide is an injustice against the Creator. Only the final objection is determinative, and the two others flow from it.

Without reference to God, as is the case in a secularized society* (secularization*), the moral condemna-

tion of suicide has difficulty in finding justification. One of two things is true, in fact. Either the individual draws his human dignity from his membership of the social body, which would then have the duty of dissuading the potential suicide from leaving it without its permission and if necessary of preventing this from happening. This is the usual practice today, but it amounts to placing society above the person and exposing the person to the totalitarian temptations inherent in every society. Or else, with the Christian tradition, one asserts that only the human person is destined for beatitude*, and thus that society is at his service to help him to realize his supernatural vocation. Even without any reference to God, society certainly has the duty to attempt to persuade someone whose attempted suicide represents a disguised call for help; but it should give way before the free and lucid will of someone who has decided to put an end to his days.

The Bible* mentions few suicides (Abimelek [Jgs 9:53–54], Saul and his rider [1 Sm 31:3–5], Zimri [1 Kgs 16, 18], Judas [Mt 27:5], etc.). Moreover, the Christian tradition is surprisingly silent on the subject up to the fourth century. The early attitude of the Fathers* of the Church was to not totally exclude suicide (Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE* VIII. 8; John Chrysostom*, *De consolatione mortis*, PG 56. 299; Ambrose*, *De virginibus*, PL 16. 241–43). Augustine*, however, established the doctrine (*City of God* I. 16–18, 20, 22, 27): whoever willfully kills himself commits a homicide. The Council of Orange (533) denied religious burial to anyone who died by suicide. Toledo XVI (693) excommunicated those who attempted suicide. Modern Churches, however, have learned to distinguish between the various psychological motivations that may lead to this act, and the 1983 Code of Canon Law has lifted almost all the sanctions that affected suicides; their remains can now receive religious burial.

d) Euthanasia and Medical Prolongation of Life. Euthanasia has sometimes been compared to suicide, and indeed, the two practices pose similar ethical problems. The word originally meant a “gentle and peaceful death”; today, “the term euthanasia designates the practices whose objective is to bring about the death of others so that they may avoid suffering” (Verspieren). These practices include acts that actually kill (active euthanasia) as well as omissions (passive euthanasia). In order for there to be euthanasia, two essential elements must come together: a relationship of cause and effect between the act of the agent and the death of the patient and the deliberate intention to seek that death.

Moral judgment concerning euthanasia may vary. Pope John Paul II (1995) has condemned it categorically: “I confirm that euthanasia is a serious violation

of the law of God*, as a deliberate and morally unacceptable murder of a human person. This doctrine is based on natural law and on the written word of God” (§65). Conversely, certain Reformed theologians emphasize the “quality of life which is more important than its length” (Thevoz, Baertschi 1993).

On the other hand, euthanasia does not occur if the patient refuses the treatment indicated, against the advice of the doctor. The practitioner is in fact at the service of the patient and must give way before his freedom, even if he believes the patient to be wrong. “The rights and duties of the doctor are correlative with those of the patient. The doctor may act only if the patient explicitly or implicitly authorizes him to do so” (Pius XII). Nor does euthanasia occur if the doctor abstains from undertaking a treatment that he considers disproportionate with respect to the expected results or too burdensome for the patient and his family. Finally, the term *euthanasia* is totally unjustified when the doctor takes proportional risks (analgesic risks) to relieve the suffering of patients. What is known as the law of twofold effect is present in this context: the administration of “pharmaceutical cocktails” aims at reducing suffering (direct will), even if the practitioner knows that death may thereby be accelerated (indirect will); there is thus no moral objection to the practice. Accompanying the dying constitutes one of the highest forms of love of one’s fellow beings. It sometimes takes the form of “palliative care,” which makes suffering more bearable in the final phase of illness and provides an appropriate human companionship for the patient. “Those who have the courage and the love necessary to remain with a dying patient, in the silence that goes beyond words, know that that moment is neither frightening, nor painful, but the peaceful cessation of the functioning of the body” (Kübler-Ross 1975).

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See also **Abortion; Ethics, Medical; Legitimate Defense; War**

Decalogue

The term *Decalogue* has its origin in three passages of the Old Testament that contain the expression "the Ten Words," or as more commonly and loosely translated, "the Ten Commandments" (Ex 34:28 and Dt 4:13 and 10:4). Although it is derived from Greek the term does not appear in the Greek translation (translations* of the Bible, ancient) of the Bible,* but it is found in Ptolemy's second-century *Letter to Flora*, in Irenaeus's (c. 130–200) Latin translation (*Adversus Haereses* [Against Heresies]), and in Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215) (*Paedagogus* [Pedagogy]). By the third century it had become common in the writings of Christians.

There are two versions of the Decalogue, one in Exodus 20:2–17, the other in Deuteronomy 5:6–21, differentiated by around 20 variations. Some of these are minor, but one of the most important concerns the motivation that accompanies the prescription of the Sabbath*. In addition to these two versions, the text of the Decalogue can be found in the Samaritan Pentateuch (see translations of the Bible, ancient), as well as on the phylacteries of Qumran (4Q128–29, 134, 137) and in the Hebrew Nash papyrus (first century B.C.), where it is followed by the beginning of the Shema Israel. These are indications of how important the Decalogue was.

a) Context. The text of Exodus 20:1–17 is inserted into a vast literary ensemble, the theophany* of Sinai, but it cuts the theophanic narrative in two: Exodus 19:1–25 is followed by 20:18–21. The Decalogue, a text that had already been composed and was inserted at a late stage, is thus connected to the covenant* between God* and Israel*. The version in Deuteronomy displays a very similar context. Indeed, the prescriptions of the Decalogue, given by God "at the mountain,

out of the midst of the fire" (Dt 5:4), are written by him on two tables of stone given to Moses (Dt 5:22), which are called "the tablets of the covenant" in Deuteronomy 9:9–11. Following the episode of the golden calf, new tablets are given by God to Moses, who has broken the first tablets: he places them in the ark (Dt 10:4–5). The Decalogue is presented as a primordially independent text, distinct from the sets of laws that form the Code of the Covenant (Ex 20:22–23:33) or the Deuteronomic Code (Dt chap. 12–26), yet connected with the covenant, which gives the Decalogue its dimension of revelation*. Moses is ordinarily the one who transmits the divine law*, but by way of its opening formula, at least, God directly communicates the Decalogue to the people* of Israel: "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt" (Dt 5:6).

b) Genesis of the Decalogue. The existence of two versions of the Decalogue, with their differences, is a primary indication that its text is the outcome of a long literary history. The presence of prescriptions of different lengths, some formulated in a curt and negative style, others in a positive style (concerning the observance of the Sabbath and the honor due to parents), and a phraseology that is both similar to and different from that of Deuteronomy, have led commentators to suggest a primitive form of the Decalogue. The solution most often put forward has consisted in "uncovering" 10 short, negative words, although they are clearly hypothetical in nature. Certainly, the existence of such a text would allow us to understand the expression "the Ten Words," but that is not enough to prove that this expression goes very far back in time. We shall simply observe that it is possible to find sequences that are fairly comparable to the Decalogue in

Exodus 23:1–9; Leviticus 18:7–17, 19:3–4, and 19:11–12; and the series of curses in Deuteronomy 27:15–26. However, it is not easy to reach the number 10 in the texts just cited. On the other hand, it is possible that shorter sequences existed at an early stage, such as the triad of killing, stealing, and committing adultery, which is evidenced in Hosea 4:2, Jeremiah 7:9, and Job 24:14–15, although the order of the verbs is not always identical. Finally, it is also possible that worship played a role in the elaboration of certain positive or negative forms, as may be seen in Psalms 15:3–4 and 24:4. But there, too, there is nothing that would allow us to conclude that the Decalogue had an origin in worship. Its origin is lost to us, but the present condition of the text should be situated at the end of a long process that was not completed until the return from exile, when the observance of the weekly Sabbath was instituted. The motivation of the Sabbath in Exodus 20:11, which is no longer, as in Deuteronomy 5:15, the commemoration of the ending of bondage, suggests that it is based on Genesis 2:1–3, a text from the priestly redaction. God's resting on the seventh day then serves as the foundation for human beings' resting.

c) Structure of the Decalogue. Because the text of the Decalogue was written, according to the Bible, on two tables, the Ten Commandments have often been divided into two sets of five, the first concerned with God, the second with one's neighbor. This division into exact halves does not coincide with the literary structure of the text. Analysis permits us to discern three parts.

The first part (Dt 5:6–10) opens with the words: "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." These find an echo in Deuteronomy 5:9: "I the Lord your God." The speaker is God; he first recalls the sign of his authority* and power (omnipotence*), the departure from Egypt, which for Israel was a departure from bondage. God sustains liberty*. However, the divine proclamation is not related only to the past; it is also turned toward the future of a covenant relationship, addressed to a people in which several generations coexist and which is faced with a choice between using its liberty to maintain the commandments of its God or not doing so. This God is presented as a jealous God, thus revealing a love* that is not indifferent to what the other is becoming, a love that punishes and shows mercy.

In the second part, God no longer speaks in the first person: instead, his name is pronounced in the third person (Dt 5:11–16). Here, the person being addressed is the male Israelite with responsibility for a household and for his parents. The observance of the Sabbath is based on the act of departing from Egypt, for which it

serves as commemoration. Deuteronomy 5:15 refers back to the beginning of the Decalogue and structures the text around the theme of bondage and liberty.

In the third part (Dt 5:17–21), God is not named, but one's neighbor is mentioned four times. The male Israelite is invited to respect the life, wife, goods, and honor of his "neighbor."

Thus, the Decalogue lays down a way of life and liberty in a condensed style. The number of negative formulas—12 in all—shows that the role of the law is to be open to positive acts, to be developed unceasingly within the framework of the covenant.

d) Scope of the Decalogue. The second commandment states: "You shall not make for yourself a carved image" (Ex 20:4), but it is not directed against all figurative representation. It is only opposed to representations that are made into objects of idolatrous worship. Thus, Hezekiah uses it to justify destroying the bronze serpent made by Moses because the Jews burned incense before it (2 Kgs 18:4). The representations of animals* that could be seen in the Temple* at Jerusalem* had no more than an aesthetic value, whatever they may have signified originally (compare 1 Kgs 7:25, 29).

Respect for the name of YHWH (Ex 20:7) implies a ban on preaching false sermons while invoking this Name and, more generally, a ban on using it without a worthy motive.

"You shall not murder" (Ex 20:13) is aimed at illegal homicide and therefore at the murder of the innocent (the verb in Hebrew is *ratsakh*). This prohibition is located within the framework of a society* that did not regard the death penalty or war as transgressions of the Decalogue.

"You shall not steal" (Ex 20:15) concerns theft in general, not simply abduction, as may be supposed on the basis of Exodus 21:16 and Deuteronomy 24:7. The prescription has a universal application.

The "neighbor" mentioned in the final prescriptions of the Decalogue may have a limited range, being limited to members of the Israelite community (see Lv 19:16–18), but the term may be given a broader meaning.

Thus, the Decalogue establishes the law as a law of liberty, but it is not the whole of the law. It is addressed first and foremost to Israel, within the framework of the covenant, as is emphasized by the inclusion of the Sabbath, but also to every human conscience, called to recognize the creation as the work of a single God (Ex 20:11).

e) Decalogue and the New Testament. The Decalogue is quoted in the New Testament but never as a

whole and never in the canonical sequence. The episode of the calling of the rich young man (Mk 10:17–22, Mt 19:16–22, and Lk 18:18–23) and the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:21–28) offer the best examples of this, for the quotations of the Decalogue concern only one's neighbor. In Romans 7:7, Paul also makes reference to the last part of the Decalogue. In Matthew 19:19, the prescriptions of the Decalogue on one's neighbor are reprised in a condensed manner with a quotation of Leviticus 19:18: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Lk 10:27). This presentation can also be found in Romans 13:9–10, where love of neighbor is seen as the achievement of the whole of the law (as it is in Gal 5:14). James 2:8–11 also quotes the Decalogue and makes it a law of freedom in Christ*.

Perhaps the New Testament does not quote the whole of the Decalogue because knowledge* of the one God passes by way of Christ, who reveals God as the Father* and has all authority: "The Son of man is lord even of

the Sabbath" (Mk 2:28). The first part of the Decalogue could not but be transformed by this revelation.

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JACQUES BRIEND

See also Covenant; Cult; Ethics; Idolatry; Law and Christianity; Obligation; Sabbath; Theophany; War

Deification. *See* Holiness; Mysticism; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism

Deism and Theism

The term *déiste*, as P. Bayle noted, appeared in French in 1563 from the pen of the Protestant Pierre Viret (*Instruction chrétienne*) to denote those who believed in God* as creator, in divine Providence*, and in the immortality of the soul (soul-heart-body) but rejected revelation and in particular the dogma* of the Trinity. In English, *deist* appeared first in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) and was subsequently used by Dryden in 1682. The libertine poem entitled *Les quatrains du déiste* has been dated to around 1620. Mersenne refuted it in 1624 in *L'impiété des déistes*, in which he presents the deist as a misanthrope damned by his own pride.

Deist was originally a polemical term denoting an anti-Trinitarian, a person suspicious of the supernatural*, of revelation and tradition*. Such a person demanded rational proofs for everything and relied on a foundation of ancient philosophical religion of a Stoic and Neoplatonic character to justify his beliefs by means of the theory of common notions (Cicero, *De natura deorum* II) and to insist on the possibility of a salvation* of the just in any religion, or indeed in none. The deist, an enemy of superstition, was afraid neither of death* nor of hell*, for which reason the soubriquet of Epicurean was sometimes applied to him. So as to be better able to attack the deists, their enemies at-

tempted to classify them. G. Voetius (*Disputationes selectae*, Utrecht, 1648–60) counted them among the “practical atheists,” alongside the libertines and Epicureans, but S. Clarke suggested some finer distinctions: 1) the “Epicureans,” who believed in an infinite and intelligent eternal Being*, creator of the order of the world, but denied providence; 2) those who accepted providence but refused the idea of an absolute distinction between good* and evil* (erudite libertines); 3) those who accepted all the foregoing but denied the immortality of the soul and refused to consider human virtues* as identical to those of God*; and 4) those who had a sound and correct understanding of God and his attributes* but who rejected revelation. The glory of the pagan philosophers was that they had understood the duties of natural religion; the modern deists, by contrast, ridiculed all religion. Ultimately, Clarke made deism equivalent to atheism*.

a) Natural Religion. Herbert of Cherbury, considered the forefather of English deism, never used the term. He defended “lay religion,” which corresponded to natural and truly universal religion. Confident in the power of human reason and suspicious of a revelation seen as corrupted by superstition and the priesthood’s taste for power, he hoped to establish a kernel common to all religions, one that antedated all history* and therefore all revelation.

Natural religion comprised a small number of fundamental tenets: the existence of a supreme deity, intelligent, good, and provident, who was to be honored by the practice of virtue and who demanded the repentance of wrongs and promised reward or punishment after death. Christ* did not feature in it, though Jesus (“an Israelite theist,” according to Voltaire) was held to be an exemplary human being and a model of upright living. The forms of outward religion* were regarded with indifference, after the example of the Stoic *adiaphora*. The characteristics of this primitive religion, the common basis of all religions, were simplicity, rationality, universality, invariableness, tolerance toward all beliefs and rituals (as long as they were compatible with morality), and the undisputed primacy both of ethics* over dogma* and of the spirit over the letter. One of the generally accepted consequences of this was the subordination of religious power to civil power. Its principal representatives, apart from Herbert of Cherbury, were Grotius (*De ver. rel. christ.*, I), Isaac d’Huisseau, and Spinoza (*Tract. theol. pol.*, chap. XIV).

Natural religion fulfilled various roles for its supporters. For Cherbury and d’Huisseau it was *conciliatory* and aimed at reuniting the divided Christian world. For Grotius and Abbadie it was *apologetic*,

preparing infidels and recalcitrant spirits for Christianity. Or it was *polemical*—either against the established religions, considered as dogmatic and superstitious, or against erudite libertinism, which retained traditional religion so as to control the masses while keeping for itself a minimal religion with no strong obligations.

b) Deism/Theism. At the end of the 17th century, natural religion, from being a retreat in the face of religious conflict, became a war machine aimed at Christianity—particularly in England, where, after Herbert of Cherbury, deism was typified by its savage critiques of miracles* (Woolston) and the supernatural. Toland transformed deism into pantheism*; and with Hume and Voltaire the term, which had become a euphemism for “atheism,” made way for theism, a purified religion befitting philosophers.

The word *theism* appeared in 1740 in Voltaire’s *Métaphysique de Newton*. The deist, wrote Diderot (*Suite de l’apologie de M. l’abbé de Prades*, 1752), affirms the existence of God and the reality of evil but denies revelation and doubts the immortality of the soul and the retribution to come. The theist, on the other hand, concedes these points “and awaits a demonstration of revelation before admitting it.” While the deist holds simple beliefs that make no practical difference to the demands of natural morality, the theist accepts the need for a form of worship, even if it is only a prayer* in adoration of the infinite* addressed to the rising sun, as in the case of Voltaire. Rousseau, Kant, and J. Simon returned to the concept of natural religion, although, in the “Savoyard curate’s profession of faith” (*Émile*, IV), Rousseau expresses the belief that “the life and death of Jesus are those of a God.”

Kant* identified the essence of religion with the ethical imperative “to recognize in our duties divine commandments (Decalogue*).” “Religion within the limits of simple reason,” undogmatic (since faith* provides neither knowledge nor forms of worship) and comprising only practical and unconditional precepts*, was the culmination of an evolution that progressed, by way of the superstitious and ritualistic religions, to a pure religious faith, which joined the conscience* of the moral imperative to the idea of divinity. The universal Church* was the union of all just human beings; it was pure, egalitarian, and free.

In the 19th century, deism and natural religion would survive only as an inspiration for Masonic codes and to fulfill an aspiration toward the eternal and the infinite, which metamorphosed into a “school of religion” within French spiritualism, notably in the work of J. Simon. In the face of both the freethinkers and the Ultramontanists Simon insisted on the right to be at the same time rationalist and religious.

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See also **Atheism; Kant, Immanuel; Pantheism; Unitarianism; Virtues**

Deity

1. Sources

a) *Bible*. The Greek *theotes*, or *theiotes*, translated by the Latin *deitas*, “deity,” but sometimes also by *divinitas*, “divinity,” signifies God* considered in his essence. Deity therefore carries a double meaning: 1) the divine essence both in general and in the abstract, as distinct from its creation* but revealed by that creation (Rom 1:20); and 2) divine nature* as it has been united with humanity through Christ* and as the Christian is united with Christ through baptism* (Col 2:9). This second meaning has also been developed in Trinitarian theology* to include the divine essence as distinct from the three divine persons*.

b) *Greek Patristics*. *Theotes* played an important role during the major Trinitarian controversies (for example, Cyril of Alexandria, *Dialogues on the Trinity* III, 465d), and up until the 2nd Council of Constantinople* (DS 421). At that point it signified the unity of the divine substance, its unique and identical nature, its being* shared with the three persons (Trinity*). The term was often used by the church fathers*, the

Pseudo-Dionysius* in particular (over 40 occurrences) and John the Damascene, to designate the divine essence in general. It refers thus to God in himself, in an abstract form that signifies the being-in-itself of the divine principle. It also connotes divine providence*, evoked by the various etymologies proposed for the word *theos* “God,” deriving it from “to see” (*theo*), or from “to run” or “to burn,” according to Pseudo-Dionysius and John the Damascene. Deity sometimes refers to the divine nature of Christ, as distinct from his “humanity”: that is, the divine essence as distinct and separate from any other essence. This can come about in two ways: 1) Deity can be envisaged as the source from which all creatures emanate, creatures that, according to their degree of perfection, are imitations of a supreme perfection that is peculiar to divine nature. The divine nature par excellence contains all creatures inherently (according to a Neoplatonic interpretation of Rom 1:20). 2) The divine essence can also be considered in its relation with divine persons. Pseudo-Dionysius does not elaborate on this point, except with reference to the person of the Father*, “source of the supersubstantial deity” (DN 2, 4, PG 3,

641 D), but without denying that the other persons also have deity: “the Trinity which is deity” (*DN* 13, 3, PG 3, 980 C). John the Scot Eriugena’s Latin version of the Dionysian corpus transmitted to the Latin tradition this usage of the term *deity*.

2. Trinitarian Theology

a) In the 12th Century. In describing the origin of the Holy* Spirit, Saint Augustine wrote: “The Father is the principle of Divinity, better still, of Deity” (*The Trinity*, IV, 20, 29), so that the concept of deity would become the subject of bitter debate in Latin Trinitarian theology. Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop* of Poitiers (the school of Chartres*), made no clear distinction between the two meanings of *deity*, deity as a principle of creatures and deity as a principle of Trinitarian processions. For Gilbert de la Porrée the pair God/deity corresponds to the *quod est* and the *quo est*, “that which is” and “that through which this is,” inherited from Boethius*, for whom the pair expresses the composition peculiar to that which is being created (in contrast to divine simplicity*). If one disregards the persons, God is thus distinguished by his deity, defined as the principle *quo est*: there is therefore in God a principle by virtue of which and according to which God is God. But the rational distinction thus formulated, asserts Gilbert, cannot be posited as real in God, who in himself remains one and simple.

Gilbert’s adversaries, led by Bernard* of Clairvaux, criticized him violently, in particular at the Council of Rheims (1148). They rejected any composition in God and asserted that “everything which is in God is God.” They deemed the *quo est* principle to be like a cause on which God would depend, an anterior and superior principle. And to differentiate “God” and “deity,” they would only accept the grammatical pairing of the concrete and the abstract. Henceforth they would have to postulate that the divine attributes* (eternal, good, wise, etc.) were pure synonyms. But this synonymy would risk depriving each attribute of its literal meaning, which would amount to denying the terms of Trinitarian theology. Accused of heresy in Rheims, Gilbert mounted his defense effectively and competently, but the opinion prevailed, wrongly, that his thesis had been censured. In any case the debate led future theologians to adopt as their motto: “all that which is in God is God himself.” Once the problem was raised, however, it would remain unsolved until the next century.

b) 13th Century. The scholars of the 13th century took up the issue again: because of an improved knowledge of Greek and Arabic philosophy, they had

at their disposal more refined logical and conceptual instruments. According to Albert* the Great, in God, essence (*quo est*) does not really differ from that which has the essence (*quod est*), but both truly express something of God: *quo est* does in fact play the role of formal cause. Albert returned to the work of John Damascene, for whom “deity is” signified that through which God is—*quo est (Deus)* (*In De Divinis Nominibus* 12, 3, Simon). According to Thomas* Aquinas, one can only form a true language of Trinitarian theology by simultaneously considering both the reality signified and the means of signification (*ST* Ia, q. 39, a. 4–5). He then introduces in God the notion of causal power and shows, with Augustine, that the generation of the Son must be understood as an intellectual procession implying a presence unto itself. And he adds: “The power to engender signifies *id quo generans generat*, that by means of which the genitor engenders” (*ibid.*, Ia, q. 41, a. 4). The generating principle engenders in compliance with the form according to which it is the producer and by means of self-assimilation, and the Son is therefore constituted as similar in nature to the Father. Thus, that by means of which the Father engenders is shared by the engenderer and the engendered (*ibid.*, a. 5). And one can therefore say that the divine essence, as an object of divine thought, is the *quo* principle of generation, the principle of the unity of persons and of their distinction. Father and Son are united through their eternal co-relation in the same and unique divine essence, the principle and compass of the act of engendering for the Father, and the principle and compass of the act of being engendered for the Son. Thus, “the Father is the principle of all deity,” and Thomas notes that in Trinitarian theology *deity*” is preferable to *divinity*. Although the two terms are frequently used indifferently, *divinity*, which derives from *divinum*, does indeed only express that which participates in deity and not that which is deity through its essence (that is, each of the divine persons: *Sent.* 1, dist. 15, expos. 2^{ae} p. text.). And to explain the pair *quod est* and *quo est*, Thomas has recourse to the fundamental distinction between that which is “by participation” (*per participationem*) and that which is “by essence” (*per essentiam*).

c) Meister Eckhart. Taking advantage of the debate on the status of deity, the Rhineland scholar adopted the term in order to interpret grace* as communion* with the intra-Trinitarian life of God (Rhineland*-Flemish mysticism). In a *German Sermon*, he declares: “The Father is the beginning of deity, for in himself he understands himself, and from him emanates the Eternal Word* which resides within him. The Holy Spirit proceeds from these two, remaining in them all the

while, he who is the result of the deity” (*S. all.* 15, *Deutsche Werke*, [DW] I, 252, 2–4).

For this distinction without number, without multiplicity, one hundred is not more than one. If there had been one hundred persons in the Deity, it would be necessary to understand their distinction as being without number, without multiplicity, by recognizing One God therein. (*S. all.* 38, *DW* II, 234, 3–5)

In the Trinity, deity is anterior in nature (but of a timeless anteriority) to any emanation and to any knowledge that we can have of it. It is the divine essence as a measure and criterion of *ad intra* processions (*S. all.* 21, *DW* I, 363, 10ff.). It is the “chamber of treasures of eternal paternity,” there where the Son is (still) unexpressed and where, expressed, he will return, taking with him the soul in grace like the betrothed of the 45th psalm (*S. all.* 22, *DW* I, 388, 1ff. and 10ff.).

Eckhart tells us: “I love to speak of the deity, for from the deity emanates all our happiness. It is where the Father says (to us): ‘You are my Son, today I engender you in the splendor of sanctity (holiness*).’” (*S. all.* 79, *DW* III, 369, 2ff.). And to speak of it he returns to an analysis of Thomas, for whom the eternal procession of the Son is the formal and final cause of the temporal mission of that same Son in the soul (soul-heart-body) of the righteous person, who in this way becomes an adopted son. God would not be God if he did not communicate himself (*S. all.* 73, *DW* III, 265, 7–9), and it is therefore by virtue of his deity that he communicates himself to the righteous who receive his deity. To be baptized in the Holy* Spirit is to be born in deity in its fullness, where the Father continually engenders the Son (*S. all.* 29, *DW* II, 85, 4–86, 8). Numerous formulas of this kind thus followed from Thomasian thought on deity, as both the

principle of intra-Trinitarian life and the source of grace.

Eckhart’s interpretation also continued some of Gilbert de la Porrée’s insights, and, through rigorous noetics, justified a complex Trinitarian theology, one that was compatible with the eminent unity peculiar to the triune God. But it was hardly understood, as is shown by a text from 1473 that describes the internal debates among theologians at the University of Paris: “The nominalists maintain that deity and wisdom are one unique and absolutely identical reality, for everything which is in God is God. The realists affirm that divine wisdom is distinct from deity” (E. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, Éditions J.-B. Mansi, Lucae, 1761).

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See also Asceticism; Deism and Theism; Incarnation; Modalism; Mystery; Simplicity, Divine; Tritheism

Democracy

Democracy, from the Greek *dēmokratia*, “rule by the people,” refers to a political system in which the people* is sovereign. Although often associated with liberalism or socialism, it does not necessarily imply the prevalence of individual rights of liberal democracy or the focus on social and economic justice inherent to social democracy.

During antiquity, drawing on Greek experience of democracy (Plato, Aristotle) and republican Roman institutions (Cicero), democracy was defined as the rule of the many, as opposed to the rule of the one (monarchy) or a few (aristocracy). The modern notion of democracy, however, goes back to the ecclesiology* and political theology* of the late Middle Ages. While a

role for implicit consent to political authority* had long been recognized, the notion of government by the people began to emerge around 1250. The reappearance of Aristotelian thought gave credibility to the view that political society* and authority are autonomous and need not be instituted by God* and introduced the notion of participatory citizenship in the life of the city. This led Thomas* Aquinas, in contrast to the Augustinian tradition, to think that life within a political society was part of human nature (*De regimine* I c. 1). Authority may ultimately come from God, but Aquinas admitted that everyone's consent played a part in the establishment of a political society (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 90, a. 3; IIa IIae, q. 57, a. 2). Aquinas, however, rejected the theory of inalienable sovereignty of the people, although jurists went further: the Roman law maxim *quod omnes similiter tangit ab omnibus approbetur* ("that which concerns everyone should be approved by everyone") had been widely used to justify the consultative function of parliaments and to give a significant role to ecclesiastical elections in canon* law. Bartolo de Sassoferato (c. 1313–57), for example, was bolder and developed the theory of the irrevocable supremacy of the people in the government of city-states. Marsilius of Padua (c. 1275/80–c. 1343) is, however, the best-known person in this regard. For Marsilius the authority comes from the people; it governs the church* as well as the temporal sovereign, who earns his position through elections and to whom the people delegate the power without alienating it (*Defensor pacis*, Dictio 1). William of Ockham (c. 1285–1347) was more moderate and conceded that the people's authority could be alienated; he thought, however, that the government was merely an instrument serving the needs of human beings originally created free. In general, conciliarism*, based on the theories of canon law, affirmed the supremacy of the church over the popes* and proved influential in the formation of modern political thought. Jean Gerson (1363–1429) and his followers used an analogy: as the general council* has legitimate authority in the church, the representative assembly has authority in secular society. Nicholas* of Cusa used the notions of original liberty* and equality, which are found in patristic and Roman law, to justify the existence of constitutional means of expressing consent (1433, II c. 14); for him, representation is not a symbolic personification, but delegation (ibid. c. 34).

The concept of democracy also owes a lot to the Reformation. The egalitarian potential of the Lutheran doctrine of the priesthood* of all believers was largely obscured by the invisibility attributed to the true church and its practical subordination to political authority. Calvinism*, on the other hand, played a major part in

the development of the democratic thought because of the emphasis it placed on the idea of the covenant* as the foundation of ecclesial and political society. Particularly important contributions also came from the 16th-century Thomist revival among Dominicans, such as F. de Vitoria (c. 1485–1546) and D. de Soto (1494–1560), and Jesuits, such as Bellarmine* and Suarez*. These authors elucidated and systematized the Thomist doctrine of the naturalness of political society; that is, a doctrine implying that all men are originally social, free, and equal beings, which is essential to political consent. For Suarez, this meant that originally there had been a direct democracy (*si non mutaretur, democratica esset*, "if there had been no change, [society] would be democratic"; *Defensio fidei* III, 2, 9) but also complete alienation of power when choosing a prince (*non est delegatio sed quasi alienatio*, "it is not a delegation but almost an alienation"; *De leg.* III, 4, 1).

At the end of the 16th century, Huguenot writers thought that opposition to authority could be justified in some cases, which they proved by using Calvinist arguments to reconcile some resistance with the Paulinian notion of authority established by God (Rom 13:1–7). Some of them additionally used the analyses of the late Scholastics, especially the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (1579), which states that the prince is established both by God and constituted by the general consent of the people by means of a contract (*pactum*) between the people and him. Similar ideas can be found in Theodore de Beza (1519–1605). More revolutionary, the Scottish theorist George Buchanan (1506–82) rejected the Thomist notion of the irrevocable alienation of the people's authority as well as the Calvinist concept of covenant (*foedus*) between the people and God. Among the 17th-century English Levellers, who believed in the equality of all before God, an egalitarian theory of the sovereignty of the people finally appeared—a multitude of equal individuals to whom sovereignty is reverted if the prince were tyrannical. Locke (1632–1704) would formulate the classic expression of such ideas.

The Catholic Church's opposition to the rationalism* and anti-clericalism of the French Revolution* strengthened its misgivings about democracy. The popes rejected the attempts by "liberal Catholicism" (especially from Lamennais [1782–1854]) to renew Catholicism* with the separation of church and state, recognition of freedom of conscience*, and universal suffrage. They condemned all liberal and democratic ideas (*Mirari vos*, 1832, *Singulari nos*, 1834, *Quanta cura*, 1864, and the *Syllabus*, 1864). Under these circumstances, the concept of the authority of the prince coming from God was abandoned, and so were the potentially revolutionary notions of original freedom and

equality, in favor of a “designation” theory in which authority is immediately granted by God while popular consent merely designates its bearer (Rommen 1945).

Democratic thought would be renewed in 20th-century Catholicism, especially thanks to Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), whose ideas inspired Christian Democratic political parties after World War II (Fogarty 1957). In its official teaching, the Catholic Church stated the right of citizens to “contribute to the common good” (*Pacem in terris*, 1963) and to “participate freely and actively in establishing the constitutional bases of a political community” (*Gaudium et spes*, 1965). It also warned against some of the dangers of democracy, especially the “risk of an alliance between democracy and ethical relativism” (*Veritatis splendor*, 1994). In Protestant thought, prominent theologians defended democracy against totalitarianism, including Karl Barth*, Emil Brunner (1889–1966), and Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, or in the United States Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971). Niebuhr thought that “Man’s capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man’s inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary” (1944). At the end of the 20th century, the many forms of political theology seemed to find that democratic institutions, in any shape, were the best of all possibilities (Gruchy 1995).

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See also Church and State; Freedom, Religious; Law and Christianity; Law and Legislation; Revolution; Society

Demons

1. Bible

a) *Old Testament and Postbiblical Literature*. As with angels*, biblical demonology assumes the contribution of anterior civilizations but imposes on it three corrections: the reduction of the demons to the created status, the attribution of their perversity to their own liberty*, and the subordination of their action to divine permission.

In contrast with prebiblical times, the texts that take place before the Exile are rather austere. These offer allusions to the demons Azazel (Lv 16:8, 26), Lilith (Is 34:14), Rahab (Ps 89:11, Is 51:9), and Leviathan (Is 27:1), but the literary genre used does not encour-

age seeing these demons as real beings, no more than the “bad spirit” that agitates people (1 Kgs 22:22f.; 1 Sm 16:14–6, 16:23). Even Satan, the Accuser, the Adversary, the Slanderer (Septuagint: *diabolos*, Vulgate: *diabolus*, devil), qualified as “Son of God” in Job (1:6–12; 2:1–7), and the harmful and tempting serpent in Genesis (3:1–5), even though cursed by God* at the end of the narrative* (3:14f.), are not at first presented as demons. They are, however, after Exile (Zec 3:1f.; Wis 2:24; Tb 3:8, 17: the demon Asmodeus; 1 6:14). Isaiah 14:12ff. seems to adapt for the king of Babylon the tradition of a fabulous spirit named Lucifer, fallen because vanquished by God. Because of their malice, the demons are associated with infirmities and ill-

nesses and are situated in the desert, the region of thirst and barren desolation. Postbiblical and Qumran writings, with their exacerbated apocalypticism (apocalyptic* literature), use obscure symbolism. In Qumran, the opposition is categorical between the Spirit of Light and the Spirit of Perversity or Darkness, and between God presiding over the army of the sons of God and the demons as the sons of Satan or Belial. Islam offers a demonology and suggests a crowd of evil spirits, such as Ifrit, Shaitan, Harut, and Marut, as well as the djinns, all ruled by Iblis, the main rebellious angel.

b) New Testament. The personification of Satan (37 occurrences), also called the devil (36 occurrences) or the enemy (Mk 1:13; 4:13–20; Mt 13:25, 28, 39; Lk 10:19; Acts 13:10; Rev 12:9, 20:2f.), is now clear. Satan is evil par excellence (Mt 13:19, 13:38; 1 Jn 2:13f.; Eph 6:16), he is the tempter (Mt 4:1–11; Lk 4:1–13; 1 Thes 3:5), the prince of this world (Jn 12:31, 14:30, 16:11) or the “god of this world” (2 Cor 4:4; Eph 2:2), and also Beelzebub “prince of demons” (Lk 11:15; Mk 3:22; Mt 10:25, 12:24–27; 2 Cor 11:14). Head of a group of followers (Mt 25:41), he tempts Jesus* himself (Mt 4:1–10) as well as Peter* and the disciples (Mt 16:23; Lk 22:31). As the liar and murderer (Jn 8:43f.), his most noxious influence is manifested in his obstinate refusal to receive Christ* the Revelator. But Christ vanquishes demons. He threatens them and gives them orders (Mk 5:9), and he reveals the proximity to the Kingdom* of God by chasing them and healing illnesses and infirmities (Mk 3:22–27; Mt 8:16f.; Lk 4:40f, 6:18f, 8:2, 27–13, 13:16) by virtue of the power he confides in his apostles* (Mk 16:17f.; Acts 5:16, 19:12).

2. Theology

a) Liturgy and Magisterium. To continue Christ’s victory over the demon and the demons, the Church* practiced, from its inception, exorcism* during the liturgy of baptism* or, following a codified ritual, in the case of possession. In 543 a synod* of Constantinople declared, against the Origenism that postulated a demon’s final repentance (apocatastasis*), that the free aversion to it was radical and definitive and that hell was therefore eternal for him (DS 409, 411). Against Manicheism* and Priscillianism, the first Council of Braga (561) cautioned that the devil had been created by God in a state of excellence (DS 455, 457).

b) Fathers. Irenaeus*, like other Fathers*, fought the dualist and Gnostic positions on evil* and the devil.

The *Sayings* of the desert fathers (monachism [monasticism*]) colorfully narrate their fight against the demons. Gregory* of Nazianzus viewed Satan’s fault as a sin of pride, and this opinion won over the fable of a sexual sin committed by fallen angels with women (woman*). Augustine* recalls that the devil became hardened in evil and corrects in his *Revisions* (II, 30) his earlier account on the possibility of demons directly knowing human thoughts, which he had previously stated. He attributed to them only the possibility of inferring, based on hints, our inner lives.

c) Medieval Theology. In the Fathers’ wake, Hugh of Saint Victor (school of Saint* Victor) claimed in the twelfth century that the demon’s pride was based on his desire to be equal to God (*see* Gn 3:5). Peter Lombard (around 1100–1160) summarized the principal theses of patristic demonology, especially those of Augustine. Theologians of the following century, notably Bonaventure* and Albert the Great*, advanced the subject. Thomas* Aquinas eliminated all anthropomorphism* in order to hold on to the realm of the intellect and will. His positions can be summarized as such: God submits all created subjects to the test of temptation by assuring him the grace of being able to resist it so that, with man, the demon cannot do anything against the will, which remains free. One cannot attribute to the demon the desire to be equal to God, because, being of superior intelligence, he knows that such a pretension is outrageous for any creature. In the will of the spiritual essence of the angel there is no natural inclination toward evil, because only good* solicits it; the nature of the revolted angel, made only by the Creator, remains, as taught by Pseudo-Dionysius*, intact and admirable, it is his person that is perverted and cast into misfortune and spiritual sufferance by the refusal of that ultimate good, which is God’s own beatitude* offered as a gift of grace. Lastly, concerning the problem of the moment of the fall of the supreme angels, Satan or Lucifer, argued by previous authors, Thomas studied the nature of intelligence and angelical will and the duration characteristic of the pure spirit. According to him, the angel first discovers the limits of his own perfection, which, even if eminent in the created register, does not include the absolute fullness of knowledge and love that pertains to God. The angel realizes that it is possible, by renouncing himself as rule and criteria, to receive this fullness through the divine offer to share by grace the infinite beatitude that belongs to the Trinitarian life (Trinity*). Faced with this invitation of grace, the evil angel did, in an ulterior moment, freely and definitively confine himself to his own noetic and volitive limits. Thus, he deprived himself of the coherence and radical unity that the communion* to the rule and ultimate

measure of truth would have brought him. Thus deprived of what would have confirmed him in his own excellence, all that he is and all that he does turns in obscurity and hate. As such, the fire of hell is essentially a pain that cripples the person created by his own will and in his own darkened intelligence.

d) Modern Times. Thomas Aquinas's analysis, much like other "demonologies," depends on his doctrine of angels, which itself depends on anthropology*. It was accepted, nuanced, or rejected after him depending on the degree of agreement with his own fundamental principles. After Suarez*'s attempt at synthesis, there were few developments of the doctrine in Catholicism*, and from the 18th century the traditional conception recoiled in Protestantism* (*LThK* 3, III, 4). Modernity, which already had trouble considering seriously the idea of angel, most often dismissed the demon as a mythological superstition, and theologians preferred to remain silent on the subject. So much so that since Milton (1608–78), poets are the ones to have spoken about this matter in which the concept is voiceless. One need only think of Ivan Karamazov's temptation (Dostoyevsky, 1821–81), or that of Adrian Leverkühn, Thomas Mann's "Dr. Faustus" (1875–1955), or even of Eve in the *Voyage to Venus* by C. S. Lewis (1898–1963). Far from being picturesque scenes such as found in the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, they show the abyss of the liberty created in the possible retreat over radical evil. It is important to note that in these very different works—and one can think also of Bernanos's *Monsieur Ouine* (1888–1948)—the demon appears as a character that is both fearsome and insignificant, truly a fallen angel, "an undone person" (Marion 1986). Whatever the psychological truth of such scenes, there is also without a doubt material there for the theologians' thought.

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See also **Angels; Apocatastasis; Hell; Sin**

Descartes, René

1596–1650

Descartes was not a theologian. He repeats on several occasions that he has "never made a profession of the study of theology*," that he has applied himself to it

only for his "own instruction," and in particular that it can be learned only through divine "inspiration" or "assistance," that is, according to the authority con-

ferred by the Church* (VIae Responsiones). This reservation itself is enough to indicate that Descartes understands by theology the explanation of “revealed truths that...are beyond our understanding” (*Discours de la Méthode*). As for commentary on the Holy Scriptures*, he engaged in it infrequently and only when circumstances demanded it, but when he did so it was with a great assurance in his interpretive choices. These choices locate him in the tradition of Bellarminian exegesis*. This is evidenced, for example, by the direct political application of 1 Corinthians 13 and Matthew 18:15–18 as instances of the “laws of charity,” made during his polemic in Holland with Voet (Calvinism*), the Calvinist critic of the Counter Reformation. Following Thomas* Aquinas (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 9, a. 2), Descartes made what would later become the subjects of so-called natural* theology (the demonstration of the existence of God* and of the immortality of the soul [soul-heart-body]) the matter of philosophy rather than of theology. Indeed, this is indicated by the very title of *Meditationes de prima philosophia in qua Dei existentia et animae immortalitatis demonstratur* (Paris, 1641; changed to *in quibus Dei existentia et animae humanae a corpore distinctio demonstrantur*, Amsterdam, 1642). Moreover, the dedicatory epistle of the *Meditations*, addressed to the faculty of theology of the Sorbonne, draws on the program prescribed by the Fifth Lateran* Council for “Christian philosophers.” However, Descartes is of interest to theology not because of his proofs of the existence of God and of the real distinction between soul and body (soul-heart-body); nor because of his redefinition of the respective degrees of certainty reached by faith and by reason (*Regulae* III and XII; IIae Responsiones); nor even because of his theory of freedom, which allows man to see himself as the image of God (thesis of the unlimited nature of the will, *Meditations* IV). His theological interest lies in 1) the primacy he gives to omnipotence among the divine attributes*; 2) the advent of the concept of *causa sui*, which, on the one hand, derives from this; and 3) from the physical explanation of the Eucharist* imposed on him, on the other hand, by his new theory of corporal substance.

a) *The Incomprehensible Omniscience of God.* The celebrated *Letters to Mersenne*, of 15 April and 6 and 27 May 1630, set forth a fundamental and unchanging thesis of Cartesian metaphysics, that of the free disposal of truths, often called the creation* of eternal truths. These truths, whether it is a question of essences or existences, have the same status with respect to God, whose will is their efficient cause: that is, the status of created things. “You ask me by what kind

of cause God has established the eternal truths. I answer you that it is by the same kind of cause that he has created all things, that is, as efficient and total cause. For it is certain that he is the author of both the essence and the existence of created things.” It would be blasphemous to subject God to necessity, even logical necessity (the principle of contradiction), for that would be to conceive of him as finite; even his power (omnipotence*) is infinite and thereby incomprehensible. If God can do everything that we can conceive of, he is in no way limited by our rationality and can do what we cannot think of, particularly what appears to us as contradictory. Descartes thus repeats an Augustinian distinction: we can know God but not understand him. And he thereby opposes a vast movement of thought derived from Abelard*, in which the assertion that the wisdom* of God limits his freedom leads to the affirmation both that the divine will is determined by what his intellect represents to him and that divine and human rationality are analogous, indeed homogeneous. This current of thought culminates with Suarez*, who asserts the singleness of knowledge and, as something dependent on that, the singleness of being. Alone in his century, Descartes argued that “no essence can be attributed in the same way to God and to created things” (VIae Responsiones). In the face of this movement, which leads to the “emancipation” of philosophy from theology, we are compelled to locate Descartes on the side of a theological orthodoxy that maintains in its radicality the incomprehensible omniscience of God and stands firm on the refusal to distinguish faculties in God. “In God it is one thing to will, to understand, and to create, with none preceding any other, not even in reason.” However, the three major post-Cartesians, Spinoza, Malebranche, and Leibniz*, were to reject the positions of Descartes and to complete the movement of emancipation by holding that possibilities are imposed on God: that is, that truths, identical for a finite or an infinite intellect, impose themselves on his will. The first consequence of this would be the abandonment, shared by all three, of the doctrine of the creation of truths.

b) *God as Causa Sui.* It is thus in order to “speak of God more worthily...than the vulgar do” (that is, late Scholasticism*) that the *Meditations* and the *Responsiones* (Iae and IVae in part) make of the infinite* through which God is attained in *Meditation* III (which concludes with his contemplation*) or of his inexhaustible omnipotence (*inexhausta potentia*), brought together in *infinita ou immensa potentia*, the supreme divine name. Moreover, because for every being, including God, it is possible to seek “the cause for which it exists” (principle of causality [Iae and IIae Respon-

siones]], Descartes goes so far as to attribute to God the concept of *causa (efficiens) sui* (considered unthinkable from Anselm* to Suarez) in order to think positively about his aseitas*. The immense power in God is “the cause or the reason” for which he needs no cause to exist, and because this cause is positive, God can be conceived as the cause of himself. To deal with the objections of the theologians Caterus (1590–1655) and Arnauld (1612–94), Descartes later proposed modifications in the *causa sui*, presenting it as a “concept common” to efficient and formal causes or as a simple analogy* to efficient cause, but he always maintained the principle of the submission of all existence to causality. He thus made possible, despite its difficulties, an a priori proof of the existence of God through causality, a causality on which is built the whole architectonics of demonstrations and divine attributes. The other divine perfections flow from this, insofar as they are all stamped with infinity: plenary and indeterminate substance, immensity, incomprehensibility, independence (aseitas), and omniscience.

Having become futile, caught as it was between positive theology and mystical (mysticism*) theology, speculative theology was in a severe crisis “when Descartes appeared” (Gouhier). Descartes, in fact, is less one who proposes the services of a new philosophy, the philosophy of clear and distinct ideas, to theologians who have learned to do without speculative theology in order to develop a “simple” (Burman 1648) and effective (“to reach heaven”) theology, than the one who occupies the position of the last speculative theologian. At the very least, his discussion of the attributes of God in the *Meditations* and the *Responsiones* forms the last metaphysical repetition of the theological treatise on divine names (Marion), contemporary with the final *Quinquaginta nomina Dei* of Lessius (Brussels, 1640, posthumous). Bérulle had perhaps engaged the young Descartes in this matter in 1628; in any case it was approved by the Oratorians Condren and Gibieuf (*De libertate Dei et creaturae*. Paris, 1630). But it was also the tension prevailing in the architecture of divine names among infinity, perfection, and *causa sui*, as well as the primacy of the unconditioned omnipotence of God that the Cartesian theologians (Arnauld, Bossuet, and Fénelon) would have so much difficulty maintaining against the thesis that had become predominant (Spinoza, Malebranche, Leibniz*, Berkeley) of a rationality common to God and his creation, and against its corollary, the demand for a theodicy through which the 18th century would call on God to justify himself. And if Descartes wrote the last metaphysical treatise on divine names, this was probably because he was the first philosopher to be obliged to work at a time in which an established spec-

ulative theology using a philosophically convincing language was lacking.

c) *Eucharist*. From the moment when, (as early as the *Meteors* and the *Dioptrique* [1637]), and if considering real accidents as an unnecessary hypothesis, Descartes challenged the Aristotelian theory of the sensible world, he was obliged to formulate a theory of the Eucharist different from that of the Scotists or the Thomists. He develops it in the IVae *Responsiones* in replying to the Arnauld’s objections about the mode of conversion from one substance to another in transubstantiation: our senses are never affected by the substance but only by its surface. It is therefore necessary to take into account the permanence of the surface, which, as an intermediary between bodies, is not a quality of bodies themselves (*Principia philosophiae* [1644] II, art. 10–15) and so can remain the same when bodies change. There is thus a change of substance beneath the formal permanence of the surface. Descartes relied on the Council of Trent*, which used the vocabulary of the sacred species—and not that of accidents (Council of Constance*)—to think of the eucharistic conversion of the bread and wine. The permanence of the movement of the corpuscles of the bread and wine, entirely explicable by the forms and movements of the particles of matter, before and after their conversion, assures the phenomenal invariance of the surface and hence of sensory perception. The letter to Mesland of 9 February 1645, which is more problematic, elaborated on what concerns the mode of presence of the body of Christ* in the Eucharist. The Cartesian physical explanation of the Eucharist was taken up and extended by Maignan (1601–76), Desgabets (1610–78), and Cally (1630–1709). With this doctrine, Descartes had been less concerned with doing theology than in rigorously developing his theory of substance. This is why the Eucharist—his explanation of which he submitted to the authority* of the Church (several faculties of theology censured it in the last third of the 17th century)—constituted nothing more, and nothing less, than a crucial experiment in the new theory of sensation.

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See also Asceticism; Attributes, Divine; Bérulle, Pierre de; Conversion; Eucharist; Existence of God, Proofs of; Lateran V, Council; Mysticism; Natural Theology; Omnipotence, Divine; Soul-Heart-Body; Suarez, Francisco; Trent, Council of

Descent into Hell

a) Biblical References. To elaborate on the theme of Christ's descent into hell*, two kinds of scriptural reference are generally put forward: 1) Certain passages seek to express the humiliation of the Son in all its reality, according to the descent/exaltation model outlined in Philippians 2:5–11, and assert that he spent "three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (Mt 12:40), and that " 'He ascended' means that he had also descended into the lower parts of the earth" (Eph 4:9). Clearly these formulas refer to more than the entombment of Jesus*. The very word *Sheol* (hell*) is used to describe the final destination of this descent, but in a quotation of Psalms 16:10 used in Acts 2:27 (*see also* Rev 1:18, "I have the keys of Death and Hades," keys that Christ holds only because he went down that far). 2) Other texts speak of Christ's "visit," both a struggle and a foreshadowing, to the "dead" (1 Pt 4:6), of "spirits in prison" (1 Pt 3:19, "he went and proclaimed to the spirits in prison"), in order to tear them away from the "gates of hell" (Mt 16:18). The interpretation of 1 Peter 3:19 that sees therein an allusion to fallen angels (demons*) is not certain. Perhaps the description of tombs opening at the death of Christ in Matthew 27:51ff. is connected with this theme. 3) There is one last category, that is, texts that speak simply of a return from the place of the dead: "'Who will descend into the abyss?' (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead)" (Rom 10:7); or "the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus" (Heb 13:20).

These discreet affirmations would be elaborated in the early Judeo-Christian communities, to which in-

tertestamentary literature (intertestament*) could provide an entire stock of speculations on the fate of people in Sheol (1 Hen., 4 Esd.). This is evident in the work *Shepherd* by Hermas (Sim. 9:16, 5), in certain apocryphal Gospels* (*The Gospel of Nicodemus*, *The Gospel of Peter*), and in Justin and Irenaeus of Lyons*, who mention an apocryphal text that they attribute at times to Isaiah, at times to Jeremiah: "The Lord God, the holy one of Israel, remembered his dead who slept in the earth of the tomb, and he came down to them to announce the good news of salvation*."

The imagery gained force, and writers claimed the presence at this event of John the Baptist and, counter to all chronology, that of the apostles*.

b) Patristic Theology. In the patristic literature devoted to the descent into hell from the time of Ignatius of Antioch, the central theme has been soteriological. Unlike the Gnostic hyper-spiritualization of Christianity, the stress is placed upon the reality of a death that leads to the knowledge of the *state of death* and the state of the dead. It was on this condition that Christ could hold the key "to death and to the afterlife." A theology* of the universality of salvation was soon added to this, according to which the descent into hell allowed Christ to meet with all of humanity who had died before the proclamation of the gospel and to offer them the remission of their sin* (Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adv. Haer.* 4, 27, 2).

The introduction of the formula *et descendit ad inferna* in the baptismal confession of faith* must be situ-

ated within this context. Absent from the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople, it appeared in Semi-Arian formulations of faith of the mid-fourth century (Councils of Sirmium [PG 26, 693a] and of Nicaea [Theodoret, *HE*, 2, 21 4], 359), then more clearly at the end of the century in Aquila's version of the Apostles' Creed (*DH* 16) and gradually in various formulas of faith (see *DH* 23, 27s, 30, 76). From that time onward it would be part of the received text of the Apostles' Creed.

Debate then moved into the domain of Christology, raising the issue of Christ's human soul (soul-heart-body) (which enters hell alone, since his body [soul-heart-body] is in the tomb), and this some time before the Apollinarian dispute. Hippolyte, for example, speaks of the arrival of Christ in hell as of the presence of "a soul with souls" (Fr. *pasch.* 3, PG 10, 701A). Omitted by Athanasius of Alexandria* (*Ad Epct.* 5, PG 26, 1060), Hilary* of Poitiers, and Ambrose* of Milan, who attributed the descent into hell directly to the Word*, the mediation of the created soul of Christ later reappeared (Didymus, *In Ps.*, PG 39, 1233A–C).

In the East as well as in the West, sacred iconography has assured the theme of the descent into hell a wide distribution: Christ is represented as breaking down the portals of death, crushing Satan, and taking Adam*, Eve, and (more or less recognizable) the patriarchs by the hand.

c) *Medieval Theology.* Medieval systematicians were interested not so much in the identity of the dead liberated by Christ on Holy Saturday as in the precise terms of that liberation. From the time of Saint Augustine*, it has been more or less agreed that this liberation was granted to the just of the Old Testament. They suffered no punishment* for any personal failing, and were already justified by the faith that they had, in advance, in the one who was to come (according to Jn 8:56). Deprived of the vision of God by virtue of original sin, they were now to be liberated from that deprivation (Saint Thomas* of Aquinas, *ST* IIIa, q. 52, a. 5). As for the preaching* mentioned in 1 Peter 3:19, this could not be understood as a postmortem activity by Christ, but referred to the apostolic action that he exerted through the Church*.

In addition, the vocabulary increased in precision. Other words gradually came to replace the Hebrew terms *Gehenna* and *Sheol*, the former designating the lamentable fate of the outcast and the latter the waiting place of all the dead, just or unjust. Hell (which tended to be used in the singular by writers of French—*enfer* instead of *enfers*—and increasingly demonic in quality) became the place of the damned, while Limbo* came to refer most often to the waiting place (the "Limbo of the Fathers"), sometimes represented—as

in Dante*'s *Divine Comedy*—by a circle on the periphery of hell proper.

d) *Contemporary Reevaluation.* The descent into hell has recently been the subject of a reevaluation in the work of Hans Urs von Balthasar*. Under the influence of the experiences of Adrienne von Speyr (mystically linked to the Passion* of Christ, on Good Friday she would experience a form of empathetic suffering that increased on Holy Saturday), Balthasar gives this theme a central place. In his treatment of the mystery of Easter he calls it the expression of the "display of the effects of the cross in the abyss of mortal perdition." He explicitly rejects the idea of any triumphant activity of Christ in hell and seeks on the contrary to discern in the *descensus* an ultimate passivity: "the dead being of the Son of God." His reflections upon the "final place" evoke motifs already present at the time of the Reformation in Anabaptist and mystico-spiritualist theologies, which considered this episode to be the lowest point of Christ's journey. The Calvinist catechism of Heidelberg, moreover, opposed such motifs to the traditional concept upheld by the Lutheran Formula of Concord. For Balthasar, however, the interpretation of the descent into hell is not merely one theological thesis among others. Rather, it is the structural axis of his entire theology, and it will not be possible to deliver a definitive judgment on it until the principles applied have been made the object of theological and ecclesiastical reception. In any case one can emphasize that this interpretation amounts less to a mediating of the opposition between the Origenist (universal salvation: *apocatastasis**) and the Augustinian concepts (salvation reserved for a small number) than to an almost total reevaluation of the traditional concept. This entails a reinterpretation, and an unprecedented expansion, of the notion of *kenosis**, as well as a new definition of sin as situated halfway between evil* committed (moral evil) and evil suffered (physical evil).

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See also Creeds; Death; Hell; Limbo; Resurrection of Christ; Salvation; Wrath of God

Desire of God. *See* Supernatural

Deuterocanonical Books. *See* Apocrypha

Devil. *See* Demons

Devotio moderna

Conceived in the Netherlands at the end of the 14th century, *devotio moderna* was simultaneously a spiritual movement, a series of devotional practices, a certain concept of lay piety, and a particular form of communal life. Gerard Groote was its initiator (1340–84), and disciples soon took up his work through their deeds and their writings. During the 15th century the ideals and experiences characteristic of *devotio moderna* spread into a large part of northern Europe.

After university studies in Paris and a stay with the Carthusians (between 1374 and 1377), Groote, the son of a middle-class family, decided to lead a life devoted to reading, meditation, and prayer in his Deventer house. It was an austere life but quite moderate when compared with the asceticism* and penances that certain “religious laity” inflicted upon themselves during the same era. At the time of his “conversion*,” Groote had written *Conclusa et proposita, non uota*. In this he wrote that the experience he intended to undergo was a “project,” sealed by a “promise” and not by “vows” in

the traditional sense. To “glorify, honor, and serve God*,” Groote renounced a considerable number of activities, which he enumerated in his *Conclusa et proposita*. He set himself a program of spiritual reading (from the Gospels to Henry Suso’s *Horologium*) and regulations designed to encourage “abstinence.” In his “Moral Allocution” (*Zedelijke toespraak*), he defined a form of spirituality that might be taken up by lay people who remained in the world*. His experience and writings manifest his desire to return to an original Christianity and to create a lay version of the apostolic model.

Groote had turned over a part of his Deventer house to a few young women who did not belong to any religious order but who were “in need of a roof for the love* of God, in order better to serve God there in humility and penance” (statutes from 1379 for the “house of master Gerard”). Moreover, his activity as a preacher facilitated the formation of a first group of disciples, which his closest collaborator, Florent Radewijns (1350–1400) set up in Deventer in his resi-

dence. Other communities later sprang up, whose members, both laymen and clerics*, were called “Brethren of the Common Life.” They shared a devout life, where their time was spent in copying manuscripts, in prayer, in works of charity, and, quite soon, in preaching.

Groote had already taken minor orders* so as to be able to recite the Gospels to the crowd and had requested a written authorization from the bishop* of Utrecht allowing him to preach in parishes. Within the houses of the Common Life, “conferences” (*collationes*) regularly brought together those brothers (sometimes designated by the term *collatie broeders*) and lay people who wished to hear their semipublic sermons. This type of mission*/evangelization facilitated the distribution of the ideals of *devotio moderna*. The brothers also shared the habit of taking personal notes while reading from the Holy* Scriptures and the great spiritual authors, and it was from this practice that the *rapiaria* originated. These were a sort of anthology or collection of quotations, serving as an aid to meditation. Most of the followers composed their own *rapiarium*. Some even compiled considerable works, like the *Rosetum* written by Jean Mombaer (vol. 1460–1501), which included texts drawn from his extensive reading. One version of the *Rosetum*, which would go through several editions, was preceded by an “invitatory to exercises of piety.” Reading had no other purpose than to encourage piety.

It was subsequently Florent Radewijns who gave a concrete—and institutional—form to Groote’s project. There is no doubt, however, that he impoverished his master’s ideas. Indeed, his only concern was to determine a method capable of visibly arousing the devotion of the brothers he had brought together, to lead them to self-knowledge, and to help them to repress their passions*. The brother Gerard Zerboldt from Zutphen (1367–98), to whom is attributed the treatise *Super modo uiuendi hominum simul commorantium*—a point-by-point justification of the fundamental principles of the Common Life—later endeavored to systematize Groote’s and Radewijns’s ideas. Thus, in his *De reformatione uirium animae* and *De spiritualibus ascensionibus* he defined a series of exercises (examinations of conscience*, meditations on the last rights and on the Passion*), which would allow the “spiritual ascension” of the devout. Dirc van Herxen (circa 1381–1457), who administered several of the houses of the Common Life, was the author of texts devoted to exercises of piety, prayer, and meditation, as well as four pedagogical treatises that affirmed the necessity of educating the young in the service of God from the earliest age. Because they had spent less time in the world, children and adolescents were less tainted by

sin* and more open to instruction than adults. Teaching was therefore one of the most important activities of the Brethren of the Common Life, who set up schools in several towns. The insistence on a close link between study and (Christian) life, as well as certain pedagogical innovations characteristic of the brothers’ schools—for example the division into distinct classes according to the age and knowledge of the pupils—foreshadowed, at least for some historians, the ideals of humanist Christians and of Erasmus*.

In parallel to the houses of Common Life, Radewijns had opened in Windesheim, near Zwolle, a house of regular canons, which quickly found itself at the head of a sizable congregation. By the end of the 15th century this included a hundred or more houses throughout the Netherlands, the Rhineland, Westphalia, and the north of France. Jean Busch, a reformer of several religious houses, endeavored to disseminate the principles of piety characteristic of the Windesheim congregation (particularly in the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*). Unlike the Brethren of the Common Life, canons were clergy in the traditional sense, living according to a rule and devoted to contemplation. The environment in Windesheim seems to have been more sensitive to mystical experiences than that of the Common Life. Hendrick Mande (c. 1360–1431), who had the reputation of being blessed with frequent visions, wrote vernacular descriptions of contemplation* and of the soul’s (soul-heart-body) union with God. Gerlac Peters (1378–1411), initially a brother of the Common Life, then a canon in Windesheim, took up the defense of mysticism*. He recorded his thoughts in a *Soliloquium* (which seems not to have been intended for circulation), often finding inspiration in Ruysbroeck, Tauler, and Eckhart.

There were many spiritual works in the 15th century, commending devotional practices and the exercise of virtues*, that historians connect with the *devotio moderna* movement: the long treatises of Wessel Gansfort (c. 1419–89), for example, on the different methods of prayer, on the sacrament* of the Eucharist* and on the Mass; or the celebrated *Imitation of Christ*, anonymously attributed to Thomas À Kempis (1380–1471), a disciple of Florent Radewijns and author of numerous treatises intended for meditation. The eight hundred manuscripts of the *Imitation* (between 1424 and 1500), the printed editions, as well as the reworkings and translations, all attest to the considerable success of this work devoted to the contemplation of Christ*’s humanity. The characteristic ideals of *devotio moderna* now had a wide distribution. It would seem that even certain Franciscan preachers, such as Pierre-aux-Boeufs (c. 1370–c. 1425/1430) or Jean Brugman (c. 1400–1473) had contributed to them.

The new devotion was “modern” in more ways than one. The importance of personal meditation and inner life, the idea of an “imitation of Christ” through meditation and charity—tendencies that were fairly common during the later centuries of the Middle Ages—were affirmed in *devotio moderna* as never before. Without doubt, the point worth noting is that the interiority cultivated by the disciples and successors of Gerard Groote was characterized by a great defiance with regard to any excessive or uncontrolled form of piety. The devout were to apply themselves to practices of cautious asceticism and devotion rather than to ecstasy or visions. Their devout life kept them at a distance, moreover, from any “vain science” (that is, knowledge detached from piety) and pure speculation. In this regard, *devotio moderna* marked a break, not completed in Groote’s time, between theology* and spirituality (spiritual theology). And if we accept that such a break represented one of the characteristic traits of Catholicism* during this era, we must nevertheless strongly qualify the influence of “modern devotion” upon Protestantism*, and this despite certain shared features and despite the disappearance at the Reformation of most houses of the Common Life.

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See also **Beguines; Carmel; Imitation of Christ; John of the Cross; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism; Spirituality, Franciscan**

Dialectical Theology. *See* **Barth, Karl; Lutheranism**

Didache. *See* **Apostolic Fathers**

Dilthey, Wilhem. *See* **Hermeneutics**

Diocese. *See* Local Church; Regional Church

Diodorus of Tarsus. *See* Antioch, School of

Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite

I. The Author and the Dionysian Question

The identity of the person who wrote the *Corpus dionysiaca* or *Areopagiticum* under the pseudonym Dionysius the Areopagite, the man who was converted by Paul after his speech on the Areopagus (Acts 17:34), is unknown. His writings were referred to at the meeting of the Chalcedonian bishops with the Monophysite Severian bishops, which took place at the synod* of Constantinople in 532. Hypatius of Ephesus expressed some doubts on the authenticity of these writings; and later, Thomas* Aquinas himself did the same (*see* Hausherr, *OCP* 2 [1936], 484–90). During the whole of the Middle Ages, the authority* of the *Corpus*'s author was founded on the fact that he was part of the apostolic age. The role of destroying that legend befell later to the humanists of the Renaissance, Erasmus* (*In novum Testamentum annotationes item ab ipso recognitae*, Basel, 1522) and Laurentius Valla (*In novum Testamentum annotationes apprimae utiles*, Basel, 1526). The legend had, nonetheless, its defenders, even in modern times. Koch (*Philologus* 54 [1895], 238–454) and Stiglmayr (*HJ* 16 [1895], 253–73) ended up establishing definitively the dependence linking Dionysius to Proclus by showing that Dionysius had used, in his treaty on evil*, in chapter IV of the *Divine Names*, the *De malorum subsistentia* by Proclus.

J. Stiglmayr clarified the chronology of the *Corpus*, which came at a later date than the following events:

after the Council of Chalcedon* (451); after the introduction of the credo, in mass, by patriarch Peter the Foulon (476); and after Emperor Zeno's *Henotikon* (482). It came, however, earlier than the authors of the beginning of the sixth century, who quoted from it: Andreas Caesariensis and Severus of Antioch's letter to abbot John.

Attempts have been made to identify the mysterious author of the *Corpus* with numerous figures: Ammonius Saccas, Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, a disciple of Basil*, Peter the Foulon, Peter the Iberian, Dionysius of Gaza, Severus of Antioch, Sergius of Resaina (the first translator of the *Corpus* into Syriac, a short time after it came out), a friend of John of Scythopolis (the author of the first scholia of the *Corpus*), Stephanus Bar Sudaili, or Heraiscus, a friend and disciple of Damascius (*see* Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order in the Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius*, The Hague, 1969, and S. Lilla, *Aug.* 22, 1982).

The author of the *Corpus* was probably, as is shown by his knowledge of the liturgy* of Antioch, a monk of Syrian origin who had a close relationship with Proclus's ideas (*see* Saffrey, *StPatr* IX, TU 94, 1966) and perhaps, according to S. Lilla, with those expressed by Damascius, whose courses he might have followed in Athens.

The meaning of the pseudonym under which he wrote is in itself a message: Dionysius the Areopagite was converted by Paul on the Areopagus, and likewise

the Pseudo-Dionysius wanted to convert Greek thinking by introducing it in Christian theology (that is why the Sophist Apollonphanes called him a “parricide” in Letter IV); he would thus get the benefit of the heritage represented by Athenian philosophy a short number of years before the closure of the academy by Emperor Justinian.

II. Works and Editions

1. Works

The *Corpus*, which has been transmitted to posterity, includes the *Celestial Hierarchy* (CH), the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (EH), the *Divine Names* (DN), the *Mystical Theology* (MT) and a collection of ten Epistles (Ep).

a) *Celestial Hierarchy*. The treaty describes in 15 chapters the classes of angels* mentioned in the Old Testament and by Paul. The doctrine of Dionysius on the celestial hierarchy has Christian sources: Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* VII), Gregory* of Nazianzus (*Discourses* 28 [theol. 2]), Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catecheses* 23 [myst. 5]), John Chrysostom* (*Homeliae in Genesim* and the eight baptismal homilies and the apostolic constitutions [VIII, 12, 7–8]). The ternary division of the hierarchical activity—an activity of purification, of illumination, of union—takes its inspiration, however, from Neoplatonic sources: one can see in Jamblique’s *Book of Mysteries* and in Proclus’s *Platonic Theology* the systematization of the notion of triad corresponds to a hierarchy of divine intelligences. For Proclus, any reality similar to the movement of intelligence—which is a movement from establishment, procession, and conversion (*monè, proodos, epistrophè*)—will be triadic. Dionysius reports on this doctrine to his master Hierotheus, whose writings he calls “second Writing” (*deutera logia*) (DN 681 B): “theology designates the totality of celestial essences with nine revealing names: our divine initiator divides them in three ternary dispositions” (CH 200 D). It is, however, the Bible above all that he invokes.

According to Dionysius, the ranks of the celestial hierarchy divide into three triads: 1) seraphim, 2) cherubim, and 3) thrones make up the first hierarchy or triad; 4) dominations, 5) virtues, and 6) powers make up the second; 7) principalities, 8) archangels, and 9) angels make up the third (CH, chapters VII–IX).

The first hierarchy receives directly the illuminations of the divine Thearchy (divining principle) and is united to it without intermediary. According to the Hebrew etymology invoked by Dionysius, the seraphim are the “burning ones”; the cherubim are those who are fulfilled with an outpouring of knowledge and of wis-

dom* (CH 205 B); and the thrones are those who receive and have God* in them (205 D).

The hierarchical order corresponds in decreasing degrees (starting from the summit) to the three activities that characterize any hierarchy, namely purification, illumination, and perfection or union. The second and third triads are united to God through the first one acting as an intermediary, and they receive a lesser illumination. As for the third hierarchy, it connects the celestial universe to the universe of human hierarchies. In that hierarchy, the angels are those who are nearest to human beings, and those who transmit to them the divine purification, illumination and perfection.

Regarding the exegesis* of the symbols used by the Holy* Scripture to mention the celestial dealings, Dionysius develops a whole theory of similar and dissimilar symbols, more appropriate than concepts to allude to spiritual realities that transcend the realities that can be felt. If the seraphim are represented by the image of fire, God himself is named at the same time “Sun of justice” and “Tenebrae better than luminous.” The value of any symbol, on the other hand, is linked to the value of the intelligence using it: the more purified and illuminated the intelligence, the more united it is to God; the better it will know how to rise toward God, the better that anagogical act will be able to discover God in signs and symbols.

b) *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. The treaty first introduces a doctrine of ecclesial hierarchy, followed by a description and interpretation of the six main rites in Christian liturgy: baptism*, Eucharist*, consecration of the holy* oils (the *muron*), sacerdotal ordination, monastic profession, and funerary rites. Each rite is considered first in its liturgical unfolding (*mustèrion*), then in a contemplative or allegorical meaning (*theôria*); the intelligible content of that meaning is released from the symbol being felt, like a stone being released from its gangue, thanks to anagogical and apophatic activity of the intellect.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy, in the image of celestial hierarchy, includes different ranks: the initiators (bishops*, priests [priesthood*], deacons*) and the initiated (the purified, the illuminated, those who are in a state or in a process of perfection, or the monks). The bishops exercise the three functions of initiation, of illumination, and of perfection. Finally, Jesus* leads the celestial hierarchy as well as the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

c) *Divine Names*. This treaty is made up of 13 chapters: they show the procession (*proodos*) of the divine names*, starting with the distinction (*diakrisis*) and the union (*henôsis*), which rule in Trinity. Having

considered God as superessential Cause, unknowable and unspeakable, as the One in the first hypothesis of *Parmenides*, as Cause connected to all that is, and thus, likely to be known and named, then as the One in the second hypothesis of the *Parmenides* (chap. I); having shown the union (*henôsis*) and the distinction (*diakrisis*), in God (the divine persons*) and outside of God (the processions and the names) (chap. II); having underscored the importance of the prayer* as introduction to the theology of divine names and having conjured up the teaching of his master Hierotheus, Dionysius proceeded to explain the divine names.

It is possible to distinguish: 1) the names that suit the divine realities (596 D), in God: Unity and Trinity (chap. II), and outside God: the procession; 2) the names stemming from the operations of his providence* (596 D), namely a) the etiological names (645 A–B): Goodness (good*), Beauty, Light, and Love (chap. III–IV, 1–17), the Being* (chap. V), Life (chap. VI), and Wisdom (chap. VII), Power (omnipotence) (chap. VIII); names opposed to each other, such as Big and Small (chap. IX), Ancient and Young (chap. X); b) the names that concern the process of principle to the end (937 B): the Almighty (chap. X), peace (chap. XI), that converts everything to integral unity (948 D); and c) the divine names of the Cause of everything (972 A): God (chap. XII) and the One (chap. XIII), “unity of all the positive attributes of the One who is Cause of everything” (977 B).

The great movement involving procession and conversion of the divine names starts with Goodness and ends with the One, which is perhaps another name for Goodness, since Dionysius says that the movement follows the path “from Goodness to Goodness through Goodness.” However, if one notices that the procession of divine names is called “distinction” in opposition to the divine “union,” it can be said equally that the order of divine names by Dionysius himself, starts with Union (*henôsis*) and ends with the conversion of all toward the One (*hen*). From Union (*henôsis*) to the One (*hen*): such is the framework of the *Divine Names*.

d) Mystical Theology. This treaty, a few pages long, is divided into five chapters. It starts with a prologue made up of a prayer to the Trinity and of an address to Timothy, to whom Dionysius recommends to raise his spirit toward the contemplation of divine matters. In the first chapter, on divine Tenebrae, he distinguishes negative (or apophatic) theology from affirmative (or cataphatic) theology, and he interprets the rise of Moses on the Sinai as the elevation of the intellect toward God. The darkness of Exodus 20, 21 represents

then the absolute lack of knowledge in which the spirit is buried.

Seeing and knowing this “darkness more-than-luminous” is like “knowing that it is not possible to see or know the One who is beyond view and beyond knowledge.” Like the sculptor who “carves” the blocks of marble to allow the shape of the statue to appear (Plotinus’s example in *Enneads*. I, 6 [1]), it can similarly be said that “by the abstraction of the essence of things, we can praise superessentially Him who is superessential.” Negative theology thus lets the superessential darkness appear by pushing aside what exists. It is necessary to “remove,” “suppress,” or “deny” all knowledge acquired in the contact of what is, in order to “know” the Unknown in the lack of knowledge and “see” the Darkness, which is usually concealed by the light present in what is. Negation, understood as removing or discarding (*remotio*), therefore has a role that is both ontological and liturgical, in the world of beings as well as in that of symbols: it must push light away from beings in order that divine darkness may appear in their hearts, and it must also lift the veil away from the symbols in order to show divine Beauty.

The negative way rises thus from negation to negation, starting with what is the farthest from the transcending Cause; that is contrary to affirmative theology, which starts with Principle to descend to the consequences that are farthest away. The movements of these two theologies, affirmative and negative, proceed therefore in opposite directions: they correspond respectively to a descending movement (*proodos*) by the intellect, and then to its ascending movement (*anagôgè, epistrophè*) (chap. II). The abundance or, on the contrary, the conciseness of the language correspond to these two movements: descent of what is intelligible toward the sensitive, or rise of the sensitive toward the intelligible and even beyond, all the way to the transcending Cause, for which speaking has to stop and only silence is appropriate. In this apophatic rise from outside to inside and from the lower to the upper, the *logos* diminishes and ends up in silence. Dionysius highlights the opposition between abundance (*polulologia*) of symbolic discourse on the one hand and both brevity of intellectual discourse (*brakhulogia*) as well as absence of words (*alogia*), characteristic of mystical union (chap. III), on the other hand.

This apophatic ascension toward the Cause via the sensible and the intelligible occurs in the last two chapters of the *Mystical Theology* (see chap. IV: “That he who is the pre-eminent Cause of all things sensibly perceived is not Himself any of those things”; chap. V: “That he who is the pre-eminent Cause of all things intelligibly perceived is not Himself any of those things”). Of that Cause, “there is no parole, no name,

no knowledge” (we see once more, there, the affirmation of the first hypothesis of the *Parmenide*, 141e), and we therefore conclude to its transcendence and its unpredictability. Neither affirmative theology nor even negative theology can therefore characterize the Cause as such: they both remain in the realm of hypothesis, either before it or what comes “beyond it.” The transcendence of the Cause, which is the source of everything, while being simultaneously detached from everything, is beyond reach, indeed inaccessible. God is “beyond everything.”

e) *Letters*. There are 10 letters, which deal with the following: the 1st with the identification separating real knowledge and non-knowledge of God; the 2nd with Divinity beyond Goodness and beyond God (see beginning of the *MT*); the 3rd with the divine nature of Jesus, which remains hidden even after the Incarnation*; the 4th with Jesus and his “theandric” “activity” or “energy”; the 5th with divine darkness; the 6th with the refutation of errors to establish truth; the 7th with a polemic regarding Sophist Apollonophanes, who accuses Dionysius of “parricide” and of the solar eclipse both of them watched in Heliopolis; the 8th with the monk Demophilus, who does not respect his hierarchical rank; the 9th with the symbolism of the Scriptures; and the 10th with the captivity of John the Evangelist at Patmos and his prompt liberation.

Dionysius mentions other works, lost or fictitious:

- 1) *On the Intelligibles and the Objects of the Senses*,
- 2) *Theological Sketches*, 3) *Symbolic Theology*, 4) *Divine Hymns*, 5) *On the Angelic Characteristics and Orders*,
- 6) *On the Just and Divine Tribunal*, and 7) *On the Soul*.

Finally, several other works have come to us under the name of Dionysius:

- 1) three letters: a letter to Apollonophanes written in Greek between the sixth and the seventh centuries (CPG III, 6630); a letter to Timothy on the passion of apostles* Peter* and Paul, in different languages (Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopian) (CPG III, 6631); and a letter to Titus kept in Armenian (CPG III, 6632);
- 2) an autobiography kept in Oriental versions (Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian) (CPG III, 6633);
- 3) a treaty of astronomy in Syriac (CPG III, 6634);
- 4) a profession of faith in Arabic (CPG III, 6635);
- 5) a liturgical anaphora (Renaudot 2, 202–12, quoted by I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia syriaca*, Rome, 1965, 251).

2. Editions

The first edition of the *Corpus* was published in Florence in 1516. Two other editions were published in

the 17th century: the first was prepared by P. Lamsel, in Paris in 1615, and the second by B. Cordier S.J., in Antwerp in 1634 and Paris in 1644. It was Cordier’s edition that was re-edited in the *Patrologia Graeca* (PG III) in 1857. As for the 20th century, it gave us the first critical edition of the *Corpus*: it was prepared by B.R. Suchla (I, *DN*), G. Heil, and A. Ritter (II, *CH*, *EH*, *MT*, *Ep*). A third volume is being prepared: it will include the scholia in Greek, in Syriac, in Georgian, and in Armenian.

III. Translations and Medieval Commentaries

1. Translations

a) *In Syriac*. Dionysius’s writings became known and spread very early in Syria thanks to Sergius of Resaina (†536), translator of the *Corpus*, and its preface writer, who was suspected of being its actual author. That opinion was put forward by I. Hausherr and H. Urs von Balthasar (*Schol.* 15, 1940). Phocas (end of seventh–beginning of eighth century) started a new translation of Dionysius enriched by personal notes (see Sherwood, *SE* 4, 1952; Duval, *La Littérature syriacque*, Paris, 1907; Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922).

b) *In Armenian*. A translation of Dionysius in Armenian was done as early as the eighth century by Étienne de Siounie.

c) *In Latin*. Dionysius became known in the West thanks to the manuscripts copied in the East and brought from there. Two studies on Dionysius’s manuscripts are authoritative: G. Théry, in *NSchol* 3, 1929, 353–442, and H.F. Dondaine (1953).

In 758, Paul I sent to Pépin le Bref the whole collection of Dionysius’s writings. In 827, at Compiègne, King Louis le Pieux received from the Eastern emperor a Greek codex of all of Dionysius’s writings. He requested from the abbot of Saint-Denys, Hilduin, that a translation be prepared. Around 832, Hilduin offered it to him: it was quasi illegible. Charles le Chauve then kindly asked John the Scot Eriugena to start a translation that would be more understandable. It was completed in 852. Around 1140, the monk Joannes Sarracenus, as well as Hugh of Saint Victor, decided to work on Scotus’s translation of the *Celestial Hierarchy* by making use of the notes left on the margins and between the lines by scholars John of Scythopolis, Saint Maximus* the Confessor, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and a few others. Sarracenus’s translation, very different from Hilduin’s and from Eriugena’s, is more faithful.

The *Corpus* was translated at the time of the Renaissance by Ambrosio Traversari and Marsilius Ficinus and during a period straddling the 16th and 17th centuries by Balthasar Cordier, Perionus, and Jerome Spert.

2. Medieval Commentaries

Hugh of Saint Victor (†1141) commented on two occasions the *Celestial Hierarchy*, his preferred text, on account of the importance that it gives to the notions of participation and of symbolism. Denys le Chartreux also gave his own commentary. The most important medieval commentary was delivered by Thomas Aquinas. Finally, during the Renaissance, Ambrosio Traversari (1431–37) and Marsilius Ficinus (1490–92) (see *DSP*, t. 3, 286–429) gave theirs.

• CPG III, 6600–35.

Dionysius Areopagita, Ed. B. Cordier, PG 3, 1857.

Denys l'Aréopagite, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, Intr. by R. Roques, Study and critical text of G. Heil, Trans. and notes by M. de Gandillac, SC 58 bis; les *Noms divins* et la *Théologie mystique*, Critical edition by B.R. Suchla, A. Ritter, Intr., trans. and notes by Ysabel de Andia. (English translations: *Celestial Hierarchies* and *Mystical Theology* 2nd Ed. [London: Editors of the Shrine of Wisdom, 1965].)

Corpus dionysiacum I, *De divinis nominibus*, Ed. B.R. Suchla, PTS 33, 1990; II, *De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia*, Ed. G. Heil, A.M. Ritter, PTS 36, 1991.

a) General Studies.

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YSABEL DE ANDIA

See also **Attributes, Divine; Negative Theology; Platonism, Christian**

Diphysitism

Diphysitism is a doctrine defined at the Council of Chalcedon*, according to which Christ* has two na-

tures (*duo phuseis*), human and divine. It is the opposite of monophysitism*.

See also **Monophysitism**

Ditheism. *See* **Tritheism**

Divine Names. *See* **Attributes, Divine**

Divinity. *See* **Deity**

Divinization. *See* **Holiness; Mysticism; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism**

Docetism

The term *docetism* derives from *dokein* (to appear) and designates a theological concept shared by several gnostic heresies before it was also taken up by Manicheanism*. It consisted in granting to Christ* the Savior no more than a simple “appearance” (*dokesis*) of a human body. It represented the reaction of a Hellenistic thought, which bore the imprint of dualism and which sought to safeguard the transcendence and incorruptibility of the divine in the face of matter, considered a contrary principle. Christ, a spiritual being, could not have come in “the flesh*” but only as a spirit having taken on the appearance of “flesh.”

1. Development

During the apostolic and post-apostolic eras, John’s christological formulations, and some of his attacks (Jn 1:14; 1 Jn 4:2f.), or the clarifications of Ignatius of Antioch on the “complete” and “real” nature of the Incarnation* only afforded a glimpse of the poorly identifiable precursors of actual docetism. It was with the Gnosticism of the second century that Docetism would be established.

a) Among the Valentinians. Their system dissociates the Christ from above—an “aeon” issued from the

“pleroma”—and the “psychic” Christ produced by the Demiurge. The historical Jesus* bore a body that contained no corruption. According to different schools, the nature of that body was either “pneumatic,” or “psychic.” He had passed through Mary* (*per Mariam*) like water through a tube: any generation of his body *ex Maria* was rejected. His “resurrection*” could only be understood in terms of his return to the pleroma.

b) In Marcionism. Docetism was even more radical in Marcionism because Marcion suppressed any idea of the birth and growth of Jesus Christ. According to Marcion, the Son of the superior god, a stranger to the material world, had appeared suddenly, in the 15th year of Tiberius, in an adult body. This body had had no earthly mother and presented only an appearance, an illusion of “flesh.” Through a unique divine dispensation, this putative “flesh”—which was in itself neither passible nor mortal—had *truly* known the Passion* and death* on the cross. This rigorous Docetism would be somewhat attenuated by Apelles, a disciple of Marcion who departed from his teacher’s thought and granted Christ a body that was real but exempt of birth, borrowed from the substance of the heavenly bodies.

All these christological concepts were accompanied by a same attitude of negation with regard to resurrection: the human body of flesh could be neither saved nor redeemed: salvation* and redemption concerned souls alone.

2. Reaction of the Church

Against these attempts at outrageous “spiritualization,” Irenaeus* and, in his wake, Tertullian*, defended the “rule of faith” by placing the accent on the

veritable incarnation of Jesus Christ and on the true historicity of his redeeming act. They strongly affirmed/asserted the unity of Christ, which derived from the conjunction of the divine Logos and the “flesh”—the flesh designating human substance. It is this “flesh” that, having partaken through Christ of the vivifying divine power, would be destined for salvation and resurrection. Tertullian, who vigorously maintained the permanent reality of divinity (*deus*) and of humanity (*homo*) in the sole “person*” of Jesus Christ (*Adu. Praxean* 27, 11), insisted also upon the authentic and complete nature of this human component, including soul (soul-heart-body) and material body, which the Word* received through his birth of the Virgin: it is by taking on a true “flesh” that Christ can save that of mankind and assure them of resurrection.

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RENÉ BRAUN

See also **Apostolic Fathers; Attributes, Divine; Christ and Christology; Gnosis; Incarnation; Marcionism; Resurrection of Christ**

Doctor of the Church

The term *doctor* originated in the New Testament title *didaskalos* (Acts 13:1, 1 Cor 12:28, etc.), a charismatic teacher in the service of the early Christian communities. It progressively took on a technical meaning, at any rate from the time of Pope* Leo the Great, to designate the ecclesiastic ministry of the major figures of

theology. The doctoral ministry would later take on a university connotation, and there would be many professors of theology, and also medieval theologians, who would be known by a doctoral title. For example, Bernard* of Clairvaux was *doctor mellifluus*; Thomas* Aquinas, *doctor angelicus*; Alexander of

Hales, *doctor Irrefragabilis*; Bonaventure*, *doctor seraphicus*; Duns* Scotus, *doctor subtilis*; Ruusbroec, *doctor ecstaticus*; William of Ockham, *doctor invincibilis*; Gerson, *doctor christianissimus*; and Gregory of Rimini, *doctor acutus*.

In 1298, on the initiative of Pope Boniface VIII, the Roman magisterium* began to confer the title of Doctor of the Church* upon theologians who were considered to have been privileged witnesses of the Christian tradition* (see Vatican* II's *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, 19). The first declarations did no more than ratify what had already been an ancient choice under Latin Christianity, which commonly placed its theology under the protection of Ambrose* of Milan, Jerome, Augustine*, and Gregory* the Great. Similarly, since the ninth century, the Christian East had granted preeminence to Basil* the Great, Gregory* of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom*.

There are 33 Doctors of the Church. Eight have been recognized as such by tradition. They are: Basil of Caesarea (4th century), Gregory of Nazianzus (4th century), John Chrysostom (4th century), Athanasius* of Alexandria (4th century), Ambrose of Milan (4th century), Gregory the Great (5th century), Augustine of Hippo (5th century), and Jerome (5th century). The rest were solemnly proclaimed (the date of the proclamation follows the century in which they flourished): Thomas Aquinas (13th century; 1567), Bonaventure (13th century; 1588), Anselm of Canterbury (11th century; 1720), Isidore of Seville (7th century; 1722), Peter Chrysologus (5th century; 1729), Leo the Great (5th century; 1754), Peter Damian (11th century; 1828), Bernard of Clairvaux (12th century; 1830), Hilary of Poitiers (5th century; 1851), Alphonsus Liguori (18th century; 1871), Francis de Sales (17th century; 1871), Cyril* of Alexandria (5th century, 1893), Cyril of Jerusalem (5th century, 1893), John of Damascus (8th century, 1893), the Venerable Bede (8th century; 1899), Ephraem the Syrian (4th century; 1920), Peter Canisius (16th century; 1925), John* of the Cross (16th century; 1926), Robert Bellarmine* (17th century; 1931), Albert* the Great (13th century; 1931), Anthony of Padua (13th century; 1946), Laurence of Brindisi (17th century; 1959), Teresa of Avila (16th century; 1970), Catherine of Siena (14th century; 1970), and Theresa of Lisieux (19th century, 1997).

The theological criteriology that preceded Vatican II held that the quality of a Doctor of the Church corresponded to four distinctive marks: 1) sanctity (holiness*) of life, 2) orthodoxy of doctrine, 3) quality and scope of theological work (*eminens eruditio*), and 4) formal recognition by the Church (*expressa ecclesiae declaratio*). The first three criteria were also applied to Fathers* of the Church, from whom the

Doctors were distinguished by the fact that they can belong to a recent period of the Church and that they can receive a solemn approval (and not a rather vague *approbatio ecclesiae*).

The fact that the more recently proclaimed Doctors, Teresa of Avila, Catherine of Siena, and Theresa of Lisieux, were the first women to be proclaimed Doctors, and the fact that they were women who possessed no technical competence in theology, incites one to review the traditional criteria. *Eminens eruditio*, quite obviously, no longer has any relevance here, and the fact that the title of Doctor has also been applied to Mary* in the capacity of “counselor of the Apostles*” also works against that criterion. Doctrinal orthodoxy and sanctity of life also took on a new and richer meaning when applied to those Doctors, in whom one could recognize—*cum grano salis*—a theoretical contribution (as in Theresa of Lisieux’s “Little Way”), but for whom it seemed of prime importance that they incarnate figures of *Christian experience*—thus, an “orthopraxy” (Balthasar 1970).

The declarations of 1970 and 1997 (the Doctors recognized or declared before this time were all men belonging to the ecclesiastical hierarchy*) required, moreover, that a distinction be made between the charisma of the Doctors and the practice of a magisterium in the Church (Garrone 1971), while rendering null and void the distinction between the Church as *teacher* and the Church as *matter taught*.

The doctrinal role of the Doctors of the Church is distinct from the “unanimous consensus of the Fathers”—a notion that traditionally led one to consider the teaching of the Fathers as infallible insofar as they offered a converging interpretation of the Scriptures (Holy* Scripture)—but the attribution of the title of Doctor to authors who came after the era of the Fathers, whatever limits one might attribute to that era, probably conveyed the desire to allow the Middle Ages, then the modern age, to give their own Fathers (or Mothers) to the Church. But neither the works of the Fathers nor those of the Doctors were meant to be totally exempt of errors or theological imprecision. One should bear in mind simply that their main intention, the body of their doctrine, and the majority of their theses were in perfect communion with the orthodox teachings (Séjourné and Amman in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. XIV).

Thomas Aquinas was acknowledged as having a certain primacy among the Doctors of the Church during a period of Scholastic renaissance, which was above all a Thomist renaissance (see Leo XIII’s encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, 1879, and also the Vatican II documents *Gravissimum Educationis*, 10, and *Optatam Totius* 16). How-

ever, the list of Doctors suffices to show that the intention of the Church was never to canonize one, or any, particular theological* school. The Doctors of the Church were privileged masters of doctrine and Christian experience. But the diversity of schools or tendencies within one and the same confessed faith has been a positive element, and one that has been encouraged, of the intellectual and spiritual life of the Church.

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GILBERT NARCISSE AND GALAHAD THREEPWOOD

See also **Fathers of the Church; Loci theologici; Magisterium; Theology**

Dogma

1. Concept’s History and Meanings

In current theological usage *dogma* refers to a truth that the Church* lays down as an obligatory belief. Although in the past, various concepts (“article of faith,” “Catholic truth”) were used in this sense, sometimes in an analogous way, since the Enlightenment era the idea of dogma has gradually superseded them. The term is also used in a wider sense to refer to the truths of faith that have not been raised formally to the status of a dogma (such as, for example, the profession of faith in the doctrine of the Trinity).

a) *Secular, Jewish, and Christian Linguistic Usage in Antiquity.* In its transitive form the Greek verb *dokein* means “to believe” or “to decide”: it gives rise to the noun *dogma*, “opinion” or “decision.” In its latter meaning, “dogma” appears as a technical term in legal language (“decree” or “law”: as for instance in Plato’s *Republic*, 414 b; *Laws*, 644 d, 926 d), while in its former we encounter it in the field of philosophy. In Plato, therefore, it can mean, “representation” (*Theaetetus*, 158 d), “opinion” (*Sophist* 265 c) or “principle, doctrine” (*Republic*, 538 c). It was the last meaning that the Stoa picked up and defined by postulating, in opposition to the suspension of judgment (*epokhè*) advocated by the Skeptics, the necessity of a *dogma* (Latin *decretum*), of an unequivocal intellectual understanding as a presupposition of moral action (see Cicero, *Academics* 2, 9, 27; Seneca, *Letters* 95; Epictetus, *Dialogues*, 4, 11, 8 passim; Marcus Aurelius, 2, 3; Sextus Empiricus, *Hypotyposes pyrrhon*, 1,

13–17). These principles differ according to the philosophical schools.

Although “dogma” is rarely mentioned in the Greek translations of the Old Testament, and when it is it occurs almost exclusively in the legal sense (see 4 M 4, 23s. 26 [LXX]; Dn 2, 13 passim [Theodotion]), Hellenistic Judaism actually used this term to refer to the Mosaic Tradition itself, which was thought to be superior to the philosophers’ dogmas (see 3M 1, 3; Flavius Josephus, *Contra Appion* 1, 42; 2, 168 *Sq*; *Antiquities* 15, 126; Philo, *Legum all.*, 1, 54; 3, 1, 194 passim).

This Hellenistic usage turns up again in the New Testament (see Col 2:14; Eph 2:15), in parallel with the legal meaning (see Lk 2:1; Acts 17:7; Heb 11:23, variant). In Acts 16:4 the disciplinary decisions made by what is known as the “Council of the Apostles*” (see Acts 15:28) are called *dogmata*. Following the usage of Hellenistic Judaism, the Apostolic* Fathers spoke of “the dogma of the Lord” (*dogmata tou kuriou*: Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistles to the Magnesians* 13, 1; *Epistle of Barnabas* 1, 6) or they speak of the “dogma of the Gospels” (*dogmata tou euangeliou*: *Didache* 11, 3). The apologists* Justin, Tatianus, and Athenagoras—as well as the Alexandrians Clement and Origen*—applied the idea of “dogma” indiscriminately both to philosophical doctrines and Christian teachings, with the result that it seemed necessary to qualify the latter appropriately: Origen did this therefore by speaking of the “dogma of God*” (*dogmata theou* Comm. on Saint Matthew 12, 23), while Eusebius referred to “the dogma of the

Church" (*ekklesiastika dogmata*) with reference to their contents (see *HE* 3, 26, 4) as well as to the way in which they were laid down (for example, as a result of a synodal decision: see *ibid.* 5, 23, 2; 6, 43, 2). According to present-day criteria, the decisions about the faith made by the ancient Church councils* would be considered to be dogma, but the assemblies themselves did not choose this term. Emperor Justinian, on the other hand, did name them thus, thereby giving them the same status as the Scriptures (Holy* Scripture) (*Corp. Iur. Civ.*, nov. 131).

The term did not gain ground in the time of the Latin Fathers. Applied most often to philosophical doctrines or to Christian heresies*, they occasionally used the term to designate Christian doctrine. The situation stayed more or less the same throughout the Middle Ages. Only Vincent of Lerins's *Commonitorium* (v. 434) gave dogma a central theological position; for him, in the above work, dogma stood for the teaching of the Catholic Church (*dogma divinum, caeleste, ecclesiasticum, catholicum*, etc.), which provided the standard for scriptural interpretation and must thus be distinguished from the doctrine of the masters of error (*novum dogma*, etc.). For Lerins, the criterion of dogma is "what has been believed everywhere, always, by everyone." During the course of the centuries Church teaching might change in its form, but in its substance undergoes neither falsification nor dilution (see *Commonitorium* 23).

b) Medieval Concept: Article of Faith. In the Middle Ages the obligatory doctrines of the Church and the way in which they had been laid down were discussed, for the most part, under the term *articles of faith*. Tertullian* had already spoken of the Resurrection* as "the article which embodied the whole faith" (*De resurrectione mortuorum* 39: CChr. SL 2, 972). It was about the year 1150 that the term *articulus fidei* appeared in theological literature, replacing the expressions "*pars fidei*" and "*sententia symboli*" by which, until that time, the different propositions contained in the confession of faith had been designated. This notion, which at first only meant the smallest unit of a greater whole, received its first elucidation about the year 1230 (see the three "definitions" of the *Summa de Bono* by Philippe le Chancelier). This effort of conceptual clarification went hand in hand with a thorough study of the obligatory nature of the article of faith: in the first place, insofar as it was a necessity for salvation*, and in the second place, insofar as it actually pertained to divine truth. This double source of the obligation emerged clearly in the definition falsely attributed to Richard of Saint Victor: *Articulus est indivisibilis veritas de Deo artans [sic] nos ad creden-*

dum (*ibid.*). By "article of faith," Thomas Aquinas understood truths that 1) are revealed directly by the Holy Scriptures; 2) have great importance for the faith and the life of the faithful, to the extent that they are related to humanity's final end and to the Beatific Vision; and 3) are attached to a symbol (see especially *ST* IIa IIae, q. 1, a. 6–10). But the articles of faith do not only represent the standard of what the faithful are obliged to believe and the foundation of all Christian teaching. They also constitute the starting point for theology* as a whole.

When the great era of Scholasticism* turned again to the Aristotelian conception of knowledge it became necessary to establish what principles should be the starting points of theology, in order to reach by deductive methods a genuinely scientific knowledge. William of Auxerre deserves the credit for having been the first to have viewed the articles of faith as the principles of theological science (see the texts quoted by Lang 1964). Although the scientific nature of theology remained controversial, the idea that the articles of faith constituted the foundation of theology was not long in gaining acceptance. Even if all the truths of salvation are not stated explicitly in the articles of faith contained in the creed (as is the case of the Eucharist*, for example), to the schoolmen of that period they seemed to be particularly fruitful principles, from which could be extracted all the wealth of the faith. The late Scholasticism of the 14th century attributed not only to the articles of faith but to all the truths contained in the Scriptures the value of a first principle in the realm of theological science (see the evidence furnished by Lang 1964). At the same time, they questioned which truths should be considered to be "Catholic truths... necessary for salvation," and which authority could designate them as obligatory beliefs (William of Ockham, *Dialogus*, in Koser 1963). It seemed that the body of truths based on God's revealed authority* of God revealed (that is, divine faith, *fides divina*, corresponding to the explicit and implicit contents of the Scriptures) formed the nucleus of a more extensive field of truths, which also covered those revealed to the apostles* and transmitted orally, as well as the truths laid down by the first councils or those reserved for particular saints (as, for instance, the rules of the big monastic orders); these truths also possessed, in varying degrees, an obligatory nature. As for the authority to determine the faith of the Church, that was no longer attributed solely to the council, as the representative of the universal Church, but also, more and more, to the pope.

c) Rediscovery of "Dogma" in Modern Times. The Reformation had just revived the controversy about

the obligatory doctrine of the Church when Vincent of Lerins's *Commonitorium* was rediscovered and edited by J. Sighard (Basel 1528). From then on, the term *dogma*, used in Vincent's work to mean the teaching perpetuated by the Church, gradually supplanted the medieval notion of "article of faith," whose meanings it appropriated. In opposition to the traditional Catholic understanding—adopted once again by the Council of Trent*—in which faith constitutes a harmonious whole encompassing various theological and disciplinary declarations guaranteed by the Church, there was an increasing insistence on the possibility of examining the validity of doctrine. Internal Church arguments about Jansenism*, Gallicanism*, and so forth and external criticisms of the Church from representatives of the Enlightenment reinforced this trend. The modern concept of dogma had its origin in an attempt to unite the different confessions around the central truths of the faith. In this connection, François Véron (1578–1649)—without employing the term *dogma* itself—spoke of declarations that, revealed by God, are proposed by the Church as truths that had to be believed: "part of the Catholic faith, and nothing but that, has been revealed in the word of God and proposed to all by the Catholic Church as obliged to be believed as coming from divine faith" (*Regula fidei catholica*, Latin translation Louvain, 1702, reproduced in Migne, *Theologiae cursus completus* I, Paris, 1839, 1037–112). His contemporary, Henry Holden (1596–1662), referred to such declarations using the traditional expression "articles of faith" but also as concepts of "dogma of the Catholic faith" or "divine" (*catholicae* or *divinae fidei dogma*). This usage was upheld particularly by theologians influenced by Enlightenment thinkers, theologians such as Felix Anton Blau (1754–98; *Regula fidei catholicae*, Mainz, 1780) and Philippe Neri Chrismann (c. 1751–1810; *Regula fidei catholicae et collectio dogmatum credendorum*, Kempten, 1792). For the latter, the dogma of the faith is "nothing else but...a doctrine and divinely revealed truth, and which has been proposed by the general opinion of the Church as obliged to be believed as divine faith, in such a way that the opposite doctrine is condemned by the Church as heretical" (*ibid.*).

While rejecting the reductive approach of these authors, neo-Scholasticism itself adopted the concept thus defined (see Joseph Kleutgen [1811–83], *Die Theologie der Vorzeit verteidigt*, vol. I, Münster, 2nd Ed. 1867: "The Christian Catholic Faith includes everything that the Church proclaims as being the truth which God has revealed to it, and it includes nothing other than that"). Without using the concept directly, Vatican* I defined *dogma* as a declaration contained in the Word* of God and laid down by the ordinary and

universal magisterium* of the Church as an obligatory belief ("Let us add that one must believe by divine and Catholic faith everything which is contained in the Word of God, written or transmitted by Tradition, and which the Church proposes as a divinely revealed belief, either by means of a solemn proclamation, or through its ordinary and universal magisterium" [*DS* 3011]). The same council introduced papal infallibility*, claiming it as a "dogma revealed by God" (*DS* 3073). By this action the doctrine became definitive Church usage (see already *DS* 2629, 2879 s., 2909, 2922, 3017, 3020, 3041, 3043). Still, without using the concept itself (see *LG* 25; *DV* 7–10), Vatican II looked again at the fundamental problem before proposing a less doctrinal, more individual view of revelation and of the faith. In doing so it echoed the legitimate requests made at the turn of the century by the representatives of what is known as Modernism*.

Protestantism did not evolve along the same lines. Particularly in his dispute with Erasmus*, Luther*, who stressed the assertoric nature of faith, adhered to the medieval terminology, while disagreeing with the magisterium: "It is the word of God, and no one else, that must lay down the articles of faith" (*BSLK* 421, 24s.). He remained faithful, however, to the Trinitarian and christological confession of the first councils, not because he granted them any special competence regarding doctrine, but because he considered that their declarations were confirmed by the Scriptures and were therefore correct. The term *dogma* was then taken into the orthodoxy of early Protestantism in reference to the doctrine of the early Church, but when it came to the body of Protestant doctrine constituted in the 16th century, they talked of *Confessio* and of *doctrina* (see Ebeling 1964). After the Enlightenment, within Protestantism the term *dogma* became the object of a radical critique, the motives of which were partly of a spiritual kind and partly due to historical factors. But, while in the 19th century the Protestant call to subjectivity was in large part understood as the abolition of "dogma" (Baur; von Harnack), Barth* turned with renewed interest toward this concept. He himself defined dogma as "ecclesial preaching*", as long as it coincides with the word of God contained in the Bible*" (*KD* I/1, 283), while stressing the vast distance that separates this preaching from the word itself. Dogma, however, was widely challenged under the influence of Bultmann*, who demanded a modernized reinterpretation of the primitive Christian kerygma.

2. Dogma in Systematic Theology

Dogmas are for the Church the words that have an obligation. In this regard, despite their specificity, they must be viewed as the manifestation of a phenomenon

of universal nature. All communities establish themselves and bind themselves together around certain fundamental convictions. Any challenge to these would threaten to destroy the whole. Even in the state governed by democratic law, where these convictions are based on the consensus of all the citizens and in this respect are considered to be open to revision, such beliefs express the “truth” according to which the community lives and acts. Now this truth, in the historic conditions contingent on its comprehension and wording, can only be grasped in particular and categorized declarations, which a transcendental meditation understands as so many signs and foreshadowings of absolute truth. It is also true of the dogmas of the Church, which want to express the divine truth in an obligatory way. Like all human definitions of truth, they take on an analogical form (*see DS 806*): that is, they translate only imperfectly that divine truth that, nonetheless, they do not disclaim that they express. In this way dogmas perform an indispensable role in the Church’s community of communication, making possible agreement on truth and a coherent expression of Christian identity. That is what is already clearly affirmed in the New Testament, where for liturgical and catechetical ends it sometimes seemed necessary to sum up the primitive Christian kerygma in a striking phrase (*see, for instance, Rom 10:9; 1 Cor 15:3ff.*). It is also what the symbols of the ancient Church confirm, as do the doctrinal definitions of the ecumenical councils.

In the last resort this state of affairs is based on the Incarnation* as a structure of divine revelation. God, in Jesus Christ*, speaks in both the historical and the eschatological mode; in the Holy* Spirit he provides permanent witness and the continually renewed acknowledgment of his own communication. The transmission, throughout the fluctuations of history, of the permanent witness of a divine truth communicated once and for all: that is the task entrusted to the Church. It must, for that reason, always abide within the truth (indefectibility*) (*see LG 12*). The dogmas must not be understood as new revelations but as the unfolding—under the impetus of various forces—of the founding revelation to which the Scriptures attest and that are transmitted by the tradition of the Church (theological loci*). It is not enough to single out such and such a declaration from the Scriptures, for it is precisely over the correct interpretation of a particular statement that disagreement is often provoked. For this reason Nicaea* I had already found itself forced to have recourse to a nonscriptural term (*homoousios*, “consubstantial*”) to put an end to the quarrel that certain theologians had started about the divinity of the Logos [Word], based on different biblical quotations. The Nicæan Creed, with its corresponding canons (*see*

DS 125 Sq), can be regarded as a dogma before the fact. Over the course of history the Church can be seen to fix the truths of the faith in various forms: apart from the confessions of the early Church, pride of place should go to the decisions of the councils, which either present themselves as confessions of faith (as with the creeds of Nicaea I and Constantinople* I, in particular), or as doctrinal explanations, or as canonical decisions (by means of the traditional formula “*si quis dixerit...anathema sit*,” “if someone says...let him be anathema”). These decisions are not only related to questions of faith in the strict sense but also to Christian life and to the organization of the Church. With regard to the canons, since Vatican* I it has been thought that anathematization qualifies the incriminated thesis as heretical and therefore defines its opposite as “a divine and Catholic truth according to the faith.” Nonetheless this is not absolutely true of the canons of the Council of Trent, nor even of those of Vatican I. In fact, until the Council of Trent inclusively, it was not only opinions deviating from the faith of the Church that were anathematized but also disciplinary deviations. And Vatican I insisted on condemning not only the heresies that had appeared in the domain of the faith itself but also the errors concerning “the preambles to the faith.” Then Vatican* II abandoned the proclamation of anathematisms, as well as proclamations of dogmas in the strict sense, opting for a type of explanation of a pastoral nature.

Dealing with the doctrinal decisions of the Church, the magisterium assumed jointly by the bishops* and the pope performs a particular role as an authority that bears witness. According to the conception formulated by Vatican I and adopted again by Vatican II, the magisterium has the task of explaining in a definitive and obligatory form the truths of the faith contained in the Scriptures and in tradition. It can perform this task either by means of harmonized teaching by the pope and the bishops scattered over the whole world (ordinary teaching) or by a particular decision of a council or of the pope (universal teaching) (*see LG 25; CIC 1983, can. 749*). For believers, it is not only a question of accepting these dogmas obediently: in the present age, theology stresses the role of a more active reception of the doctrinal declarations (*see Beinert 1991*).

The idea of “dogma,” in the form in which it emerged by means of the theologians of the Enlightenment era, aimed rather at setting aside topics of disagreement by restricting the body of obligatory doctrines. The magisterium* adopted this concept, while stressing that the adhesion of the faithful could not and should not limit itself to the dogmas officially proclaimed. According to the declaration of Vatican II

about the order or the hierarchy* of the truths relative to their christological base (*see UR 11*), the faith of the Church constitutes a “differentiated global structure” (Kasper 1991), in the context of which the particular statements must be judged and interpreted.

3. Problem of Dogmatic Development

All knowledge of truth is part of history. This historicity can be understood in a positive sense as a quality of opening up and of unfinished business. It therefore falls to human reason* to constantly enlarge its perception of truth. But it can also mean that no truth exists, or that we grasp it only inadequately, or even that we cannot grasp it at all. Already in classical philosophy, the term *dogma* expressed the conviction that, despite all the challenges from Skeptics, there is indeed a true knowledge, which, however, cannot prevent the development of contrary opinions. With regard to the Christian faith, the perception of the historical character of its wording raises the question of the way in which it was constituted and of the degree of truth of particular declarations. If one seriously acknowledges that God, in Jesus Christ, communicated with us in the definitive reality of eschatology, that Jesus Christ in person is therefore the definitive truth of God (*see Jn 14:6; Heb 1:1ff.*), there are then no more revelations to expect. One should, however, see in Jesus Christ not only the end but also the fulfillment of a revelation that, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, we have never finished understanding and assimilating (*see Jn 14:26, 15:26, 16:13*). Once they are set against this background, all the theories that interpret development unilaterally as tending either toward defection or toward progress are obviously inappropriate. According to the principles we have acknowledged, the development of dogma cannot be conceived except as “the explanation of what is implicitly contained in the original revelation” (Kasper 1991).

Such an explanation should not, however, be understood either according to a simple biological schema (*see Vincent of Lerins, Commonitorium 23*, cited by Vatican I [*see DS 3020*]) or in a purely logical sense (theology of the conclusion, neo-Scholasticism). The real process of the development of dogma is judged more fairly by viewing the tradition of the faith as a living event rather than as the transmission of particular theses (*see DV 8*). In the light of this, it is only of secondary importance to decide whether this event should be considered—citing only a few of the theories of dogmatic development—from the viewpoint of dialectics, as an auto-interpretation of the Christian idea (Möhlér, Kuhn); or from the viewpoint of typology, as the continuous unfolding of new aspects of the faith in the fixed context of a global type (Newman*); or from a vi-

talist viewpoint, as the constantly renewed attempt to put the Word of God to the test through action (Blondel); or lastly, from the viewpoint of theological transcendentalism, as the historico-categorical expression of a knowledge that at its origin is of a transcendental nature (Rahner*). Until now it has too often been forgotten that by understanding dogmatic development as a process of progressive explanation there is an ultimate risk of merging it with the idea of “progress”; and that it must therefore be viewed also as a process of reduction and of concentration around an original truth, without nonetheless falling into the theory of defection. The revelation happened once and for all, and the witnessing of it is incorporated into the Scriptures. It is by returning constantly to the Scriptures that we assure ourselves of a critical resort against a concept of dogmatic development subordinated too exclusively to an idea of “progress.” Even if the action of the Holy Spirit goes beyond the confines of a theory of dogmatic development, it is essentially this action that, according to Catholic belief, governs the evolution of doctrine and of religious life. The Holy Spirit acts within the Church, through the faith of the people of God (*sensus fidelium*), as well as through the preaching of doctrine, each depending on the other (*see LG 12; DV 8*). But the Spirit also intervenes in the work of the theologians, whose task is certainly not restricted to preparing the ground for the magisterium and to justifying its decisions after the event. That work also consists of studying the Word of God, such as it was pronounced once and for all, of examining the different interpretations to which it has given rise during the course of history, of reflecting on the internal coherence of the Christian message and of taking responsibility for it in face of contemporary questions. Although in the past it was particularly the existence of heretical movements within Christianity that inspired efforts to clarify and delimit dogma—except for the two Marian dogmas of 1854 and 1950, which reacted rather to religious requirements—Vatican II (particularly in the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes*) considered the great challenges of the present age to be the “signs of the times” that had to be interpreted in the light of the gospel (*see GS 4, passim*). As history recedes from us the declarations of dogmas in no way seem like the end of a discussion but rather as pertinent and incidental contributions, which cannot be extended to other historical contexts without a good deal of interpretation (*see Mysterium Ecclesiae 5* [AAS 65 (1973), 402–4]). Such interpretation need not, however, mean the destruction of dogma, as long as with the help of the historical knowledge acquired in this domain it takes as a guide the wording found by the Church and makes sure of expressing the idea in conformity with the realities

of a new situation. Today, discussions center above all on the question of how the faith can preserve and express its identity not only through succeeding epochs with the same cultural climate (Western) but also from one culture to another. In order to finally achieve an ecumenical approach it is essential to know whether the condemnations pronounced in the evangelical confessions of the 16th century and in the canons of the Council of Trent remain valid today (see Lehmann and Pannenberg 1986, 1989).

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See also **Dogmatic Theology; Faith; History; Loci theologici; Revelation; Theology; Word of God**

Dogmatic Theology

a) *History*. In antiquity, before the noun *dogmatics* was ever formulated, the adjective *dogmatic* was sometimes used—to qualify an intellectual activity, for example, and oppose it to "practical" or "ethical" activities. Medieval Latin does not seem to have been familiar with the word *dogmatic*. It resurfaced in the West with the humanists. But, according to O. Ritschl

in "Das Wort *dogmaticus* in der Geschichte des Sprachgebrauchs bis zum Auskommen des Ausdrucks *theologia dogmatica*" (1920), it was only in 1634 that a Lutheran humanist, G. Calixt, first used the adjective in connection with theology*. In 1659, another Lutheran, L. F. Reinhart, used *dogmatic theology* in the title of a work, according to G. Sauter in "Dogmatik I"

(1982). From approximately 1680, the expression began showing up in the titles of numerous treatises of Catholic theology, and in the 18th-century courses and textbooks frequently included *dogmatico-Scholastic* in their titles. The use of the term *dogmatic theology* at that point indicated a double distinction—on the one hand, from moral theology, which had just gained its autonomy, and, on the other hand, from Scholastic (Scholasticism*) theology, which left no space for a historical research into Christian dogmatic material.

Understood at that time to be the construction of a theological “system” juxtaposed to the Scriptures (Holy* Scripture), as Protestant theology was very early on, and as Catholic theology would later be under the influence of the *methodus scientifica* of Wolff’s school (Gazzaniga, for example, in 1768), dogmatic theology was an extension of much older forms of systematic theology.

Origen*’s *Peri Arkhon* or—perhaps more rightly so—Gregory of Nyssa’s *Great Catechesis* (in *Patrologia Graeca*) are generally considered to be the first attempts at a systematic articulation of the content of Christian faith. In the eighth century John of Damascus’s *Expositio de fide orthodoxa* (in *Patrologia Graeca*) is characterized even more clearly by fairly complete dogmatics. Even though he was undoubtedly more concerned with orthodoxy than with a deeper speculative examination, and even though his procedures in compiling somewhat offended the internal cohesion of the theological exposé, John of Damascus was a major witness to the evolution of theology. Latin theology received a first systematic summary with Augustine*’s *De doctrina christiana* (see *Patrologia Latina*), and the work’s influence was great, since the great Augustinian categories (*res et signa, uti et frui*) were still at work in the 12th-century system of *Sentences* by Pierre Lombard, as pointed out by M.-D. Chenu in *La théologie au XIIe siècle* (1957). Systematization would finally be accomplished in the various surveys. They included the enigmatic *Summa sententiarum* (in *Patrologia Latina*), treated by R. Baron in “*Note sur l’énigmatique Summa sententiarum*,” (1958); the *Summa aurea* by William of Auxerre (†1231), a true initiator in the theological use of philosophy; and the great constructions of the 13th century. These surveys saw theology as an organism built according to laws of Aristotelian science, and they believed that theology’s connections to the Scriptures were beginning to loosen.

Protestantism* at first sought to tighten those links, but it should be noted that the elaboration of a systematic theology began very early on in Protestantism, with Melancthon’s *Loci communes* (1535) and Calvin’s *Institution* (1539). Systematization grew still

further under the Lutheran and Calvinist orthodoxy of the classical age, which did not hesitate to use even the conceptual methods of Aristotelianism* to grasp and present doctrinal content in the most systematic way possible—J. Gerhard, for example.

However, elaborated against the background of such a tradition, the first theologies to explicitly refer to themselves as *dogmatic* corresponded to a new climate. The project of a dogmatic thought expressed first of all the desire to move beyond the quarrels between schools to return to the official teachings of the Churches—the desire to teach a doctrine that was not subject to disputes, as noted by W. Kasper in *Die Methoden der Dogmatik* (1967). According to Karl Rahner’s *Dogmatik* (1959) and Sauter’s *Dogmatik I* (1982), dogmatic theology was thus understood to be a “science of the dogma* of the Church*,” which it was obliged at the same time to justify, on the basis of the Scriptures and tradition, and to deploy by means of conclusion, as Yves Congar holds in *La foi et la théologie* (1962). The fate of this new discipline had, therefore, to be closely linked with that of another new discipline, the scientific history of dogma.

Because the new climate of ideas was marked by the “crisis of European consciousness” and by the struggle of the Enlightenment against traditional beliefs, it was also to resist the re-evaluation of the dogma that theological systematization eventually had to be redeployed under the modern form of dogmatics, W. Kasper holds in *Dogmatik* (1991). But because any apology of dogma was necessarily tied, in Catholic theology, to a defense and illustration of the Church as a teaching body, this evolution was not without risk. Catholic theology seemed, henceforth, to have found an immediate source in the magisterium—the *Theologia Wirceburgensis* (1771), for example, considers the Church to be a *regula fidei proxima* and situates it before the two *regulae fidei remotae*—Scripture and tradition—by a process that would have been equally incomprehensible to patristic and medieval theology.

Protestant theology in the 19th century, at Schleiermacher*’s urging, started off by taking its distances from systematic reasons, which were suspected of encouraging a confusion between theology and philosophy: It was as a “doctrine of the faith*” that Schleiermacher presented his synthetic summary. In his wake, influenced by his theory of feelings, the Erlangen school explained dogma on the basis of the experience* of faith, while the speculative theology of Hegel*’s disciples understood it as the self-explanation of absolute content, and Ritschl’s school grasped it from an ethical perspective. “Dogmatic” did, however, find a renewed usage in 20th-century Protestantism—in particular, thanks to Karl Barth* and Emil

Brunner in *Dogmatik* (1946–60). During that century it was viewed from various perspectives. For example, Barth saw it as a “kerygmatic” intention; Paul Tillich*, as an opportunity to correlate human questions and theological answers; E. Jüngel, as a consequent exegesis; and Wolfhart Pannenberg, as a refounding of dogmatics within the framework of a theory of sciences.

Catholic theology in the first half of the 19th century saw the rise of a theology that conjugated strong ecclesiastical roots with a great openness to the intellectual currents of the era (the Tübingen* school was the best example of this). A hardening—“a change in the structure in Catholic theology” noted by B. Welte in “*Zum Strukturwandel der katholischen Theologie in 19 Jahrhundert*” (1965)—occurred, however, toward the middle of the century; and neo-Scholasticism then offered the spectacle of a systematism that tended to consider history as an element that could not be assimilated and modernity as a simple decline. It would be the task of Vatican* II, which reexamined and concluded numerous suggestions for renewal (patristic renewal, “new theology,” etc.), to set forth a more dynamic concept (Kasper 1967, Sauter 1982). Dogmatics had come to be understood as the work of interpretation at the service of the present manifestation of the Word* pronounced once and for all (Geffré 1983). Exegesis* was received as a point of departure and missionary preaching as a goal. It was not, therefore, a case of a simple “apology of dogma.” Several ways were open. The authors of *Mysterium salutis* adopted the perspective of the history of salvation*. Karl Rahner* was concerned with updating a deep (“transcendental”) connivance between the word of revelation and the internal structure of the human spirit (1976). A similar concern motivated the work published by Bernard Lonergan* in 1972. And the theological esthetics of Hans Urs von Balthasar* (published in 1961–69) found their center of gravity in the sovereign self-manifestation of divine glory. To tell the truth, the different paths of contemporary Catholic dogmatics—historical, anthropological, or theological—complement each other, and each would be unilateral if it ignored the part of truth contained in the other points of view.

b) Object. Dogmatic theology did not have only dogma, strictly speaking, as its object. It also focused on the totality of Christian revelation, which it sought to perceive in an all-encompassing fashion, seeking a total reading, which demands one’s attention to the results of Biblical theology*, which integrates in its understanding of God’s Word* the interpretations established by tradition and the magisterium, and which constantly seeks to actualize the permanent

meaning of the Word (Kasper 1991). Dogmatic theology, in this way, holds a discourse quite distinct from that held by the magisterium of the Church, toward which it functions in the manner of an introspective authority. There should be nothing surprising about this. The transmission of Christian doctrines through a hierarchical authority, on the one hand, never leads to the superfluity of theological intelligence. And because the Church, subject to that which is revealed to it, can at no time act in an arbitrary fashion, it is on the other hand incontestable that the dogmatic work of theology is never without meaning for the magisterium itself and for the evolution of its pronouncements (Congar 1980). The hermeneutic* location of dogmatics is the encounter between faith and reason. Dogmatics speaks neither the language of reason alone nor that of faith alone (Congar 1962). And taking into account the fact that there is a labor peculiar to the fundamental* theology, which is that of the *intellectus quaerens fidem*, it must be concluded that the work peculiar to the dogmatic is that of *fides quaerens intellectum*. The two, assuredly, cannot be dissociated, and it can be conceded that the critical and justifying procedures of fundamental theology must be established at all levels of dogmatic work and in all the treatises on dogmatics (Geffré 1972 and Kasper 1988). Both Rahner, reiterating that there is never an affirmation of God that does not imply an affirmation of man, and Balthasar, who showed that a theological doctrine of perception and a theory of rapture are inseparable, have insisted, each in his own way, upon the link between these two disciplines.

c) Method. The first obligation of dogmatics is without doubt that of not dissociating positive procedure and speculative procedure (J. Beumer 1954). Because Scholastic theology had shown only a tepid interest in historical questions and in the problem of history, it was inevitable that an indirect consequence would be the birth of a more or less autonomous and separate positive theology. During the growth of historical sciences there were authors, like Melchior Cano (1509–60), who viewed the positive procedure as a function of all theology. However, there were even more systematicians of baroque Scholasticism who, with Jean de Saint-Thomas (1589–1644), were able to view the positive work as a preliminary activity and properly exterior to theology per se—an activity that, in fact, began only when it was possible to at last syllogize. Dogmatic theology could only bring its work to fruition through a movement of perpetual return through which the *intellectus fidei* made a “positive” return to the contingent sources of faith while, reciprocally, the *auditus fidei* was reflected in the “specula-

tive” intelligence of what one believed (Rahner 1959; Congar 1962; Geffré 1972). The theological usage of all the resources of historical criticism is, therefore, on the schedule of conditions of all dogmatics, on the same level as the theological usage of all the resources of philosophical rationality. Dogmatic reason cannot, for all that, be reduced to a form of historical reason or a form of philosophical reason. Dogmatics, on the contrary, is faithful to its own reason, when history and reason are assumed, connected, and accomplished all together in reason through a truth* that surpasses them (Rahner 1968; Kasper 1991).

A second duty of dogmatics would no doubt be to refrain from claiming to be a science of conclusions, as did baroque Scholasticism and neo-Scholasticism. The concept according to which dogmatics would have as its major goal the preparation of new definitions actually constitutes a “malady of theology” (Congar 1962). Rather than within heuristics it is within hermeneutics* that dogmatics can be organized in a healthy fashion, by endeavoring systematically to recover the truths of faith in their unity and their internal coherence (*nexus mysteriorum*) by simultaneously showing their correspondence with the quest for meaning of each generation of mankind.

A third duty would be to connect service of the Scriptures to service of the Church. Vatican II considered the Scriptures to be “the soul, as it were, of all theology” (*Optatam Totius*, 16). To be sure, from a Catholic point of view, the Scriptures must be read within the tradition of the Church; but, reciprocally, the doctrine of the Church can itself only be interpreted on the basis of Scriptures, *norma normans non normata*. And if the facts illuminate the Scriptures while the Scriptures, in return, allow their true perspectives to be perceived, one must also add that dogmatics is not truly ecclesiastical by virtue of its ongoing fidelity to orthodoxy alone, but also because its care for the Scriptures and for tradition is experienced within a Church constantly faced with the issues of an era, receiving them as questions addressed to its own faith (Kasper 1967).

d) Articulation. The history of dogmatics suggests several types of articulation of arguments and treatises (Grillmeier 1975; Kasper 1991). Major historical works include the following.

The *Peri Arkhon* by Origen, after a prologue detailing the author’s intentions, is divided into two parts, the first of which (subdivided into three sections) outlines the doctrines of God, of rational creatures, and of the world, while the second discusses several difficult points. Because it does not venture to provide a complete theological synthesis, the work leaves out themes

as important as the economy of salvation and the sacraments*.

The *Great Catechesis* by Gregory of Nyssa was composed as a triptych. The first part elaborates “theology” in the strictly patristic sense (the doctrine of one God in three persons*). The second treats the “economy” and is subdivided into a presentation of the historical effectuation of salvation (creation, sin, incarnation, and the cross) and a presentation of its appropriation (sacraments, faith, and spiritual life).

John Damascene’s *De fide orthodoxa* is divided into four books due to his Latin translators, but the general framework of one hundred chapters, into which the work’s content has been distributed, has a certain analogy with what later would be the syntheses of the 12th century (see E. Dublanchy’s “*Dogmatique*,” 1910): the doctrine of the knowledge* of God and of the Trinity (book I, chap. 1–14), creation and Christian anthropology (book II, chap. 14–46), Christology (Christ/Christology) (book III, chap. 47–81, and the beginning of book IV), and sacraments, the problem of evil*, and eschatology* (book IV, chap. 82–100, and the rest of book IV).

Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana* was organized according to one single, major articulation. The Trinitarian God (*res qua fruendum*) appears in it as the end of our *navigatio*. Christ and the Church are our means to arrive there.

In Augustine’s wake, Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* combine an exposition of the *res* (books I–III) and one of the *signa* (book IV, the sacraments). The *res* are, in turn, subdivided according to the Augustinian dichotomy of the *frui* (the Trinitarian God, book I) and the *uti* (creatures, book II). Christ’s own role is that of leading the *utilia* to the *fruibilia* (book III).

Still faithful to the narrative order—*series narrationis*—of the Scriptures, Hugh of Saint Victor (†1141) divided his *De sacramentis christianae fidei* by following the *historia*—a term designating not only the content of the economy of salvation but also the method enabling one to grasp it. The first book, which outlines the “work of creation,” covers “the beginning of the world to the incarnation.” The second, which outlines “the work of reparation,” covers “the incarnation of the Word* to the end and consummation of everything.”

It was yet another Augustinian scheme that Abelard* used: *fides* (Trinity-Creation-Incarnation), *caritas* (charity-virtues-precepts), and *sacramentum*. Abelard is more important, however, in the history of theology for having been the first author to totally abandon the historical order of reasons and reduce all the facts of the economy of salvation to “scientific” categories, allowing the organization of everything

within the light of general notions and synthetic principles.

Thomas* Aquinas, in quest of an *ordo disciplinae* for his *Somme*, resorted to neither Augustinian schemes nor even Aristotle's organizing scheme for the cosmos but rather to the Neoplatonic scheme of *emanation* and *return*. It was on this curve that he located the facts and the gestures of the economy of salvation. The first two parts speak, therefore, of the God as principle and the God as end, respectively, while the third is devoted to Christ, who is for us the path to God, *via est nobis tenendi in Deum* (Chenu 1950).

Two distinct currents emerged, and Thomas's strict theocentrism contrasted with a tendency mingling the ideas of Augustine, Bernard, and Bonaventure, in which theology is constructed according to a Christological and soteriological format attentive to existential ideas and the "wisdom of the cross." Theology, in these currents, can certainly not be reduced to an economy of *my* salvation. It can be seen, however, how much is owed them by the radical refusal of any sapiential theology as expressed by Luther* in the opposition of the *theologia gloriae* and the *theologia crucis*.

Between an essential theocentrism, constantly tempted to forget that the "glory of God is the living man," and an existential anthropocentrism, constantly tempted to dissolve the very substance of the theological, dogmatics has no choice; it is in a dilemma. It would be thus a new duty of dogmatics to connect the two approaches, for if the unifying theme of theology is God himself (Thomas Aquinas), this God is the God of mankind through Jesus Christ and in the Spirit (Holy* Spirit)—thus, theocentrism must include a well-understood anthropocentrism, which grasps all truth of faith as a truth of salvation (Rahner 1959; Kasper 1991).

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See also Canon of Scriptures; Dogma; Fundamental Theology; Gospels; Loci theologici; Notes, Theological; Theological Schools; Theology

Donatism

Named after its initiator, Donatus, Donatism was a protest movement that shook the Church of Africa over a period of three and a half centuries (fourth–seventh centuries). The movement did not leave many texts except for a few acts of councils*, acts of martyrs, and the *Liber regularum* by Tyconius. In large measure, our knowledge of it comes via those who opposed it, namely Optatus of Milevis and Augustine*.

Social, economic, and religious divisions prevailing in North Africa at that time should be cited among the causes of the movement, but an even more precise cause is known, linked with the problem of the *lapsi*, a term referring to the fallen, that is those who had reneged their faith during the persecution at the time of Cyprian. The synod* of 251 had proposed reintegrating the *lapsi* in the Church after a period of penitence (penance*). The new persecution of 303–5 led many clergymen to surrender the books of Scripture (Holy* Scripture) (“*traditors*”). Donatists were absolutely intransigent toward them, banishing them indefinitely from the Church. To give full weight to their attitude, they began by casting doubt on the Episcopal consecration of Caecilian, celebrated rapidly after the death of his predecessor Mensurius, without waiting for the arrival of the bishops* of Numidia.

They deposed Caecilian—who would be rehabilitated by the Edict of Milan in 313 and the Council of Arles in August 314, before being reinstated in the see of Carthage on 10 November 316. Moreover, the Donatists questioned the presence at Caecilian’s ordination* of another bishop, Felix of Aptunga, supposedly a *traditor*. (Felix would be absolved on 15 February 315.) The Donatists’ attitude led Emperor Constantine to decree a harsh law against them. But that did not stop them. They organized their propaganda by multiplying acts of martyrdom and by 336 Donatus was already able to convoke at Carthage a council of 270 bishops who had been won over to his cause.

In calling for a church of the pure, in aspiring to martyrdom, proclaiming that there is only one single baptism and one single Church, and affirming that they were necessarily in the right, the Donatists defined themselves as the true heirs of the Church of Africa. They aspired to be the heirs of Cyprian. This assured them the sympathy of the people, and yet they reinterpreted his views broadly. The Donatists even provoked

rebellious gangs called *circumcelliones* who terrorized the countryside; they were quickly condemned for this. The Emperor Constantine severely suppressed the Donatists and banished Donatus, who died in exile in 355. But the movement resumed and developed after Julian the Apostate brought the Donatist bishops back from exile between 361 and 363.

The schism* was consummated at the Council of Bagai on 24 April 394: 310 bishops were favorable to Donatus’s successor, Primian. Augustine, after Optatus of Milevis, was one of the only bishops who could win out over the Donatists. After a conjunction of circumstances, the Catholics were able to call a conference in 403 with the purpose of defining the true representative of the Church in North Africa. Primian refused to take part. In 405 the emperor took a number of measures against the Donatists and in 411, when the balance was still fragile, the Conference of Carthage granted the victory to the Catholics. The Donatists gradually lost their influence, but continued to resist until the seventh century.

In their opposition to the *traditors* the Donatists were led to proclaim that the validity of the sacraments* depended on the sanctity of the ministers. Optatus of Milevis and Augustine argued against this thesis, advancing the catholicity of the Church, its universality that extended beyond the limits of Africa. And they countered an ecclesiology* that excluded sinners: they did so by arguing that baptism can be conferred by any Christian; the “ministers may change, but the sacraments are immutable” (*Against the Donatists* V, 4, 5) because their holiness comes from Christ* alone.

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Donatism

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See also **History of the Church; Ministry; Unity of the Church**

Double Truth. *See* **Naturalism; Truth**

Doxology. *See* **Glory of God; Praise**

Drey, Johann Sebastian von. *See* **Tübingen, Schools of**

Duns Scotus, John

c. 1265–1308

1. Biography

John Duns Scotus was born at Duns in Scotland. He became a Franciscan in 1280, studied in the colleges of his order, was ordained priest in 1291, and completed his training in Oxford around 1291–93. There, around 1300–1301, he produced a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Called at the beginning of the academic year 1300 or 1302 to teach at the University of Paris as a bachelor under the tute-

lage of Gonzalvo of Spain, he probably took part in a dispute opposing his master and Eckhart (Rhineland-Flemish mysticism). In any event he set to work on a new *Commentary on the Sentences*, the *Reportatio Parisiensis*. However, his work on this was cut short in June 1303, when King Philip the Fair called for a council against Pope* Boniface VIII: Scotus refused to sign a petition to this effect and was forced into exile, presumably returning to Oxford. He later returned

to Paris to teach, probably toward the end of 1304. Becoming a doctor in 1305, he was regent master (director of studies) of the Franciscan covenant in 1306–7. At the end of 1307 he left for Köln as a reader and died there on the 8 November 1308. Nicknamed the Subtle Doctor, accorded particular veneration within the Franciscan Order (above all for his defense of the Immaculate Conception) and in the diocese of Nola, his beatification was confirmed for the universal Church in 1993. He left numerous works, which form a critical dialogue with his contemporaries (Godfrey of Fontaines) and predecessors (Henry of Ghent at the University, Pierre de Jean Olieu among the Franciscans): commentaries on Porphyry and Aristotle, a thick *Quodlibet*, and three commentaries on the *Sentences*—a first version, the *Lectura*, representative of his Oxford teaching; a version consisting of notes taken from his teaching at Paris, the *Reportationes Parisienses*; and a final version, the *Ordinatio*, cut short in mid-revision.

2. Thought

a) Architecture of Theology. After the condemnations of 1277, which concerned 219 theses inspired by philosophy (naturalism*), Scotus, like many disciples of Bonaventure*, became convinced of the inadequacy of philosophy and the necessity of theology. “Philosophers maintain the perfection of nature and deny supernatural perfection,” while “theologians understand the deficiency of nature* and the perfection of the supernatural” (*Ord.* Prologue = Prol., §5). Aristotle had rightly said that everyone desires beatitude*, but beatitude was understood only in general terms: philosophers could attain a merely abstract notion of God*, in an incomplete part of man (the soul [soul-heart-body]), and subject to the practical vagaries of thought. For this reason human beings needed a revelation in order to know their end distinctly and to know that they would attain it in the flesh and in perpetuity (§16). “God is the natural end of man, although this end cannot be realized through natural, but only through supernatural means” (§32; supernatural*). It was by revelation alone that humankind knew which actions were meritorious, in other words freely accepted by God as allowing us to be blessed (§18). Scripture* was thus necessary and sufficient to man in order to attain his end. In particular it presented that end (the beatitude of body [soul-heart-body] and soul) and the means necessary to attain it: the Ten Commandments (Decalogue*), which were epitomized by charity (Dt 6:5; Mt 22:37ff.).

The ideal of theology as the sole science was unattainable. Therefore there were several theologies:

theology in itself (sufficient to its object) and theology for human beings (tailored to the human intellect). Their object was God, not as a common object (the subject of all theological propositions) but as a virtual object (capable of giving rise to all such propositions). In itself, theology was the intuition that God had of himself and of all things, and the blessed received a share in it. Human theology, in contrast, was abstract: it applied by default to the concept of God the most perfect concept that we can conceive, that of infinite* being (*ens infinitum*) (§168). It was of him that the first necessary truths were uttered (“God is Trinity*”); as for the rest, they were spoken of him, but not because of him. Thus divine omnipotence* was not deduced from the concept of God but received by faith and attached to that concept, which gave a unity to all the divine attributes.

Any science must fulfill four criteria: certainty, the necessity of its object, the evidence of its premises, and syllogistic rigor (§208). The theology of the blessed fulfilled these four conditions. Divine theology in itself fulfilled the first three but was intuitive: more than a science, it was a form of wisdom. Human theology, however, which was concerned with a contingent revelation and history, did not fulfill the second condition—but this very fact led to a revision of the concept of science, to the effect that the formal rigor of a science was of more importance than the necessity of its object, which could be revealed contingently (§212). Thus human theology was not “subsidiary” (subordinate) to that of the blessed (a view that contrasts with that of Thomas* Aquinas). Finally, the end of revelation was charity; and consequently theology was a practical science (*Lect.*, Prol., §164). Everything that depended on practical reason—in other words, on the will—was practical. Morality, therefore, was the art of molding one’s actions to charity by means of the will, and in this way to prepare oneself to receive the supreme recompense, beatitude. Thus, in theology, everything that was not metaphysics tended toward charity (*Ord.* Prol., §322; see Boulnois 1997).

b) Unity and Trinity of God. The first and necessary part of theology took as its object the divine being in its Trinitarian manifestation. The existence of God was known by way of the concept of “infinite being,” which ensured the identity and uniqueness of the first principle reached by way of various metaphysical paths (*Ord.* I, d. 2; *De primo principio*): this was the beginning of a natural theology. God was known positively in the concept of being* (*ens*), which was applied in the same sense to him and to the created order, as with respect to his attributes and the concept of person* (analogy*); in this context negations were merely

a way of denying the imperfection of created things and affirming divine perfection. God was distinguished from the created order by his infinity. His different attributes were distinguished from one another by their formal non-identity—what the historians call “formal distinction” (God is truly justice and truly mercy, but justice in God remains fundamentally separate from his mercy: *see* Boulnois 1988). The processions of the Trinity formed a strict sequence: the Word was engendered by means of nature, and the Spirit (Holy* Spirit) by means of will. Thus charity was the summit of deity* and was applied to one person (the Spirit) at the same time as defining God in his supreme essence.

Beyond the divine persons, necessary theology dealt with inward and outward emanations, with “instants of nature,” moments of the divine thought—self-reflection and the scheme of salvation*. In a first instant, God conceived himself (as infinite*); then he produced finite essences (the divine ideas), then supposed them as in part imitating his perfection, and finally conceived compatible combinations of essences (*Ord.* I, d. 43, §14 . 16; transl. Boulnois 1994), the “compossibles,” from among which his will chose a world, freely producing creation* outside himself. All that was created came after these necessary emanations and was thus contingent. But at the same time God had eternal foreknowledge of it: there was in God a science of the contingent—itself contingent because dependent upon the consent of his will.

c) Order of Ends and the Primacy of Christ. The second and contingent part of theology originated in the divine will. For Scotus, indeed, the contingency of the world did not result in short from the secondary causes but from the self-determination of the divine will. So, at the very moment when a thing was created, it could be non-existent. God’s absolute power could therefore intervene at any moment in the world to make another possible arise; the ordered power of God was forever revocable (Knuuttila, in Boulnois 1994). But the divine will was structurally good: it desired, of necessity, the infinite good* that was God himself and, contingently, all the other finite goods—doing so gradually, however, since it sought in them the greatest possible good.

The divine will was ordered and as such desired the end before the means. Since God was the final end “he loved himself first” in his three Persons, including that of the Word who was joined with humanity. The union of divine nature with human nature in Christ* was thus the final end in pursuit of which God desired creation: “*Primo*, God loves himself; *secundo*, he loves himself

for others (*amat se aliis*), and this is pure love (*amoral castus*); *tertio*, he wishes to be loved by the other who, in the highest degree, can love him outside himself; *quarto*, he has foreseen the union of that nature which was to love him to the highest degree, even if nobody sinned” (*Rep.* III, d. 7, q. 4, §5; Wadding [W.] XI). In a Neoplatonic movement of procession and return, God extended his infinite love* by degrees through his creation and in return was loved by Christ with an infinite love. Christ was the end of all things (Rom 9), in him all people were predestined (Eph 1), for him all had been created (Col 1:15ff.). In the order of ends, Christ was willed for himself (as being alone capable of loving with an infinite love), man was willed next, and then creation. So the Incarnation* was willed and would have taken place even if Adam had not sinned. Thus Scotus responded to the question raised by Anselm*, *Why a God who is man?*, but in quite a different manner: God had to make himself man, independently of sin.

Nonetheless, in actuality Adam*’s sin had taken place. God had not wished it, but he had permitted it. He had also foreseen it and had planned a redemptive Incarnation, which would encounter the Passion and death (*Rep.* III, d. 7, q. 4, §4; W. XI, 451). But in the divine plan this meaning only arose after the event: in the first place God desired hypostatic* union, and after that the salvation* of all mankind; then he foresaw the fall of the latter and the corresponding remedy, “redemption through a mediator” (§3). The two meanings were linked: in point of fact the Son’s incarnation did have humanity’s redemption as its end, but “it would have taken place even if man had not sinned” (*Opus Oxoniense* = *Ox.* III, d. 7, q. 3, §3; W. VII, 202). The Incarnation was a metaphysical “and not a fortuitous” manifestation of divine generosity (*Ox.* III, d. 19, q. 1, §6; W. VII, 415). The *motive* for the Incarnation was not sin: in so much as he had foreseen and predestined Christ in the flesh and all the elected for grace and for glory, before he foresaw Christ’s Passion as a remedy for sin—in the same way that a doctor first desires a man’s health before prescribing a medicine for him (*ibid.*).

The Immaculate Conception (Mary*) ensued from Christ’s primacy. In the first place, original sin* was not transmitted as an infection of the flesh (concupiscence) but resided in the immaterial will (*Ox.* II, d. 30, q. 2, §2; W. VI, 936). Moreover, God had the power necessary to keep the Virgin from all sin in her soul. Finally, the order of ends was not chronological: in God’s plan it was appropriate that the most perfect mediator should mediate in the most perfect way; and so, by preserving Christ’s Mother first of all, the first link between Christ and humanity (*Ox.* III, d. 3, q. 1, §4; W.

VII, 92), God had given him the same grace, from the moment he came to life, as he gave to other human beings by means of baptism* (ibid., §9; W. VII, 94). And so he would not have been the most perfect redeemer “if he had not warranted Mary’s preservation from original sin” (ibid., §4; W. VII, 92). Christ’s primacy and the Immaculate Conception followed from the same principle of economy.

d) Grace and Predestination. Due to the identity between will and charity in God, the primacy of the divine will was that of grace—in complete contradiction of Pelagianism*. An action was meritorious only if God accepted it as such, by free will: therefore no finite action could oblige God to accept it (voluntarism*). God owed nothing to anyone, and grace was nothing but “the unforced will of God” (*Ox.* II, d. 2, q. 2, §15; W. VII, 83), without which no act had merit: it was a “God-shaped form” (*Quodl.* q. 17, §[5], 12; Alluntis, 616), which gave its status to every human action, a “participation in God” (*Ox.* III, d. 13, q. 4, §14; W. VII, 270), the indwelling of the Holy* Spirit in the human person. God’s assistance to human actions thus consisted of two concurrent causes contributing to the same effect (and making it more powerful): grace did not alter the nature of the act, for example the virtuous act, but it increased its intensity and marked it with divine acceptance. The human intellect and will pursued their objects naturally, but grace made these actions easier, more effective, and above all pleasing to God. Human thought was thus perfectly autonomous with respect to faith and action and will with respect to charity.

Divine freedom* was not arbitrary and desired only to bring about good things that would imitate its goodness (*Rep.* I, d. 47, q. 2, §[2]; XI, 237 *a*). The only necessary acceptance was that of the infinite good that was God by the infinite will that was God. The created order, for its part, was the object of a contingent and effective will, by which divine acceptance impelled it to exist (*Quodl.* q. 16, §[7], 29; Alluntis, 595): this was the second moment of acceptance. A third moment followed, by which God led the finite to eternal beatitude (*Rep.* I, d. 17, q. 2, §[4], W. XI, 96 *b*; see *Ox.* III, d. 32, §[2]; W. VII, 689). True beatitude was not acquired, like that of the philosophers, but received (*Ord.* Prol., §18). No human act was the exclusive *cause* of beatitude. Nothing was due, nothing was meritorious before God on its own account, except what he freely consented to recognize as such: human actions were therefore only an essential condition of beatitude, needing to be ratified by the divine will before the human person could receive the final bliss. “The reason for merit will derive completely from the divine will, which or-

dains each act to a recompense” (*Ord.* I, d. 17, §144—perhaps in response to Eckhart, *Sermons* 14 and 15). The act only became meritorious when it had been ratified by the free will both of God and of the finite intellectual subject: the *act* was within man’s power, since he had the use of his free will, but still he only prepared himself to receive the status of *merit*; a free divine dispensation would come to complete this disposition. Merit was therefore “an act of free power, realized in accordance with a gift of grace, and accepted by God as worthy of the recompense of beatitude” (*Ord.* I, d. 17, §146). And even though Scotus accentuated their opposition, free will and predestination* were perfectly compatible in his eyes, as were the contingency of the world and divine foreknowledge (*Lect.* I, d. 39).

e) Ethics and the Sacraments. God related to nature only by way of his freedom. Nothing of what was in nature*, neither moral excellence nor the sacraments*, could therefore bring about divine grace of necessity. The finite act did no more than seek the consent of the divine liberty. God was subject to no necessity, but he pledged his liberty in a covenant* or pact with mankind, in which he accepted certain signs and moral acts as worthy of receiving grace. The search for virtue* was necessary, but virtue and the observance of the natural law did not in themselves constitute merits: they became so only if they were inspired by charity (*Ox.* II, d. 7, q. 1, §11; W. VI, 566; *Quodl.* 17, §[5–9]; Alluntis, 615–22). As long as they acted with charity in mind, human beings could therefore be saved by conforming to the laws that God had set forth as conditions of grace and charity—the Ten Commandments. Only the first three, for that matter, belonged to the natural law, since their truth* was imposed on the divine intellect by an internal necessity, while the others were contingent, fixed by a divine will that could give exemption from them (*Ox.* III, d. 37, q. 1; W. VII, 857 *Sq*).

In the same way, sacramental formulae possessed no intrinsic virtue and were merely an essential condition, conferring grace in accordance with the free consent of the divine will, which had pledged to accompany such a sign of its grace (*Ox.* IV, d. 1, q. 4–5, §4; W. VIII, 81–82). What made penance* a sacrament was not the three human acts (contrition, confession, atonement) that were its conditions but the divine will to absolve, fulfilled when the priest (priesthood*) pronounced the formula of absolution—the priest for his part being in ignorance of God’s judgment* and of the penance appropriate to a given sin (*Ox.* IV, d. 16, q. 1, §7; W. IX, 247). In eucharistic theology, Scotus particularly criticized the theological concept of “transubstantiation.”

In his view, faith confined itself to the “conversion” of the bread into the body of Christ: there was no elimination of the first and production of the second but rather a “transformation” (*translatio*); there was no new substance but rather a new presence of God (*Ox.* IV, d. 11, q. 3, §13, 14, 22; *W.* VIII, 616–17, 618, 625–26).

3. Scotus's Legacy and the Scotist School

The vigor of Scotus's thought and the fame of his teaching made him the great Franciscan doctor of the 14th century, and his opponents—whether Thomists or nominalists—referred constantly to him. More than Scotus's own responses, which are abstruse and hard to interpret, what stands out is the shift in the questions asked. Ockham confirmed his importance by frequently taking a view directly opposed to his (nominalism*). Scotus's immediate followers, meanwhile, tried first and foremost to fill in the gaps in his uncompleted oeuvre. William of Alnwick (†1333) attempted to coordinate his theories on the object of divine thought. The greatest of these followers attempted to go further, but only the philosophical aspects of their work have been made the object of studies and editions. Peter Aureol (†1322) pondered the theory of knowledge as derived from the appearance of phenomena (*notitia apparentium*). Francis of Meyronnes (†1327), drawing on Pseudo-Dionysius*, emphasized God's transcendence, which according to him was no longer to be seen as part of “common being”: God was no longer the infinite being but the infinity outside being. Meyronnes also offered a vigorous interpretation of formal distinction and went so far as to posit truly distinct “formalities” that composed the nature of simple things. John of Ripa (mid-14th century) attempted to incorporate the proof of God as infinite into a cosmology that accepted the infinity of the created world: God must consequently be referred to as immense, and his immensity must comprise a multiplicity of infinities.

So there arose a Scotist school, with its manuals, its tradition, its working tools, and its bitter and bilious feuds. It distinguished itself in disputation (the confrontation between Cajetan and Trombeta, *see* Boulnois 1993). Because it made Christ's incarnation an end in itself, it influenced the French school of spirituality (Bérulle*). The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception spread through the Franciscan Order, then to the Catholic Church as a whole (Council of Basel*, 1439—albeit in a session held to be schismatic) until it was proclaimed in 1854. Because the Scotist school allowed the existence of an autonomous natural theology that dealt with God metaphysically, it influenced the structure of metaphysics from Suarez* to Kant*

(Honnefelder 1979, 1990). Because it opposed the two theological poles of grace and nature, it formed a background against which Luther was able to bring about his theological upheaval (Vignaux 1934). And because it considered practical reason as belonging to the sphere of will, with no other consequence than to make human beings worthy of being blessed, it was a structural forerunner of the work of Kant (Möhle 1995).

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See also Bonaventure; Justification; Predestination; Scholasticism; Thomas Aquinas; Thomism; Voluntarism

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Easter. *See* Resurrection of Christ

Ecclesiastical Discipline

The expression *ecclesiastical discipline* refers to a group of laws, rules, and statutes that concern the organization and the activities of churches* and religious communities. It has an exact meaning in Protestant churches, but it also has its own sense in the Catholic Church, where there is a canonical law made of canons grouped in a code or in corpus. In canon law*, the expression *ecclesiastical discipline* refers to the part of law (sometimes called *penal law*) in which the exercise of the coercive power of the church over followers is organized, with excommunication as the ultimate realization. The churches of the Reformation, however, have strong reservations with regard to excommunication, although it appears in the founding texts.

a) Discipline in Protestant Churches. The term *discipline* is especially used in the reformed churches. For example, the Reformed Church of France publishes *Statuts, discipline et règlement général d'application* (Statutes, Disciplines, and General Rules of Application). More broadly, the term can designate in general the ecclesiastical law of the churches of the Reforma-

tion. In opposition to the canon law of the Roman Church, which many commentators try to base on or explain from the doctrine, discipline or ecclesiastical law, in this way, is based only on the need for organization. Thus, these churches make a fundamental distinction between doctrine and discipline. This organization must be just to meet the role the church should play in societies*, a responsibility that falls onto the communities themselves, especially through the processes of deliberation. This law contains the organizational rules for the local churches, catechesis, ministries*, the organization of the synods*, and so forth, all provisions that regulate and allow communal life and are therefore susceptible to revision and adaptation.

b) Ecclesiastical Discipline and Canon Law. An entire book of the code of canon law (1. VI) and a title of the code of canon of the Catholic Eastern Churches are devoted to sanctions in the Catholic Church. In the code of 1917, this law was called penal and, as in today's code, its rules were mostly technical. The princi-

ples it outlined explained how to apply this law. Canon 1317, for example, states that “penalties are to be established only in so far as they are really necessary for the better maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline.” But no explanation on the ecclesiastical meaning of this right can be found. The beginning of book VI of the code of 1983 states: “The church has its own inherent right to constrain with penal sanctions Christ’s faithful who commit offences.” Commentators are needed to understand this meaning. Some base the conception of “innate law” on the fact that the church is organized like a society that must regulate the activities of the faithful while protecting the institution and its realm of action against all acts that harm it. Without fully covering it, this position is in line with the ecclesiology* of the *societas iuridice perfecta* that developed in reaction against the modern states that wanted power over their subjects themselves subjected to the church. Other commentators, without denying the necessity of having a body of rules guaranteeing discipline inside the church, questioned the exercise of an ecclesiastical power of coercion. To them it seemed exceeded by the existence of an ecclesiastical communion* stated in the texts of Vatican* II, and consequently they asked that a law of a retributive nature be replaced by a “penal system sui generis.”

Thus, these commentators ask us to look back to history and the formation of the church’s coercive power. Early and medieval church historians have shown that, since its beginnings, the church has had recourse to judicial practices to sanction faults (Mt 18:15–18; 2 Cor 2:6; 1 Cor 5:11 ff.). Before the 12th

century, however, such practices developed without penal processes and the imposition of canonical punishment (excommunications, suspensions, depositions) was totally distinct. From the 12th to the 14th century, there is mention of “the interpenetration of penal and coercive aspects of ecclesiastical discipline,” as well as of “their progressive differentiation toward secular penal law” (Meunier 1975). The distinction made by canon law and the theology* of power of jurisdiction* alongside a power of order would allow for the building of a framework for the disciplinary power of the church and for differentiating it from penitential discipline. It was this power of jurisdiction that the Catholic Church would claim from the states, thus defining the church’s innate right to impose punishments. But the distinction made between coercive actions of the church on an external level and its action on an internal level or at the level of conscience* (by the sacrament of penance*, notably by virtue of the principle that “all offense is a sin*”) shows that, for the actual judicial system, penal law and penitential discipline still complete each other.

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See also Canon Law; Jurisdiction; Law and Christianity; Law and Legislation; Penance

Ecclesiology

Ecclesiology is the study of the church*. It is an important aspect of dogmatic theology*, as significant as Christology*, pneumatology, eschatology*, anthropology*, and so on. It is the theological arena in which the church considers itself, the point of convergence of systematic, historical, and practical research, which it develops and expresses to today’s community of believers, who live and confess their faith* in diverse cultural and sociological contexts. The keynotes of ec-

clesiological discourse are the actualization and concretization of the biblical message in the daily lives of God’s people.

1. Historical Development

Although they mention the church and most of the themes on which ecclesiology would be based, biblical texts offer no ecclesiological treatise. Ecclesiological thought first appears in the works of the Fathers*. Ig-

natus of Antioch, for example, saw the church as a cosmic entity encompassing heaven and earth (*Letter to the Ephesians* 9, 1; *Letter to the Smyrniotes* 7, 2); Hippolytus of Rome understood it as a holy community prefiguring eschatological reality (*Commentary on Daniel* I, 14–18); Irenaeus* of Lyons spoke of a church founded on the Spirit and on truth*, from which the characteristics of the church derive (*Against Heresies* III, 24). Later, Cyprian* of Carthage maintained the necessity of the church for salvation* (*De ecclesiae catholicae unitate* 6) and the special place of the episcopal ministry (ibid., 17). Augustine*, meanwhile, proposed a distinction between the visible church and the invisible Church (*De civitate dei* XI–XXII) that would become central to later ecclesiology. These remarks cannot, however, be taken as constituting a comprehensive and systematically presented ecclesiology. The period was characterized by a variety of ecclesiological currents reflecting different ecclesial structures*, but no particular form of ecclesiology was positively adopted by the councils*.

In the West, the unification of canon law* under Gratian in the 12th century brought with it more systematic ecclesiological thought. The first complete theological treatises devoted to the church as institution soon appeared (See Jacques de Viterbe *Christian Government* or Giles of Rome's *The Power of the Church*, which was the inspiration for Boniface VIII's Bull *Unam Sanctam* of 1302; *DS* 870 *Sq*). The most important treatise was probably the one produced by the Spanish Dominican Juan de Torquemada around 1450 (*Summa de ecclesia*; see *DThC* XVI, 1235 *Sq*).

Unlike the ecclesiological works of the later Middle Ages, which are generally commentaries on canon law, the ecclesiology developed by the 16th-century Reformation was more dogmatic and catechetical in scope. The reformers saw ecclesiology as a theological statement that gave an account of the faith of believers confessing the one holy catholic and apostolic Church. This emphasis would be taken up by Catholic theology, which after the 18th century distinguished between an ecclesiology within fundamental* theology, a discourse that developed a vision of the church as the means and instrument of transmission of divine revelation*, and an ecclesiology within dogmatic theology, whose key topics were the origin of the church, its nature, structures and organization; its work and mission*; its mediation, its sacraments* and ministries*; its worship, liturgy* and preaching*; its piety and its future (eschatology).

The 19th century saw a number of comprehensive ecclesiological statements, initially from individual theologians such as J. A. Möhler or M. J. Scheeben*. It was intended to propose a comprehensive ecclesiology

at Vatican* I, but only chapter nine of its *Schema de ecclesia*, the dogmatic constitution *Pastor aeternus* (*DS* 3050 *Sq*), was approved in 1870. The encyclicals *Satis cognitum* by Leo XIII (1896; *DS* 3300 *Sq*) and *Mystici corporis* by Pius XII (1943; *DS* 3800 *Sq*) marked important new stages. It was not until Vatican* II, however, that the Catholic Church put forward its first complete ecclesiological treatise to be authorized by the magisterium*, the dogmatic constitution on the Catholic Church *Lumen Gentium*.

By virtue of its desire for Church unity*, contemporary ecumenical dialogue is logically focused on ecclesiological issues. This dialogue has led most of the major denominational families to rethink and reformulate their ecclesiology. One might cite as an example the European Lutheran and Reformed Churches, which in 1994 approved and adopted “The Church of Jesus Christ,” their first joint ecclesiological text since the 16th century (*Accords and Dialogues* II, 81 *Sq*); or the work of the Commission on Faith and Constitution of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, which recently presented an important ecclesiological study, *The Church and the World* (1991).

2. A Special Difficulty of Ecclesiology

Seen from the standpoint of the theory of knowledge, ecclesiology belongs to a distinctive genre. The church is, generally speaking, both the subject and the object of its research, since the special preserve of ecclesiological research is the church itself. The main problem arises however from the difficulty of defining the church as an object of research. The same term *church* commonly denotes a spiritual entity as well as a number of very different realities: from matters of worship to ecclesiastical structures and authorities, from the local community to national and international organizations, from the worldly mission to sociological data, or even the simple designation of buildings. This multiplicity of meanings is significant, and flows inevitably from the fitting of the Church, as a spiritual reality, into the material life of human society*. If ecclesiological research limits itself to topics visible and accessible to human logic, namely the institution and forms of the institutional church and its history* and sociology, it risks losing sight of the unique characteristic of the Church (as community of believers throughout time), its link with the divine reality of grace* that is its true foundation. If research is focused on this last aspect, it can no longer resort to its usual scientific approach, and must instead employ images and analogies*—just as, for example, Scripture* and tradition* emphasize conceptions of the Church as “God’s people,” “the bride of the Savior,” “the body of Christ*,” or “the temple of the Spirit.” None of these

images can fully express the unique nature of the Church, which transcends each of them, indeed all of them together.

Generally speaking, modern ecclesiology begins with biblical testimony and takes its cue from the Church's confession of faith over the centuries. The Christian faith lives by the certainty that the Holy* Spirit arouses faith and gathers believers into the one holy catholic and apostolic Church, the communion* of saints. This Church, originating with faith, appears in material forms that differ from century to century and from place to place. Starting with these two dimensions, ecclesiology attempts to make the theological approach and empirical research complementary.

3. *Ecclesiology As a Subject of Debate*

Ecclesiology inevitably takes a critical view of contemporary ecclesial pronouncements, which it analyzes and with whose development it must keep pace. It inevitably gives rise to reassessments that can cause conflicts at every level. This observation holds true for each separate ecclesiastical tradition (e.g., the debate aroused within the Catholic Church by the theology of H. Küng or L. Boff). It is also relevant to modern ecumenical dialogue, where ecclesiological issues remain the principal stumbling blocks in the search for Church unity. The difficulty becomes apparent as soon as there is any attempt to connect the Church as object of faith with the church as empirical reality. It gives rise to contradictory definitions that find expression for the most part in three closely connected areas, around which the great debates of modern ecclesiology are focused.

a) The first issue is the relationship between the Church as object of faith and the church as ecclesiastical institution. It is generally agreed that the communion of believers could not exist without an institutional structure, but not everyone accords the same importance to the latter. So, for the churches born of the 16th-century Reformation, the Church of Jesus Christ transcends any institutional form—no concrete expression of the church in this world can claim to be a full realization of the Church instituted by Christ. The ecclesiastical institution is a matter of human law; it is imperfect and always in need of reform. The Catholic and Orthodox Churches are reluctant to view their structural and institutional expressions in relative terms, considering them indeed to be as willed by God—even if, since Vatican II, the Catholic Church no longer considers itself the only possible expression of the Church of Christ (*See* ecumenism*). A similar approach in ecclesiology has obvious consequences for the view of hierarchy*, of church government*, and of authority* within the church, or for the understanding

of the various ministries. This is not merely an interdenominational question, but a subject of debate within every Christian community. It is not simply a matter of time and place, but an expression of divergent systems of ecclesiology.

b) The second major difficulty of ecclesiology arises from the place accorded to the church within the divine mystery* as a whole. Some see ecclesiology as deriving from Christology and soteriology (Schmaus 1958; *MySal* 1972–73). For others it is a part of pneumatology (Pannenberg 1993), while still others hold it to be the keystone of all dogmatic theology (Tillard 1987; Siegwalt 1986). These individual interpretations reflect a fundamental choice, which Vatican II approached by asserting “that there is an order or ‘hierarchy’ of the truths of Catholic doctrine, by reason of their different relationships with the basis of the Christian faith” (decree on ecumenism, *UR* 11). Even though the council did not specify this “hierarchy,” the Catholic Church is undeniably a central element in it, as the ecclesiological constitution *Lumen Gentium* makes clear.

Some strands within Protestantism, following Schleiermacher*, have considered ecclesiology to be a mere appendix to dogmatics, since for them the Church, as a society of believers, is above all an empirical reality. Contemporary dialogues have enabled clear progress to be made, and the churches that began with the 16th-century Reformation today state that communion within the church cannot be dissociated from the justification* of the believer (*The Church of Jesus Christ* II, 87). Nonetheless, the church's place in God's work of salvation remains an open question in ecumenical dialogue, in which some attribute to the church and its mediations an importance that others cannot accept (*See* Birmelé 1986). These different approaches have resulted in a divergence in ecclesiology, leading some Christian traditions to consider themselves as the one true expression of the Church as body of Christ.

c) A third issue central to ecclesiology is the relationship between the church and contemporary society. All factions agree in emphasizing that the church must engage itself in the affairs of this world*, but they differ in their definitions of the terms of this mission and its consequences for the church. Some advocate a separation between the holy Church and the secular world (Zizioulas 1981), while others call for an osmosis (e.g., Rendtorff 1969). With its insistence on human dignity and on the need for interaction between the church and the world for the good of all humanity, the pastoral constitution put forward by Vatican II, “The Pastoral constitution on the church in the modern world” (*GS*),

developed a comprehensive vision to a large extent shared by other Christian traditions. Nevertheless, the relations between church and state*, the understanding of the laity (lay*), questions of culture (inculturation*), and relations with other religions, as well as more sociological aspects such as minority-majority relations, all remain ecclesiological issues—and frequently sources of controversy, not only between the Christian churches but within each one of them. In all these fields, ecclesiology must try to offer solutions that will permit the church to fulfill its vocation; and it is obliged to take a stand. No systematic consideration of the church could remain neutral.

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See also Authority; Church; Church and State; Communion; Council; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Ecumenism; Eucharist; Government, Church; Hierarchy; Indefectibility of the Church; Infallibility; Local Church; Magisterium; Ministry; Regional Church; Structures, Ecclesial; Unity of the Church

Eckhart von Hohenheim (Meister). *See Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism*

Ecology

Ecology is the study of the natural world as an interconnected whole in which all things, including human

beings, are related in complex interdependence. Scientifically, all living things constitute an ecosphere that

includes many ecosystems. On a philosophical, religious, or ethical level, ecosystems principally lead to notions that stress the intrinsic value and interdependence of all living things and nature. Of late there has been a growing awareness that human intervention disregards and destroys the interdependence of ecosystems and is responsible for a global ecological crisis, which endangers humanity by endangering nature. This calls for theological reflection, which needs to criticize and rethink the Christian view of the place of human beings in creation* and their responsibility toward other creatures. Ecological theology* and ecological ethics* in this sense are recent disciplines, but they incorporate earlier theological thought.

The biblical resources for Christian ecological thought comprise four main themes. 1) Human dominion: At the Creation, human beings were commanded by God* to “subdue” the earth and to “have dominion” over other living creatures (Gn 1:28; Ps 8:6–8). They have a unique role within creation. Their creation in the divine image is unique (Gn 1:26, 9:6), which enables them to represent God and rule over creation. However, there is no suggestion in the Bible* that the entire creation exists *for* humanity. 2) The community of creation: Human beings may stand above all other creatures, they are creatures themselves, who share the earth with all the beings that God has created. Thus, after the Flood God makes a covenant with all human beings and all animals (Gn 9:8–17). According to Psalm 104:23, human beings are just one of the living creatures for whom God provides; the earth is the habitat for living creatures, and each holds a God-given place. The same understanding is embodied in laws that restrict exploitation of the land (Ex 23:11; Lv 25:7), and in the teaching of Jesus* (Mt 6:25 f.). 3) Creation as theocentric reality: Creation exists not for humanity, but for the glory of God. All creatures, inanimate and animate, praise and adore him (Ps 148; Rev 5:13). Therefore each creature has worth, which is given by the Creator and offered back to him in praise. 4) The redemption of all creation: Biblical soteriology does not separate human beings from the rest of the world but recognizes their solidarity with all that was created (Col 1:20). The hope* of salvation* is extended to all creation, which in the end will be delivered from corruption (Rom 8:20–21) and be made new (2 Pt 3:13; Rev 21:1). Human beings have no future independent of the rest of creation.

In the theological tradition* up to the early modern period, the notion of human dominion over nature was interpreted through ideas drawn from the Stoics and Aristotle. This brought up the idea of a creation made for human beings, an idea that leads to a tendentious reading of Genesis. To dominate then meant that hu-

man beings had the right to use all creatures to meet their own needs. Many contemporary critics, following Lynn White (1967), have seen in this the ideological source of the exploitation of nature that has produced today's ecological crisis, but this is very scant. Up to the Reformation, there was no sense of dominion as an obligation to extend human mastery over nature; further, people had no idea that nature could be completely transformed. To dominate nature simply meant the right to use it in the limited way that was then possible. Moreover, the view that the world exists for human benefit was balanced by the very idea of creation that made human beings creatures of God alongside other creatures.

The modern project of technological domination of nature has its direct roots not in the theological tradition itself, but in the way that it was modified by Renaissance* humanism and by Francis Bacon (1561–1626). For the humanists, dominion over the world was so sovereign and creative that human beings had both the ability and the right to refashion nature as they chose. Any sense of limitations inherent to the creature disappeared and was replaced by a limitless aspiration to master and to create. The Renaissance thus provided the vision that inspired the modern project of dominating nature, while Francis Bacon drew from Genesis a program of scientific and technological enterprise, in which mastery of nature's laws was to be the means of subjecting nature entirely to human needs.

However, this was not the only way in which the role of human beings in the universe could be conceived. In the Middle Ages, an alternative conception appeared, for example, in hagiographies portraying human being living in paradisiacal harmony with all creatures, with a powerful eschatological symbolism. Here, dominion is benevolent rule with a strong sense of what all creatures have in common. This is shown in Saint Francis of Assisi (1181–1226) and the *Canticle of the Creatures*. An idea that first appeared in 17th-century England and that has become influential today (e.g., Wilkinson 1980) turns human beings into stewards of creation. In this light, human beings have received the task of managing God's work on his behalf, and are responsible to God for how they do it. This view recognizes value in nonhuman creation, other than its usefulness to humanity, and gives human beings obligations to treat it accordingly. However, this implies that nature needs the active intervention of human beings. A truly ecological theology, on the other hand, holds that human beings have so little importance within the universe that it limits any notion of a rule over creation. Recent variations on the theme include ideas of human beings as priests of creation, en-

abling creation to be itself to the praise of God (e.g., Gunton 1992), or as servants of creation, participating in Christ's salvific role of delivering creation from human oppression (e.g., Linzey 1994).

Recent theology includes varied attempts to conceive the relationships of God, human beings, and the rest of the world in ways that replace the idea of hierarchical domination with that of ecological interconnectedness. These include Moltmann's strongly christological and pneumatological interpretation of these connections (1985, 1989); ecofeminist theologies that see the domination of nature as an aspect of patriarchy (e.g., Ruether 1993); the creation spiritualities of Matthew Fox (1988) or Thomas Berry (*See* Berry and Swimme 1992); and, finally, a trend moving away from anthropocentrism to return to the notion of "respect for life" of Albert Schweitzer (1885–1965), for example by L. K. Daly (in Birch, et al. 1990). There have even been attempts to show that the intrinsic value of nonhuman creatures forces human beings to recognize their responsibility toward them, and also implies that animals have rights (e.g. Linzey 1994), or of all participants in the ecosphere (Moltmann 1989).

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See also Adam; Anthropology; Cosmos; Spirituality, Franciscan; Woman

Economy of Salvation. *See* **Salvation**

Ecumenical Dialogue. *See* **Ecumenism**

Ecumenical Movement. *See* **Ecumenism**

Ecumenism

1. Origin and Significance

Oikoumenè, the past participle of the Greek verb *oikein* (to inhabit), was used by Herodotus (c. 490–425/420 B.C.) to designate the inhabited world. The biblical writings seldom use this term, although it was popular in the Hellenistic world of the era. The Septuagint (the first Greek translation of the Bible*, started in the third century B.C.) uses it to translate some passages of the Psalms*. In the New Testament, Luke 2:1 and Matthew 24:14 use it to designate the Roman Empire, and in Hebrews 2:5 *Oikoumenè* refers to the unity of humanity and God* in eschatology*.

In the ancient church*, *Oikoumenè* had both a political meaning (the Roman world) and church meaning (the totality of Christians). In Constantine's reign (306–37), the two meanings were confused. A decisive role was played by the synods* or councils* called *ecumenical*, for their decisions were applied to all of Christendom and to the whole empire. By the end of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, *Oikoumenè* was stripped of its political meaning, and only had church significance: the *Oikoumenè* was the universal Church. During the sixth century, the patriarchate of Constantinople was called “ecumenical” in order to signify its preeminence over several Eastern Churches. This preeminence had already been acknowledged by Emperor Constantine. This usage triggered animated reactions from pope* Gregory I (590–604). In the West the Reformation, which was reticent about the term *catholic*, generally a synonym for *Roman Catholic*, gave a new topicality to *Oikoumenè*. The notion then designated the fullness and unity* of the universal Church, the Christendom of all countries, brought together and guided by the Holy* Spirit. The Church is ecumenical, because, when announcing the gospel to the whole world, it is one and catholic, it is the Church in its fullness given by God.

It was only in the 20th century that the Swedish bishop N. Soederblom (1866–1930) gave *Oikoumenè* and the adjective *ecumenical* the sense that they have today in theology*: everything that relates to bringing together, to the reconciliation and to the unity of churches within what is called the Ecumenical Movement. The noun *ecumenism* was introduced in 1937 by the French Dominican, Yves Congar, and then was adopted and confirmed by Vatican* II in the Decree on

Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*. In a fundamental study (*Geschichte und Sinn des Wortes “ökumenisch,”* 1953), W. A. Visser't Hooft (1900–1985), the first secretary general of the World* Council of Churches (WCC), notes seven meanings of the adjective *ecumenical* over the course of history*. They are: 1) “what belongs to the inhabited world or represents it,” 2) “what belongs to the Roman Empire or represents it,” 3) “what has a universal Church value,” 4) “what concerns the universal missionary task” (mission*), 5) “what involves the relationships between churches or Christians of different confessional origins,” 6) “the spiritual consciousness of belonging to the world communion* of Christian churches,” and 7) “the availability of committing oneself to the unity of the Church.”

The use of the word *ecumenical* today goes beyond the single church category. Some use it to refer to the dialogue that churches have with other religions; others see it as a qualitative term for all efforts of consensus or unity between individuals or groups.

2. Churches' Commitment to Ecumenism

At first, ecumenism was the concern of Protestant churches. Around the end of the 19th century, the need for a better cooperation among churches led to the creation of the first international organizations, and these would lead to the birth of the WCC in 1948. This step was facilitated by the ecclesiological approach to Protestantism*. While understanding itself as the full and true expression of the unique church of Christ*, a church born of the Reformation nevertheless did not pretend to be the only authentic expression of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. The Church of Christ, moreover, existed in other forms and traditions. The division and mutual nonrecognition of churches were, however, unacceptable. Communion in the celebration of the Word* and sacraments* was the necessary and sufficient condition for two churches to become one, without, all the while, being uniform.

The concerns of Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, and Baptist Churches, among others, were twofold. On one hand, doctrinal controversy, which had brought about mutual condemnation, had to be transcended. On the other hand, a common form of commitment within society* had to be found. These two concerns were adopted by the Faith and Order Move-

ment, as well as by the Life and Work Movement. Because these movements did not always have the same priorities, there was a certain tension—even opposition—in the two ecumenical options proposed by the churches born of the Reformation. Today, this tension is still perceptible, both within the WCC and within individual churches. Certain traditions, such as the Anglican Communion and Lutheran Churches, give more weight to the Church's communal character in the Ecumenical Movement, the common commitment being the consequence of rediscovered unity. Other Protestant denominations give less importance to ecclesiology* and prioritize common social, ethic, and political initiatives. The visible unity of the Church would be one of the consequences of this ecumenism. The Protestant understanding of ecumenism is still marked by these various approaches, even if all involved agree that the unity of the Church could not be separated from the revival and unity of all humanity.

Insisting on the self-government of sister churches, the Orthodox Churches have always been committed to a council vision of the one Church, based on the unbroken tradition of the seven Ecumenical Councils—from Nicaea* I (325) to Nicaea II (787). While seeing themselves as belonging to the only true Church of Christ, they do not dismiss the presence of a church life beyond their limits. This option allows them to seek dialogue and cooperation with other Christian communities without, all the while, coming to a conclusion about their community qualities. In a 1920 encyclical, the patriarch of Constantinople called for a universal communion of churches. As early as 1927 several self-governed churches and a few formerly Eastern churches participated in the first international conference of the Faith and Order Movement in Lausanne. Orthodoxy* regards doctrinal consensus as preliminary to all ecumenical progress. Considering the obstacles that lie in the way of such a consensus, Orthodoxy has often adopted a prudent, wait-and-see policy. The churches in this tradition nevertheless joined the WCC in 1961, even though they still had various reservations, and, when necessary, expressed dissent.

The Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern churches that recognize the primacy of the pope joined the Ecumenical Movement at a later date. At first, all ideas about ecumenism were rejected. The 1896 encyclical of Leon XIII (1878–1903), *Satis Cognitum* (in *Acta Apostolicae sedis*, 1895–96) specifies that there is only one Church of Jesus Christ, the Church for which the Roman pontiff is responsible. To leave this Church means straying from the path of salvation* (*Satis Cognitum*). The 1928 encyclical circulated by Pius XI (1922–39), *Mortalium animos* (in *Acta Apostolicae sedis*, 1928) forbids any relationship

with other Christian communities and all contact with the Ecumenical Movement.

The breakthrough came with Vatican II and was concretized when the Decree on Ecumenism was published. The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, made this evolution possible by specifying that “the one Church of Christ . . . subsists in the Catholic Church, which is governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops in communion with him” (LG 8). This *subsistit in* is the traditional *is* and it allowed the council to note about the Catholic Church that “many elements of sanctification and of truth* are found outside of its visible structure” (LG 8 and UR 3). While insisting on the uniqueness of the Catholic Church bound to the pope, the only Church in full, the council proposed common prayer*, doctrinal dialogue for a better mutual understanding, and reestablishment of unity, as well as collaboration in service in this world (UR 4–12).

This commitment to ecumenism was confirmed repeatedly in the years after the council—for example, in John Paul II's 1995 encyclical *Ut unum sint*. The Catholic Church participated in several ecumenical dialogues under the charge of the Secretariat for Unity (today, the Pontifical Council for Unity). Councils of churches were established in several countries, and cults* and ecumenical gatherings have become regular occurrences. The Catholic Church's self-understanding as the only Church in full, however, does not allow it to recognize separate churches and communities as “equivalent” partners. This point still lies in the way of its full participation in the WCC.

3. Multiple Forms of Ecumenism

Ecumenism—like all Church life—is a complex and multifaceted reality. Its integrity and indivisibility make it so that it cannot be reduced to a single aspect. One can, however, distinguish a few fundamental thrusts that interact to form the whole.

a) Doctrinal Ecumenism. Because the division of churches was condemned doctrinally, particular importance has been given to theological dialogues between churches. The majority of confessional families (family*, confessional) have participated and have been able to reach remarkable consensus that have allowed them to go beyond traditional controversy. The most significant results were obtained through the multilateral work of the Faith and Order Commission of the WCC and in bilateral dialogues, essentially between Roman Catholics and Anglicans, between Roman Catholics and Lutherans, and between the various traditions that came out of the Reformation. Among these, the consensus was such that, in many areas, full

communion was reestablished, with communities mutually recognizing each other as the full and authentic expression of the one Church of Christ.

In the dialogues launched between the churches of the Reformation and the Roman Catholic Church there has been real progress, even if the final stage, that of full mutual recognition, has not been fully achieved. The remaining disagreements mostly concern the understanding of the role of the church in the saving act of God, the nature of ministries*, the exercise of authority*, and the primacy and infallibility* of the pope. Several classical differences of opinion—such as those concerning the understanding of salvation, faith* and works*, and reference to the Holy* Scripture—have, however, been overcome, and a mutual lifting of historical condemnations is no longer a utopian idea.

It should be noted, however, that this doctrinal ecumenism developed more specifically in the Western world. Coming to a mutual understanding is more difficult when partners do not have the same cultural roots. The dialogue between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches has already shown this. These important unions have not yet yielded the desired consequences and possibilities.

b) Spiritual Ecumenism. Every January since 1941, Catholics, Orthodox, and Protestants have celebrated a week of prayer for unity. All the churches emphasize the need for common prayer and liturgy, the unity of the Church being above all the work of the Holy Spirit, a spiritual reality offered by God. There are translations of the Bible that are common to all the churches of different languages. Prayer groups and common or shared Bible studies have developed in all countries, and these have allowed ecumenism to take root in local community realities. This spiritual ecumenism, closely tied to the life of local parishes and to initiatives launched by Christians of different origins in a given area, gives meaning to all the other dimensions of ecumenism. This “local ecumenism” is often at odds with the national or international ecumenical leadership of churches. Slow progress and prudence have proven to be irksome to local bodies.

c) Ecumenism in Witnessing and Service. Ecumenism in witnessing and service has been central from the very beginning of modern ecumenism, as shown by the Life and Work Movement; this dimension stresses the common action of churches in the face of the needs of the contemporary world. Local, national, and international ecumenism cannot ignore this common ethical and social commitment, for concern about renewing, reconciling, and overcoming all

human misery, and the unity of all humanity, is part of the mission of all churches. The history and various programs of the WCC concretely illustrate this common commitment of churches—for example, the programs that fight against racism, education programs, aid to refugees, the fight against exclusion, the role of women (woman*) and youth, and the movement for justice*, peace*, and the integrity of creation*.

In many countries this ecumenism is also called “contextual ecumenism,” especially in Third World regions, where it is most urgent. Unfortunately, it has often been seen in opposition to the other forms of ecumenism, such as the champions of “secular ecumenism” around 1968. The same kind of unilateral vision neglects the complex nature of ecumenism and undermines its integrity.

d) Institutional Ecumenism. The contemporary Ecumenical Movement was born on the fringes of member churches. At first, it was the concern of a few pioneers. At present, most churches have integrated ecumenical concerns and have even grounded them institutionally. This anchoring has happened at the local level, in national instances that have established several ecumenical commissions, and on the level of large worldwide organizations. Such an evolution was wished for and necessary. It can, however, be accompanied by a certain ponderousness that slows down the movement by trapping it in administrative structures. This development helps give the impression that ecumenism is currently stagnating. It is true that the period of spectacular breakthroughs has passed and that we are now at a point of acceptance of what has been gained over the past years.

In seeking to overcome denominational, national, social, cultural, and ethical barriers, and thus seeking to promote the unity of the Church and of humanity, ecumenism has experienced the ups and downs that characterize all Church life.

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See also Family, Confessional; Protestantism; Unity of the Church; World Council of Churches

Edwards, Jonathan

(1703–58)

Born in Connecticut, Jonathan Edwards studied at Yale College where, in addition to reading the classics and Puritan* manuals, he discovered the writings of Newton and Locke. Appointed pastor in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1727, he played a central role in the Pietist movement of the Great Awakening (1741–42), of which he became the theologian. Following disagreements concerning who should be admitted to Communion*, he was dismissed by his congregation. Sent to Stockbridge in 1750 as a missionary to the Indians, he wrote his major works there. He was then elected president of the College of New Jersey in Princeton, but he died almost immediately after assuming his position there in 1758. Edwards is considered the first philosopher and the greatest Protestant* theologian of the New World. Two major doctrinal elements of his thought merit particular consideration.

a) Sin and Responsibility. Edwards starts with the following difficulty: There is no sin* unless one freely chooses evil*; but is there free choice when the will is determined? To resolve this question, both intent to avoid the false sense of guilt that threatened Puritanism and troubled by the growing influence of Arminianism (Calvinism*), Edwards set out, on the one hand, a theory of the will, and, on the other, an explanation based on the identity of the person*.

To make responsibility and the absence of moral autonomy compatible, Edwards distinguishes the determination of the will in time from its nature. The will acts only if its inclination is determined, but because this depends on the perception of a real or imaginary good*, the will can never be truly autonomous. To be autonomous, it would have to determine itself—that is, its acts would have to be determined by a preceding

volition, leading to an infinite regression. One of two things is true: Either one does not achieve original volition, or else, if it is original, it is not truly volition because it is determined by something other than a preceding volition. To avoid these contradictions, it must be admitted that the will, while always determined, remains voluntary, as he explains in *Freedom of the Will* (1754). The sinner has not himself chosen to will the sin of Adam*, but because he wills it in fact, he is guilty. Edwards therefore joins together determination of the will and responsibility, which the philosophical tradition had declared incompatible. He can then complete his theory of the will before sin by developing the doctrine of original sin—which he did in *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin*, which was published posthumously—and the analysis of servile will.

If what makes the will of the sinner evil in each act (action*) is obviously its opposition to the good, the continuous exercise of this evil will, which is the only thing that allows it to be attributed to a subject, is due to an external constitution. Good and evil acts are in themselves only isolated acts, and the identity of the subject who carries them out depends on a continuous creation*. Theology* teaches us that our condition as moral subjects (with temporal continuity) is founded by a divine act, which establishes a relationship of identity between the personality of Adam and that of each one of his descendants. We are, of course, the responsible authors of our volitions, but we are ourselves only by virtue of the foundational act that connects us to Adam. God*, on the contrary, while he is at every moment the author of our establishment “in” Adam, remains foreign to the evil that we ourselves will. Beyond his original hypothesis on the transmission of

original sin, Edwards thus rediscovered the classic thesis that distinguishes within evil a material element attributable to God and a formal element imputable to man.

b) Religious Feelings. Uncovering the spiritual condition of the believer is a central preoccupation of Puritanism. Good works* are the fruits of justification* (the doctrine of justification by faith* alone is one of the great commonplaces of Edwards's preaching*), but they are not unequivocal signs of justification. As for belief, purely intellectual adhesion to the Christian mysteries* is always within reach of the hypocrite. Nourished by the Calvinist spiritual tradition* that had been revived by the immense spiritual uplift of the Great Awakening, Edwards thus recognizes true religion through certain "affections," the first of which is love*. The devil may imitate the process of conversion*, but he is incapable of counterfeiting its nature, love.

A whole range of signs—Edwards enumerates 12 of them—helps the believer to discern his condition inwardly, but these signs are for others only objective universal criteria, and they do not make it possible to formulate a public judgment* on the faith of a believer. The highest result of conversion is the advent of a spiritual beauty that reflects "the holy beauty of God." This is why 2 Peter 1:4 is the favorite Biblical reference of Edwards. In his *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746) Edwards holds that the "grace* which is in the heart of the saints is of the same nature although of a lesser degree with the divine holiness."

An ecclesiology* immediately flows from this concern for coherence and authenticity. The founders of Congregationalism* in New England had required the expression of an experience* of personal conversion in order to be admitted to Communion. This principle had gradually fallen into disuse. But Edwards, refusing to surrender to the prevailing laxity, came to require that communicants confess their conversion.

What has been called the New Theology represents the posterity of Edwards. His disciples, systematizing his thought, present a unique example in Protestantism of a fruitful synthesis of dogmatic orthodoxy with evangelical pietism. These disciples include E. and J. Bellamy (1719–70), S. Hopkins (1721–1803), N. Emmons (1744–1840), and the most important preacher of the Second Great Awakening, Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), Edwards's grandson. Edwards's writings were also a considerable influence on John Wesley and George Whitefield.

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See also Calvinism; Congregationalism; Liberty; Lutheranism; Methodism; Puritanism; Sin, Original

Enhypostasy. *See Anhypostasy*

Enlightenment

The Enlightenment signifies today the dominant rationalist and liberal cultural movement that occurred in Europe from roughly 1690 to the French Revolution (1789). The term can be traced to a sentence by Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657–1757) in the preface to his 1702 *History of the Renewal of the Royal Academy of Sciences*, where it primarily denotes the progress which Fontenelle expected to see during “a century that will become more enlightened day by day.” Fontenelle was referring to the natural sciences, but the French term *lumières* (in the plural), and the equivalents in German (*Aufklärung*) and English (Enlightenment), became established to cover the major developments in all the arts, and above all in philosophy*.

The Enlightenment was primarily characterized by its commitment to empirical investigation in the sciences, its optimism about progress in all realms of life, and its belief in human perfectibility. It tried to replace authority by rational investigation, preferred rationally structured order to nature or sentiment in the arts, and made the critical examination of evidence the means of establishing truth* in matters of history* and theology*. Its philosophical core, articulating broader cultural changes, moved from the early rationalism of the Catholic Descartes* to the critical analysis of human intellection and morality of the Protestant Kant*, who, preoccupied with “the starry heavens above and the moral law within,” attempted to lay the foundations both for the certainty of modern science and for the possibility of human freedom.

The spirit of the Enlightenment is doubtless best summed up in the tentative and often amusing ironies of the after-dinner pieces of Voltaire (1694–1778), later worked up into *contes* (tales) such as *Candide*, which focused on Voltaire’s dislike of dogma (because it bred intolerance) and of rites (because they bred superstition). Voltaire wavered, but he cautiously advocated that organized Christianity be as unstructured as possible without compromising the sanction of posthumous divine remunerative justice, a belief that he still held necessary for the cohesiveness of human society. The possibility of an ethic unsupported by divine retribution after death* had, however, already been canvassed by the Protestant Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) in his 1683 *Pensées diverses sur la comète*, originally a

pamphlet attacking as superstitious the view that the advent of comets presaged the occurrence of events on Earth.

The movement’s great monument was the 17-volume *Encyclopédie*, edited by Denis Diderot (1713–84) from 1751 to 1765. The *Encyclopédie*, although at first relying on contributions from ecclesiastics and purporting to provide only a systematization of contemporary knowledge, turned progressively in its later volumes into a vehicle for religiously skeptical propaganda.

a) Philosophy. The lifelong attempt of Descartes to provide apodictic metaphysical certainty for metaphysics, physics, medicine, mechanics, and ethics* had been apologetic in intention but it necessarily subverted the need for authority* in philosophy. Buoyed up by the optimism of France after the religious wars and fearful of the religious skepticism they had generated, Descartes sought to establish both the immortality of the human spiritual principle and the path by which human beings might attain to the highest virtue and happiness of which they were capable. He started with a purely methodical universal doubt of all that was not undeniably self-evident, exempting only the truths of revelation, and produced a system that was therefore a purely rational construct.

From that theory, Baruch Spinoza (1632–77) developed his deterministic pantheism, dangerously viewing the mind and body as expressing different attributes of the same substance. It was also against a Cartesian background that the desire for a rationalist explanation of human experience paradoxically led the Oratorian Nicholas Malebranche (1638–1715) and the Protestant Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz* (1646–1716) to assign to God* a direct intervention in human cognition, an idea that provoked a reaction among the English empiricists. For Malebranche, “we see all things in God.” The mind perceives only ideas representing material objects, and these ideas are themselves “the efficacious substance of the divinity.” For Leibniz, the appearance of interaction of substances is the result of a harmony preestablished by God. Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), who thought of himself as a controversialist of Augustinian* stature in defense of Catholicism*, was sufficiently frightened by the writ-

ings of both Spinoza and Malebranche to turn against Cartesianism, writing on 7 December 1691 a famous letter on the subject to Pierre Nicole (1625–95), a Jansenist moralist who inspired Pascal*.

Directly opposed to the epistemologies deriving from a Cartesian background was the thought of the Protestant John Locke (1632–1704). His reference to the possibility of thinking matter, abolishing the absolute Cartesian separation of matter and spirit, was to inspire Voltaire's attack on Descartes and was a significant step on the path to materialism. Since the Middle Ages the immortality of the soul had appeared to be contingent on its spirituality. David Hume (1711–76) attacks not only revealed theology but also natural religion, and he grants an even bigger role than Locke to sensory perception in our understanding of the world, increasing the difficulty of defending immortality, which in private even Voltaire doubted.

b) Theology. There was a specifically theological Enlightenment tradition, most prominent in Germany. It derived from Christian Thomasius (1655–1728), a Leipzig professor chiefly famous for his hostility to prejudice and superstition. His religious views led to the withdrawal of his license to teach, and he moved to Halle, which was soon to become the center of Pietism*. Also associated with Halle was Christian Wolff (1679–1754), who was for a while dismissed from his teaching post on account of his theology, largely derived from Leibniz, which was an attempt to base theological truths on evidence of mathematical certitude. Wolff was reinstated and ennobled when Frederick the Great (1712–86) succeeded to the Prussian throne, but his thought was replaced in public esteem by that of Kant, whom it had much influenced.

Like Locke and Leibniz, Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) was influenced by recent scientific investigation. Court preacher at Weimar from 1776, Herder's chief interest was the nature of language. Stimulated by Kant at Königsberg to critical inquiry, and prefiguring Hegel, whose dialectical theory of human history he inspired, he moved from early attacks on universal reason and happiness to a genuinely Enlightenment belief in the unicity of the world soul, "the one human reason, the one human truth." Herder combined his religious commitment with his belief in the progress of humanity, his status as a poet, his view that poetry was the original language, and his interest in the history of humanity, but his importance derives partly from his close relationships with such major literary giants of the Enlightenment as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), and Jean Paul [Richter] (1763–1825). An admirer of

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), Herder finally repudiated the influence of Kant in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784–91). Although often regarded as a freethinker, he represents not so much the rationalist side of the Enlightenment as the interest in art, poetry, and literature that was to bear fruit in the Sturm und Drang movement and in the preromantic exploration of human harmony with nature in its wildness and its majesty.

Enlightenment rationalism replaced authority, whether that of revelation or that of Aristotle, with human reason as the principal criterion of truth. It was frequently on account of the theological implications, sometimes left merely implicit, of 17th-century discoveries in the natural science, notably in optics, medicine, and astronomy, that the Enlightenment came into conflict with the church. It was not the strongly skeptical and sometimes blasphemous satire that was new, but the attack on authority in the name of scientific experiment. Descartes himself had resisted both the discovery of the circulation of the blood by William Harvey (1578–1657) and the obvious conclusions to be drawn from the experiments with the vacuum of Evangelista Torricelli (1608–47), but these matters were mostly left to scientists, or made merely the subject of amused comment. When the teaching of Cartesianism in France was being widely prohibited, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711) published in 1671 an *Arrêt burlesque* forbidding Reason to enter the schools of the University of Paris. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) made numerous discoveries about the pendulum, specific gravity, gravitational force, optics, and the measurement of heat before he adopted the Copernican view that the earth revolved around the sun. It was largely on account of his publication of that view, which appeared to be incompatible with the account of the Creation* in Genesis, that scientific advance was made to appear incompatible with divine revelation.

The most important attack on ecclesiastical authority came when the Oratorian biblical scholar Richard Simon (1638–1712) declared that Moses* could not possibly be the author of all the works attributed to him. The whole run of 1,300 copies of Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* was destroyed and had to be republished outside France in 1685, although the Protestant authorities were as enraged as the Catholics. After Simon it is primarily to oblique criticisms of authority that we must turn for evidence of a growing skepticism. The tone was often light, as in the satirical *Lettres persanes* (1721), anonymously published by Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), purporting to describe Paris as seen through the eyes of travelers from the East, or in Pierre Bayle's tongue-in-cheek use of contradictory historical

sources to cast doubt on received views in his great 1696 *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, or in Fontenelle's insinuations about the credibility of miracles in his history of oracles and his book on the history of fables. The first works of more or less open atheism such as *L'homme machine* by Julien-Jean Offray de la Mettrie (1709–51), written in 1747, have a comparatively slender thread of provocative argument beneath an only semiserious surface. Like Paul-Henri Thiry, baron d'Holbach (1723–89) author of the atheistic *Le Système de la nature* (1770), La Mettrie was regarded by Diderot as dangerously compromising to what had become a secularizing campaign.

c) The Enlightenment also manifested itself in national literatures, the visual arts, and music. Other constitutive elements included the development of constitutional liberalism* by Locke, the adoption by Montesquieu in *The Spirit of Laws* (1748) of the natural law theory adopted from Grotius (1583–1645), the economic theories of Adam Smith (1723–90), and the

philosophy of Giovanni Battista Vico (1668–1744) for his distinction between scientific and historical explanation. Like all major cultural movements, the Enlightenment contained within itself the seeds of its own disintegration, but it was the last period in European culture when a harmonious synthesis between thought and feeling was still generally possible, even if only among a literate social elite.

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ANTHONY LEVI

See also **Humanism, Christian**

Ephesus, Council of

(A.D. 431)

a) *Occasion and the Issue at Stake.* The third ecumenical council*, in large part, was born from the tension between two major Christological* movements—that of Antioch, Syria, and that of Alexandria, Egypt. Represented by Athanasius at the Council of Nicaea* (325), the Alexandrian* school especially stressed the divinity and the unity* of the Person of Jesus*, the Word* begotten by the Father* and consubstantial* with the Father. The Antiochene school, which fought strongly against Apollinarius (and Apollinarianism*), stressed the full humanity of the Son of God* and the duality of his nature. This tension was exacerbated after 428, when use of the title *Mother of God* (*theotokos*), for Mary*, was questioned. Although the name *theotokos* was traditional, Nestorius, the new patriarch of Constantinople, insisted that Mary could be named the mother of *Christ** or the mother of *Jesus*, but not the mother of *God* (Loofs 1905). The association of the Word with Christ was one of conjunction

(*sunapheia*), imparting dignity and authority, and not a strict unity (*henôsis*) of “a one and the same” (ACO I, 5:1, 29–31).

Cyril*, patriarch of Alexandria, defended the title *theotokos* in the name of the strict unity of Jesus with the incarnate Word (DCO II, 1:107). Before the end of 429, there was an exchange of letters, and Pope* Celestine soon became involved as arbitrator. A Roman council demanded that Nestorius retract his views within ten days (ACO I, 2:7–12). A synod* in Alexandria in November 430 sent the third letter to Constantinople from Cyril to Nestorius, as well as a list of 12 anathemas (DCO II/1:124–26).

b) *Events of the Council.* On 19 November Emperor Theodosius II warned Cyril and the other metropolitans that he was calling a council at Ephesus during Pentecost, 7 June 431 (ACO I, 1, 1:114–16). Instructions for the council's procedure were based on those

of the senate and took into consideration the goal of the debates (*ibid.*, 120–21). After 15 days, on 22 June, Cyril opened the council before 154 bishops*, without waiting for the bishops from Syria and the Roman legates, who had sent word that they would arrive soon, and over the objections of Count Candidien, the emperor's delegate, and 68 bishops—of whom only 17 were of Eastern origin (*ACO I*, 4:25–30).

The detailed minutes of the 22 June session are available. After reading documents from the proceedings, upon Cyril's request, and after Nestorius was unsuccessfully summoned to the assembly, a second letter from Cyril to Nestorius was read, as was the response of the accused (*DCO II/1*: 104–12 and 112–24). Afterward, the bishops were asked to approve Cyril's letter and condemn Nestorius, in light of the Nicene doctrine. The vote in favor was unanimous, and Nestorius was deposed from his see: "[W]e have been compelled of necessity...to issue this sad condemnation against him, though we do so with many tears. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who has been blasphemed by him, has determined through this most holy synod that the same Nestorius should be stripped of his episcopal dignity and removed from the college of priests" (*DCO II/1*: 146–8).

Disorder transpired once the Eastern bishops arrived on 26 June. Their assembly, consisting of more than 50 bishops, excommunicated Cyril and Memnon, the bishop of Ephesus (*ACO I*:1, 5, and 119–24). A rescript from the emperor cancelled the 22 June meeting and ordered the reopening of the council (*ACO I*:1, 3, and 9–10). The Roman legates, who had been given the order to conform to the acts of Cyril, arrived on 10 July. Five sessions were held in the presence of the legates, from 10 to 22 July. At this time, Cyril and Celestine were acclaimed, and the condemnations announced by the Eastern bishops' assembly were voided (*ACO I*:1, 3, 15–26, 53–63, and I:1, 7, 84–117). At the beginning of August Theodosius dissolved the council (*ACO I*:1, 7, 142).

c) Assessment of the Council. Over the centuries, all kinds of opinions have been advanced on the canonical value and doctrinal impact of these events, and there have been both "systematic defamation" and "easy apologies" (Camelot 1962). Cyril's great haste and actions, as well as the excesses and sensibilities of the Eastern bishops, make it even more difficult to evaluate these unpleasant gatherings. Cyril, however, had been named president of the council by Pope Celestine (*ACO I*, 2:5–6), and the Roman legates joined together with him as soon as they arrived in Ephesus, delivering letters from the pope (*ibid.*, 22–24). Cyril's council was openly approved by Pope Sixtus III, Ce-

lestine's successor, in July 432 (*see ACO I*:1, 7, and 143–45).

Cyril had first turned the council into a "heresy* trial" for Nestorius (De Halleux 1993). However, if the votes for Nestorius's deposition had a formal disciplinary character, Nestorius was censured for reasons of doctrine. To take a position, one had to focus on the Nicene Creed. What was at stake was the doctrine of the unity of the Person* of Christ (the hypostatic* union) and, consequently, Mary's divine maternity. The possibility of "adding anything to the Nicene Creed was systematically rejected. Opinion, nevertheless, hardly ever wavered, and the decisions of the council were considered equivalent to a definition" (Jouassard, *Maria*, 1949).

At Ephesus great importance was attached to the tradition* of the Fathers* and particularly to the Nicene Creed, a confession to which the council forbade any additions (*DCO II*:152–56). The authority* of Rome* was also decisively ascertained because of the calls of Nestorius and Cyril to Celestine in 429, the judgement of the synod of Rome, and the sending of the legates and their role in the council's denouement.

Epilogue: The 433 Formula of Union. After an incredible exchange of letters sent back and forth between the Cyrilians and the Easterners, Ephesus had a happy ending in 433. At the invitation of Emperor Theodosius II, John of Antioch wrote a profession of faith, and this "formula of union" was enthusiastically championed by Cyril of Alexandria (PG 83, 1420): "We confess then our lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man of a rational soul and body, begotten before all ages from the Father in his godhead, the same in the last days, for us and for our salvation, born of Mary the virgin, according to his humanity, one and the same consubstantial with the Father in godhead and consubstantial with us in humanity, for a union (*henôsis*) of two natures took place. Therefore we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. According to this understanding of the unconfused union, we confess the holy Virgin to be the Mother of God (*theotokos*), because God the Word took flesh and became man and from his very conception, united to himself the temple he took from her" (*DCO II/1*:164–72).

There are three mentions of the Cyrilian term *henôsis* in the formula. Nestorius's word *sunapheia* is not used to designate the pure union of natures in the unique *prosôpon*. As for Cyril, he spoke clearly of two natures after union and renounced the formulas in the letter to the excommunicated.

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See also Chalcedon, Council of; Christ and Christology; Cyril of Alexandria; Hypostatic Union; Idioms, Communication of; Nestorianism

Epiclesis

The Biblical notion of epiclesis was understood as a religious tribute and a recourse to God* and his name*. In the Christian tradition* after the New Testament it came to mean either an address to the Trinity*—as in the baptismal act and also perhaps in the more ancient perspective of the eucharistic prayer* (Casel)—or, progressively, as a request, an invocation to God the Father* (to whom the eucharistic prayer is most often addressed) that he send the Holy* Spirit. In the eucharistic prayer of the *Apostolic Tradition*, attributed to Hippolytus of Rome (third century), the Spirit is invoked for the unity* of the Church*. In the fourth and fifth centuries, in the eucharistic prayers of Antioch (Taft 1992) and then of Jerusalem*, it is invoked at the beginning—and for the purpose—of blessing the bread and the wine. In Egypt during the same period, the prayer known as the eucharistic prayer of Serapion includes an epiclesis that calls on the Logos instead of the Spirit. Historians cannot say with certainty if this was a tradition proper to Egypt. More likely, it was an isolated attempt to claim to be under the patronage of Serapion, bishop* of Thmuis, who, along with Athanasius* of Alexandria, was a champion of orthodoxy, an act that probably would have been an attempt to avoid confessing the divinity of the Spirit.

Whatever the case may be, the epiclesis in the Antiochene eucharistic prayers is placed after Christ’s words at the Last Supper, whereas in the Egyptian eucharistic prayers it comes before those words, except for the double epiclesis, which is placed before and after Christ’s words. In the Roman tradition prior to Vatican* II the eucharistic prayer did not include an invocation of the Spirit. However, it was comparable to the Egyptian eucharistic prayers in that, from the

fourth century, the account of the institution of the Eucharist* was preceded by a paragraph of request that might be understood as an epiclesis in a broad sense.

In the eucharistic prayers of the Antiochene type (Antioch, Constantinople), the doctrine of the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ developed as an interpretation of the words of the epiclesis, pronounced after the account of the institution, whereas in the Roman eucharistic prayer, from the time of Ambrose* of Milan, it was Christ’s words at the Last Supper that were understood as having the effect of consecration. In the second part of the Middle Ages (letter of Benedict XII [1341] on the subject of the Armenians, *DS* 1017), the Antiochene and Roman perspectives no longer seemed compatible, even though the celebration of the Greek eucharistic prayers has never been abandoned in the Communion* of the Roman Church.

Since Vatican II the new eucharistic prayers II, III, and IV in the Roman Mass include a double epiclesis. The Holy Spirit is invoked first before the words of Christ, for the transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; and a second time after the anamnesis, for the sanctification of the communicants. Whatever the historical justifications invoked on this subject in the liturgical traditions of Rome and Egypt, this provision had the merit of giving a place to the Holy Spirit in Roman eucharistic devotion at a time when it was seeking to refocus on the eucharistic prayer.

All of the Protestant eucharistic liturgies* currently include an epiclesis.

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See also **Holy Spirit; Prayer**

Epieikeia

The term *epieikeia* comes from the Greek *epieikeia* (adj. *epieikes*); it designates a virtue* that is difficult to define: ordinary or everyday virtue, virtue that has nothing heroic or exceptional about it. In the New Testament and patristic writings, it is the virtue expected of Christians. The texts provide us with a full description of *epieikeia*: one who has it is cool-headed, sensible, and balanced; good, tolerant, and understanding; restrained, down-to-earth, and disdains ostentation. *Epieikeia* is, essentially, moderation, understanding, and discretion. The epithet *decent* comes closest to capturing the nuances of *epieikeia*.

Epieikeia became a technical term in the 13th century with the translation of the *Ethica Nicomachea* (*Nicomachean Ethics*), making available a discussion (1137 a 31–1138 a 2) of how *epieikeia* relates to justice*. The two are distinct, but not heterogeneous. *Epieikeia* is just, but not with regard to law*. It corrects legal justice and is thus superior to it. Law is necessarily limited to prescriptions suited to the generality of cases; it can therefore fail to encompass a special case. *Epieikeia*, on the other hand, provides the correction that the lawgiver himself would have made if he could have been present. The individual who displays *epieikeia* does not press legal claims to the limit but accepts reasonable compromises.

The impression that this passage made upon medieval thinkers is suggested by the appeal made to *epieikeia* by Robert Grosseteste (c. 1175–1253), a translator of Aristotle and a commentator on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, in the course of a denunciation of the excesses of the papal curia delivered before Innocent IV at Lyons in 1250. *Epieikeia* is "halfway between natural justice and legal justice, and is shown in a judge's unwillingness to punish infringements of positive law that do not offend natural justice, as when legal but unreasonable exactions for ecclesiastical

visitations are resisted." The reference to natural justice shows how *epieikeia* fitted into a train of thought already present in western jurisprudence, the notion of "equity." This gives the use of *epieikeia* in Western Christendom a context in law that is not present in Aristotle. Thus, *epieikeia* is never conflated with conscience*: although both relate to the application of a law, conscience does so from the point of view of one who acts, *epieikeia* from the point of view of one who judges actions. Thomas* Aquinas explicitly equates *epieikeia* with equity (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 120, a. 1). There are occasions when the law fails to meet the case, and true respect for the law is shown at these times by not taking the law literally, but by doing what justice and the common good require. *Epieikeia* therefore belongs to the virtue of justice rather than to that of temperance (*ibid.*, a. 2); and it thus contributed to that mingling of jurisprudence and moral theology that produced casuistry*.

With the Renaissance* and Reformation, a shift in emphasis occurred, from moderation to leniency. Seneca's *De clementia*, widely read at that time, describes clemency as an "inclination...to mildness" characteristic of the best judges. It is not a question of pardoning or showing "compassion" (which Seneca thought was a vice), for the goal is to identify precisely what justice demands, remaining within the realm of law. Clemency so conceived was readily identified with *epieikeia*, which gave rise to a stronger criticism of "strict" justice: not only the occasional special case, but every case requires examining the context, which will moderate the severity with which one views an offense. In the growing Augustinianism* of the 16th century, this context included, as a matter of course, a sense of the judge's own dependence upon the mercy* of God*. The story of the adulterous woman (Jn 7:53–8:11), mediated through mystery plays, was

combined with the Reformation emphasis on justification* by faith* to define epieikeia/equity/clemency as a humble moderation in passing judgment, such as befits those who know their own sinfulness (See Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* and *The Merchant of Venice*). Thus, William Perkins (1558–1602), basing his discussion of epieikeia on Philippians 4:5 (“Let your epieikeia be known to all men. The Lord is at hand”), takes the latter part of the text as the clue to the whole. The nearness of divine judgment* demands that we are humble when judging others, since we hope to be treated with mercy ourselves. We are “flesh and blood, and full of infirmities,” and society* cannot endure if we judge with the rigor that an angel* might use. This is certainly not a reason to abandon justice, but justice must shake hands with mercy (See Ps 85 [84]:11, a text traditionally applied to the crucifixion.) The prince’s laws cannot be “perfect and absolute” as God’s laws are, but the prince may practice a merciful judgment witnessing to the divine work of reconciliation.

The power of dispensation from law thus came to be seen as an expression of epieikeia. Popes had always strongly maintained their right to deviate from universal ecclesiastic legislation (*DS* 731). Richard Hooker thought that a case could be made for the right of secular powers to dispense with law if absolutely necessary (*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* V, 9). Some evils cannot be eliminated, but their effects can be eased by equitable measures (V, 9), since “precepts do always propose perfection” (V, 81, 4)—thus reversing the

traditional contrast of precepts* and counsel. The interpretation of epieikeia as higher justice found a new expression in Grotius’s contrast between justice “in the strict sense” and justice “in the larger sense,” also named “expletive” and “attributive.” The latter is concerned with deciding “what things are agreeable or harmful (as to both things present and things to come) and what can lead to either alternative,” and with “prudent management in expanding the goods proper to individuals and communities” (prol. 9 *Sq*; chap. I, 1, 8).

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See also Casuistry; Justice; Law and Christianity; Law and Legislation; Virtues

Epistle of Barnabas. *See Apostolic Fathers*

Epistle to Diognetus. *See Apostolic Fathers*

Equiprobabilism. *See Alphonsus Liguori*

Equivocality. *See Analogy*

Erasmus, Desiderius

(1469–1536)

Although Erasmus did not present himself as a theologian belonging to a particular school, he had an immense theological influence at the dawn of the Reformation through his theses in defense of free will (in 1524 against Luther*), a return to evangelic and patristic teachings, the reduction in number of the articles of faith* required for salvation*, Christocentrism, and the primacy of orthopraxy over orthodoxy*. In order to defend what he called “the philosophy of Christ*,” Erasmus rejected the Scholastic method of argumentation and its neologisms and used all of the literary genres, including prefaces to his translations or editions of the Scriptures and the Fathers* of the Church, philological *Annotations*, his *Paraphrases* of the Bible*, *Colloquia*, and *Adages*.

The ironic style of his prolific correspondence easily veers into digressions, often allowing Erasmus to defend, as though it were a mere aside, a Christocentric theology* (which was more moral than speculative) without trapping himself in rigid, dogmatic positions. It was in 1516, the year his New Testament was published, that he first used the expression *philosophia Christi*: “Now the philosophy of Christ, which he himself called a rebirth, what is it but the restoration of the nature that was created good?” (*Paraclesis*). The expression—which he afterward sometimes varied as *Christian*, *evangelical*, or *celestial philosophy*—would henceforth signal in abundance his Christocentric biblism.

a) Life. The illegitimate son of a priest, he was baptized under the first name of Gerhardus Gerhardi; he would later Latinize this to Desiderius and adopt the name of Erasmus. Educated in traditional Scolasticism, and then in the spirit of the *devotio moderna*, as a monk from Steyn, Erasmus set out to study theology at Paris in 1495, then in England under John Colet, who initiated him into the works of Paul and into Florentine Platonism. Erasmus earned a doctorate of theology at Turin in 1506, and in 1516 he published his edition of the Greek New Testament, along with his own translation into classical Latin, dedicating it to Pope Leo X.

Erasmus applied his independent and flexible mind with his unswerving fidelity to the faith and unity* of the Church*. He also had a great love of humanist letters and philological matters, and insisted on inner religion and on the primacy of love* over knowledge. In his *Manual*, he writes “You like the arts? That is good if it is for Christ’s sake. . . . Better to know less and love more.” But all these things earned him harsh criticism from the Faculties of Paris and Louvain, who classed him among those *humanisticae theologizantes* whom they reproved.

Erasmus devoted his last years in Basel to the edition of the Fathers of the Church. His editions of Augustine*, Jerome, and Origen* were to remain the authoritative texts for a long time. First censured, and

later rehabilitated by natural religion and Enlightenment* thought, Erasmus resurfaced in the 20th century—in his true role of Catholic theologian, irenic, and moralist—as one of the masters of 16th-century humanism.

b) Works and Thought. The Christ-centered thought of Erasmus is based on Holy Scripture and especially on the New Testament. The “philosophy of Christ”—the love of Christ as wisdom*—is developed in the whole of his output. His exhortation to a Christian life proposed in his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*—or *Manual (dagger) of the Christian Soldier* (1503, 2nd Ed. 1518)—constitutes a free commentary on Ephesians 6:11–17. Erasmus defends Paul’s tripartite philosophy and some rules of true Christianity. The rules can be summed up as: “Love nothing, admire nothing, expect nothing but Christ or because of him.” True piety lies in so doing, and that encompasses religion, theology, and a Christian life.

Erasmus wrote *The Praise of Folly* (1511), which he dedicated to his friend Thomas More, in a playful and paradoxical style. That style allowed him to take digs at all the institutions (including universities, religious orders, and ecclesiastical structures*), plead in favor of the teaching of the Beatitudes, and address his comments to children and simple folk rather than to scholars—for in them weakness becomes strength, and the ignominious death* on the cross transforms into the glorious Resurrection*. He asks: “What do all those Scriptural texts cry out constantly but that all mortals are madmen, even the devout ones, if not that Christ, in order to come and succor the madness of mortals, to a certain extent became a madman” by taking on human nature and by saving mankind through the madness of the cross? In order to symbolize mystical (mysticism*) ecstasy, his speech then amounts to a commentary on Paul, who is also presented as mad (2 Cor 2:16 ff.).

In his *Discourse on Free Will* (1524) Erasmus also gives a theological definition of free will as “a power of will that allows man to use what leads him to salvation,” and he stacks up the scriptural references favorable to free will in order to defend a synergy of divine grace* and human will. Erasmus holds that grace bends, then leads the will, which has responded to its call. Incapable since the Fall of finding the good by itself, free will nonetheless cooperates with the good as soon as grace directs it and stimulates it. If that were not the case, Erasmus adds, then sin would not be imputable and God would be nothing but a tyrant.

His *Paraclesis*, one of the prefaces to his edition of the New Testament, harks back to the source of this message by specifying a theological method: “The pure and authentic philosophy of Christ is nowhere

presented more felicitously than in the Gospels*, than in the Epistles of the apostles*...; by philosophizing piously, praying more than arguing, seeking to transform ourselves rather than to arm ourselves...if we seek an ideal life, why would we find another example preferable to the model, Christ himself?”

Christian philosophy is nothing other than the Gospels, or rather, in the New Testament, the doctor Christ himself teaching (*ipse Christus*).

Erasmus’s theology is, therefore, closer to a pious reading of the Scriptures than to speculations or controversy. It is closer to imitation* of the Gospels and of Christ than to observation of the “Judaic laws”—that is, fixed rituals. And yet, except for certain points where his theoretical audacity is based on a strong sense of the historicity of doctrinal positions, or when he debates the role of mutual love as a condition of the indissolubility of Christian marriage*, it is difficult to find Erasmus lacking in doctrinal fidelity. In the debate against Erasmus over the question of free will, Luther saw very clearly that his opponent had managed to place himself at the center of the theological debate and that he revealed a firm attachment to the Catholic tradition*.

A practitioner of an evangelical and patristic theology, often moved to propose a witty and even an allegorical exegesis* (after all, his masters were Origen, Augustine, and Jerome), skillful at always reconciling it with a scholarly knowledge of the text, Erasmus gives an example of a fruitful alliance of erudite knowledge (historical and philological) and Christian wisdom.

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See also Holy Scripture; Humanism, Christian; Liberty; Luther, Martin; Philosophy; Platonism, Christian

Erastianism

It is somewhat accidental that the name of the physician Thomas Erastus (Luber), 1523–83, became attached in English-speaking lands to a version of a late medieval tradition* of politico-ecclesiastical thought.

a) Thomas Erastus. A native of Basel, in 1558 Erastus became a professor of medicine in Heidelberg, where Elector Frederick III was shortly to introduce a Reformed Confession. Luber was a prominent opponent of the Genevan model of church government* with independent jurisdiction and successfully advocated the subordination of the presbytery to the civil government. His *Explicatio Gravissimae Quaestiones*, which denied to church authorities even the independent practice of excommunication, anticipated Bodin in its argument for an indivisible civil sovereignty. Attracting the attention of Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury as a potential apology for royal supremacy, it was published posthumously in London in 1589. Among the Reformed churches, those under the British crown, in Scotland and the English Church of the Westminster Confession (1643), followed an Erastian position, as in the Netherlands did the Remonstrants, whose power was crushed at the Synod of Dort (1619).

b) History of Erastian Theory. While the concept of civil sovereignty over church affairs had remote historical roots in the Roman doctrine of imperium and its Christianized Byzantine and Carolingian expressions, its subsequent development arose from medieval quarrels of royal and imperial powers with the papacy. By the turn of the 14th century, extreme papal claims to temporal and spiritual “plenitude of power” (*plenitudo potestatis*) were eliciting strident counterclaims. In the disputes between Philip IV of France and Pope* Boniface VIII over ecclesiastical property and privileges, royal apologists came close to affirming the king’s jurisdictional supremacy, thus preparing the way for the full-blown theory of indivisible civil sovereignty propounded in 1324 by Marsiglio of Padua (another physician), just prior to his becoming embroiled in Ludwig of Bavaria’s war with Pope John XXII.

Marsiglio’s exposition of indivisible civil sovereignty had three foundational principles, only the second of which was shared by Erastus and Bodin: namely, popular sovereignty*, the identical membership

of ecclesiastical and civil polity, and the sharp distinction within the human moral-political community between this-worldly and other-worldly ends. According to Marsiglio, the common will of the people (*populus, universitas*) is the original and perpetual source of political authority* and law*; rulers govern as its chosen representatives, and their actions are instrumental to and dependent upon the corporate body politic. As the citizen body in a Christian polity is also the body of believers, its unified will on ecclesiastical as on secular matters must be expressed in a single coercive jurisdiction. The ecclesiastical matters that lie within the jurisdictional competence of the body of believers and its governing agent pertain to this-worldly, or public and institutional, aspects of Christian faith* and practice, and include the selection, education, and appointment of clergy, the disposition of church* finances and property, the authoritative determination of church doctrine and practice, and the punishment of heresy* and other grave violations of divine law. The matters of faith and morals belonging exclusively to priestly authority pertain to Christ’s judgment and the salvation* of believers in “the next world” and involve no human jurisdictional competence in this one.

Marsiglio’s theory of unitary sovereignty contributed an influential laicizing strand to the conciliarist movement of the late 14th and 15th centuries, in that he invested the authority to define doctrine and practice in the universal body of believers represented at a general church council, to be convoked not by the pope but by the imperial government, which would also (along with lesser civil rulers) enforce conciliar decisions. Throughout the late medieval, Renaissance* and early Reformation periods, royal and imperial powers looked upon general church councils as tools to restrain the jurisdictional pretensions of the papacy, which the Councils of Constance* (1414–18) and Basel* (1431–49) and the conciliabulum of Pisa (1511–12) attempted to do.

The tradition of Sorbonnist conciliarism*, from d’Ailly and Gerson to Almain and Mair, provided crucial formulations of a natural-law basis for church polity into the 16th century, thereby fostering both Erastian and Gallican ecclesiologies. The English reform under Henry VIII and Edward VI asserted the monarch’s authority as “Supreme head in earth, nexte under Christe, of the Church,” yet preserved a dualism

of jurisdiction under the crown through the role of convocation alongside Parliament. In the Elizabethan era, as the rhetoric was curtailed (giving the queen “the cheefe government”), so the jurisdiction was unified, and Parliament assumed the dominant role. The most formative exposition of the Erastian position in the English church, Richard Hooker’s *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, accomplished its defense of the Elizabethan Settlement through the interweaving of natural-law and biblical theological models in a manner characteristic of the Paris masters. However, his insistence on the identical membership of ecclesiastical and civil polity in a Christian commonwealth and on the solely sacramental powers of the priesthood brings him closer to Marsiglio than to his Sorbonnist predecessors.

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See also Calvinism; Church and State; Conciliarism; Council; Gallicanism; Political Theology; Society

Eros. *See* Love

Eschatology

1. Concept

The term *eschatology*—literally, “doctrine of the last thing” (*eschaton*)—appeared in the 17th century, but it is only since Schleiermacher* that it has been used increasingly to refer to the problematic (the “treatise”) that comes last in the theological curriculum. Previously, this had been customarily entitled *De novissimis* (On the Last Things). In general, eschatology is concerned with the goal and fulfillment of creation*, and the history* (individual and universal) of salvation*. Here, fulfillment not only means completion with time*, and an ending within space, but addresses the theme of Christian hope*. Everything that God* has created to be called to “fullness of life” does not return to nothingness*, but attains, in its totality and in each of its parts, the internal and lasting fullness of its

essence, by being admitted to participation in the eternal life* of God. This presupposes, however, that the world* as we apprehend it has ceased to exist in time and space, or, better, that our present world is liberated from its fragility within the spatial and temporal order. It is indeed impossible to conceive of this fulfillment, that is, of the integral and lasting fullness of the whole, with all its components, under spatial and temporal conditions.

2. History of Eschatology

a) *Early Church.* In the first two centuries A.D., the end of the world and the return of Christ* were generally regarded as imminent. For this reason, the New Testament’s proclamation of Christ’s Resurrection*—which

both realized and intensified the promises of the Old Testament—did not prompt any far-reaching reflection on the fulfillment that was promised. Instead, this was envisaged as a direct consequence, or even as a simple “extension,” of Christ’s Resurrection. The first major theological systems, which emerged from the early third century onward, tended to integrate eschatology into a vast theology* of history, seen through the prism of Christology*. Irenaeus* of Lyon, for example, writes of the “recapitulation and fulfillment of the history of salvation in Christ,” and Augustine* addresses the theme of fulfillment with the formulation “from Christ alone (*Christus solus*) to the whole Christ (*Christus totus*), head and body.” Alongside these large-scale perspectives, we also find some detailed eschatological statements and reflections on the “how,” the “when,” and the “where” of the fulfillment. These were developed by bringing together, often in a forced manner, scriptural passages related to these questions, intertestamental and apocalyptic* treatments of the end of the world, and philosophical considerations on the fulfillment of the ages. Some authors also invoked specific themes of eschatology, such as the resurrection of the dead, in order to combat gnosis* and its disembodied spiritualism, or, in the form of the coming of judgment* and the pains of hell*, in order the better to exhort human beings to act in a morally responsible manner. Both these themes appear, most notably, in the writings of Irenaeus and Tertullian*.

In addition, there was a tension to be resolved between, on the one hand, a conception of fulfillment as the *internal result* of the dynamic present in the history of salvation, and, on the other hand, a conception of fulfillment that related it to the notion of a ready-made salvation waiting in the afterlife which human beings only had to rejoin. Whenever this latter, ultimately nonhistorical conception prevailed—fulfillment as a sort of transition from this world to a celestial beyond—the development of millenarian ideas about the establishment of an earthly and messianic kingdom, before the world ended, was not unusual. These were intended to do justice to the idea, advanced notably in the Old Testament, that there would be an age of salvation, belonging (also) to historical time, to which the internal dynamic of the kingdom* of God, now being prepared, was leading (Justin, Papias, Irenaeus). This conception was developed into an eschatology by the early church*, despite the many questions and contradictions inherent in it: “Only the extreme spiritualization of eschatology, on the one hand, and complete millenarianism, on the other, were finally rejected” (E. May, *TRE* 10, 300).

b) Middle Ages. This situation began to change with medieval theology, which concluded the dogmatic theology with a treatise specifically concerned with eschatology.

From the time of Peter Lombard onward, the systematic framework for such treatises was usually provided by the doctrine of the sacraments* (Alexander of Hales), but there were also other approaches: eschatological themes were introduced into theologies of creation and/or grace* (Thomas* Aquinas, Bonaventure*). As in the early church, however, eschatology was envisaged above all as the conclusion to, or as an integral part of, Christology. These perspectives, pertinent in and of themselves, were not, however, integrated into an overarching, complete, and coherent conception of eschatology.

It was Scholasticism* that determined the later development of eschatology by incorporating it into a cosmological ontology dominated by the Aristotelian “scientific” ideal, and thus cutting it off from any foundation in the eschatological and apocalyptic beliefs that still flourished as part of popular piety. The result was to enclose eschatology within a doctrine of future events and places, more or less seen as *things* that were bound to be realized at the end of history and beyond it. Eschatology was almost assimilated to a “judicial inquiry” into ephemeral earthly realities, the future that would go beyond them, and the events that were to be involved in the transition from one sphere to the other. Yet there was no clear delineation of the essential internal link between history and eschatological fulfillment, other than the idea of a strict correspondence between the individual’s behavior during his or her earthly existence and his or her dispatch to heaven or hell. All the eschatological statements in the Bible* (Christ’s return, the end of the world, resurrection, and the rest) were interpreted exclusively in relation to the future end and to what lay beyond the whole of history; and, following *Benedictus Deus*, the dogmatic constitution of 29 January 1336 (*DS* 1000–1002), there was a particular emphasis on the fulfillment of the individual soul*. There was, then, at least a fear that eschatology would become a matter of less and less concern in this world; and Christian hope was in danger of losing sight of the present reality of everyday life and the need to confront history. Late Scholasticism and, in its wake, Neoscholasticism, kept up this reifying approach, which degenerated into a veritable “physics of *eschata* [last things]” (Y. Congar).

c) Early Modern Period. Reformation theology marked the emergence of a more “existential” and Christocentric approach to eschatology: for Luther*, for example, the faith that justifies was a *truly eschatological* reality (see Asendorf). However, what we may appropriately call Reformation orthodoxy went on to join with more traditional approaches. During the Enlightenment*, eschatology, whether Catholic or Protestant, came to be focused on the question of the immortality of the

soul, and thus became part of the purely functional perspective of teaching on the rewards and punishments for moral conduct. Accordingly, to a large extent theological eschatology made itself responsible for its own secularization*, for if the central theme of eschatology is morality, then every transcendental dimension is eventually and decisively shown to be superfluous. The main question then becomes whether humanity can be “humanized” and thus establish the “kingdom of God on Earth.” The eschatology of the Enlightenment gave rise to the modern utopias that eventually culminated in Marxism (Marx*).

It was only with Schleiermacher, and after him, that broader conceptions were asserted once again, both within Protestant theology and in the Catholic school of Tübingen* in the 19th century. These new approaches, influenced by idealist philosophy*, were based on the conviction that history has an internal teleology, relating it to a kingdom of God that develops and progresses toward its final form. Such perspectives were eliminated from Catholic theology by the Neoscholastics’ understanding of eschatology, which conformed in this respect to late Scholasticism. By contrast, within the churches born out of the Reformation, and notably in “liberal Protestantism,” the idea of the kingdom of God was reduced to a moral reality given in the present state of the cultural existence of humanity (A. Ritschl). This interpretation distorted a crucial biblical concept in a completely anti-eschatological way.

d) 20th-Century Theology. An authentic renewal of eschatology took place in the early years of the 20th century among the representatives of what has been called “consistent eschatology” (J. Weiss, A. Schweitzer), who protested against the “reduction” of eschatology and argued that the expectation of an imminent irruption of the *eschaton* into history was a determining trait of primitive Christianity. The irrevocable sense of imminence in which the New Testament had been written was integrated programmatically, but not without far-reaching reinterpretation, into dialectical theology. Barth* certainly states that if Christianity were not absolutely and completely eschatology then it would be absolutely and completely foreign to Christ (*Der Römerbrief*, 1922). For the early Barth, however, biblical statements were no more than arguments and conceptual means for rejecting liberal Protestantism’s synthesis between the kingdom of God and the world of human culture, and for reestablishing an antithetical relationship between God and humanity: all eschatological statements are no more than *ciphers* for the sovereign transcendence of God in relation to the contingency and futility of created beings, who are touched by God only tangentially, at the

moment of their encounter. In this *kairos*, the *eschaton* is present at every moment, as the transcendental meaning of all moments. Consequently, the end that is called for in the New Testament is not a temporal event, not a fabulous “end of the world”; it bears no relation to any hypothetical historical catastrophes, be they earthly or cosmic (ibid.). Barth then distanced himself from this conception and, with hindsight, had to make the following confession (*KD II/1*, 716): “It appears...that, having taken seriously the transcendental nature of the kingdom of God that is to come, I put myself at risk of not taking at all seriously his coming as such.... It may be seen...how, with skill and eloquence, I neglected the teleology that it [Scripture] ascribes to time, and the idea of its progression toward a real end.”

Bultmann* went in a different direction, adopting the perspective of existential analytics developed by the early Heidegger* to describe the New Testament *kerugma* (proclamation) as an “eschatological event,” in the sense that the proclamation of the Word* of God tears human beings away from their lack of liberty in order to make them achieve liberty*. This new liberty is the *eschaton*, given and realized in the present, and every notion of a future that is still held in reserve within time is radically relativized (*Geschichte und Eschatologie*, 1958): “Do not look around you in universal history; on the contrary, you must look within your own personal history.... In each moment the possibility that it will be the eschatological moment lies dormant. You must awaken it from its sleep.”

This “axiological” eschatology of dialectical and existential theology entailed a general broadening of the concept, to the extent that *eschatological* has since come to mean “definitively or supremely valid.” These attempts retain their importance: for the first time, there had been an endeavor to arrive at a coherent understanding of the imagery in eschatological formulas and to expound their theological meaning. However, those who remained loyal to traditional eschatology (notably O. Cullmann) responded to these attempts by arguing that, in reinterpreting the temporal future as a theological or existential opening to the future, they had evaded or eliminated the very dimension of the concrete future that the world and history still contain for us. It is precisely this deficit that has shaped the contemporary reorientation of eschatology.

3. Contemporary Problems and Priorities in Eschatology

a) Eschatology in the Theologies of Grace and History. In the second half of the 20th century, eschatology has primarily been shaped by the desire to understand, from the perspective of a theology of

grace and a theology of history, what the Bible and tradition* have to say about the end of time.

The “new theology” (notably, Lubac*) has described how God’s grace is present throughout reality, tending dynamically toward its own fulfillment. Both as a whole, and through its specific statements, eschatology tells us something about the fulfillment of what is now at work within creation and history: the dynamic of God’s grace.

The treatment of eschatology from the point of view of the theology of history can be traced to two scholars above all others—W. Pannenberg and J. Moltmann—and, in Moltmann’s case, to his dialogue with Marxism (E. Bloch). Both these theologians argued, each in his own way, that the history of salvation, culminating in Jesus Christ, is made known through certain anticipations of the promised fulfillment, which thus become a stimulus to our understanding of universal history (Pannenberg) as well as to human action* (Moltmann). According to Moltmann, God no longer is the “wholly other” (*der ganz Andere*) situated *above* history but, because he asks for the historical commitment of humankind, he is the one who “makes everything other” (*der ganz Ändernde*) *within* history. Thus, the promised *eschaton* is always also a renewed and critical questioning of all the forces that reject the future that God has promised (eschatology as social critique). Within Catholicism, it has principally been Karl Rahner* and, in his wake, Johann Baptist Metz, who have emphasized this critical function and responded to the challenge of Marxism by articulating the future of the divine promise with the future of human action within history. Here, the “absolute future” of God is brought to bear against intrahistorical utopias, but it leaves human beings free to shape their own futures adequately, for Rahner and Metz reject the idea of a *totalitarian* human programming of the future, and place every action under an “eschatological reservation.” On the other hand, believers may perceive a contradiction between the biblical promises* and their present condition of loss and lack of liberty, in such a way that the concrete critical negations implicit in eschatological proclamations open up to them possibilities and motives for action. As against this conception of a fairly indirect and dialectical link between a transcendent eschatological future and an immanent future, South American liberation* theology has sought to order these two dimensions of the future in a more direct manner, where it has not simply identified them with each other. G. Gutiérrez (1971), for example, writes: “The growth of the kingdom is a process that is realized historically *within* liberation, to the extent that liberation means a better realization of humanity and the condition for a new society. Yet it goes beyond this, for

it is realized in historical facts that have the potential for liberation, it denounces their limits and their ambiguities, it announces its complete fulfillment, and it impels it forward, in effect, toward total communion. We are not faced with an identification: without liberatory historical events, there can be no growth of the kingdom.”

It was on the basis of very different premises that Pierre Teilhard de Chardin attempted to reconcile history (and the cosmos*) with eschatology. He understood the whole of reality, from inanimate nature to humanity and its cultural expression, as a process of continuous evolution* toward the absolute future of “the omega point,” where the Whole is united with God, who is its motor, the point of convergence, the guarantee—in a word, the principle—of evolution (Teilhard 1955). However, this attempt has remained somewhat isolated, not to say marginal, within the framework of the most recent developments in eschatology, doubtless also because of the scientific questions and problems of interpretation that it raises.

b) Eschatological Hermeneutics. Aside from the perspectives opened up by the theology of grace and the theology of history, since the middle of the 20th century we have witnessed the development of various attempts to construct a specific hermeneutics* for eschatological texts. These attempts offer a new understanding of the *eschata*, opposed to the “reification” and “historicization” to which they were subjected by late Scholasticism. It is generally agreed that such a hermeneutics obeys the following “principles”:

- 1) Eschatological statements are concerned with the fulfillment promised by God and hoped for by humanity, which is the goal of the whole of creation, and toward which history is still progressing at the present moment. From this point of view, these texts are prophetic *indications* of the coming of God and the realization of his promise, and they call on human beings to prepare themselves and to place themselves hopefully on the road. However, they are not apocalyptic *predictions* capable of informing us about the unfolding of a goal that has been programmed in advance within the divine plan, or about a future that is already in a finished state in the beyond, toward which creation does nothing other than move forward.
- 2) The hope for the fulfillment of individual and universal history beside God, in God, and with God—indeed, the whole content of eschatology—should be interpreted in a resolutely personal sense, rather than in objective or spatial

terms. Augustine remarked long ago that our “place,” after death, is God himself. Eschatology in this sense has nothing to do with the dramatic production of a “Last Judgment,” nor with heavenly felicity and the like, but is related to God who *exists* “as the heaven that we have gained, as the hell from which we have escaped, as the tribunal that examines us, and as the purgatory that purifies us” (Balthasar* 1960). However, as God is the mystery* that infinitely surpasses human beings, all statements related to fulfillment are essentially connected with the core of this mystery, and should be read as having been shaped by a negative* theology rather than an affirmative one.

- 3) It must not be forgotten that eschatological formulas are to be taken as figurative. To the extent that hope is turned toward something that is humanly “impossible,” it is precisely the function of an image to open up the imagination and to prepare for what is to come from God, beyond human possibilities. Yet the images of Christian hope are not simply “dream visions”: they are “extrapolations,” that is, “extensions” into the future, of experiences of salvation, or perdition, that have already been acquired. God does not come only “at the end” to complete the creation of the external world: it is the whole of history that bears the mark of the salvific coming of God, whose every act goes beyond himself to an absolute fulfillment. That is why the history of salvation recorded in Scripture* already provides “documentation” from which it is possible to extrapolate the future fulfillment and its structures. It is in this way alone, as extrapolated images and not as “reports from the future,” that eschatological formulas must be interpreted in order to reveal their true “content.”

There are two projects within contemporary theology that, although they have different emphases, are both aimed at developing a more precise and systematic interpretation of this hermeneutic operation. According to Hans Urs von Balthasar, eschatology is above all an “extended Christology”: all eschatological statements are primarily concerned with Christ, and only then, by extrapolation, with ourselves as well. It is therefore necessary to “read” what happens at death, and what judgment, heaven, and fulfillment are, first of all in relation to Christ, before extending them to ourselves, but in such a way that Christ is, and always remains, the indispensable mediator of the fulfillment of created beings. By contrast, Rahner sees eschatology as being principally an “extended anthropology,” even though it may find its condensed expres-

sion in the figure of Christ: the *eschaton* fulfils what has already been given to us in our present experiences of grace. Accordingly, these experiences constitute the basis from which we can extrapolate toward a future fulfillment, and thus connect the eschatological images in the Bible and tradition to their real content. These two ways of putting a specific hermeneutics of eschatology to work are not mutually exclusive, but are strictly coordinated.

4. Central Eschatological Statements in Context

While the fulfillment promised by God is certainly unitary, it is related to creation, in all its multiplicity and temporality, and therefore takes on a multiple and temporal form.

a) Eschatological fulfillment concerns human beings as individuals and as members of communities. That is why eschatology speaks as much of the end of the individual, in death*, and of individual fulfillment—the immortality of the soul, or resurrection, purification (purgatory), felicity with God—as of the end of humanity, and its universal fulfillment as an entity endowed with “solidarity,” in the end of the world, the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, heaven, and hell. Since creation also has both material and spiritual dimensions, eschatology must also take care to distinguish their respective modes of fulfillment: “the separated soul,” the resurrection of the body, the new heaven and the new earth.

b) The fulfillment of the soul is not simply a matter of progressive and harmonious development in God. On the contrary, history is marked by antagonisms, born out of evil* and impiety, suffering and futility. This is why eschatology speaks of judgment, in which what is capable of being fulfilled is “separated” from what is not.

c) In fulfillment, it is God himself who realizes the fullness of humanity, but within the “time of pilgrimage” of this life human liberty can come into conformity with God or reject him. Accordingly, eschatology should speak not only of heaven, as the fulfillment of felicity, but also of hell, as the *immanent consequence* to which a liberty that radically rejects God is exposed. However, heaven and hell are not to be understood as being on the same plane, as two essentially symmetrical possibilities of fulfillment. God has done everything to bring about the salvation of humanity, and human beings themselves, such as they have been created, tend more toward Yes than toward No. That is why hope for a positive fulfillment, that is, hope for heaven, prevails absolutely over fear of hell. Radical

rejection, and therefore also hell, remain possibilities nonetheless, and are inseparable from human liberty.

d) Although eschatology speaks of the definitive future of creation in the presence of God at the end of time, it is true, nevertheless, that God has already been communicating with the world throughout the whole span of time, in the external events of the history of salvation, which culminated in Christ, in the sacramental acts of the church, and in the communication of grace to human beings. From this point of view, eschatology is not merely the specific treatise in dogmatics relating to the future, it is also a decisive dimension of theology taken as a whole. Indeed, it exists in numerous forms of "present eschatology," in which the final and the definitive are projected in anticipation, and human beings are encouraged to support and shape the "penultimate" reality of the world and history in the light of the "ultimate" reality. Earthly existence and history thus become, as Vatican* II declared, the "antechamber" in which human beings can already catch "a glimpse of the world to come"; what is more, it is in earthly existence and history that the "material of the heavenly kingdom" is formed, which human beings must carry, as the product of their history, into the fulfillment that is to come (GS 38, 39).

Such a conception retains some of the central meanings of millenarianism and worldly utopianism: the insistence on the fulfillment of the earthly quest for justice*, peace*, and humanization, and therefore on the fulfillment of earthly history. However, it would be a mistake to suppose that the potential for hope within creation is thus exhausted, or to lose sight of the lasting antagonism that pervades history. The fulfillment

of creation can only be produced beyond the world as it now exists, with God himself, through the admission of humanity, as the communion* of saints, into participation in the life of communion of the triune God.

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See also Beatitude; Hell; History; Hope; Life, Eternal; Limbo; Parousia; Vision, Beatific

Esoterism. *See Theosophy*

Essence. *See Being; Deity; Nature*

Eternity of God

The Eternal is my rock, my shepherd, my light, the Psalms* say. For a long time, it seemed completely natural that this adjective substituted for the name of YHWH in more than one translation of the Bible*. In his *Consolation of Philosophy*, Boethius* said that any man of sense recognizes that God* is eternal. But what does he recognize exactly?

1. The Bible

The term that is often translated as “eternal” or “eternity” is ‘*olâm*—or *aiôn* in the Septuagint (the first Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, begun in the third century B.C.). It did not originally designate the pure timelessness of God, but at first simply attributed an immense duration to him. It recognized in him an immemorial and indestructible existence. This existence is contrasted to the precariousness of the world* in Psalm 102 [101]:26 ff., a text that is applied to Christ by Hebrews 1:10 ff. It is also contrasted to the mortality of humanity—for example, in Psalm 90 [89] and Deuteronomy 5:23–26, God is the living God; in Deuteronomy 32:40, he says, “As I live forever.” His presence and action dominate time*. In his eyes, “a thousand years...are but as yesterday when it is past, or as a watch in the night” (Ps 90:4; 2 Pt 3:8). Furthermore, God remembers his Covenant* “forever” (lé ‘*olâm*)—or literally, for “a thousand generations,” (Ps 105 [104]:8). He is “from everlasting”—(mé‘*olâm*, Ps 93:2), and he was God before he had “formed the earth and the world, from everlasting to everlasting” (Ps 90:2). In this sense, as early as second Isaiah, eternity is clearly a divine attribute (Sasse 1933). This theme is reinforced by that of the preexistence of Wisdom* (Prv 8:22–31; Sir 1:1 [*eis ton aiôna*], 24:9) and of Christ* (e.g., Jn 1; Phil 2:6).

2. Theology

a) *Classic Conception.* In the Bible eternity is first and foremost a time without end and it cannot be imagined in another way, as is said again and again (See al-Razi in Arnaldez 1986; Sasse; Ernst 1995). This does not mean that God is attributed the same kind of duration as our duration, even if unlimited. Even this unlimited quality should be thought about, and can only be considered using the resources of philosophy*. This

is why it seems vain to regret the Hellenization* of Christianity regarding this point, as Oscar Cullmann does. It is not certain, moreover, that the first Christians had a “naïve” view of the eternity of God as a time prolonged indefinitely (Cullmann 1946). It may even have been their faith* in an eternal God that allowed them to feel affinity with Platonism (Pannenberg 1988), particularly in the form it took with Plotinus.

For Plotinus, when one says that the eternal is “forever,” it is an image to say that it is *veritably* (*Enneads* III. 7. 6). Plotinus did not restrict himself to opposing a timeless eternity to a time that is not related to it; he turns eternity into the fullness of a life that is totally present to itself. “Eternity is God himself exposed...as he is” (*Enneads* III. 7. 5), the one “in whom nothing is missing and to whom nonbeing could not be added” (*Enneads* III. 7. 4); or, as Bossuet would say with regard to the eternity of God, “the one in whom nonbeing has no place” (*Élévations sur les mystères*, I. 3). Plotinus also talks about the relationship of time to eternity, even if only in the mythical form of the fall of the soul* that produces time in its anxiety (*Enneads* III. 7. 11). These elements would inevitably serve theological reflection. We find them, at least until the 17th century, modified accordingly, in what can be called classic considerations of the question (e.g., Petau 1644). Augustine* draws a close parallel between the eternity of God and his immutability*, and radically opposes time, created (*Confessions* XI. xiii, e.g.) and characteristic of the changing creature (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* 121, PL 37, 1623), with eternity, “the very substance of God, in which there is no change” (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* 101 [102], PL 37, 1311).

Boethius is more similar to Plotinus, as can be seen in his definition of eternity: “the complete, simultaneous, and perfect possession of life without end” (*interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio*; *Consolation* V. 6). The word *interminabilis*, here, does not mean “interminable” in the usual sense, which connotes the whole experience and all the impatience of time; it rather designates the positive infinity of the being* of God, which we only understand negatively (see *ST* Ia, q. 10, a. 1, ad. 1). Boethius clearly defines the difference between a life that is simply “inter-

minable” and the fullness of presence of life to itself to which a duration cannot be assigned (*aliud est... per interminabilem duci vitam... aliud interminabilis vitae totam pariter complexum esse praesentiam*). The world is perhaps “perpetual,” but only God is “eternal.”

These thoughts would be adopted and systematized by Thomas* Aquinas, for whom it is certainly not the fact of having neither beginning nor end that defines eternity with regard to time (*ST* Ia, q. 10, a. 4), but the simultaneity of presence to oneself (Ia, q. 13, a. 11). In this sense, God is not in time, but time is in God (*ibid.*, a. 2, ad. 4, a. 4; Ia, q. 14, a. 13; q. 57, a. 3). Thus, Thomas explains the paradox of God’s knowledge of future contingents, which he does not anticipate, but rather sees as present (*prout sunt in sua praesentialitate*, Ia, q. 14, a. 13), since “at every moment in time, eternity is present” (*CG* I, 66).

b) Modernity. This classic conception was adopted again at the end of the 19th century by Vatican* I, which included eternity in the list of divine attributes (*DS* 3001; see Lateran* IV, *DS* 800). Yet, it was already not as fitting, contrary to what Boethius thought. Certainly, the negative aspect of eternity prevailed over its positive aspect in academic theology*, and eternity was no longer seen as simple timelessness. However, philosophies on future and on the evolution of the Holy Spirit and the Absolute (Hegel*, Schelling*) dominated at the time, and therefore first enhanced historicity. The eternity that Zarathustra loved was different from the one Augustine held dear (*cara aeternitas*; *Confessions* VII. x). It was, rather, an exalted absolute version of the future, of the “eternal return” to which Nietzsche* often turned. All of this made it difficult to see in immutability, impassiveness, the eternity of the positive attributes of divinity. It seemed more appropriate to define death* than life, of which Boethius spoke. There was only life if there was dynamism, future, progress, and conflict perhaps, and this had to be true of the living par excellence. This point of view still thrives: today, the word *static* is clearly pejorative, as opposed to the positive sense that ancient philosophy lent to *nunc stans*. To answer Augustine’s question *vis tu... stare?* (*PL* 37, 1623), we would tend resolutely to say “no.” Thus, contemporary theology, in many cases, aims to think about the “dynamism” of God, or at least his close connection to temporality and history*, which seems indispensable in understanding his love* for humanity. In extreme cases, as in “process* theology,” eternity is diluted in the undefined future of “events” that do not even form a world. In more classical theologies, thoughts of the past are not dismissed, but they are considered in new

terms, by going back to biblical categories. Thus Karl Barth* comes to consider the eternity of God as a duration—“the time of God” (*KD* II/1, 691). It is so full that it has none of the limitations, instability, or disjunctions of created time (691); in a certain way, it constitutes the shape of Trinitarian life (693–4); it contains time (698)—God “has time for us,” and “he has time because he has eternity” (689)—and it is possible that it becomes temporal in Jesus Christ (695–6). One would even have to define it as pre-, super-, and post-temporality (698).

This lordship of God over time that Barth recognizes (692) is also asserted by Joseph Ratzinger (1959). Ratzinger is not satisfied either with a negative conception of eternity. This lordship takes shape in the Incarnation*, in which God participated in time to bring man to participate in his eternity (*ibid.*). One understands that, from this point of view, “eternal” life promised to men is in no way a simple life forever, bearing nothing of the eternity of God—and here we come back to Boethius. This, moreover, is where the interest lies in the notion of *aevum*, which was developed by Scholasticism* in order to try to consider the duration of angels* and souls—that is, in seeking to define a paradisiacal duration that is neither the world’s time, nor eternity, which belongs to God alone, but which involves both. “Eviter-nal” beings are fixed in their essence, but their acts are successive. (*ST* Ia, q. 10, a. 5 and 6).

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See also Attributes, Divine; Immutability/Impassibility, Divine; Justice, Divine; Knowledge, Divine; Life, Eternal; Omnipresence, Divine; Omnipotence, Divine; Platonism, Christian; Predestination; Providence; Simplicity, Divine

Ethics

Every society* maintains its identity, coherence, and continuity through a set of values, rules, and practices that constitute its moral tradition. This is possible because human beings are social beings that depend on one another and have other interests beyond their own private concerns; it is necessary because human beings are also selfish beings with an inclination to pursue their own interests at the expense of others. One of the functions of moral traditions is to allow human beings to extend themselves by providing them with an authoritative system of acceptable practice. Such traditions also provide the context in which individuals determine their own aspirations and ideals.

Ethics generally refers to the systematic study of morality. It can be normative, seeking to set rules, or descriptive, seeking to systematize a society's virtues*, values, and obligations by placing them back in the context of the society's historical traditions, and in the light of some fundamental and authoritative principle or set of principles. Christian ethics is the study of that which constitutes the moral life in the light of belief in God* as Creator and Redeemer. Hence, whatever function it may ascribe to human moral intuition and reason*, it is fundamentally a "theological ethics," grounded in the will and wisdom* of God. In the Catholic tradition it is generally known as "moral theology*." Christian ethics is rooted in Scripture* and tradition*, but draws from philosophy*; during its early history it was, like the rest of Christian doctrine, much indebted to the Greco-Roman heritage.

1. Greco-Roman Heritage

a) Morality and Religion. Many mythological stories were far from edifying, and philosophers contended that they could not be taught as moral examples. Thus, explicitly or implicitly, philosophical ethics had a measure of autonomy in relation to religion and offered an independent criterion for testing the truth* of religious beliefs.

b) Law and Nature. If morality was not determined by the will of the gods, was it then determined by the will of human beings? And if so, of which human beings? In *Antigone*, Sophocles (c. 496–406 B.C.) portrays the moral conflict between Creon, who for

reasons of state* has forbidden the burial of Polyneices, and Antigone, who disobeys Creon in order to pay her last respects to her brother. In thus observing the piety due to the family*, she appeals to a law* that is deeper and more authoritative than the law imposed by the state.

c) Right and Might. Debates about the source of moral authority* raised questions about the nature of that authority. The Sophists maintained that a moral pronouncement has the authority only of the person who makes it, since moral opinions reflect only the interests of those who hold them. Thus, the morality of a community reflects the interests of those who hold power. This view is ascribed by Plato* to Thrasymachus in the first book of *The Republic* (338 a–348 b). It appears, on the other hand, that Socrates spent much of his life contesting such views, on the grounds that the dialectic of moral argument implies the reality of a constant and unchanging norm, and not merely an infinite variety of opinions.

d) Time and Eternity. Plato continued the reflections of Socrates by giving them a metaphysical foundation. Ethical norms can exist only if they are grounded in transcendent Forms, each of which is unchanging and eternal. The crown of these Forms is the Form of the Good*, which is beyond all being* and knowledge, and is accessible to intellectual intuition only after a sustained period of education.

e) Morality and Happiness. Aristotle rejected the doctrine of the Good because it sheds no light on the practical moral problems of human existence. In its place, he undertook an investigation of what it is that human beings really want and how they might achieve their goal. Everyone, he assumes, wants happiness (*eudaimonia*). By "happiness," he means not simple subjective satisfaction, but a fulfillment of life that embraces both subjective feelings and objective elements. Such happiness depends upon the active and lifelong exercise of characteristically human virtues in accordance with human nature. Supreme among these virtues is the intellectual virtue of contemplation*, which offers the greatest happiness since it most nearly approaches the activity of the divine.

f) Pleasure and Duty. The Hellenistic period saw new ethical developments. The individual replaced the citizen, and values that had previously been associated with membership in a distinctive community were superseded by values associated either with the individual or with universal humanity. Epicureans emphasized individual feeling, and extolled a quiet life of pleasure and contentment, while Stoics emphasized universal rationality, which, they maintained, provides the norms of human behavior. To act in accordance with reason is to act in accordance with the ultimate nature of things, human nature included.

This whole tradition of philosophical reflection provided early Christian theologians with a conceptual framework for the exposition of ethics. The moral beliefs of Christians were largely derived from Jewish origins, although their social relationships were also influenced by the Hellenistic world (e.g., “household codes” regulating relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and slaves, in such writings as 1 Pt 2:18–25 and 3:1–17; Col 3:18–4:1; Eph 5:21–6:9). The ethical issues were the same as those of the Greek philosophers: the nature, source, and grounds of the moral claim; the relationship between individual, community, and human beings in general; the relationship between the conventional, the natural, and the metaphysical; the dialectic of liberty* and obedience, or virtue and happiness; and, especially important for theology, the relationship between morality according to reason and morality according to revelation*.

2. *Judeo-Christian Tradition*

At the heart of biblical ethics is faith* in the one God as Creator and Redeemer, and acknowledgment of the Covenant* that God has made with his people*: the Covenant with the Israelites after their departure from Egypt, and then the New Covenant with all who put their trust in Jesus* Christ raised from the dead. For a covenantal ethics, the basic concepts are the gift and the call, the promise* and the command.

a) The Mosaic Covenant. According to the terms of the Covenant made with Moses, God’s promise is a new life in a new and prosperous land, while God’s command is that his people respect the law, as summarized in the Decalogue* and explained in the Pentateuch. Thus, the ethics of the Covenant is a prescriptive ethics of obedience to God’s law as the way of salvation*: if the people respect the law, they will surely “live”; if they break the law, they will surely “die” (Dt 30:15–20; *See* Ex 20:1–21; Dt 5–7).

b) The Two Ages and the New Covenant. The history of Israel*’s obedience and disobedience gave rise after

the exile to the imagery of the “two ages”: the present age, in which there is a continuing struggle between God and the forces of evil*, and the age to come, a messianic age in which God will establish a universal rule, and God’s people will live in holiness*, justice*, and peace*. At the heart of Jesus’ proclamation is the message that the kingdom is now at hand, and that people should pray and prepare for its coming. At that period, there were a variety of ways of representing the nature of this kingdom, and the precise intention of the preaching* of Jesus is open to more than one interpretation (*See* the phrase in Lk 17:20 on the kingdom of God, variously translated as “within you,” “in your midst,” or “in your grasp”). In any case, the effect of such preaching was twofold. First, it confirmed the basis of the Christian life in obedience to God, an obedience that is thankful for God’s love*, and called men and women to imitate such love in their relationships with one another. Second, it relativized the claims of all human institutions, such as the family and the state. The disciple should be characterized by love of God and love of neighbor, and the category of “neighbor” was expanded to include everyone in need whom the disciple was in a position to help (Lk 10:25–37).

Shortly before his death, Jesus anticipated the coming of the kingdom, and at the Last Supper he established a New Covenant (Mk 14:22–25 par.). After his death and Resurrection*, the expectation of the coming of the kingdom persisted (Parousia*). The disciples continued to accept social institutions and practices, but recognized that these belonged to the passing age and that, while they should be obeyed, they must now be obeyed “in Christ*” or “in the Lord.” This way of thinking doubtless left things as they were, but it also contained the seeds of radical criticism and transformation.

c) The Church and the World. The tension between living under the pressures and constraints of the present age, and anticipating the new life of the age to come, continued long after the expectation of Parousia had moved from the center of Christian consciousness. It can be discerned, for example, in the dialectic between desert and city*, between outright condemnation of riches and concern for their proper use, between celibacy and marriage*, and between an abnegation of coercive force and its employment in maintaining order and safety. Before the conversion* of Constantine (c. 274–337) and the establishment of Christianity as the state religion, Christian ethics could afford to remain an ethics of dissidence, but afterward, in one way or another it had to come to terms with the demands of social and political life. The aspiration to the perfect life of the new age was therefore con-

fronted by the realism of the present age, with its moral and social needs. This situation called forth, on the one hand, an ascetic theology (asceticism*), as exemplified by the earlier documents of the *Philokalia*, and, on the other, a carefully considered social ethics appropriate to the political life of an imperial regime.

d) Augustine and the Two Cities. In *De civitate Dei* (*The City of God*), Augustine* combines a philosophy of history* with a philosophical basis for ethics. In line with Aristotle, Augustine assumes that all human beings seek happiness (*CD* 10, 11). Because they have been created by God and for God, their true happiness, or blessing*, is to be found in God, who alone can satisfy their deepest longing. Thus, an ethics of self-fulfillment and an ethics of obedience are revealed to be one and the same. Loves for lesser objects are stepping-stones toward the ultimate love (*CD* 15, 22; *Doc. chr.* 1, 27). However, the sin* of love of self has perverted and displaced love of God, thus creating the earthly city in which the citizens of the city of God, on pilgrimage*, are also present until the end of history (e.g., *CD* 14, 28). In the present age, the law of God not only sets forth the true end of human beings and the way to achieve that end, but it also establishes moral boundaries that they must not transgress. Under the rule of God, the earthly city maintains order through restraint and coercion (e.g., *Ep.* 153, 6, 16), while the city of God is ruled by the grace* and persuasion of love (e.g., *CD* 19, 23). Since God wishes that evil should be repressed, Christians are justified in resorting to coercive force, in certain circumstances, but only if they hold political responsibility for the welfare of the community (*CD* 5, 24; cf. *Ep.* 93 and 185, where Augustine lays the foundations for what later became the doctrine of the just war*). Since Christians continue to be engaged in the two cities, an ethics that is intended to be Christian generally seeks some middle way between two extremes: the total rejection of the use of force, on the one hand, and the use of force for spiritual ends, on the other. The tension between the demands of law, order, and justice, and the counsels of patience, forgiveness, and love provides a recurrent theme of Christian ethics, and this tension finds expression in teachings such as the medieval doctrine of the “two swords” or Luther*’s doctrine of the “two kingdoms,” as well as in the espousal of nonviolence by some Christian sects and the justification of revolutionary force (revolution*) by some theologians of liberation*.

e) Thomas Aquinas and the Ethics of the Law. According to Thomas* Aquinas, the ultimate fulfillment of human beings and the daily ordering of human life are both grounded in the divine wisdom, the unchanging

structure of which is the eternal law. This eternal law is reflected in the world through a triple law: natural, divine, and human (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 91). The new law of the gospel is the presence in the believer’s heart of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, who evokes a free response of wisdom and love, and gives spiritual discernment (*ibid.*, q. 106, a. 1). Law is the expression of order, harmony, and fulfillment, and conformity with the law is the work of practical reason. Thus, love and wisdom form the mainstay of the good life, and the particular will of God is to be discerned as much by the Spirit of love as by the precepts* enshrined in written law. In a sense, Aquinas, while developing a different approach, is closer here to the Orthodox Church (orthodoxy*), with its emphasis on the divine “economy,” than are some other strains of Western Christianity, such as the penitentiaries, with their fixed tariffs for fixed categories of sin.

f) Conscience, Community, and Christ. The harmony achieved by Aquinas between the immediacy of spiritual discernment and the abstract mediations of the application of principles was not easy for everyone, and there was a great danger of privileging either intuitive reliance on the guidance of the Spirit or detailed casuistry*. The danger was accentuated by the disputes of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. In the churches of the Reformation, with their condemnation of the hierarchical structures of the medieval church, their emphasis on the immediate access of the believer to the grace of God through Jesus Christ, and their consequent suspicion of any ethical system that smacked of legalism, there was increasing emphasis on the freedom of believers to make their own judgments on the basis of Scripture and the inward prompting of the Spirit. The Council of Trent* sought to respond to this tendency by a renewed practice of auricular confession. As a result, the work of the moral theologian was increasingly restricted to prescribing the minimal requirements of law, while mystical or ascetic theology concerned itself with the deeper aspects of spirituality as lived (life*, spiritual).

The teaching that conscience* is the supreme subjective authority, always to be obeyed but needing to be formed and informed by the objective moral order, must always guard against two dangers: that of relativism*, in which the individual conscience is given an objective authority that does not pertain to it, and that of legalism, in which the abstractions of an impersonal order are preferred to the real problems of human beings.

3. Age of the Enlightenment and the Challenge of Secularization

The Enlightenment and its aftermath saw the radical questioning of traditional ecclesiastical authority. Tra-

dition as the justification of moral and religious belief was rejected in favor of reason, as with Kant*, or feeling, as with Hume (1711–76): an unquestionable foundation for morality was to be discovered in human nature. Sometimes, morality was assimilated to mathematics and its self-evident principles; sometimes, by contrast, it was assimilated to the apparent immediacy of the senses; sometimes, too, it was assimilated to a principle of maximization of interest. In any case, these proposals for grounding morality ascribed to it autonomy in relation to religion, and belief or disbelief in God was thus rendered ethically irrelevant. It would be difficult to find a more forthright assertion of the autonomy of ethics than Kant's celebrated remark: "Even the Holy One of the Gospels must first be compared with our ideal of moral perfection before we can recognize him as such" (*Grundlegung*).

The notion of the autonomy of ethics was intended to overcome the arbitrariness of religious ideology and to do justice to the freedom, dignity, and moral responsibility of the human agent. The human spirit was put in the place of God, and an innate sense of duty was substituted for obedience to divine law. However, the movement away from the moral object to the moral subject—that is, from moral law to the moral agent—carried within it the seeds of a more radical subjectivism, which rejected the whole idea of an objective morality. Growing awareness of the wide range of disparate and often conflicting beliefs and practices suggested that the idea of an essential humanity and a universal morality was an illusion. It seemed that there were many moralities, but no single morality, and that differing conceptions of morality were incommensurable. In such a situation, total moral anarchy is held in check solely by the fact that human beings must live together and therefore require a social morality, which brings order into their conflicting interests and is based on their common interests. Apart from this social morality, it is for individuals to choose their own values and style of life. Consequently, the primary virtue is no longer obedience to the universal moral law and a sense of obligation to one's fellow human beings, but sincerity and authenticity. In relation to society, it is no longer a question of responsibility, but of rights (*See* Sartre 1943 or Nozick 1974).

The radical subjectivism of contemporary ethics has often been criticized, and there is renewed interest among philosophers and theologians in the concepts of community and duty. However, the debate continues between those who believe that there are universal moral norms and those who believe that such norms are relative to specific systems of beliefs and values. In Christian ethics, the debate focuses on the relationship between natural and revealed morality, between that

which is, in principle, the property of all human beings as made in the image of God, and that which is derived from Scripture and Christian tradition. However, although Christian ethics is concerned first and foremost with the community of the redeemed, it also aims at the fulfillment of the "true" humanity of human beings, and therefore, in principle, has a universal scope.

4. Future of Ethics

The clash of cultures and ideologies that threatens to take the place of conflicts between nations has made the advent of a universal ethics all the more urgent. Is such an ethics possible, however, or even, as the most radical pluralists would ask, desirable? If it is, will it be no more than a "negative" ethics, proscribing behavior that infringes against certain basic rights? Or will it include a "positive" ethics, prescribing certain virtues, values, and practices that contribute to human well-being? If the latter, how will this well-being be defined? And should this include the well-being of animals* and even of the environment (ecology*)?

In the second half of the 20th century, not least because of Vatican* II, there was a renewal of moral theology and of theological ethics. The council declared (*Optatam Totius* 16) that: "special attention needs to be given to the development of moral theology. Its scientific exposition should be more thoroughly nourished by scriptural teaching. It should show the nobility of the Christian vocation of the faithful, and their obligation to bring forth fruit in charity for the life of the world." This is a call for a new theological anthropology*, and a deeper understanding of the link between freedom and obedience, which will combine the faith that human beings are made in the image of God with all the insights into what makes human beings truly human. The idea of a "true" humanity need not result in a stereotype.

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See also **Asceticism; Conscience; Ethics, Autonomy of; Ethics, Medical; Ethics, Sexual; Good; Market Economics, Morality of; Society**

Ethics, Autonomy of

1. Antiquity

It is said that Pythagoras was the first person to compare human life to the Olympic Games, at which one finds athletes, business people, and spectators. Counter to what we would do spontaneously, Pythagoras classifies them in *ascending* order, for they represent, respectively, those who devote themselves to the body, to action, and to contemplation*. Plato, who was the student of a Pythagorean, took up this value system when he gave the highest standing to contemplation. As with Pythagoras, this preference is explained by belief in the immortality of the soul* and in reincarnation. In Plato's mature work, the period of the *Phaedo* and *Republic*, for example, practical reason* has no independence from theoretical reason. Moreover, there is no terminological distinction. The virtue of both is wisdom* (*phronesis*). Wisdom, both theoretical and practical, is achieved in the grasp of the Forms, and the world of the Forms is unified under the Form of Good*. This world is accessible to the soul separate from the body. During incarnations, it loses touch with this world, under the clouding influence of the senses, but education can bring back reminiscences of it. In this case, reason then guides us into knowledge both of the nature of things and of the right principles of action. The whole of the soul, including the appetites and the spirit, comes under its control. This does not mean, however, that we cannot act contrary to reason. *Republic* (439 e 7–440 a 3) describes the case of Leontius, torn between his im-

pulse to look at corpses, and his reason, which tells him not to, but still yields to his impulse. Here, Plato is different from Socrates, at least as the latter is represented in the *Protagoras*: according to Socrates, reason is always in control and cannot be "tugged all about like a slave" (352 b 3–c 2; 358 b 6–d 2).

Aristotle gives an account of the relation between theoretical and practical reason in which we discern the beginning of the autonomy of ethics. He makes a distinction between two intellectual virtues, theoretical wisdom (*sophia*) and practical wisdom (*phronesis*). Like Plato, he believes that there is something in us, the *noûs*, that survives the death* of the body, but the texts (especially *De anima* III. 5. 430 a 10–25) are obscure on this point. Moreover, Aristotle takes up neither reminiscence and reincarnation, nor the idea of Good. We achieve practical wisdom by an outward and inward path, similar to the track that starts and ends at the same place after retracing one's steps. We start from a mixture of desire and second-hand principles, taught to us by our parents and instructors. If we are fortunate, this starting point will enable us to proceed on the outward path, which is a sustained reflection on this mixture and which, at the turning point, reaches a consistent vision of good and of happiness (*eudaimonia*). This will be "truth in accordance with right desire," whereas the goal of theoretical reason is simply truth. The inward path is where this vision is put into practice, so that desire and thought are unified, leaving

no frustration. It is important to note that *phronesis* is not purely intellectual for Aristotle, but also includes balanced desire (*Ethica Nicomachea* [EN] VI. 5. 1140 b 28–30). He makes contemplation (*theoria*) of the highest unchangeable realities, such as God* and human nature, an essential ingredient in human happiness, but because we are human and not divine, this is not the whole of our happiness. On the subject of the weakness of the will, Aristotle comes close to Socrates. If practical reason is fully engaged in both the general perception of the good and in its application to individual cases, the power of desire has already been encompassed, and reason cannot be “tugged all about.”

2. Christianity

a) *Scripture*. The Old Testament and the New Testament see ethics centrally as a matter of the law* or of the commandments given by God to his people. It is true that there is also in the Scriptures* the tradition of Wisdom, and that Christ* is both the Word* and Wisdom (1 Cor 1:24–30). Moreover, in Paul’s letters, the law is not seen as standing alone in mediating God’s will to us, but in a complex relation with grace* and faith* (Rom 7–8). Nevertheless, the emphasis on divine commandment gives Christian ethics a very distinct character.

b) *Augustine*. Augustine* came to Christianity by way of Platonism and, despite the evolution of his thought, Platonism remained for him a “preparation for the gospel.” He agrees with Plato’s postulation of an intelligible world of Forms, and follows the tradition that identified this world with the divine mind. Accordingly, he makes a distinction between two forms of mental activity and two forms of excellence, wisdom (*sapientia*) and knowledge (*scientia*). The intellectual cognizance of eternal things belongs to wisdom, but the rational cognizance of temporal things to knowledge (*De Trinitate* XII. xv). Action, in which we use temporal things well, therefore belongs in the domain of knowledge, and contemplation of eternal things in the domain of wisdom. At first glance, this seems like Aristotle’s division (EN 6, 1, 1139 a 6–8), but Augustine’s view is different in several respects. First, the eternal things are defined in terms of Christian theology*, especially God’s eternity* and our eternal life* with God. Second, Augustine sees the distinction between wisdom and knowledge in terms of another distinction, pervasive in his thought, between use (*usus*) and enjoyment (*fruitio*). We are to use changeable and corporeal things, which are good, but without taking them as our only objective or endpoint:

“Whatever we do rationally in the using of temporal things, we may do it with contemplation of attaining eternal things, passing through the former, but cleaving to the latter” (op. cit., 12, 13). Enjoyment is man’s proper attitude to God, and use is his proper relation to everything else. Human deterioration is the tendency to treat as our end what we should be merely using. The reason that has knowledge, in his sense, has appetite very close to it. Augustine compares knowledge to Eve, who alone spoke with the serpent and then gave the fruit to Adam*. In this same way, *scientia* has the capacity to be moved in the direction of the enjoyment of bodily things, and becomes conformed thereby to the image of the animals* rather than the image of God. What makes the difference as to the direction it moves is the presence or absence of faith. In this picture, practical reason is distinguished from theoretical reason, but ordered toward it teleologically. When this ordering is disturbed, the mind becomes estranged from itself, “stuck by the glue of its attachments” (10, 5).

c) *Middle Ages*. The *Nicomachean Ethics* was known by the great Arabic commentators but disappeared in Christian Europe until the 12th century. Abelard*, for example, shows no knowledge of the work. Its rediscovery was complicated by the fact that the first Latin translations covered only the first three books, which gave a misleading impression of Aristotle’s views. Indeed, without Books VI and X, which deal with the superiority of theoretical wisdom and locate the dominant place of contemplation in happiness, the autonomy of philosophical ethics from theology stands out more starkly. Aquinas had the whole of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, as well as Albert* the Great’s commentary, but like his 12th-century predecessors, he advocated a certain autonomy of ethics (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 47, a. 4): “The role of practical wisdom (*prudentia*, translating *phronesis*) is to charge our conduct with right reason (*applicatio rationis ad opus*), and this cannot be done without rightful desire. Prudence is therefore not only an intellectual virtue but a moral virtue.” Here, Aquinas goes further than Aristotle, who concedes that practical wisdom requires the moral virtues and vice versa, but does not count *phronesis* itself among the moral virtues. Aquinas’s philosophical ethics has a place for practical wisdom between theology and the immediate causation of moral behavior. Human beings can arrive at some knowledge of the natural moral law by the light of reason. This limited autonomy is consistent with the idea that “natural law is nothing else but a participation of a rational creature in eternal law, [for] the light of natural reason, whereby we discern what is good and what is evil... is

nothing else than an imprint on us of the divine light” (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 91, a. 2). Even though natural moral law is a reflection of eternal law, or of God’s plan that directs all things to their ends, it does not need to be the object of a revelation*. Every human being possesses the capacity to reflect by theoretical reason on the fundamental inclinations of human nature, and to reach the universal rules of moral life. For Aquinas, however, philosophical ethics is limited in scope. Perfect happiness or beatitude* is for him the vision of the divine essence, and therefore a heavenly activity belonging to contemplative reason, not an activity of practical reason in action on earth. For Aquinas, the *Nicomachean Ethics* describes the two aspects of imperfect happiness—the happiness of the theoretical or contemplative life and the happiness of social life—that are distinct on this earth. This means, furthermore, that the domain of practical wisdom has a certain priority on earth. In this life, the will, by which we can love God, is superior to the understanding, since we cannot see God, even though, in itself and in the next life, the intellect is nobler (*ST Ia*, q. 82, a. 3). The Franciscan philosophers (Bonaventure*, Duns* Scotus, William of Ockham [c. 1285–1347]) gave an even greater priority to the will. For them, volitional activity and affective experience are more distinctive of humanity than any activity of the intellect, and moral values are dependent upon the free will of God, limited only by the bounds of logical possibility.

d) Reformation and Enlightenment. The synthesis of the authority of Aristotle and the authority of the church* was threatened by the Reformation and the new science of Copernicus (1473–1543) and Galileo (1564–1642). The rationalist philosophers, like Descartes* or Spinoza (1632–77), responded by trying to found knowledge and ethics more securely on the basis of reason. But reason itself was in turn critiqued by the empiricists, especially Hume (1711–76), who attacks the very idea of natural law. Distinguishing descriptive judgments (*is, is not*) from prescriptive judgments (*you must, you must not*), Hume asks how the second can be deduced from the first, since they are not of the same order (*Treatise of Human Nature* III, 1, 1). No term should appear in the conclusion that has not appeared in the premises: one cannot, therefore, make a valid transition from being to having to be, or from fact to value. Nevertheless, even if Hume is right about this, the point is not devastating to Aquinas’s project of deriving the precepts of the natural law from reflection about human nature and human inclinations, for he has resources for supplying in the premises the “ought” that Hume requires. More important is another of Hume’s arguments, that reason is inert, and it is only

passion that moves us to action. He says that it is impossible that reason and passion can ever oppose each other, or vie for the government of the will and actions; but since morality *can* oppose the passions* and move us to action, morality is a matter of passion (albeit of calm passions such as benevolence), not of reason. Hume is not denying here that reason has an effect on action, but he claims (in order to bury Socrates) that reason’s proper role is to be the slave of the moral passions, showing them the way to reach satisfaction. Here, he echoes Aristotle, for whom “thought by itself moves nothing; what moves us is thought aiming at some goal and concerned with action” (*EN* 6, 2, 1139 a 35f). Thought gets to action through desire, but Aristotle does not say that desire is independent of thought, since it might be (and will be in a virtuous person) what he calls a rational wish (*boulesis*).

Kant*’s response to Hume takes us to an influential view about the autonomy of ethics. Kant wants to show that, contrary to what Hume thinks, reason can be practical, or binding, in the form of the categorical imperative. In order to do this, he has to limit the pretensions of theoretical reason. According to his famous phrase, it was necessary for him to “abolish knowledge to make room for belief” (preface to the *Critique of Pure Reason*, 2nd edition). The Greeks had thought that the objects of contemplation (*theoria*) are by their nature the most valuable (*EN* 6, 7, 1141 b 3), because, unlike the objects of *praxis*, they are eternally and necessarily what they are. Kant turns this argument on its head. It is because the objects of practical reason are superior that when cognition involves pure speculative reason and pure practical reason, the latter prevails (*Critique of Practical Reason*). Speculative reason can only use ideas of immortality, liberty*, and God as regulative or heuristic devices; it cannot make any conclusions about the existence of the objects of these ideas, since it can judge only what can be experienced with the senses. Practical reason, however, relies upon what Kant calls “the fact of reason”—the fact that there is a moral law; it can therefore transcend these limitations and use the ideas of immortality, liberty, and God as constitutive, proofs of the reality of their objects. In saying that reason can be practical, Kant is not denying Hume’s claim that humans must be moved to action by something “on the side of inclination,” but he says that we can be moved by respect for the moral law. He is also not denying theoretical reason a right of veto over belief. If reason in its speculative use could show that something was impossible, then practical reason could not legitimate our postulating its existence. However, Kant severely limits what speculative reason can show by way of possibility and impossibility. Finally, Kant does not extend the autonomy of ethics into indepen-

dence of theology, although not all his interpreters agree with this. In the preface to the second edition of *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone*, he proposes that we look at the pure religion of reason, which contains morality, as the inner of two concentric circles; the outer circle contains historical faith and revelation. He concedes that morality requires belief in some items in the outer circle, even though these items cannot be used in the maxims of speculative or practical reason. In particular, morality requires belief in God's grace in order to explain how human beings, in their condition of submission to radical evil, can ever please God. (op. cit., 61).

3. 19th and 20th Centuries

In the 19th century, Kant was interpreted in several manners, including by "right-wing" and "left-wing" Hegelians, and by opponents of Hegel*. Kierkegaard*, for example, reacted against Hegel by separating three kinds of life, the esthetic, the ethical, and the religious. The ethical life is reached by a mysterious revolution of the will within the esthetic life, but the ethical life itself fails and requires a leap of faith into the religious life, within which a "second ethics" is possible, by God's assistance, and we become able to live as God intends us to.

In 20th-century moral philosophy, the autonomy of ethics has grown as the prestige of speculative reason has declined. Thus, to give one example, the pragmatists follow Kant's dictum that "every interest is ultimately practical." For Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914), to be a pragmatist is to find a theory's meaning in the practical consequences that would necessarily result if the theory were true (*Collected Papers* V, §9). John Dewey (1859–1952) thought that there were no final ends and that we should therefore look at "ends in view," all of which may become means for further "ends in view." The existentialists urged that existence precedes essence, denying the role of natural law. Following Kierkegaard, but denying faith, Sartre (1905–80) insisted that we make ourselves what we are by our choice; our nature is not given to us. George Moore

(1873–1958) objected to what he called "the naturalistic fallacy" of identifying "good" with any natural property. For emotivists (like Charles Stevenson) and prescriptivists (like Richard Hare), moral judgments are not assertions, but imperatives or means of influencing others; they do not deny, however, that practical judgments have their own kind of objectivity. Finally, some writers have taken up Kant's idea of the unity of nature, but denied the existence of freedom. As more has become known about the structure of the brain, artificial intelligence, and genetics, it has become tempting to think of morality and the freedom that it presupposes as illusions of common sense, just as the physicist can regard the ordinary concepts of tables and chairs as illusory in the light of what physics knows about the structure of matter. The paradoxical logic of this line of thought would lead to the disappearance of not only the autonomy of ethics, which would be absorbed within the scientific conception of nature, but also of the very value of reason, and therefore of science itself.

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See also Aristotelianism, Christian; Authority; Platonism, Christian; Sciences of Nature

Ethics, Medical

Jesus* was a healer, and in his healing miracles* the kingdom* of God already made its presence felt (e.g., Lk 11:20). Concern with the sick was therefore one of the traits of Christianity from the beginning.

a) *Miracles, Magic, and Medicine.* Against the cults* that practiced thaumaturgy, such as those of Asclepius or Serapis, the church* always insisted that the God* who healed was the God of Creation* and Covenant*, and that Jesus was the mediator of God's healing power. The confidence that God would act miraculously to heal was sometimes guarded: miracles are mentioned infrequently in the literature of the second and third centuries. In the fourth century, however, especially in the hagiographic literature, there were frequent reports of miracles (Marty and Vaux 1982). The cult of saints and relics*, and associated miracles, was important in the conversion* of western Europe (Numbers and Amundsen 1986), but it was also influenced by pre-Christian practices, so that it sometimes became difficult to distinguish miracle from magic.

Magical practices had been popular in late antiquity and had often been assimilated into healing communities. Religious figures, including Christ, are invoked in the magical papyri (Kee 1986). Generally, however, the church, like Augustine*, associated magic with the "deceitful rites of demons" and rejected it as a reliance upon "incantations and charms" rather than upon God, even when the name of Jesus was invoked (*City of God* 10. 9, BAUG 34). Voices within the medieval church were regularly raised against the mingling of pagan magical practices with the veneration of saints (Numbers and Amundsen 1986).

Christianity could, however, accommodate Greek medicine without surrendering the conviction that all healing comes from God. Most Christians followed the advice of Jesus ben Sirach, who regarded physicians and their medicines as instruments of God (Eccl 38:1–14). There were some who regarded the use of medicine as faithlessness (e.g., Tatian, *Ad Graecos* 18, PTS, 1995). Most, however, commended the use of medicine (e.g., Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6, 17, PG 9, 379 C–394), while insisting that healing comes from God and must serve God's cause. The Reformers repudiated the popular and magical aspect of the cult of the saints (Thomas 1971). Their suspicion of any

magical manipulation of a sovereign God, and their conviction that nature, no less than miracle, comes to us from God, helped secure the primacy of medicine.

b) *Christian Medical Ethics.* The church's acceptance of medicine did not mean that anything and everything medical was approved. When the church called Jesus "the great physician" (Temkin 1991), it honored physicians, especially those of the school of Hippocrates (c. 460 B.C.–c. 377 B.C.), commending their compassion and their commitment to the patient's good, but it also provided a model for medicine and set it in the context of the history of salvation*. Health thus became part of a larger good* and sickness part of a larger evil, the disorder introduced by sin* (see, e.g., example, *City of God* 14, 3; 22, 22, BAUG 35 and 37). Although physical affliction was an evil, it might, by the grace* of God, remind people of their finitude, their dependence, their sinfulness, and the disorder that characterized a person's relations with his or her body, with one another, and with God. To care for the sick was a reflection of God's care for sinners, and to heal the sick was a sign of God's triumph over sin. Both sickness and health served God. In short, health was not the sovereign good for Christians, who had to "take great care to employ this medical art... as redounding to the glory of God" (Basil*, *Rules* 55, PG 31, 1043 C–1052). This did not require Christians to undertake a complete rethinking of the basis of the practice of physicians, and they could therefore adopt and adapt the medical ethics epitomized by the Hippocratic Oath. The ascendancy of the oath itself was probably a result of the rise of Christianity (Edelstein 1943). There is a 10th-century version of the oath that is evidence for this adaptation. It begins not by invoking Apollo or Asclepius, but with a doxology, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." It omits the filial obligations of pupil to teacher; instead, there is a commitment to teach the art "willingly and without an indenture." There are, however, many provisions that stand in continuity with the original oath: fidelity to the sick, and prohibitions of euthanasia, abortion*, and sexual relationships with patients or members of their households.

This version also affirms the obligation of medical confidentiality. Patients, like penitents, were often re-

quired to reveal what they might prefer to keep secret, and the physician, like the priest, was forbidden to use such revelations for any other purpose than professional. Jerome (c. 342–420) notes the analogy in a letter in which he instructs a priest that it is his duty to visit the sick and commends the behavior of the Hippocratic physician who respects the intimacy of the households and the secrets of the sick (*Ep.* 52, 15, CSEL 54). The confidentiality of the confessional reinforced confidentiality in medical practice, but also helped identify its limits. Most medieval theologians agreed that secrets could be revealed when they involved serious threats to the public good or to innocent third parties; for example, in the case of a patient suffering from venereal disease who does not intend to disclose this fact to a potential partner (but only the person threatened should be warned, and one should not reveal more than necessary to prevent harm; Regan 1943).

One modification to the Hippocratic tradition was a greater concern about truth-telling. Some in the early church supported the “therapeutic lie” (e.g., Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7, 8, PG 9, 471–74). Augustine, however, rigorously rejected the lie told in order to help or spare the patient (*Against Lying* 18, 36, BAug 2). “The most revolutionary change,” however, was the preferential position granted to the sick (Sigerist 1943). The sick were seen as the very image of the Lord and caring for them reflected how one cared for Christ. Matthew 21:31–45 is cited in the instruction of the *Rule* of St. Benedict to care for the sick as if it were Christ himself whom one served (36, SC 182), and echoed in the vow of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem to “serve our lords the sick” (Amundsen 1995).

Care for the sick also required competence and diligence. The penitential literature prompted by the decree of Lateran* IV (1215) imposed an annual confession, and physicians were expected to confess incompetence and negligence (Amundsen 1982). Both the lack of prudence* and excessive prudence were regarded as sins if it harmed patients or was useless. Exposing a patient, especially a poor one, to unnecessary risk for the sake of an experiment was also a sin. Care for the sick could not be reduced to medical care. Lateran IV also decreed that “physicians of the body [must] admonish the sick to call the physicians of the soul” (*COD* 245, §22). Because life and health are not the greatest goods, the means to preserve them must not violate the greater good. Physicians were forbidden to advise a patient to have recourse to “sinful means” to recover health (*ibid.*). Such “sinful means” included fornication, masturbation, magic, and breaking the church’s fasts.

By means of the requirement of confession and the penitential literature that guided it, the post-Tridentine Catholic Church exercised a remarkable control over every part of life, including medicine. Within the Protestant* tradition, medicine was still considered a vocation oriented to the service of God, but reflection about medical ethics was frequently marked by a suspicion of casuistry* and an emphasis on the liberty* of physician and patient.

c) Caring for the Poor. If one considers that Jesus was also a preacher of “good news to the poor” (Lk 4:18), one will understand why the clergy frequently took the lead in providing medical assistance for the sick and poor. From the early Middle Ages to the modern era, clergy members (Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant) thus devoted themselves to caring for the sick poor. The tradition was discouraged, but not completely ended, both by the development of guilds and licensure in the late Middle Ages, and by suspicion within the church that some clergy were practicing medicine “for the sake of temporal gain” and “neglecting the care of souls” (Lateran II, *COD* 198, §9). Concern for the sick poor prompted the publication of medical texts such as John XXI’s *Thesaurus pauperum* in the 13th century, a list of simple herbal remedies available to the poor, or John Wesley’s *Primitive Physick* (1747), and also of treatises exhorting physicians to care for rich and poor alike (Marty and Vaux 1982).

The hospital has its origin in this same concern. In 372, Basil of Caesarea founded a vast *xenodokheion*, or hospice, to care for the sick poor, with separate buildings for contagious and noncontagious diseases, and a staff that included physicians. It quickly became the prototype for many other such institutions. The early hospitals were funded by bishops* themselves, but soon bishops raised funds by calling upon various benefactors. In the 11th century, the Pantokrator hospital in Constantinople had 17 physicians, 34 nurses, and 6 pharmacists; it served patients in five specialized wards, and also treated outpatients. Hospitals developed more slowly in the West, but followed the same pattern.

d) Retrieval of Medical Ethics. When, in the middle of the 20th century, hospitals became showcases for medical technology and patient care became increasingly “medicalized,” theologians retrieved important elements of this tradition and thus played a major role in the emergence of modern medical ethics. They opposed extravagant idolatry* of health and the idea that one could expect everything from medicine. Against reducing patients to their pathologies, they stressed the professional commitment of dedication to patients

(and research subjects) as persons, and underscored consent as a fundamental component of this fidelity (Ramsey, *The Patient as Person*, New Haven, Conn., 1970). Against reducing people to their capacities for action, they insisted on corporeal existence (*ibid.*). They also reiterated the importance of concern for the poor in debates about access to health care.

Advances in medical science and technology have prompted a series of dramatic questions. Experimentation on human subjects, transplantation and the definition of death*, the allocation of scarce medical resources (e.g., dialysis), prenatal diagnosis, genetic counseling, reproductive technologies, gametes donations: such questions are not just scientific but also moral. Efforts to answer such questions necessarily invoke value judgments about the ends to be sought with the powers that medicine gives, about the moral appropriateness of certain means, and about how to respect the human being on whom they work. Thus, the new questions lead quickly to some very old questions about life, death, suffering, freedom, and embodiment, to which the Christian tradition should offer its own elements of response.

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ALLEN VERHEY

See also Death; Ethics; Resurrection of the Dead; Soul-Heart-Body

Ethics, Sexual

Augustine* was not the first Christian theologian to concern himself with sexual ethics, but he is the key figure in fixing and systematizing the main lines of the pattern of Western Christian teaching on this subject: the commendation of marriage* and celibacy as complementary vocations, and the requirement of chastity

for all. Augustine's achievement lies in his attempt to understand the meaning and place of sexuality, in faithfulness to the teaching of the Bible* and within the history* of creation*, reconciliation, and redemption. All Christian thought in this area stands, whether consciously or unconsciously, in relation to Augustine,

examining a single element in his analysis, perhaps shifting the emphasis between the elements, or, in more recent times, rejecting that analysis altogether.

a) The Bible and the Early Church Fathers. The New Testament gives an account of sexual sins* that differs very little from that of the Old Testament. Thus, in continuity with the latter (*See* Lv 18–20), Paul includes in his list of those who will not inherit the kingdom* of God (1 Cor 6:9), *pornoi* (the sexually immoral or fornicators), *moikhoi* (adulterers), *malakoi* (effeminate), and *arsenokoitai* (sodomites). The New Testament's regard for marriage also suggests continuity with Judaism*, but this is crucially qualified by a recognition of a vocation to celibacy (e.g., Mt 19:12). It was this qualification that was to cause the immediate divergence between the two traditions*. In the early patristic period, the ascetic movement commended celibacy, and Encratism, associated especially with Tatian (second century), even made celibacy into a requirement by denying baptism* to the married. Despite the condemnation of this movement, the treatment of marriage among its opponents (such as Tertullian* and Clement of Alexandria* [c. 150–215]) was significantly influenced by it. If marriage is accepted, it is placed in a hierarchy that has virginity at its summit. Moreover, continence is desirable after the childbearing years, and second marriages for those who have been widowed are suspect. In short, it is desirable that sexual activity should be very limited.

b) Augustine. There are three important strands of argument in Augustine's thought.

First, Augustine takes up a position against the disparagement of marriage by the Manicheans*, but also by those, such as Tertullian and more especially Jerome (c. 342–420), who were so vigorous in their espousal of continence or celibacy as to forget that, as Augustine has it, virginity is simply the “better of two good things.” He insists that marriage is good*, following especially Mark 10:6–9 and an increasingly literal reading of Genesis. Sexual union between man and woman* is natural, as presupposed in their very creation in sexual differentiation. Here, Augustine differs from Gregory* of Nyssa (*De opificio mundi*, SC 6), who taught that sex is an activity made possible after the Fall, by a divine dispensation intended to moderate the bitterness of death*. Among the goods of marriage are not only progeny, but also fidelity and, according to Ephesians 5:32, the sacrament* or sign of indissolubility, whereby it is a figure of the union between Christ* and the church*. These arguments add something to those of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3, PG 8), who had answered an extreme asceticism by

presenting marriage as preeminently a collaboration with the work of the Creator: Augustine finds other goods in marriage besides procreation*. This implicitly involves an account of sexual sin: all sexual relations that do not take this form and serve these ends are held to be contrary to reason* and sinful.

Second, if human sexuality belongs to the created order, it is not to be supposed, with Pelagianism*, that it lies outside the consequences of the Fall. In his controversy with Julian of Eclanum (c. 386–454) in particular, Augustine maintains that even intercourse for the sake of procreation—the only use of marriage that is not a sin, although intercourse for other reasons is merely venial—is still touched by concupiscence, that division of the self against the self, or flesh* against the spirit, that is, since the Fall, “both a consequence and a cause of sin” (Bonner 1986), and is here expressed in disorderly desire. Intercourse for the sake of offspring makes good use of concupiscence, but, before the Fall, Adam* and Eve engaged in sexual intercourse at the bidding of their wills alone, untouched by the disorderly lust that now animates and afflicts even marital union, and renders sexuality a force for unreason, distracting us from our pursuit of the *summum bonum* (highest Good).

Third—and here Augustine owes much to Paul—if marriage is good, virginity is nonetheless to be preferred, not as a recapturing of a prefallen condition, but as founded upon a hope* for the coming kingdom, the service of which, since the birth of Christ, no longer requires procreation. Celibacy witnesses that marriage, if good, is a good of creation that will yet be surpassed, as too does the qualified permission of remarriage.

c) Monastic Tradition and Eastern Christianity. Augustine's contemporary Cassian thought of the problems of human sexuality quite differently. In a way that was influenced by the spiritual and monastic tradition of the Desert Fathers, especially Evagrius (346–99), he made the stilling of the passions* the aim of the spiritual life. By this means, temptation could be overcome and the ladder to perfection climbed; but the temptation to unchastity was but one among these temptations, with greed typically regarded as fundamental. This pattern of thought, also characteristic of later Eastern Orthodox theology (e.g., Maximus the Confessor), continued to conceive of the opposition between flesh and spirit as a conflict to be overcome, and did not follow Augustine in his radical understanding of the self as disabled and wholly incapable, of itself, of loving and serving God*. Nor did it follow Augustine in his tendency to treat sexuality, albeit while stressing the significance of concupiscence, as peculiarly revelatory of the human condition.

(d) *Middle Ages and the Reformation.* Theologians of the Middle Ages and the Reformation maintained the broad lines of the Augustinian picture, but, while they overcame some of the tension implicit in it, they lost something of its subtlety and balance.

Gregory* the Great, for example, seems to have converted Augustine's suspicion of pleasure into a straightforward condemnation. According to Augustine, marital intercourse for the sake of procreation is not in need of pardon, even though the concupiscence by which it is affected is a result and a cause of sin. For Gregory, however, sin is to be found in every act of intercourse by virtue of the very pleasure that it causes (*Registri epistolarum*, PL 77, 1, 193–1, 198). Certainly, such a notion may have been instilled by the penitentials (the guides for confessors current from the sixth to the 11th centuries), with their various prohibitions of all sexual intercourse during liturgically significant days and seasons.

It is often said that Thomas* Aquinas had a more favorable view of sexuality, holding that sexual pleasure is natural and that ordinate desire for this pleasure is permissible. It is true that he maintains that the act of intercourse is not sinful simply on account of the fact that it prevents contemplation* of God (*ST Suppl.*, q. 41, a. 3, ad 3); but it does bar such contemplation, and it is “ordinate” when the pursuit of it is related to one of the matrimonial goods. Now, while these goods may require sexual relations and thereby render them licit, they do not, of course, include the sexual relationship as such. Indeed, Aquinas holds, following Augustine, that the marriage of Mary* and Joseph contained all three matrimonial goods, although there was no sexual intercourse between the spouses (IIIa, q. 29, a. 2). Thus for Aquinas, as for Augustine, the goods of fidelity and sacrament relate to the sexual act only negatively. There is fidelity where there is no adultery (although fidelity may oblige a partner to “render the [conjugal] debt” [1 Cor 7:3]), and the sacrament where there is no divorce. The celebration of the marriage of the Virgin, a theme that had reached its apogee in the writings of Hugh of Saint-Victor (Saint*-Victor, school of), symbolizes the unwillingness even of Aquinas to make sense of sexual relations as a marital good. Moreover, the very notion that sexual desire and pleasure are natural goods is called into question by his explanation, essentially Augustinian, of the need for the virgin birth in order to avoid the transmission of original sin* (IIIa, q. 28, a. 1). In the light of this teaching, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the perfection of the marriage of Mary and Joseph obtains, not in spite of, but because of, their lack of sexual relations. In that case, Augustine's contention that marriage is the lesser of two *goods* seems threatened. This question was being

raised even at the time when the notion that marriage is a sacrament conveying grace* was being formalized at the Councils of Florence and Trent*.

If the Reformers reacted against the Catholic suspicion of marriage, it can hardly be said that they made a major contribution to the resolution of the implicit problems in the shared Augustinian heritage. There is no doubt that Luther* and Calvin* inverted the ancient perspective and developed a certain suspicion (though not a repudiation) of celibacy. They taught that it could not be required even of ministers. It is a burden too great for almost all to bear, and, even if it is observed, it is not a means of winning divine favor. Neither Luther nor Calvin, however, engaged in a serious rethinking of Augustine's concept of concupiscence, which had unbalanced the medieval picture of sexuality. Furthermore, their praise of marriage and family* could become essentially worldly, or at least forgetful of the eschatological direction of human existence to which celibacy might be a witness. The Reformers' respect for marriage did, however, encourage the according of greater significance to sexual satisfaction within the marital relationship. The English Puritan W. Perkins (1558–1602), for example, counsels against marriages where there is an excessive disparity of age, for fear that this satisfaction may be lacking. Here we see the beginning of a revision of the Augustinian account of pleasure, which both Protestants and Catholics were to pursue up to our own time.

e) *Modern Catholic and Protestant Ideas.* For Augustine and Aquinas, procreation alone is a lawful purpose of marital intercourse, although intercourse for the sake of the quelling of concupiscence is merely a venial sin. Catholics have increasingly distanced themselves from these views and accepted that intercourse serves to nurture and demonstrate conjugal love. The encyclical *Casti Connubii* (1930) speaks of the “fostering of mutual love” as among the “secondary ends” of marriage, holding that procreation is the primary end to which the secondary ends are subordinate. Vatican* II, in *Gaudium et Spes*, does not refer to hierarchically ordered ends of marriage, but, noting that the love between husband and wife is “uniquely expressed and perfected through the marital act,” speaks of the unitive and procreative meanings that belong to sexual intercourse. This way of thought is taken up and confirmed by Paul VI in *Humanae Vitae*, by John Paul II in *Familiaris Consortio*, and by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in *Donum Vitae*. It has not led to radical changes in practice, and has indeed been the basis for the renewed condemnation of contraception, but it does represent a reconception of Augustine's “good of fidelity” in terms of loving union. This in turn

allows an understanding of sexual intercourse and sexual pleasure not so much as warranted by, but as constitutive of, marriage.

A more thorough and theological reappraisal of the Augustinian pattern is contained in Barth's treatment of creation in volume III of *Die Kirchliche Dogmatik*. Understanding creation in the light of the Covenant* to which it is directed, it is necessary, so Barth argues, to understand human beings as beings in communion*, interdependent rather than independent. Thus, we may make sense of sexual differentiation, which is the focus of both the accounts of Creation in Genesis, as the creaturely counterpart to the determination of humankind for God that is known in Jesus Christ. Thus, if human beings are beings in communion, they are specifically and concretely man or woman, or, more accurately, man *and* woman. The command of God is that we should live out the differentiation and connection in which we are created, and which is ordered by, and attests to, the union of Christ and the Church.

Here, one is quite far removed from Augustine's conception, but not in the same way as in recent Catholic thought (e.g., Häring 1979) that rethinks the natural in personalist terms. That is, it finds the meaning of sexual relations, no longer solely in their generative role, but also in their unitive capacity. It is thereby able to consider sexual relations that were essentially questionable for Augustine, with his largely negative conception of the good of fidelity, as unproblematic. For Barth, however, the natural does not simply take on a new and personalist dimension, but is radically transformed by the insistence that the Covenant is the basis for creation, that is, by the idea that the natural or created good is inherently eschatologically ordered. According to Barth, the *sacramentum* of sexual relations is not added to them, but is their essence; it belongs to them not in the indissolubility of marriage alone, but in the incorporation of sexual relations within the community of the life of man and woman, a being in fellowship, or covenant, that witnesses to its prototype. In consequence, the question of the acceptance or refusal of procreation ceases to hold the central place that it has had in the definition of sexual sin both in the thought of Augustine and in recent Catholic pronouncements, although it is still important.

f) Contemporary Critiques. If there are obvious differences between Barth's interpretation of the Augustinian tradition and the interpretation in official Catholic teaching, it remains the case that there is agreement on the first element in Augustine's synthesis, namely, that the goodness of sexual relations is to be understood within the community of husband and wife. This element has been subject to criticism on two fronts in recent debate. Some who allow that sexual re-

lations should occur within a covenantal relationship hold that such a relationship need not be founded on sexual differentiation: thus they challenge traditional thinking on homosexuality. Others maintain, often together with the first thesis, that sexual experience can be good even outside a covenantal relationship, thereby challenging the established teaching, which stems from the biblical treatment of sexual sins, and forbids, for example, fornication, adultery, prostitution, and masturbation.

The main contention of those (e.g., Bailey 1955) who regard homosexual practices as licit is that, in condemning them, the tradition is unaware of modern theories that hold that homosexuality is a deep-seated orientation of the personality, not a matter of choice. This knowledge, they think, places a hermeneutic question mark over the biblical texts that condemn homosexual relations (Lv 18:22 f., 20:13; Rom 1: 26 f.; 1 Cor 6:9 f.; 1 Tm 1: 8–11), and subverts the traditional distinction between natural and unnatural on which the condemnation is based. Whether this knowledge is as decisive as is supposed is open to question, but so too is its status as knowledge. Michel Foucault (1926–84) argued that homosexuality is an invention, by which he meant that the very experience of sexual desire in a particular form is historically or socially determined. Such a claim ought at least to remind us that the key Christian notion is created order, not natural order, and that knowledge of the former is by no means a matter of empirical observation. According to Barth, as already pointed out, knowledge of the creation is first of all knowledge in Jesus Christ. This knowledge shows us that we were created for covenant. In the light of this knowledge, the symbolic significance that the Old and New Testaments find in the bond between man and woman becomes comprehensible. The determination of the male to the female and of the female to the male is the creaturely counterpart to the determination of humankind for God. The question that therefore arises for those who attempt to justify homosexuality is this: On the basis of what anthropology, or what doctrine of creation, do they set aside sexual differentiation, and how does this setting aside relate to the biblical witness?

There is something ironic in the contention that sexual experience can be good even outside a covenantal relationship, for it threatens to introduce again, in a different form, the very fault that beset the Augustinian tradition: its inability to discern the human significance of sexual desire and pleasure. If this significance escaped Augustine, some of his modern critics seem to deal with the problem not by advancing beyond him, but by declaring the problem not to be a problem. Sexual desire and pleasure are not to be accommodated within any deep conception of human good or flourishing, but instead are to be treated simply as functions of

bodies, as they are treated in “sex education,” consisting in the imparting of purely biological information, or in “sex therapy,” consisting in the teaching of techniques of gratification. As Augustine would have realized, this is to remove sexuality altogether from the history of salvation* in relation to which one must understand Christian sexual ethics.

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See also **Asceticism; Augustinianism; Manicheanism; Sin, Original; Virtues**

Eucharist

A. Biblical Theology

The term *Eucharist* (thanksgiving) comes from Luke 22:19 and 1 Corinthians 11:24. “The Lord’s Supper” (1 Cor 11:20) and “breaking [sharing] of the bread” (Acts 2:42; see 20:7) refer to the Last Supper of Jesus* with his disciples before his death. It took place on the last evening (“no more”: Lk 22:18; see Mt 26:29; Mk 14:25), “when the hour came” (Lk 22:14–20), “the night when Jesus was betrayed” (1 Cor 11:23–27). According to John 13 the meal was also taken at night, but the eucharistic words are mentioned in the speech of John 6: 51–58.

1. Literary Forms and Origin

a) *Two Traditions*. Mark, Matthew, Luke, and 1 Corinthians place at the forefront a *liturgical* tradition*, with the text of the institution of the eucharistic

Lord’s Supper. Jesus gives his body and his “blood of the Covenant*” to communicate his life. According to these texts, the form that Jesus gives to this supper is liturgical, in the sense that it is turned toward the future, the “memory of the future” in which there will be a communion* of life (particularly in 1 Cor). This liturgy* is structured along three axes: Jesus and God*, Jesus and the disciples, the orientation of the present toward the future.

The other tradition, mostly represented by John, is in a *testamentary* form, in the style of a farewell speech; the synoptic Gospels* (Luke in particular) also retain traces of this. This tradition keeps the memory of what Jesus accomplished by offering himself “for the multitude” (which is a better translation than “for many”). The Johannine milieu celebrate the Eucharist

as well (6:51–58). But, in the course of a long farewell speech pronounced one day before Passover*, John 13 replaces the gestures and the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper with the institution of the washing of the feet.

These two traditions represent ways of reaching the Risen One and of sharing his life today (Léon-Dufour 1982).

b) Original Sites. The four texts with a liturgical priority do not have the same origin: 1 Corinthians is the oldest text mentioned (A.D. 55). Paul quotes from it and may have received it in Antioch around A.D. 40. The accounts in Paul and Luke have many points in common, body and Covenant instead of body and blood, the anamnesis formula ("in memory of me"), and a more Hellenistic vocabulary. This is the *Antiochene* tradition. Mark and Matthew, on the other hand, with the exact parallelism of words: "This is my body," "This is my blood," with their more Semitic language, with the formula "for the multitude," represent a *Palestinian* or a *Marcan* tradition originating perhaps in Caesarea, even in Jerusalem* (Mark). Matthew has some Syriac characteristics. The exact places of origin are, however, difficult to ascertain. Although older in its composition, the Antiochene formula is of a more recent tradition.

2. Was the Eucharist a Paschal Supper?

Mark 14:12, Matthew 26:17, and Luke 22:7 set the meal on the day (Mark, Matthew: "first day") of the unleavened bread (Dt 16:1–8: celebration of the unleavened bread), but Matthew omits Mark's and Luke's specificity about the day "when the paschal lamb was sacrificed." On the evening starting the 14th day of Nisan, all traces of leaven had to be taken out of the homes, and the paschal lamb* had to be sacrificed "between the two evenings" (at twilight). The supper took place, therefore, in a paschal atmosphere, without the absolute certainty that the ritual followed was exactly that of a paschal supper. It could well be that it took place a day before the Jewish Passover.

For the synoptic Gospels the date of the Lord's Supper is the Passover vigil, which is the beginning of the day of Easter. For John, on the contrary, Jesus dies at the moment when the lamb is sacrificed for the paschal supper. According to that account, therefore, the Last Supper could not have been a paschal meal. The thesis of A. Jaubert (1957) assumes that, since the Essenian solar calendar always places Passover on a Wednesday, Jesus may have followed that same calendar and may thus have had his paschal supper on the Tuesday evening; his crucifixion took place on Friday, which,

according to John, was the official Jewish Passover eve that particular year.

All the accounts give the impression of a supper of the Old Covenant transformed into a supper of the New Covenant. It is the result of Jesus' initiative. It is Jesus' death and Resurrection* that bestow upon this supper all its meaning.

3. Analysis of the Traditions

a) Paul-Luke. (Antiochene liturgical tradition, with a testamentary vestige in Luke). Luke 22:15 ff. is the only tradition to recount and to rewrite the Lord's Supper as the Passover meal: "I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer. For I tell you I will not eat it until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God." Luke 22:17 continues: "And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he said, 'Take this, and divide it among yourselves.'" Jesus then passes around a cup, which represents a future meeting in the kingdom of God. First Corinthians, Mark, and Matthew have omitted this prophetic account.

Luke 22:19–20 offers a long recension, which appears in most of the manuscripts, and a short recension in the text that is known as the "Occidental" text. The latter omits the continuation after "this is my body." In the short text Luke does not have the cup of the Eucharist, but only the cup of the future meeting. The short text may correspond to the accounts that include only the sharing of the bread (Lk 24 and Acts) and it may perhaps date back to an old tradition with the cup coming before the bread, in the order followed by 1 Corinthians 10:16 ff.: "The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ?"

Paul, in 1 Corinthians 11:24, and Luke use the expression "thanksgiving" (*eukharistèsas*), which is more Hellenistic than "blessing" (*eulogèsas*, more Semitic: Mark and Matthew). In 1 Corinthians 11:25, in the formula "in the same way also he took the cup, after supper," the adverb "in the same way" does not occupy the same place as in Luke 22:20. In the perspective suggested by Paul, the paschal meal, which has become the Lord's Supper, would be included within the two eucharistic rites (bread and cup), which would explain the formula used by Paul. Paul and Luke have in common: "for you." "This is my body which is (given: Luke) for you (Paul and Luke)." Finally, after the bread (as in Luke), and another time after the cup, Paul places the formula of anamnesis: "Do this... in remembrance of me." "This cup is *the new covenant in my blood*" ("my": 1 Corinthians; "of me": Luke) clearly takes up the formula of Mark and Matthew:

“This is *my blood of the covenant*.” In 1 Corinthians and Luke the parallelism body/blood is broken in favor of the parallelism body/New Covenant.”

The two traditions of Paul and of Luke present similarities. Luke, with: “Take” (Mark and Matthew) and “given to you” (Paul: “which is for you”) creates with the formula “this is my body” something other than an objective report: *take* is a word that inks and engages the person who speaks and gives with the person who listens and receives. Whoever eats the bread enters into a communion of life with Jesus. The tradition of Luke and that of Paul are marked by the theology* in which Jesus is the one who gives of and offers himself and who produces the New Covenant (See Jer 31:31 ff.).

b) Mark-Matthew (Palestinian Liturgical Tradition, with Some Testamentary Traces). The two texts are closely related. In Matthew Jesus gives the consecrated and broken bread only to the disciples. Mark 14:7 has already indicated that Jesus was eating with “the Twelve.” Matthew adds the word “eat” to the word “take” in Mark. There is something original in Matthew: the addition of the words “for the forgiveness of sins*” to the prayer of thanksgiving over the cup (Mt 26:28). Thus is evoked the Covenant that implies the forgiveness of sins. The word *for*, expressed by the preposition *hyper*, “in favor and in place of” in Paul, Luke, and Mark (see Rom 5:1–10: “Christ died for”), is expressed with the weaker *peri* in Matthew 26:28.

The new Passover takes place within the framework of the old one. The phrase “as they were eating,” taken over from 26:21 by Matthew 26:26, indicates that the second part of the paschal meal is starting. Jesus then innovates: 1) With “This is my body;” the liturgy roots this element in the story of the suffering and death of Jesus. 2) The verb *to be*, used in Greek, is not expressed in the corresponding Aramaic sentence, which would be “This my body.” These words link together Christ to his disciples and engage him with them. 3) The disciples do not bring anything; rather, it is they who receive. The blood, always placed in relation with the Covenant, is shed for the multitude, and in this way is given as an offering/sacrifice by Christ, as a sign of Covenant and not as atonement. It seals the forgiveness expressed by “in forgiveness of sins.” The reaction of the Old Testament against the practices of neighboring religions had already been reflected in the growing spiritualization of sacrificial rites; what was becoming essential among the Israelites was the “sacrifice* of praise*” (See Léon-Dufour 1982). The emphasis placed on “blessing” or “thanksgiving” is a reminder that Christ constantly transports believers from death to life.

Thus, 1 Corinthians, Luke, Mark, and Matthew presuppose the liturgical existence of this supper of Communion, which takes place for the multitude. Nothing is said of its frequency or its rhythm. They do not specify who will be empowered to preside. All must drink from the cup. Even if “new” does not appear in front of “covenant” in Mark and Matthew, that is indeed what the reference to covenant actually means, a meaning explicitly stated in 1 Corinthians and Luke (sacrament*).

4. Conclusion

Taking inspiration from the essay of X. Léon-Dufour (1982), which is briefer (our additions or changes are in italics) in order to get to the words spoken by Jesus himself, we obtain:

At the time of Passover, when evening came, Jesus had a last supper with his disciples. When the main course started, Jesus took some bread, and, having blessed it, he broke it, gave it to the disciples and said: “Take this and eat it, this is my body *given* for you. *Do this in memory of me.*” Moreover he took the cup at the end of the supper (*after the supper*), he offered thanks, gave the cup to the disciples and said to them: “*Drink some, all of you.* This is the *cup* of the New Covenant, it is my blood spilled (*shed for the multitude*) for you. *Do this in memory of me.*” And he told them: “I shall never drink from the fruit of the vine, not until the day when I can drink it, new, in the kingdom (*realm*) of God.”

It is to be noted that “last supper” should be qualified as “before his death,” because there had been other suppers taken with the Risen One. Thus, in the speech of Acts 10:39 ff., Peter* says: “we who ate and drank with him after his resurrection from among the dead.” In addition, mention must be made of the sharing of the bread with the disciples he met on the road to Emmaus (Lk 24:30 f.) and the meal that was shared with seven disciples in John 21:13.

The words spoken over the bread and the cup of the Covenant accompany two movements with which they are indissolubly connected. Jesus gives the bread: he thus shows “that he gives himself for” the recipient. He passes the cup around: in this way he shows that he is shedding his blood. All the dynamism of the life of Christ is represented and communicated by the eucharistic supper (Dussaut 1972).

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See also **Blessing; Communion; Cult; Expiation; Jesus, Historical; Liturgy; Passover; Passion; Sacrifice; Soul-Heart-Body**

B. Historical Theology

Concept: *Eucharistia*. The word is attested since the end of the apostolic age, or slightly after, by the *Didache* (9, 1 . 5), by the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch (*Sm.* 7, 1; 8, 1; *Eph.* 13, 1; *Philad.* 4, 1) and by Justin (*I Apol.* 65–66). It indicates at the same time the eucharistic action consisting of thanksgiving for bread and wine, as well as that bread and that wine once they have been consecrated (an act expressed by the Greek verb *eucharistein*, which is transitive in Christian Greek). We should note two points:

a) The Christian Eucharist operates at a remove from the Jewish category of blessing* (*berakah*); post-Christian Judaism* developed a lesser insistence on thanksgiving, whereas Christians fairly early placed Christian Eucharist and Jewish blessing in opposition. Thus in the Hippolytan treatise *Refutation of All Heresies*: "the Jews have not honored the Father*, but they have not practiced thanksgiving, because they have not recognized the Son." To this we should add that *eucharistein* is close to *anapherein*, "to offer," which in the sixth century would lead to the giving of the name of anaphoras to the Greek eucharistic prayers.

b) In Latin the eucharistic action was to be called *gratiarum actio*, whereas the Greek term *eucharistia* would be retained in order to designate the consecrated bread and wine. The connection between *eucharistia* and thanksgiving would soon be forgotten; and after Isidore of Seville, all the Latin Middle Ages would believe that *eucharistia* meant "good grace," *bona gratia*. On the other hand, the Latin Middle Ages gave the eucharistic action the name of *missa*, "mass," which appeared around the fifth or sixth century, at a time when this term had gone from its original meaning of

"sending" to mean "part of the liturgical action." In reaction against any sacrificial interpretation of the *missa*, and eager to stick to the New Testament, the Reformers of the 16th century borrowed from Paul the name *supper* to replace that of mass; and for the Book of Common Prayer of the Anglican liturgy, Cranmer adopted the term *Holy Communion*.

1. The Eucharist and Its Theology in Early Christianity

a) *Second to Fourth Centuries*. The fundamental elements of the eucharistic celebration, which brought together, mainly on Sunday*, the bishop* and the ecclesial community, started to appear in the second century. The Eucharist, henceforth separated from the fraternal meal to which the name of agape* has been given, was preceded by a liturgy* of the word (which had possibly been taken over from Jewish synagogal worship). The baptized who were present, except for the penitents, received Holy Communion* every Sunday, and Communion was also taken to the sick who could not attend. The corpus of the New Testament texts was formed in the second century; similarly, during the same period or a little later, a corpus of sacramental practices may have gradually been formed, through processes of exchange and accumulation. This is attested by the collection bearing the name of *Apostolic Tradition*; it is attributed by some historians to Hippolytus, a Roman priest* of the first third of the third century, though the attribution and the date are challenged by others. It is a collection that presents itself as being in the tradition* descending from the apostles*.

According to the earliest documents that mention it, the eucharistic prayer* neither comes as a text trans-

mitted word by word, nor is it endowed with a uniform structure; it comes, on the contrary, in a relative diversity of structures. The eucharistic prayer of the *Apostolic Tradition*, whose text forms a unit in itself, first gives thanks to God the Father for the salvation he has brought about in history* and completed in the redeeming work of Christ*. This thanksgiving leads to the account of the Last Supper and to the words of Christ over the bread and the wine. His words are followed by a paragraph that at once expresses that we remember him for his death* and for his Resurrection*, and that we offer the Father the consecrated bread and wine. Then there is a request for the sending of the Holy* Spirit on the offering and on the communicants (epiclesis*) and glory is rendered. That prayer does not include either the Sanctus (introduced into the eucharistic prayer around the same period, in Egypt or in Syria), or other secondary developments.

In Syria there is another eucharistic prayer, called the anaphora of Addeus and Maris. These were founders of the church* of Edessa. The prayer is close to that of the *Apostolic Tradition* as far as the period is concerned. But it differs from it in several respects, mainly because it appears to be made up of several juxtaposed prayers (a fact that brings it closer to the Jewish prayer patterns) and because it does not quote specifically the words of Christ during the Last Supper, although it does refer to them in the passage mentioning his death and Resurrection. This second point gave rise to some questioning among specialists: was the text in the same state before the seventh century? Is there a reason to consider this as being perhaps a primitive state of the eucharistic prayer, what E. Mazza has called the “preanaphora”? Is it possible to think that the words of Christ had their place at another moment of the celebration? Or, in an opposite direction, should we not grant a greater importance to the fact—as F. Hamm has shown in several examples—that the words of the Eucharist, in the course of the early centuries, were principally transmitted orally?

In its principal but not exclusive form, the eucharistic celebration is a celebration presided over by the bishop, surrounded, depending on the event, by priests and deacons*, and gathering together a whole Christian community. As far as we know about ancient practices, the priests showed, with a gesture, that they shared in what the bishop was doing, and they occupied their own distinct place in the assembly. It is not until the seventh or eighth century that, in Rome*, we see the priests (*Ordo Romanus III*) saying the eucharistic prayer with the pope*: this is a practice of which no similar example is known in the Eastern liturgies until after the Middle Ages, even for the words of Christ. Modern Christians speak here of “concelebration,”

while wondering retrospectively about the exact significance of the concelebrants’ act. On the other hand, until the Middle Ages the church in Rome practiced the rite of the “ferment:” a consecrated eucharistic element was brought from the papal celebration to the other celebrations in town, in order to be mixed with the consecrated breads, as a sign of ecclesial communion, before the distribution of these breads to the faithful.

In the fourth century, at the very latest, the rule was established not to have either food or drink before Communion, the only exceptions being the Communion of Maundy Thursday and generally in the case of the dying. This rule has been considerably relaxed in the 20th century by the Catholic Church.

b) Principal Eucharistic Prayers of the Fourth Century and Their Catecheses. Owing to their rarity, the eucharistic prayers of the first three centuries constitute documents of exceptional historical importance. On the other hand, our knowledge of the fourth and fifth centuries is well documented, so much so that it is not possible to give a complete account here. It is therefore necessary to limit ourselves only to some of the major examples of Christian eucharistic practice and theology*: the Roman eucharistic prayer (which the manuscripts call the “canon of the Mass”), commented in Milan by Ambrose*; and the two eucharistic prayers of Basil* and John Chrysostom*, both of whom can now be safely considered to have rewritten or completed the eucharistic prayers of their respective churches—Caesarea of Cappadocia (Basil) and Antioch (Chrysostom). We could add to this the catecheses* on Christian initiation* (including therefore on the eucharistic action) of Chrysostom, those of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and those of the bishop of Jerusalem*, Cyril, or of his successor, John. In spite of their importance, however, these catecheses would not be sufficient, on their own, to allow us to reconstitute the text of the corresponding eucharistic prayers: the catecheses of Ambrose, for instance (namely the *De Sacramentis* for which we have the listeners’ notes and the *De Mysteriis*, the text of which Ambrose himself reworked), interpret in a personal manner the text of the Roman prayer.

At that time the Greek and Latin eucharistic prayers were in agreement on three points: 1) A central place is given to the account of the institution; 2) immediately after this account a paragraph says that the paschal mystery* is being remembered (at least the death and the Resurrection of Christ)—modern liturgists mention anamnesis here (the Greek word corresponding to memory); and 3) mention is made of an offering, at least in the anamnesis. On other points, however, im-

portant differences of emphasis can be noted among the local eucharistic traditions: 1) The Antiochene tradition gives ample thanksgiving for the unfolding of the story of salvation, whereas the Roman canon concentrates its attention on the Eucharist considered as sacrifice*. 2) The eschatological perspective of the Eucharist (already present in Ignatius of Antioch, *Éph.* 20, 2, the idea that the Eucharist is “remedy of immortality,” *pharmakon athanasias*) is expressed in different ways: in Antioch by means of an anamnesis that mentions simultaneously the death and the Resurrection of Christ, and evokes also his Parousia*; in Rome in the paragraph of the canon regarding the celestial altar (*Supplices*), as well as in the variable prayers of the Mass. 3) Finally, starting with Ambrose, Christ’s own words are brought into greater relief in the eucharistic prayer: it is not only the priest who pronounces them, but Christ himself, *ipse clamat* (*De Mystериis*, 54); these words sanctify or consecrate the bread and the wine by changing them into the body and the blood of Christ. At Antioch the eucharistic prayer of John Chrysostom, who was an approximate contemporary of Ambrose, says in the very text of its epiclesis that the bread and the wine have been changed.

Among the Fathers of the Church it is Augustine* who attributes the greatest importance to the effects of the Eucharist on the Church, the mystical body of Christ. This doctrinal theme, brilliantly studied by H. de Lubac* (1944), is certainly present in the whole of Christian tradition, and in the thinking of medieval theologians, but it does not occupy much space in liturgical prayers. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the manner in which Augustine perceives the effects of the Eucharist is remote from the eschatological perspective to which other Fathers, for example Theodore of Mopsuestia, attach so much importance.

2. The Eucharist in Medieval Christianity

a) Medieval Eucharistic Practice. The eucharistic celebration (the Divine Liturgy for the Greeks, the Mass for the Latins) did not experience a change of structure in the Middle Ages. In the West, however, as had been the case earlier in the East, the eucharistic prayer came to be uttered in a whisper; and during those centuries when the celebration of the priest in private became more frequent, the *ordo missae* was complemented by a body of private prayers, particularly for use at the moment of the offertory. From the time of the Carolingian liturgist Amalaire, and under the influence of Greek liturgists, the details of the Latin Mass started to be interpreted symbolically. This symbolic interpretation referred to the different moments in the life of Christ. It lasted, in the West, until

after the Middle Ages; and large parts of this interpretation have survived up to the present time in the Byzantine liturgy.

Just as the actual forms of eucharistic celebration changed in the Middle Ages, so did the theology associated with it. It was during the Carolingian era, or shortly after, that unleavened bread was adopted in the West for the Eucharist, and that the priest started giving Communion in the mouth. The Communion of the faithful, as far as historians are able to assess, seems to have become clearly less frequent than attendance at Mass, which of course affected the manner in which the Eucharist was understood. In the West at least, sacramental confession became for centuries the compulsory prerequisite for Communion, which appeared to sanction a high level of Christian life. From the practices of the previous period the Greeks decided to retain young children’s access to Communion of bread as well as Communion of the chalice; but in the West, Communion of the chalice and Communion of young children gradually fell into disuse around the 12th century. At that time attention to the apostle Paul’s recommendation that one ought to test oneself before taking Communion (1 Cor 11:28–31) assumed so much importance in Christian consciousness that this brought about the renunciation of Communion for children and the insistence on confession prior to Communion. It was in that perspective that canon 21 of Lateran* IV (*DS* 812) decided what the minimal rule should be for the practice, starting at the age of moral discernment, of annual confession and the Easter Communion; in the list of church commandments that was formulated at the end of the Middle Ages, they came to be called the third (the confession) and the fourth (the Easter Communion). The general rarity of Communion also explains the insistence on a duty to take Communion at the moment of dying, as a viaticum (a term meaning “money for a journey”) to assist one’s passage to the kingdom*. Moreover, the Council of Constance* found that the custom of taking Communion only with bread was legitimate (*DS* 1198–1200).

Despite the infrequency of Communions, or perhaps in a certain way as a compensation for it, as well as a reaction against the heresy of Berengarius of Tours (*see b* below), and under the effect of a growing devotion to the humanity of Christ, the devotion to the real presence underwent an important development in several ways: at the moment of the elevation during the Mass, and in a cult of the Eucharist outside the mass, crowned by the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi. The elevation of the host (from around the tenth century, “host” was the name given to the bread meant for the Eucharist), then that of the chalice, was introduced. These elevations took place immediately

after the words of consecration and were introduced at request of the faithful, so that although they were behind the priest, they might have the possibility of seeing and adoring the eucharistic elements. This practice started at the beginning of the 13th century, first in Paris but spreading quickly from there. The feast of Corpus Christi owed its institution in part to the fact that the liturgy of Maundy Thursday gave more attention to the betrayal of Jesus* by Judas than to the institution of the Eucharist, and also partly to the devotion of the Christian women of the region of Liège in the second quarter of the 13th century (Julienne du Mont-Cornillon). In 1264 Pope Urban IV, who had been a priest in Liège, instituted (*DS* 646–847) the celebration of Corpus Christi for all the Latin Church, with an office composed by Thomas* Aquinas. This feast, with its eucharistic procession, grew in importance in the period before the Protestant Reformation, and continued to do so after it; similarly for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament outside the Mass.

The Carolingian era saw the development in the West of masses that were called “private” (the attendance was reduced to one server or a small number of persons). Their celebration was motivated either by the personal desire of the priest to offer the Eucharist, or by some particular intention; this meant that the mass was not offered, as it is on Sunday, by the ecclesial assembly itself, and for its own self, but specifically for a living or a deceased person. The later centuries of the Middle Ages in particular saw the increase of what were called mass foundations, and numerous priests were entrusted with the duty of servicing them.

b) Medieval Eucharistic Theology. In a cultural situation that was different from that of the patristic era, the eucharistic theology of Augustine ran the risk of being misunderstood and of appearing to contradict the theology of Ambrose, which corresponded largely to the liturgy and to the common way of practicing piety. That threat was realized in the ninth century, in the land of the Franks, in an initial controversy that pitted Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbie, against the Augustinian monk Ratramnus. In the 11th century the great debate aroused by the dialectician Berengarius of Tours, who placed symbolical and realistic interpretation in opposition to one another instead of synthesizing them, had the effect (Lubac 1944) of forcing theology to take sides in favor of realism only (as in the profession of faith* imposed upon Berengarius in 1059 [*DS* 690]), and it provoked a strong reaction among adherents to eucharistic piety. But it must also be said that the Augustinian formulations of the *sacramentum* assembled by Berengarius during this debate greatly contributed to the research on the concept of

sacrament* conducted by the generations of theologians that followed, and they therefore helped to shed light on the sacramental septenary.

The second profession of faith imposed on Berengarius in 1079 (*DS* 700) holds that through the consecration, the bread and wine are “substantially changed” into the body and blood of Christ. Faith in the eucharistic change is already present within the early church; and as far as the category of the “substantial” is concerned, it has here a prephilosophical meaning, which was also to be true of the notion of “transubstantiation” when it made its appearance in the middle of the 12th century, and it seems not to have been different when it was taken up again (1215) in the profession of faith of Lateran IV (*DS* 802). The term *transubstantiation* did not at that time have the importance that would be attributed to it during the denominational debate of the 16th century. Thomas Aquinas prefers to use rather the term *conversion*. Nevertheless, Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, which became known to Western theologians during the second half of the 12th century, would supply them, in the form of the distinction between substance and accidents, with the conceptual tool that would allow them to clarify the ultrarealism of the confession of faith of 1059—strictly speaking, the teeth of the communicant are chewing the “accidents” (*see DS* 690), whereas the substantial change pertains to an absolute affirmation of being*. In any case, theologians did not use the Aristotelian philosophical instrument in its original form: the negative reaction of the Averroists against Thomas Aquinas, on this very matter, makes this clear.

The profession of faith *Firmiter credimus* of Lateran IV expresses the eucharistic dogma* when it says (*DS* 802) that “the body and the blood of Christ are really (*veraciter*) present under the appearance (*species*) of transubstantiated bread and wine.” Did this formulation mean that one was perforce led to believe that the eucharistic conversion was total? Or did it mean it was simply possible to imagine that the reality of bread and wine was still there? Thomas Aquinas, who commented on this document (opuscule *In Primam Decretalem*), holds that his terms (which inspire the prayer of the celebration of Corpus Christi) preclude the fact of bread and Christ’s body being both present in the sacrament. In the 14th century John Duns* Scotus, followed by the nominalists, may have been tempted to accept this simultaneity (the “consubstantiation”), had it not been because of the authority* of the council. This helps us understand the position Luther* would later adopt.

The distinction between substance and accidents influenced Thomas’s eucharistic theology in a different way. Since the time of Hugh of Saint-Victor, theo-

gians have been speaking of the “corporal presence” of Christ in the Eucharist, in reference to Matthew 28:20: “I am with you always, to the end of the age.” But Thomas rejects the eucharistic interpretation of that text, and he considers that the presence comes under the category of localization. In the document instituting the feast of Corpus Christi (the bull *Transiturus*), Urban IV put into circulation the notion of “real presence” (DS 846), but the liturgy of the feast does not mention it, nor does it refer to Matthew 28:20. Until the Council of Trent*, while standing by the dogmatic formulas of Lateran IV, theologians did occasionally have recourse to the notion of “real presence.”

In the Roman eucharistic prayer it is the words of Christ that are the keystone. Their importance was strongly emphasized by Ambrose, and his influence was enormous, for both the devotion of the faithful and for sacramental theology: theologians believed that they actually knew, thanks to a text of Gregory* the Great on the Our Father (*Register* 9, 26), that Christ had consecrated the Eucharist with these brief words, and that the canon of the Mass was added to them at a later stage. From the theological viewpoint Thomas Aquinas thought he could completely isolate the consecrating efficacy of the words of Christ from the rest of the eucharistic prayer, a point on which other theologians did not follow him. But aside from this, another of Thomas’s ideas was routinely accepted: the priest pronounces the consecrating words *in persona Christi*, by assuming sacramentally the role of Christ.

3. Reformation, the Council of Trent and Modern Theology

Before the Reformers of the 16th century, we should mention the two requirements of Hussism (Hus*) regarding the Eucharist: the chalice Communion of the faithful and the Communion of young children.

a) Doctrine of the Reformers in the 16th Century The Reformers were in agreement among themselves about taking the words of the Scripture* as the exclusive reference, but their disagreements on the Eucharist were also an essential factor in the debates that opposed them to each other. This was particularly so in the case of Luther’s debate with the Swiss Reformers, and with Zwingli* above all. Luther (*Captivity of Babylon* [1520]) demands chalice Communion and denies that the Eucharist is a sacrifice (*Formula of Concord*, Epitome VII, BSLK 801): what he understands from the word *sacrifice* is a “good deed” performed by man, whereas the Eucharist is purely divine grace*. He refuses the notion of transubstantiation (ibid.), because it involves an undue recourse to Aristotle. But he does care for the real presence, and in that respect he con-

siders himself closer to the Catholics than to the Swiss Reformers (CA 10, BSLK 64–65; see Calvin* *Inst.* IV, 17). On the other hand, he insists on the liturgy of the word, and he condemns the private mass.

b) Council of Trent. The previous state of Catholic practices, as well as the circumstances of the council, were such that Trent dealt with the Eucharist in several distinct documents and dealt separately with the sacrament, Communion, and the sacrifice of the Mass.

To start with, in session XIII (1551) the council reaffirmed the faith of Lateran IV against the Swiss Reformer (decree on the Eucharist, chap. 1 [DS 1636] and canon 1 [DS 1651]), and it excluded the term *consubstantiation* in favor of *transubstantiation*, the use of which was said to be most appropriate (can. 2 [DS 1652]). Whereas Lateran IV was saying that the body and the blood are “truly contained,” the Fathers favored (1547) a wider formulation: “truly and really contained,” which they completed later (1551) with the term *substantially*. They also stated that Christ is “present sacramentally.” Subsequent to this, the notion of real presence became common in Catholic theology and catechesis. The council also claimed the legitimacy of the worship rendered to the real presence. Among other practices regarding the Eucharist, it reminded the faithful that sacramental confession of grave sins is prescribed before receiving Communion—but it did not present that point as a basic truth* of faith (DS 1661).

Ten years later, in session XXI (1562), the council stated that Communion from the chalice and the Communion of young children are not part of what is necessary for salvation*: the church exercises in such things the power with which it is entrusted regarding sacraments; the essential thing is that their substance be safe (DS 1728, 1731, 1734). Two months later, the council referred back to the pope the question of the concession of the chalice, whenever it was a need (DS 1760). The concession made in 1564 to the metropolitans of the German-speaking countries and of Hungary lasted 20 years; Communion from the chalice had already become a sign of denominational differentiation.

In session XXII (also in 1562) the council defined the content of the Catholic faith regarding the Mass: it is a nonbloody sacrifice, offered for the living and the dead, in which is made present the sacrifice of the cross; and the ministry* of that sacrifice was instituted in the Last Supper at the same time as the Eucharist (DS 1740, 1751–1754). On that occasion the council dismissed the wish that the Mass be celebrated in the vernacular language, but it recommended that it be explained to the faithful (DS 1747).

c) *Roman Missal of 1570*. The reform of the missal and of the breviary had been entrusted to the pope by the council. The missal reformed by Pius V, “according to the norm of the Fathers,” that is, according to the early church, generally confined itself to the state in which the liturgy of the Mass had been four or five centuries earlier. But in accordance with 16th-century practice it adopted as a fundamental form the Mass said by the priest with a small congregation, instead of the celebration in the ecclesial assembly. Although it had not originally been imposed on those churches that had their own liturgical tradition, in the course of the succeeding centuries this missal became the quasi-exclusive form of eucharistic celebration in the Western Catholic Church.

d) *Eucharistic Theology after Trent*. For more than three centuries Catholic theologians considered the way in which the Eucharist was realized as sacrifice. The history of doctrines attempted to group the diverse explanations (Lepin 1926): theories of the “real immutation” of Christ (thus Robert Bellarmine* and Alphonsus* Liguori), theories of his “mystical immutation,” and theories of oblation (French School, Bérulle* and the French Oratorians, as well as Bossuet). In the 20th century, with Casel and his circle of influence, there was a return to an idea close to Thomas Aquinas, the idea of the “mysterious presence” (*Mysteriengegenwart*) of Christ’s own action in the sacrifice of the Mass—an idea that seemed to allow Lutheran theologians to overcome the difficulties experienced in the 16th century.

4. Doctrine and Liturgical Reform of Vatican II

Vatican* II produced no document dealing specifically with the Eucharist. However, its texts make abundant mention of it, regarding its connection with the mystery of the Church, ecumenism*, the ministry of the priesthood, and particularly in the framework of the liturgy and liturgical reform. The following points are given particular emphasis: 1) Correlation between the respective tables of the Word and the Eucharist (*SC* 48, 51, etc.); 2) establishing the connection of the Eucharist, not only with the sacrifice of the cross (*SC* 47), but with the whole paschal mystery; 3) the place occupied by the Eucharist among the sacraments of Christian initiation* (*SC* 71, etc.); 4) interaction between church and Eucharist (*see LG* 26), in the perspective opened up by H. de Lubac, with a change of emphasis that signals a move from a theology of the church viewed primarily as an organized society* (e.g., with Bellarmine) to a theology of the church as sacrament; 5) the importance of the active participation of the faithful in the eucharistic celebration, fol-

lowing the line developed since Pius X (*SC*); 6) the Eucharist seen simultaneously as source and summit of Christian life (*LG* 11). The *Eucharisticum Mysterium* of 1967 was to sum up the teachings of the council on the Eucharist.

The reform of the Roman liturgy, determined and set in motion by the council, dealt in particular with the following questions about the celebration of the Eucharist: 1) The possibility of using the vernacular language; 2) the creation of a greatly enlarged cycle of readings to include, on Sunday, a supplementary reading from the Old Testament and a new insistence on the homily; 3) restoration of the universal prayer; 4) simplification of the offertory prayers; 5) concelebration by priests; 6) recitation aloud of the eucharistic prayer and the suggestion of several eucharistic prayers, including in particular an epiclesis; 7) Communion from the chalice along with the consecrated bread.

5. Latest Tendencies in Theology

It is certainly much too early to attempt a synthesis of the tendencies in contemporary eucharistic theology. We shall at least take note of the attention paid by theologians (claimed by Bouyer 1966) to the fundamental form of the action, whether it is a matter of comparing the *memorial* to the Hebrew *zikkaron* or of attempting to bring out the *Sinnestalt* from the action, its fundamental form (Lies 1978; Ratzinger 1981). What is underscored is the following: the connection of the Eucharist to the paschal mystery, to the history of salvation and to eschatology* (e.g., Tillard 1964; Durrwell 1980); its pneumatological dimension (importance of the epiclesis). In the problematics of the real presence, new concepts have been proposed, some of which were found gravely insufficient by Paul VI’s encyclical *Mysterium fidei* (“transfinalization,” “transignification”). Similarly, attempts have been made to employ the language of the presence in new philosophical contexts (*see* Marion 1982) or by resorting to the philosophy* of language (Ladrière 1984). Eucharistic theology has been used as a core around which to organize ecclesiology, as part of a particularly creative current in Orthodox theology (Afanassieff 1975; Zizioulas 1985; *see* McPartlan 1993); it has also been possible to link it to a sort of anthropology* (Martelet 1972), or to suggest a perspective borrowed from morality (Lacoste 1984). Last, ecumenical reflection endeavors to remove the misunderstanding remaining from the debates of the 16th century (Thurian 1981).

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See also Anointing of the Sick; Baptism; Being; Communion; Confirmation; Marriage; Mass, Sacrifice of the; Mystery; Ordination/Order; Penance; Sacrament

Eucharistic Conversion. *See* **Being; Eucharist**

Eucharistic Presence. *See* **Being; Eucharist**

Euchites. *See* **Messalianism**

Eudes, John. *See* **Heart of Christ**

Euthanasia. *See* **Death**

Eutyches. *See* **Chalcedon, Council of; Monophysitism**

Evagrius Ponticus. *See* Asceticism

Evangelicalism. *See* Anglicanism; Methodism; Protestantism

Evangelization. *See* Mission/Evangelization

Evil

A. Fundamental Theology

a) Classical Theory. Does evil have a being? All the theoretical instincts of classical antiquity encouraged thinkers to respond to this question by attenuating the ontological status of that which contravened the harmonious order of things. Aristotle denies that there is anything evil among the eternal realities (*Met.* VIII, 9, 1051 a). According to Plotinus, evil cannot be present either in that which is, or in that which is beyond being; it is present only in material realities, because they are mingled with nonbeing (*Enneads* I, VIII, 3). Evil is therefore concealed within beauty* “in order that its reality should remain invisible to the gods” (*Enneads* I, VIII, 15).

However, the question appeared to be more pressing with regard to the coherence of theology* than it was for philosophical reasoning. If the world is indeed the work of a good and omnipotent God*, what status is to be assigned to evil? The classical response was adopted in response to the Gnostics (gnosis*), for

whom the world was nothing other than the imperfect work of a demiurge, rather than of the supreme God. Above all, it was also adopted in response to the Manicheans (Manicheanism*), who asserted that evil has just as substantial an existence as good: from the beginning, and as a matter of principle, the combat between good and evil has informed history* with meaning. Christianity was able to articulate its response at an early stage, as in this passage from Origen* (*Princ.* II, 9, 2, *In Joh.* II, 17, PG 14, 137; *see also* Basil* of Caesarea, PG 31, 341): “Do not imagine that God is the cause of the existence of evil, or that evil has its own substance [*hupostasis*]. Perversity does not exist as if it was some living thing; one can never place its substance [*ousia*] before one’s eyes as if it truly existed.” In the writings of Augustine*, accepting the reality of evil seems still more of a concession to dualism: depriving evil of any reality becomes an elementary theological tactic for rendering dualism im-

practicable (e.g., *Conf.* III. vii. 12). Evil has no being in reality; it has no status other than as “privation of good” (*privatio boni*); it is the absence of that which should be; and God is not capable of being the cause of nonbeing (*De quaest.* 83, q. 21).

In the Middle Ages, the ontology of the transcendentals provided an ample framework within which to treat the nonreality of evil. If that which is, by virtue of being that which is, is one, true, and good, and if *ens et bonum convertuntur* (“being and good are interchangeable”), then evil in all its forms must be excluded from any ontological inventory of the world, in which it appears only as the limit of being. As L.-B. Geiger wrote (1969): “The realm of the good therefore extends as far as that of being, since the only positive element that distinguishes evil itself from nothingness pure and simple—that is to say, the requirement of being, the having to be—is still a good, and for that reason it is the indispensable foundation for whatever there is of evil.” To the extent that there is anything beautiful and good in evil, it was generally agreed that God, “the universal moderator of everything that is” (*universalis provisor totius entis*: Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* Ia, q. 22, a. 2), “has judged it better,” as Augustine puts it (*Enchir.* chap. 27), “to draw good from evil than not to permit the existence of any evil.” It was believed that God chastises, that he desires the evil of punishment*, but that his responsibility does not extend to moral evil or “sackcloth and ashes.” It was possible to give a brief response to the question of physical evil, although that response could also be expanded, or complicated, by adding that the fallen angels*, the demons*, are responsible to some extent for the physical evils that human beings suffer. On the other hand, it was possible to provide an elegant solution to the question of moral evil by attributing to humanity the privilege of being the first cause (Aquinas, *ST* Ia IIae, q. 112, a. 3, ad 2), even while adding that humanity does not thus create anything. Maritain, in his original reinterpretation of Aquinas’s themes, was thus able to interpret sin as “the annihilating initiative of the created will” (1946, *passim*). In the terms adopted by Journet, moral evil is strictly speaking not a matter of action, but of “disaction” or deficient action (1961). In both cases, therefore, the denial that evil has any reality requires that an effort be made toward a rational discourse on nonbeing. Ontology cannot offer any hospitality to evil, but it can attempt to give it an appropriate “non-ontology.”

The classical theory cannot avoid addressing the problem of providence*. Once it is accepted that God is good and that he alone is God, two tasks must be accomplished: to remove from God the burden of responsibility for evil, and to place that burden on those

who are created and endowed with liberty*. Yet if human beings are the primary cause of moral evil, is the fate of creation* out of the hands of God? Maritain sets up his argument by conceding to human beings the capacity to place obstacles in the way of divine grace*: a human being who enters into the logic of evil through “not considering the moral rule” receives divine motions, but these motions can be broken. One might then object (Nicolas 1960) that on this view God loses his sovereignty and ceases to be the author of the drama, becoming instead its principal player. Against the idea of a grace that sinners are able to resist, but that is accomplished as “unbreakable motion” in those whose wills do not falter, one could also have recourse to a concept derived from Aquinas, that of the “antecedent permissive decree,” and link it to the Thomist (Bañezian) notion of “physical pre-motion” (Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism, Thomism*). The same objections could also be raised in response to a more recent defense of God’s innocence (Garrigues 1982), which is based on the Thomist principle that God, being aware of his creatures only to the extent that he causes them, is incapable of forming the idea of evil (*see* Aquinas, *ST* Ia, q. 15, a. 3, ad 1). If one seeks a radical guarantee of the innocence of God, one will come to think that God is so transcendent that he has lost control of his creation (Nicolas, *RThom* 83, 649–59).

b) The Best of Worlds. Evil, even when deprived of any foundation in reality, does not cease to figure in any experiential inventory of the world: “to set forth the negative nature of evil is not to set forth its negation” (Geiger 1969). Accordingly, depriving evil of reality in principle does not settle any question. Perhaps because dualism no longer confronts modern thought as a real enemy—as it confronted Aquinas in the form of Catharism*—modern thought does not hesitate to accept that evil exists, and saves itself the trouble of asking whether this “existing” is or is not endowed with being. Instead, it handles the problem within the modern framework of theodicy. Should the world be accused of imperfection because of the presence of suffering and of evil wills? Can one consistently affirm that a good and omnipotent God has created this world in which there is evil? Leibniz* responds that in the lawsuit that human beings bring against God, he must be acquitted, because the world, as it is, is the best of all possible worlds. The evil in the world is not unreal, whether it is metaphysical evil (the limitation inherent in the creation, taken as such), physical evil, or moral evil. Evil is necessary for the promotion of the greatest possible created good. God could have created a world from which evil was absent, but such a

world would necessarily have been a world from which every free creature was also absent. It would also have been less perfect than our world, in which we are free to will evil, but also to will good. This argument can be found as early as Augustine and has continued in use for a very long time (e.g., Swinburne 1979).

A. Plantinga deserves credit for having provided a significantly revised version of the argument in the course of recent discussions of the question. On the one hand, Leibniz's argument is shown to be invalid, because the concept of "the best of all possible worlds" contains the same type of contradiction as the concept of "the greatest prime number": however many worlds exist, one can always conceive a better one. On the other hand, by making use of the discussions about "possible worlds" within the contemporary logic, one can identify worlds that, in strict logic, God could not have "actualized." Finally, the examination of moral evil makes it possible to identify "transworld depravity," a form of malice that is valid not only for this world but for other possible worlds, and that shows up the inconsistency in the idea that Peter, while remaining Peter, might not have acted as he did act in this world. Accepting the logical necessities that weigh down on God himself thus allows us to affirm, within a framework that is not theodicy but a "defense of free will," that the existence of evil does not contradict either God's knowledge* or his power (see the summaries given in chaps. 4–8 of *The Nature of Necessity*, Oxford, 1974).

Thus, the modern treatment of evil does not prevent evil from continuing to be an ontological scandal. One must return to the theology of providence for an account of it, as well as to Hegel*. His concept of the negative provides a way of thinking about the contribution of evil to the history of the spirit as a necessary term in the dialectic, and thus endows thought with a theoretical instrument that is capable of ratifying the reality of evil, within the framework of an ontology that is concerned to get beyond the elementary opposition between being and nothingness, without placing the responsibility on God—who himself puts the negative to the test—and without permitting any drift into dualism.

c) Evil and Meaning. Evil is deprived of being in the classical theory, and is not necessarily present in the modern theory, except to promote the greatest good; however, it does not follow that the experience of evil is deprived of any meaning. The suffering of human beings—already omnipresent in the critiques leveled at Christian theories, such as Leibniz's, by Enlightenment thinkers such as Hume or Voltaire—is theoretic-

cally noteworthy in that it is capable of acquiring a meaning. Nevertheless, it acquires this meaning, not within the limits of its own experience, but from the human suffering and death assumed by God in Jesus Christ. Theology can shed no light on the scandalous experience of evil—whether it be the Lisbon earthquake, as for Enlightenment thinkers, or Auschwitz in contemporary thought—except by measuring it against the event at Golgotha. God on the cross did not take all suffering upon himself, since human beings have continued to suffer even after the crucified one suffered, but he does allow all human suffering to take on a degree of christological significance. Not only is suffering educational for human beings, but the suffering of believers achieves "what is lacking in Christ's afflictions" (Col 1:24). Without claiming to "explain" evil, a theology of creation could also perceive in the act of the creator a divine "self-limitation" (Jüngel 1990), which is not identical with a pure and simple kenosis* of divine omnipotence (as is the case in Jonas 1984), but permits a distancing of Christian theory from the God of metaphysics—and therefore also from metaphysical interpretations of evil.

The theological meaning of evil may also be radicalized in a different way when theologians attempt to introduce pathos with respect to God himself. The idea of a God who is the "companion of the sufferings" of human beings (A. N. Whitehead), and the range of systematic treatments of this idea in the various theologies of the suffering of God, in theopaschite Christologies*, and elsewhere, complete the project of theodicy within a mode of hyperbole. There is no need for any "lawsuit," for in a certain sense the test of suffering sets the seal on a communion* between God and humanity. The suffering that this world contains is not an expedient, permitting the engendering of a greater good: it is presented as the most human of experiences, being an experience that God undergoes within his own being.

Finally, is it necessary to rationalize evil (see Phillips 1986 versus Swinburne 1979 and Hick 1966)? Doubtless, following G. Marcel's distinction, we should accept that there is not exactly a problem of evil—for the existence of a problem implies the possibility of a complete solution—but rather, a mystery* of evil (Geiger 1969). In this regard, it is possible to accuse every theory of being cynical (e.g., G. Baudler, *Wahrer Gott als wahrer Mensch*, Munich, 1977). To deny that evil has any reality, or to integrate it into the productive logic that generates history, may lead us to forget that the question is less theoretical than practical: first and foremost, evil requires not to be understood, but to be combated. Dostoyevsky's Ivan Karamazov based his reasoned atheism* on the suffering of the innocent, but the only response that he receives is provided, indi-

rectly, by the spiritual experience* of the *starets* Zozimus. The presence of evil is “radical” within humanity, according to Kant*, but good will can exist. The suffering of human beings is obvious, but we have a duty to relieve it. Pope Pius XII avoided a number of theoretical pitfalls when he declared that it is morally legitimate to give birth without pain and to use analgesics (*DC*, vol. 53, 87; vol. 54, 326–40). It is a commonplace truth that even the most intelligent morality or holiness* cannot hunt all the evil out of the world, yet theology operates on the presupposition that God gives a “response” to evil that is wholly action* rather than a use of words (Bouyer 1946). Humanity cannot come to the end of every evil, but the Resurrection* of Christ manifests God’s power and capacity. The question of the ontological status of evil in this world may therefore be left, wholly deliberately, in suspense. Even if God is no longer a hidden God, his work in the world remains a “hidden work” (*opus absconditum*).

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See also **Being; Good; Peace; Violence; War**

B. Moral Theology

The concept of moral evil attributes evil to the sphere of action. It presupposes the denial of ontic status to evil, and it situates evil entirely within the sphere of history.

In the course of its struggles with the Gnostics (gnosis*), Christianity identified as heresy* the notion that evil is attributable to the materiality of the world, and specifically of the body. Ascetic hostility to the actions of bodily life—eating, drinking, sexual intercourse, and so on—is suspect in the New Testament, as impugning the creation* (e.g., 1 Tm 3:3 f.). When New Testament authors speak of “flesh” to express the disposition of the moral agent to evil, they point not to the body as such, but to a state of moral psychology, *phronema sarkos* (Rom 6:6), in which one is dominated by material need and unable to act freely.

Evil may be considered under one of two descriptions, active or passive (*malum actionis*, *malum passionis*), as sin* or suffering. The Judeo-Christian theological tradition*, in which faith* in the purpo-

siveness of divine providence* is fundamental, has maintained that suffering must be subsumed under the intentional interaction of God* and humanity. The inarticulate suffering of animals cannot be attributed to human beings. Suffering must speak of some divine purpose if it is to be comprehended within the history of a moral agent. “Does disaster come to a city, unless the Lord has done it?” (Am 3:6). Suffering thereupon becomes moralized as the occasion for responsive action, evil or good: patience or impatience under temptation*, honesty or dissimulation under punishment*, courage or cowardice before danger, and so on.

In making use of the concept of sin, one recognizes that evil is part of the evil action itself and is not to be imputed to circumstances or conditions. However, evil may be attributed objectively, to the form of the act, or subjectively, to the disposition of the agent. These two starting points have sometimes been contrasted with each other, but they are both necessary, and are mutually corrective in defining moral evil.

In an objective attribution, an evil action is an action that is not what it should be. This is the meaning of sin as “transgression” or “wrong,” terms that point to the idea of failure to accomplish. The Greek term *hamartia*, sometimes thought to encapsulate this idea, is often contrasted with a supposedly Jewish sense of “radical sin,” but this is misleading, since the most that can be demonstrated is a difference of emphasis. One might even say that precisely this notion of sin as transgression characterized the morality of the Pharisees, which Jesus* criticizes (“Now you Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and the dish, but inside you are full of greed and wickedness,” Lk 11:39), and that it belongs to the legalistic culture of ancient Judaism*. Here belongs much of traditional ethics* as a deliberative science, with its notion of moral law*, the distinction between sins of omission and sins of commission, and so on. The “manifold” character of *hamartia*, to which Aristotle draws attention in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1106 b 28), springs from the manifold possibilities for action afforded by the complexities of the world. When one seeks the rules of action, evil acts have to be studied according to their different types, for they are not yet part of any subject’s history, and their formal relations to specific moral laws are all that there is to be considered. Such an ethics cannot, therefore, dispense with casuistry*.

According to Jesus’ critique of the Pharisaic exposition of the law, starting from such a point can never bring us to confront the personal and historical dimensions of evil. It views sin only as a possibility, and past sin only as a contingent accident. Yet behind every evil act there lies a subjective reality of evil: “For from within, out of the heart of man, come evil thoughts” (Mk 7:21). This is the meaning of sin as “guilt,” a subjective evil inherent in the moral orientation of the agent. To recognize evil as belonging to one’s acts, one must acknowledge not merely error or failure in performance, but disorder in one’s agency as such.

Jesus’ doctrine of the “heart” must not be confused with the modern (18th-century) concept of “motive,” a purely “possible” act of the mind supposed to lie behind each external act but not a root-source for *all* acts. The notion of “heart” lies, rather, somewhere between the notion of character* and the idea of original sin*, an involvement of the whole of humanity in evil. Whatever different forms sins may take objectively—Jesus lists a number of them—the decisive factor is their common source (Mk 7:1–23). Augustine* describes this root of sin as the love* of self, in contrast to the love of God (*City of God* 14, 28). As there is no real alternative to God that the heart may love, it turns on itself, negating the whole world of real existence to conjure up a solipsistic universe.

The complementarity of the two starting points can be seen as each takes on certain emphases of the other. On the one hand, the law in Jesus’ teaching is unified by a sovereign command of love, which undergirds all the rules, identifies one failure in which all possible failures are comprised: “If I speak in the tongues of men and angels, but have not love” (1 Cor 13:1; *see* Mk 12:28–31). On the other hand, the idea of a root source of evil is developed by differentiation into a specification of the corruptions to which the moral agent is liable. An analysis of the disorders of the soul in terms of “capital vices” has been common in the Evagrian tradition of spiritual* theology (e.g., in Maximus* the Confessor).

To recognize the evil of one’s action requires that one enter into this dialectic of objective and subjective attribution. Otherwise, in considering the idea of responsibility *of* moral evil, one is reduced to the pure incomprehensibility of “dumb” suffering. On the purely objective side, transgression dissolves into a failure of execution that befalls an act accidentally, without engaging the responsibility of the agent, as when an athlete fails to break a speed record because of a contrary wind. On the purely subjective side, the root of evil becomes so deeply hidden that it in no way characterizes the forms of objective action, which thereby become morally indifferent. The acceptance of responsibility for the evil of the action is lost sight of. Critics of Stoicism* in the ancient world thought that this followed from its doctrine of “things indifferent,” while in recent times proportionalism* has incurred the same objection because of its sharp differentiation of pre-evil and moral evil, the former being of no moral account, the latter lurking so deep in the depths of the “fundamental option” as to be discerned only in the anxious conscience* and never in categorically evil acts. Between the two, the guilty party, hunted by the philosophers of every continent, slips through undetected.

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See also Action; Conscience; Ethics; Good; Sin

Evolution

1. Viewpoint of the Natural Sciences

a) Biological Evolution. In whatever way they might interpret it, no scientists contest the fact of evolution. Paleontological proofs are sufficient in themselves to establish its reality: the dating of fossils makes it possible to confirm the gradual increase in complexity and diversification of forms in the whole of the animal and plant kingdoms. A cluster of convergent supplementary arguments, drawn from embryology, comparative anatomy, and molecular biology, bolster these proofs. The fact of evolution also encompasses the appearance of the human race. In a nutshell, the first “chemical fossils” are contemporaneous with the earliest known sedimentary rocks, going back some three and one-half billion years. They are supposedly due to the action of immense colonies of bacteria, then to the action of Cyanophyceae (blue-green algae). The first eukaryotes (Protozoa and Protophyta) appeared about one and one-half billion years ago. Toward the end of the Pre-Cambrian era, the multicellular Metazoa arrived. In the Mid-Cambrian period the first chordates (animals with nonbony spinal cords) made their appearance, then the vertebrates came on the scene in the Silurian era. Starting at the beginning of the Mesozoic period, the age of reptiles, came the first mammals, which would develop in the Tertiary era at the same time as the birds. The first primates go back as far as the Cretaceous period, at the time when the dinosaurs were dying out.

b) Explanatory Theories. Unanimity evaporates as soon as explanatory theories of evolution come into play. No single one of these seems really satisfactory as an answer to Popper’s criterion of scientific “refutability” (or falsifiability). The synthetic or neo-Darwinian theory held sway for a long time, and its problematic nature stands out even more clearly today. The earliest evolutionary theorist was not Darwin (1809–82) but Lamarck (1744–1829), later discredited by the English biologist and his followers. Lamarck sketched out his theory in 1802. There, for the first time, the continuity, diversification, and complexity of animal species in their natural gradations were observed and understood as a kinship in which the most complex had descended from the simplest. However,

his explanation of the mechanism of evolution could never be confirmed experimentally. It is based on two laws: in any animal*, use of an organ strengthens it “and gives it power in proportion to the length of that use,” while disuse causes its atrophy; and second, acquired characteristics are transmitted through heredity. This second law is the Achilles’s heel of Lamarckism.

The Darwinian theory of natural selection was established in 1858 by C. R. Darwin and A. R. Wallace (1823–1913). No doubt it was influenced by T. R. Malthus’s *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798). Then it received the useful support of A. Weismann (1834–1914), who distinguished the *Germen* (germ-plasm), which includes inherited characteristics, from the *Soma*, the perishable body that has no influence on heredity—a distinction that dealt the death blow to Lamarckism. The synthetic theory was gradually developed in the years 1930–50, by merging the Darwinian principle with the hereditary laws of G. Mendel (1822–84) and with Hugo de Vries’s (1848–1935) theory of mutations.

Once it was fashioned in this way, for quite some time neo-Darwinism enjoyed the support of the great majority of biologists. Nonetheless, “Whatever form it takes, ‘Darwinism’ does not explain the great evolution that the organizational plan and the phylae, or branchings of classes and orders, involves” (Grassé). Even at the level of the formation of species, we possess no more than a system of plausible hypotheses, and up to now we lack any decisive experimental test. As for the necessary duration of time* that would explain evolutionary diversity, not to mention the evolution of symbiotic systems, the time span that the synthetic theory supposedly indicates seems to be of an entirely different magnitude from the incredibly short duration of actual evolution. In the case of the “neutrality theory of molecular evolution” or the “non-Darwinian” theory of M. Kimura et al. (1971), which studies, in a selective manner, neutral enzymatic variants linked to vast phenomena of genetic drift, these expectations have hardly been confirmed by experiment. It seems therefore that *no* explanatory theory to date has received any real experimental confirmation.

c) Emergence of Man. The paleontology of the great apes shows the gradual emergence of species that by

degrees reached modern man, according to a schema that fits naturally into the evolution of the species of animals. In western and southern Africa the hominoids must have clearly distinguished themselves from the other anthropoidal primates about five million years ago. The oldest known fossils belong to the group of Australopithecidae of the *gracilis* type—the *robustus* type appeared two and one-half million years ago, only to disappear about one million years ago. These hominoids had a bipedal gait and an upright stature, but were not of the genus *Homo*. The first hominids made their appearance in western Africa in the form of *Homo habilis*, of which there are fossils going back from 2.3 million to 1.6 million years. The latter was the first hominid to make stone tools. Then *Homo erectus* appeared, between 1.6 million to less than 300,000 years ago. Starting out from western Africa, this species seems to have colonized Asia (especially Java and China), then Europe. Discovered in Java in 1886 and at that time given the name “Pithecanthropus,” *Homo erectus* managed to master fire (indisputable traces of that advance are found in Chou-Kou-Tien, near Beijing, dating from more than 500,000 years ago). In turn, *H. erectus* would make way (by progressive transformation?) for *Homo sapiens neanderthalis*, with a big brain of 1,500 cubic centimeters. This species, which may go back as far as 200,000 years, lived for the most part in western Europe and the Middle East. The Neanderthals were the first to bury their dead (death*), this burial being accompanied by symbolic actions. Did these have a religious significance? About 35,000 years ago the Neanderthals vanished entirely to leave the way open for *Homo sapiens sapiens* or Cro-Magnon man, our present species. Our direct ancestors probably came from western Africa by way of Palestine—where remains have been dated from 100,000 years ago—to arrive in Europe 35,000 years ago, at the time of the extinction of the Neanderthals. The two populations, which must have lived alongside each other for a long time in the Middle East, do not seem ever to have interbred. All human beings living today are only of the *sapiens sapiens* type. They reached America and Australia around 25,000 years ago.

2. Philosophico-Theological Viewpoint

a) Definition of Man. In order to judge the theological impact of evolutionary theories, a precise definition of “human” is required. Indeed, the positivist or materialist prerequisites defined by certain varieties of evolutionary theory make them unacceptable to all Christian theology* and explain certain overreactions. Although Cartesian dualism hardly seems capable of

solving the problem, a pure monism would reduce us, through evolution, to pure and simple animality, which is not really compatible with the status of being *imago Dei* (in the image of God). How can one achieve a common ground in the division between the biological view, by which we belong to the order of primates, and a “spiritual” view, which transcends the former in a real way? But, are not the biological data enough to define without arbitrariness at which point the human truly begins? In this area, none of the traditional criteria seems to be conclusive. The ownership of a connected and symbolic language seems to be one decisive factor, but leaves no fossil traces. And it remains to be seen whether the evolution of the species is sufficient to explain it.

According to G. Isaye (1987), whose research lies within the framework of a critical proof at the level of basic knowledge, it is possible to establish two specific characteristics peculiar to human beings, irreducible to biological materiality: first, the consciousness of moral obligation; and second, the possibility of proving, without entering a vicious circle, the first principles of knowledge (according to the Aristotelian argument of retortion). In this context biological evolution would provide only the *material conditions for the possibility*—necessary conditions, but not sufficient—of the advent of a conscious and free man. The mastery of language that makes possible the development of culture would then come to *humanize* the hominid that had been formed by this evolution, though this development is not accounted for convincingly by the physiological transformations that made it possible. For Christian theology, the *imago Dei*, the fruit of a specific creative act (creation*), would have appeared complete with language, which opened the way to consciousness and freedom (liberty*).

b) 19th-Century Conflict about the Concepts and Its 20th-Century Resolution. During the 19th century, in the absence of agreement on the definition of man, conflict about these concepts could not avoid a head-on collision. Despite A. R. Wallace’s very laudable efforts to make an appropriate distinction between the biological and cultural aspects of man, Darwin and his successors in fact developed a form of biological materialism contrary to the conceptions of all the Christian churches*. Militant agnostics such as T. H. Huxley (1825–95) and E. Haeckel (1834–1919) found themselves in heated argument with churchmen such as the Anglican bishop S. Wilberforce (1805–73), who were determined to defend the Christian faith*. Although there was no official condemnation from the Roman magisterium*, in 1860 the provincial council of Köln declared “transformism,” when applied to the human

body, to be contrary to the Scriptures and to the Catholic faith. As for Vatican* I, it contented itself with serenely recalling that it was not possible for the truths of the faith and reason* to contradict each other (*Dei Filius*, chap. 4, DS 3015–20).

In the same period, a series of attempts were made to reach agreement, such as the one by S. G. J. Mivart (1827–1900) that aimed to reconcile science and the literal interpretation of the Bible*. These attempts were destined to fail for lack of respecting the differences on the two respective planes. In large measure the real solution to the crisis was to come, on the contrary, from the renewal of biblical studies that began in the nonrationalist Protestant circles of the end of the 19th century, then emerged later in the Catholic world with the works of Father M.-J. Lagrange (1855–1938). The differences in literary* genres in the Scriptures, the real character of biblical Revelation*, which is not at all the same as that of the natural sciences*, combined with a more precise evaluation of the latter, was to lead to the resolution of the conflict, sanctioned in the Catholic Church by the declarations of the magisterium—starting with Pius XII’s encyclical letter, *Divino afflante Spiritu*, about the principles of biblical exegesis*, continuing with various constitutions and declarations of Vatican* II, and up to John Paul II’s speech on 22 October 1996 at the Pontifical Academy of Sciences (*OR*, 29 October). Meanwhile, a book was published that was to be particularly important for the assimilation of evolutionary theory by Christian thought. The book was by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, who deserves a brief discussion.

c) *Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955)*. Quite contrary to his intentions, Teilhard found himself in the midst of interminable controversies. For a long time he was suspected of heterodoxy, or even of pantheism*. He was never officially condemned but found himself “invited” to publish nothing outside his field of scientific competence in the strict sense, and he has been badly served by the faulty interpretations of his admirers as much as of his adversaries. All in all, therefore, it is not easy to arrive at a balanced judgment on him, especially in a few lines. H. de Lubac* (1962) rightly proved his religious orthodoxy; but the fact remains that the philosophical community, just like that of the theologians, still refuses to recognize him as one of its own.

Having been admitted to the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Jersey—where he had as a companion and friend Auguste Valensin, a disciple of Maurice Blondel*—Pierre Teilhard de Chardin was above all a scientist, geologist, and paleontologist, with a well-earned international reputation. He occupied the chair

of geology at the Institut Catholique in Paris, following his thesis on the mammals of the high Eocene period (1922) and after having contributed in a decisive way to the discovery of the *Homo erectus* of Chou-Kou-Tien. But he could not help thinking about the essential philosophical and theological implications of such discoveries. Turning away from the overly abstract and deductive Scholastic* philosophy* that he had been taught during his ecclesiastical studies, Teilhard aimed to incorporate his evolutionist concepts into a cosmic vision of universal scope, conceived as a “hyperscience,” to draw together the irreversible growth of unity in complexity at all the “biface” levels of becoming of matter and of the mind. In this way he did indeed construct a realist *cosmology*, certainly more dogmatic* than critical: the law of complexity-consciousness, the ascending convergence where “differentiated unity” took on the function of the necessary engine.

Although he was familiar, especially through Edouard Le Roy (1870–1954), with the evolutionary theory of Bergson (1859–1941), which was extremely different from his own, Teilhard was indebted for certain essential aspects of his own thought to that of Blondel, brought to his attention by Auguste Valensin. Two interconnected aspects of it should be mentioned: first, the one beneath the ambiguity of the expression “panchristism,” linked to the Leibnizian hypothesis (Leibniz*) of the *vinculum substantiale* (substantial bond); second, Blondel’s dialectics of action, which Teilhard would transport to the more naturalist level in his *Energétique intégrale de l’Univers*. Although Teilhard thereby lost Blondel’s critical rigor, he brought evolutionary theory into Christian thought on an equal footing, a status that the former has continued to occupy to the present day.

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See also **Adam; Exegesis; Sciences of Nature**

Exegesis

Exegesis is a set of procedures for establishing the meaning of a text. The need for it arises whenever a text continues to arouse interest or to be regarded as important, as in the case of laws*, treaties, or literary classics. It is not a requirement of the text at the moment of composition: authors and drafters aspire to make their meaning perfectly clear. Nor is it a private transaction between text and individual reader, permitting an unlimited range of interpretation. It is a product of the needs of the community that makes use of or cherishes the text.

Exegesis is of particular importance in a religious community that bases its doctrine, its moral norms, and its spirituality on texts believed to be inspired. Such a community will have an interest both in the elaboration of procedures for finding hitherto unsuspected meanings and applications in the text, and also in the control of types of exegesis that might influence the beliefs and the conduct of its members. For this article, the relevant communities are a) Jewish, b) ecclesiastical, and c) academic.

a) *Jewish Exegesis.* In principle, all Jewish exegesis presupposes a body of scriptural texts that is fixed,

canonical, and authoritative. In reality, the Hebrew Scriptures evolved over many centuries, and the need to bring exegesis to bear on their older parts is already apparent in its later ones. Laws originally relating to a variety of sanctuaries were reinterpreted as prescribing a single centralized cult* (Ex 20:24; Dt 12:5–14). Warnings and prophecies* originally directed to a particular moment of decision were perceived to apply to longer-term historical developments (Is 1–23, 24–27). Narratives* were rewritten to bring out the moral and religious significance of previously recorded history* (1 and 2 Sm; 1 and 2 Kgs; 1 and 2 Chr). One particular form of exegesis, found in writings classified in modern times as apocalyptic*, begins in Deuteronomy (9:1 f.) with the reinterpretation of former prophecies in the light of later events; it continued for several centuries after the close of the Hebrew canon*. It also inspired many of the sectarian writings preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls. A notable example is the Habakkuk commentary (1QpHab), where the recurrent formula *peshar* could be rendered “the exegesis of this is.” In exegesis of this genre, the fulfillment of ancient prophecies is discerned in events of the present or the near future.

Exegesis of this kind, though not unknown in the Greco-Roman world, is peculiarly Jewish. A more international style was also practiced in Jewish communities, particularly in Alexandria and most notably in the voluminous works of Philo (c. 20 B.C.—A.D. 30). Its principal tool, allegorical interpretation, was already known in the pagan world (Theagenus [sixth to fifth centuries B.C.], the Stoics), and had, in part, a similar motivation. Read literally, the behavior of the gods in Homer could seem shocking to cultivated sensibilities; read as allegory, it could be found to convey important truths. Similarly, with the Hebrew Scriptures, the earthiness of many narratives and the apparently crude anthropomorphism* of much of the language about God could be a deterrent to pagan sympathizers and disquieting for reflective Jews. We do not know for certain to which of these categories Philo's readers belonged, but both would be reassured if allegorical exegesis could reveal a congruence between inspired writings and truths discerned through pagan philosophy*.

Yet there were limits to the use of this exegetical technique. Philo himself (*De Migratione Abrahami*, §89–93) criticizes those whose practice of allegorical interpretation led them to neglect those observances that gave the Jewish people their identity—Sabbaths*, dietary laws, and festivals. It was indeed as a corpus of law that the Hebrew Scriptures exercised their greatest influence over the Jewish people. The most characteristic form of Jewish exegesis was the continuous tradition, mostly transmitted orally until the second century A.D., of interpreting legal texts in such a way as to show their bearing on every new circumstance of personal and social life. This began in the time of Ezra, and finds its fullest development in the Mishnah and the Talmud. In Rabbinic literature, *halakha*—the correct way of “walking”—was the primary goal of scriptural exegesis. By the application of simple rules of logic, and by endlessly bringing one text to bear on the meaning of another, the sages aspired to give honor to their sacred law-book, the Torah. They deduced rules from it to govern every eventuality of contemporary life, and also extracted directives from it to authorize those aspects of the Jewish code of conduct that, although established by long usage, were not directly ordained in Scripture.

Not that this was the only form of exegesis practiced by the rabbis. There was more to Scripture than law and moral instruction: there were riches waiting for “investigation” (one of the meanings of the word *midrash*) that could lead to a deeper knowledge* of God and his will for human beings. By now, the Hebrew Scriptures were a closed system. All resources for their interpretation could be found within them.

Every detail had to be scrutinized for clues to a correct or more satisfying interpretation; any word or text within the canon could be used to elucidate any other; inconsistencies and obscurities could be resolved by minute comparison with other instances, regardless of original intention or context. However, attractive and endlessly creative though this nonlegal exegesis (*haggada*) might seem, *halakha* remained the paramount form of exegesis.

b) Ecclesiastical Exegesis. “These things took place as examples for us”: so Paul (1 Cor 10:6) describes the significance of a series of key events that befell the Israelites in the desert. For Paul, the word *example* is virtually synonymous with *allegory* (Gal 4:24), but it serves to convey the particular thrust of the new Christian exegesis of Old Testament texts. A new factor had appeared in history in the person* and achievement of Jesus Christ. Yet it was also not new, in that it could be found to have been foretold and prefigured in the Hebrew Scriptures. The truth* of the Christian claims for Jesus was confirmed by Old Testament “types” of his salvific destiny; by the same token, Christians now possessed an exegetical key with which to discern hitherto unsuspected meanings in scriptural texts. The congruence of Old Testament prophecies and “types” with the new realities experienced by Christians was a source of profound encouragement (*paraklesis*, Acts 13:15; Rom 15:4) and edification (2 Tm 3:15 f.).

This congruence was also an important resource for the defense of the new faith* against its enemies and critics. The bitter opposition of the synagogue was a factor in the life of the church for the first two centuries of its history. The claim that Jesus was the Messiah* of Jewish expectation, if it was to be made plausible to Jews, had to be presented as a fulfillment of the true meaning of Old Testament texts. Exegesis was therefore central to the debate. Christological interpretation became a staple feature of Christian anti-Jewish apologetic, not only of prophecies accepted as messianic by Jewish exegetes, but also of many other texts that now seemed to take on new meaning as prefigurations of Jesus' Passion*, death*, and Resurrection* (e.g., Ps 22, 118:22 f.; Is 53). Such an interpretation already formed the substance of the argument in Pseudo-Barnabas and Justin. With the exception of a very few authors, this typological or allegorical form of exegesis became a standard feature of Christian writing in the post-apostolic and patristic periods.

In the second century, the church was challenged not only by Judaism but also by Gnosticism (gnosis*): its elaborate speculative systems were supported by allegorical interpretations of Scripture that ranged far

wider than those of Christian orthodoxy did. To combat this threat, it was necessary for Christian exegetes to impose limits on the use of allegory and to insist, sometimes on the literal meaning of the text, at other times on Christian allegories in opposition to those of the Gnostics. A notable instance is the interpretation by a number of Church Fathers* (Justin, Irenaeus*, Tertullian*, Theophilus of Antioch) of Genesis 1–3, which they tended to take as a straight record of fact by way of contesting the cosmological speculations of the Gnostics. In the writers of this period, we see already a tension between the need to find christological meanings in Old Testament texts, through the use of typological and allegorical techniques, and the need to oppose the exaggerated use of allegory by the heretics, through an insistence on the literal meaning of certain texts. This tension was to characterize exegesis throughout the patristic period and beyond. In the absence of any clear principle of hermeneutics* that could serve as a guide, these writers were ready to fall back on the principle, already enunciated in the New Testament (e.g., Ti 3:9 f.), that any exegesis not authorized by the church is heretical.

Thus far, Christian exegesis has been primarily a tool for other purposes: apologetics, catechesis*, liturgy*. With a commentary on John by the Valentinian heretic Heracleon (second century) and another, on Deuteronomy, by Hippolytus (204), a new form appeared that was to recur again and again in the patristic period, that of the consecutive commentary on a biblical text. In this new phase, the Bible* was seen not so much as a resource for establishing and defending the faith of Christians, as a treasury capable of yielding untold wealth for the faithful through the diligence of the skilled interpreter. Yet the same tension persisted between literal and nonliteral exegesis. In the case of the Old Testament, it was taken for granted that behind the literal meaning there lay at least one deeper or more edifying meaning. In the case of the New Testament, the literal meaning was more often taken as paramount, especially in opposition to Gnostic allegorizations, which tended to discount the historicity of the Gospels*. Nevertheless, some details, notably in the parables, received elaborate allegorical treatment. The possibilities of allegory were exploited with unrestrained brilliance by Clement († before 215) and Origen* in Alexandria. A more disciplined and literal approach was practiced by the school of Antioch* (Diodorus in the fourth century, Theodore of Mopsuestia [352–428], John Chrysostom*). Overall, however much or little importance was ascribed to the literal meaning, exegesis in the patristic period always rested upon the presupposition that, in almost every case, the true meaning of Scripture was to be found at a deeper

level than that of a literal reading of the text. This conception of Scripture as a collection of divine oracles, of which the true sense must be elucidated by disciplined yet imaginative exegesis, remained fundamental until at least the end of the Middle Ages.

c) Scholarly Exegesis. One consequence of this preoccupation with nonliteral exegesis was the additional assumption that Scripture could be interpreted from within. No information was needed from outside, for the Bible itself held all the necessary clues for discerning the meaning of any passage. Not that exegetes had always been blind to the resources offered by linguistic or historical study: ever since Jerome (c. 347–419/20), there had been those who, despite the anti-Semitic prejudices of the church, saw the advantage of consulting Jewish scholars for the elucidation of difficult Old Testament texts. However, it was the influence of Renaissance scholarship that delivered the fatal blow to allegorical exegesis with the introduction of criteria and information from outside the Bible. One of the most frequently cited justifications for reading a text as an allegory was that its literal sense was unintelligible, unedifying, or absurd. However, if scholars could not find parallels or comparable instances in other ancient literature, this alleged strangeness could be shown to be illusory, and recourse to an allegorical interpretation appeared to be unjustified. A series of commentaries therefore began to appear, laden with the fruits of research into comparative material in pagan and Jewish literature. J. B. Lightfoot in England (*Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, 1658–78), J. Wettstein in the Netherlands (*Novum Testamentum Graecum*, 1751–52), P. Billerbeck in Germany (H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 1922–28), J. Bonsirven in France (*Textes rabbiniques... à l'intelligence du Nouveau Testament*, 1955), and, most recently, S. Lachs in the United States (*A Rabbinic Commentary on the New Testament*, 1987) represent a type of commentary in which the progress of exegesis is related to the growth of knowledge about the ancient world. This knowledge was not confined to literature. Other disciplines also began to form essential parts of the exegete's equipment: archeology (e.g., in relation to Old Testament history or to the journeys of Saint Paul); philology (enlarging the possibilities of interpreting rare Hebrew words or applying knowledge of *koine* Greek, gained from papyrus finds, to New Testament texts); and, above all, historical research into neighboring cultures. This, in turn, had another very important consequence: exegesis ceased to be a task performed within and controlled by the church. It used resources and disciplines freely available in the academic world, and was prac-

ticed by scholars for whom freedom of inquiry took priority over scrupulous obedience to the church. Hence, the most rapid progress was made by Protestant exegetes. The difficulties caused for the Catholic Church by the tension between the authority of the magisterium* and the necessity to participate in the academic enterprise can be charted in a series of papal and conciliar pronouncements (e.g., *Divino afflante Spiritu* [1943], or the constitution *Dei Verbum* issued by Vatican* II [1965]), as well as in the struggles of conscience of Catholic scholars (M.-J. Lagrange [1855–1938] 1967; P. Grelot 1994). The official evaluation of exegetical methods in the Catholic Church document of 1993, *The Interpretation of the Bible within the Church*, published by the Pontifical Bible Commission, displays a more open approach, although it still insists upon the ultimate authority of the magisterium in all exegetical questions.

The exegetical use of nonbiblical sources is well represented by the “History of Religions” school (*religionsgeschichtliche Schule*), which included J. Weiss (1863–1914), W. Bousset (1865–1920), and H. Gunkel (1862–1932). This group of mainly German scholars argued that many features of New Testament religion are best explained as deriving from the influence of pagan Hellenistic religions. This view was fiercely criticized at the time, and was subsequently found to be valid, if at all, only in the case of the Old Testament, where the influence of Canaanite religion is undeniable. This led to a certain reaction in favor of intratextual exegesis: the Bible itself once again became the prime source of knowledge. Now, however, whereas allegorists had regarded oddities or inconsistencies in the text as signs of deeper meaning, modern critics saw them as indications of its preliterary history. The presence of two barely compatible Creation* stories in Genesis must be the result of a compiler working with material from more than one source. Inconsistency in the use of the divine name* *YHWH* versus *Elohim* indicated that material from different traditions had been amalgamated into a single text. By separating out these strands, it was possible to discern particular tendencies in each, as, for example, in the priestly(P) tradition, a marked interest in ritual matters.

In the early days of this “source criticism” (Old Testament: theory of the four documents, K. H. Graf [1866] and J. Wellhausen [1876–84]; New Testament: theory of the two sources, H. J. Holtzmann [1863], etc.), it was assumed that the underlying materials consisted of written documents (book*). Entirely new possibilities of interpretation followed the recognition that much of this material—laws, narratives, songs of worship—was first handed down by word of mouth. Studies of oral tradition in other cultures made it apparent

that transmission required established forms (literary* genres) according to the circumstances in which the material was used. Laws, for example, generally tended to have a casuistic form when cited in law courts but an exhortatory or apodictic form when recited in worship. The coexistence of such forms was a sign that they originated in different “life-situations” (*Sitz im Leben*) in society*. These in turn could yield precious information about the religious and cultural history of the people.

The “history of forms” (*Formgeschichte*), as it came to be called, originated in the study of the Old Testament, and achieved notable success, for example, in H. Gunkel’s work on the Psalms* (*Commentary*, 1926; H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, 1928–33). However, it had its greatest influence on the study of the gospels (M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 1919; R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 1921). It was not difficult to notice that certain short sections of text (*pericopae*)—such as a saying, a parable*, or an account of an exorcism—occur in different contexts from one Gospel to another. It could then be inferred that each must have existed independently of any context before it was incorporated into a Gospel. The correct way to study a Gospel, therefore, was to see it, no longer as the literary or inspired creation of a single writer, but as an editorial compilation of small scraps that owed their preservation to a period of oral transmission. Examined separately, these *pericopae* were found to have a number of distinct forms. From these forms, and from the pattern of their distribution in the Gospels (some occurring more frequently than others), it was possible to infer their original *Sitz im Leben*, and hence the interests and concerns of the churches in which these materials had been preserved.

This attention to an assumed preliterary phase in the compilation of a Gospel in due course created an interest in the character of the final compiler. Was he simply an editor, doing the best he could with a mass of jumbled material? Or had he a mind of his own, and the capacity to impose a distinctive character on his narrative? By noticing the subtle changes that each evangelist appears to have made in the treatment of such an element (whenever this comparison is possible), and by discerning a pattern emerging in these changes such as might indicate a particular interest of the author, it seemed possible to build up a profile of each evangelist, and to regard them, no longer merely as competent editors, but as creative writers, even—the ultimate accolade—as “theologians” in their own right.

This procedure has been given the name *Redaktionsgeschichte*, the study of the stages and aims of

redaction: W. Marxsen on Mark (1956), G. Bornkamm on Matthew (1948), H. Conzelmann on Luke: *Die Mitte der Zeit* (1953). Along with *Formgeschichte*, it has had two consequences that their first practitioners could hardly have foreseen. First, by directing attention away from the Gospel narratives (of Jesus) to the factors that have determined the present forms of these narratives—the concerns of the church (*Formgeschichte*) or the interest and skills of the evangelists (*Redaktionsgeschichte*)—they have relegated the “quest of the historical Jesus” to secondary status (cf. A. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 1906; E. Käsemann, *ZThK* 51, 1954; J.M. Robinson, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1959). Admittedly, the application of these critical methods had begun to cast doubt on the possibility of any reconstruction of “things concerning Jesus” that could claim to be historically reliable. Even the more critically sophisticated “new quest of the historical Jesus” characteristic of the third quarter of the 20th century yielded no scholarly consensus on which a generally accepted life of Jesus could be founded, even though it found reasons to challenge the extreme skepticism of the principal representatives of *Formgeschichte*. Today, many specialists seem ready to accept that the only proper focus of exegetical interest is to be found in the writers and the writings of the New Testament. Jesus, who wrote nothing and has allegedly been shown to be historically inaccessible, seems barely worthy of serious attention. The second consequence has been a notable narrowing, until recently, of the field of inquiry, to the extent that the gospels are interpreted mainly in terms of biblical texts and a relatively small range of intertestamental writings. The most influential representatives of *Formgeschichte*, M. Dibelius and R. Bultmann, brought to their task a wealth of knowledge derived from a thorough education in classical culture, supplemented by an extensive study of relevant Jewish writings. Their followers, not having had the advantage of such a broad culture, certainly developed their critical techniques to a fine point, but they had little that was new to bring to their exegesis. As a result, their work, being concentrated on ever smaller areas of disagreement, began to show signs of diminishing returns and to lose the confidence of those who rely on scholarly exegesis to strengthen and enrich the teaching and preaching* of the Christian faith.

This apparent alienation of critical exegesis from the needs of any community of the faithful was in part responsible for the movement known as “canonical criticism” (research on the function assigned to a text in the elaboration of a corpus intended to be complete—a canon). This was inspired, and is still mainly represented, by the work of B. Childs (see especially his *Exodus*, 1974). According to Childs, although the

stages antecedent to the formation of a biblical text and the historicity of the events it refers to remain legitimate objects of study, a more important consideration for exegesis is the fact that the text forms part of the canon of Scripture, which evolved within a community of faith. Thus, the fact that the Exodus narrative was given a prime place in the structure of the Old Testament, and the fact that there are frequent references to it in other canonical texts, constitute for Childs at least as important a factor for the understanding and exegesis of the narrative as the conclusions of any historical inquiry into what may actually have happened, or any critical reconstruction of the way in which the biblical accounts reached their present form.

Canonical criticism has won respect, but has not gained wide acceptance (cf. J. Barr 1983). There was a danger that modern critical techniques might have the result of reducing the interest of exegesis to ever finer points of detail within a generally agreed paradigm of interpretation. This danger was to some extent averted by the arrival on the scene of disciplines developed in other fields. Despite the very small sample of evidence available in the New Testament, models of interpretation borrowed from sociology made it seem possible to reconstruct the social and economic conditions prevailing either in Old Testament times (Max Weber 1923) or in the milieu of Jesus and the early church (G. Theissen, *ZThK* 70, 245–71; W. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 1983). Similarly, certain techniques of literary criticism could be used to direct exegesis more securely in the direction of the meaning and the impact originally intended by the author or implied by the structure of the text (structuralism and the set of methods inspired by the functioning of verbal ensembles: the journals *Semeia* or *Sémiotique et Bible*, and other publications of Centre pour l’analyse du discours religieux [CADIR], under the direction of J. Delorme, Lyon; D. Patte 1983). Research into the literary genres and rhetorical devices (J. Mulenbourg 1968, G. Kennedy 1984, R. Meynet 1989) consciously or unconsciously used by ancient Greek authors could be used to elucidate the argument of, say, a Pauline letter.

However, even if these and other new arrivals have introduced some fresh air into the somewhat fetid space of modern biblical scholarship, it may be doubted whether they have yet fulfilled all the conditions for making great advances in exegesis in its wider sense. In and of itself, neither a sociological reconstruction of the biblical environment, nor a close analysis of literary form and structure, necessarily promotes understanding of the meaning of Scripture and its relevance for today. Many church members may be tempted to persist in the notion that exegesis has today become an exercise of interest only to scholars. It is no

accident that, in many churches today, the most popular form of exegesis is one allegedly based on a “simple” reading of the text, without the encumbrance or the diversion of critical procedures. This approach makes a slogan out of the principle that “the meaning lies on the surface” (R. Gundry, *Mark*, 1993).

Research into the principles of interpretation has aroused new interest in modern times. Some exegetes have profited from the work of Hans Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur, but probably the most significant, though less often recorded, influence on exegesis has been that of the sociology of knowledge (Jürgen Habermas 1987). Albert Schweitzer’s famous dictum that anyone seeking to reconstruct the life of Jesus is like a man looking down a deep well and seeing only a reflection of his own face has been found to apply far more widely. Modern theory of knowledge has called into question the possibility of an objective interpretation of *any* ancient text. Each culture, each generation, brings to the task its own presuppositions, its own priorities, and its own agenda. This has been brought to light in a particularly challenging way by liberation* theology (J. Míguez Bonino, *Revolutionary Theology Comes of Age*, 1975). In the past, almost without exception, exegetes have been persons of at least moderate education, personal security, and material well-being. Now, however, exegesis is also in the hands of scholars who have identified themselves and shared their lives with the poor, the oppressed, and the marginalized. Under their scrutiny, and in the light of their presuppositions and priorities, the texts can yield new meanings and new applications (Rowland and Corner 1990). The same goes for black, feminist, and Asian theologians (inculturation*), indeed for any group whose experience and worldview are different from those of people trained in a traditional theological environment. Each of these may develop a distinctive style of exegesis and challenge traditional interpretations; each in due course will reveal its own bias; all must renounce any claim to be able to provide a definitive reading of the sacred text. Exegesis can never be either halted or finalized. This work of continual exploration and revision is a sign of the vitality of the community of faith with which exegesis must engage.

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See also Bible; Biblical Theology; Book; Fathers of the Church; Fundamentalism; Gospels; Hermeneutics; History; Holy Scripture; Jesus, Historical; Literary Genres in Scripture; Magisterium; Narrative Theology; Scripture, Senses of; Tradition; Translations of the Bible, Ancient

Exemplarism. *See Bonaventure*

Exinanition. *See Kenosis*

Existence of God, Proofs of

By “proofs of the existence of God” is meant the totality of the intellectual procedures by which human reason* strives to affirm God*. They lie within a theological tradition* (particularly vibrant within Catholicism*) that derives in part from the Scriptures (above all Rom 1:18–25, which takes up Wis 13:1–9). The First Vatican* Council reiterated that “God, the source and end of all things, may be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason on the basis of created things” (*Dei Filius*). The antimodernist oath would subsequently reinforce this affirmation: if God could be known with certainty (*cognosci potest*), it followed that he could also be demonstrated (*demonstrari potest*) by “the visible works of the creation*, as a cause by its effects.” In the most general sense, the historical development of proofs of the existence of God is probably inseparable from the impulse that faith* imparts to human intelligence in its search for truth*.

1. History of the Proofs

a) Proofs of the existence of God have a prehistory in ancient thought. To justify the belief in the gods, Plato took up the lessons of Socrates—echoed in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* (I, 4 and IV, 3)—and of a whole earlier body of literature, in particular Diogenes of Apollonia; he mentioned or developed at least three arguments based on the antecedence of the “self-moving” soul, the regular order of the universe and the universal consent of the races of humanity (*see Laws*

XII, 966 e, as well as the *Philebus*, the *Sophists*, the *Phaedrus* and the *Timaeus* for the first two arguments, and *Laws* X, 886 for the third). But it was above all the themes of the hierarchy of beings and of the universe of the Forms, which, reinterpreted in particular by Augustine* and Anselm*, would leave their mark on the formulation of proofs of the existence of God.

In his *Physics* VII–VIII and *Metaphysics*, A, Aristotle advanced an argument that would find great success: a consideration of movement led him to posit the existence of an “unmoved mover.” While the *Physics* defines this only in a negative sense, the *Metaphysics* conceives it positively as something living and intelligent (A7, 1072 a, 20–25). This immobile prime mover, which moves all things in a desirable and good* manner, as a final cause, being both life and intelligence, is God, a thought that thinks itself and rejoices in itself. God is an eternal and perfect living being (*ibid.*, 1072 b, 27–30).

Alongside Plato and Aristotle, mention may be made of Cicero, not so much for the originality of his thought as for the influence he exerted through his *De natura deorum*, his *De oratore*, and Macrobius’s commentary on Cicero’s *Dream of Scipio*. For example, one of the first dialectical arguments developed during the Middle Ages, that of Candidus of Fulda, makes use of the ideas of Chrysippus as set forth in the *De natura deorum* (II, VI), combining them with the Augustinian hierarchy of being*, life, and thought (*Dicta Candidi*).

b) The movement of Augustinian thought, as presented in the *De libero arbitrio* and the *De vera religione* (two texts strongly inspired by Plotinus), approaches God in two stages: *ab exterioribus ad interiora* and *ab inferioribus ad superiora* or, as Gilson glosses it, “from that which is inferior in interior things to the higher realities.” The *De libero arbitrio*, after reiterating that “we must first believe the great and divine truths that we wish to understand” (1. II, II, 6), offers a series of arguments whose power to prove rests on reason.

The point of departure of the proof is the certainty of having a personal existence and the breaking down of this into existence, life, and intelligence, thus establishing three properties of the human individual. The best of the three, which belongs to humanity alone, is the starting point for a new progression—from the external senses (which apprehend perceptible qualities) and the inner sense (which perceives and judges the external senses) to reason itself (which judges the inner sense). Reason is the best part of human nature, and it is on the basis of reason that the question of God can be posed. However, a difficulty is raised by Evodius: “If I am able to discover something better than what is best in my own nature, I will not immediately label it God. For it seems to me that I should name as God not the being to whom my reason is inferior, but him to whom nobody is superior.”

Augustine attempts to resolve this by showing that, if “by itself reason perceives something eternal” and immutable, then it must “recognize at the same time that it is inferior to this being and that this being is its God” (ibid., VI. 14). This thing that goes beyond reason, this thing independent of the soul, and which rules and transcends it, is the eternal, immutable, and necessary Truth; and the Truth, recognized in this way, testifies to the existence of God. It is therefore enough to go inside oneself to discover the Truth, that is to say God.

Augustinianism* permeated the whole of medieval theology, and is particularly noticeable in the work of Anselm. Reviving the Platonic approach to the Forms, the *Monologion* uses the experience* of good things, of great things, and of things that are, to affirm the existence of a being preeminent in Good, Being and Greatness, and one through whom all other things are good and great. Nevertheless, what posterity has undoubtedly retained is the sole argument of the *Proslogion*. Its simple formulation needs to be set out with precision.

The fool, he who has said in his heart that “God does not exist,” must nonetheless recognize that he has in his heart *aliquid quo nihil maius cogitari potest* (something than which nothing greater can be conceived).

Now this being than whom nothing greater can be conceived (“the unsurpassable,” C. Hartshorne) cannot reside in the intelligence alone—indeed intelligence can conceive of a being who would reside both in the intelligence and in reality; and hence *id quo maius cogitari non potest* would not correspond to his conception if he resided only in intelligence and not in reality. It is impossible, without contradiction, to conceive of a being than whom “nothing greater can be conceived” but who exists in the intelligence alone: in this case he would not in fact be the being than whom nothing greater can be conceived. The negative premise of the argument is essential: Anselm says explicitly, in response to Gaunilo, that the argument would not be immediately conclusive if the premise were affirmative and if the name* of God from which one began were “that which is greater than everything” (*Quod est maius omnibus*).

In his reassertion of Anselm’s argument, in particular in the disputed questions *De mysterio Trinitatis*, Bonaventure* sees it as “an absolutely evident truth” that the “first and supreme [Being] exists” (q. 1, a. 1, concl.). This obviousness, granted to the soul that allows itself to be purified by faith and lifted up by grace*, is not an intuition of the divine essence, but rather a intuition of its necessary presence in the creation. The *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, meanwhile, places intellectual reflection in the context of a spiritual quest, where it becomes less a matter of proving the existence of God than of lifting the soul toward him to the point of mystical experience. Thus, just as the six days of the Creation were followed by a seventh day of rest, six illuminations, or enlightenments, prepare the way for the loving contemplation* of the Trinity*.

Thomas* Aquinas, who distinguished more clearly between the mystery* of the life of the Trinity and the considerations relating to the principle, denied Anselm’s argument the status of a proof. The existence of God was not evident to us; it had to be demonstrated, which presumed that it was actually demonstrable. The proof (*probari*) was to be effected by five means.

The first part of the process was as follows. Since everything that moves is moved by something else, if the source of the movement moves in turn, then it must be moved by something else; as it is impossible to carry on in this way to infinity, it is necessary to arrive at a prime mover that is not in itself moved; this prime mover is God. The second method refers to the concept of the efficient cause: it is necessary to suppose a first cause, for fear of doing away with the whole system of causes and effects, since no cause can be its own cause. The third method is based on the analysis of the

possible and the necessary: if the possible refers to that which can either be or not be, then there cannot exist the possible alone, but some necessity must be allowed in things; and since infinite regression is impossible among necessary things in other fields, so there must be recognized a thing necessary of itself, which is God. The fourth method proceeds by way of the degrees to be observed in things: the more or less good, the more or less true, the more or less noble, are all assessed against the supremely Good, the supremely True, and the supremely Noble, which is also supreme in terms of Being, and which is God. Finally the fifth method approaches God by considering the ordering of things: there is in the world an intelligent Being who guides those things that lack understanding toward their purpose, which is the Good.

A. Wohlmann (1988) has pointed out that Aquinas's first three methods correspond to the first three speculations of Maimonides. Maimonides served as a link between Aquinas and Avicenna. It was Avicenna who had originally developed the concepts of the possible and the necessary later employed by the two thinkers. Equally, the importance in the history of the proofs of the existence of God of Averroes, who was the commentator par excellence of Aristotle and a critic of Avicenna, should not be overlooked.

For Duns* Scotus, as for Aquinas, the proposition "God is" was self-evident, but its obviousness escaped human beings because they lacked a distinct understanding of its terms. It was therefore necessary to prove the proposition. Scotus's proofs, as presented in the *Opus Oxoniense* and the *Tractatus de Primo principio* (probably among the last works of the *Doctor subtilis*), are proofs a posteriori (even though they proceed *more geometrico*), but in a different sense to those of Aquinas. Scotus takes as his starting point the metaphysical properties of being given by experience, in other words not its particular contingent properties but the conditions of its possibility—what Scotus calls "quiddity," or the possible-real. There is an essential order in things that expresses the intelligibility of the existing order while depending on it, and it is on this essential order that Scotus relies. In metaphysical terms, God is considered as the infinite* Being. The proof of God, the demonstration of the existence of an infinite Being, is therefore developed in two stages. One must first prove the existence of a first Being, and then prove that this first Being is infinite. To these two stages is added a final proof, based on the primacy of the infinite Being's will and liberty*. Three arguments borrowed from the analysis of the causal order (efficient causality, final causality, and order of eminence) lead to the affirmation of the first Being. Then, seven arguments referring to the nature of the intellect, the

simplicity of the essence, eminence, finality, and efficiency enable Scotus to establish that this singular Being, who is primary, is in fact infinite.

c) Mainstream philosophy*, by developing the proofs of the existence of God into a purely rational form of argument, was to separate (or at least would claim to separate) metaphysics from any theological preconception. Descartes*'s *Méditations* advances three arguments in which the idea of God, considered as an innate idea, plays a fundamental, though in each case a slightly different, role. The third *Méditation* proceeds back from the idea of God as a supremely perfect and infinite Being to the being of God as its necessary cause; and then from the contingent being who conceives the idea of God to God as the Being who creates that contingent being and keeps him in existence. The fifth *Méditation* relies on the model of mathematical truth, and shows that existence, which is a perfection, belongs of necessity to the essence of the supremely perfect Being. Leibniz* would consider completing Descartes's proof by showing that the idea of God is a genuine one: the uncontradictory nature of the divine attributes* made it possible to establish that God was a possible being and consequently that he existed, since *Deus est ens ex cujus essentia sequitur existentia*.

Leibniz also offered a priori as well as a posteriori proofs. The *Theodicy*, which sees in God the final reason of a contingent world, singles out the attributes—understanding, will, and power—of a personal God whose perfection is not only metaphysical but also moral. The *Monadology* approaches God from the perspective of the possible, emphasizing that God is the actual condition of what is real within the possible (§43). In his pre-*Critique* period, Kant* would take up this argument and reflect upon the *One Possible Basis for a Demonstration of the Existence of God*, without perhaps giving sufficient consideration to Leibniz's concept of the reality of possibility.

By bringing out the speculative character of the proofs and claiming to establish their invalidity, the Kantian critique caused a decisive break in the history of proofs of the existence of God. On the one hand Kant underlined the systematic linking of the proofs (physico-theological, cosmological, and ontological) and applied his term "ontological" to the argument a priori. On the other hand he showed that the validity of the proofs was dependent on the ontological proof, which was itself invalid. There was no passage from essence to existence, or from concept to being, and it was not enough for God to be possible in order for him to exist, since existence is not a real attribute. The *Critique of Practical Reason* would nonetheless posit the

existence of God as a postulate of moral reason: the will, in the ethical sense of the word, requires the possibility of a Supreme Good in the world. The *Opus postumum* was perhaps to go further, linking the affirmation of God directly to the categorical imperative (fascicle VII).

Hegel*, who toward the end of his life devoted some *Lessons* to the *Proofs of the Existence of God*, submitted Kant's critique of the speculative proofs to severe criticism. Hegel did not limit himself to reestablishing the metaphysical significance of the classical argumentation; he attempted to endow it with a new meaning. He therefore asserted that the cosmological proof contained no paralogism and did not assume the ontological proof; but, in order to be entirely convincing, the cosmological proof did assume two steps (being *is* infinite, and the infinite *is*) whose necessary connectedness referred to the nature of the Concept properly understood, in accordance with a speculative logic. He further asserted that the criticisms Kant had aimed at the physico-theological argument were baseless, if the end and the absolute Good were understood as Spirit. Finally, regarding the ontological argument, a genuine proof that transcended the many finite proofs, Hegel showed that the proof was as one with the development of the Concept itself, in that it provides its own definitions and its own objectivity. With the ontological proof we come to understand the activity of the Concept that eternally gives itself being and life. And by contemplating the idea of God in the ether of pure thought, Logic—which is as one with metaphysical theology—is revealed as the absolute discourse, in other words the discourse of the Absolute, which raises contradictions only to uphold and transcend them.

Schelling* reflected on the meaning of the ontological argument throughout his philosophical career, and offered an interesting clarification in his *Philosophy of Revelation*. He distinguishes what is irrefutable in the ontological argument—the “necessarily existent, insofar as it is nothing but this,” in other words, the existent needs no proof of its existence—and what is contestable, which is the fact that God exists. Schelling does not then set out to prove God's existence by beginning with the concept of God, but rather to see how “one may arrive at the divinity by beginning with the existent pure and simple.” The presupposition (*prius*) of Schelling's God is the act (*actus*); thus his divinity is seen to reside in power, the *potentia universalis*, and he is consequently revealed as the Super-Being, the Lord of existence (*SW* XIII, 159–60). In tandem with his distinction between rational or negative philosophy and positive philosophy, Schelling's line of reasoning thus inverts the ontological argument in two linked

steps. In terms of negative philosophy the Supreme Being, if he exists, must be taken as the necessary existent; and in terms of positive philosophy, the necessary existent must be regarded (not of necessity but in fact) as the Being existing necessarily in a necessary manner, in other words, God. So positive philosophy opens the way to a philosophy of revelation. It reaches its fulfillment in an understanding of singular existence that goes beyond what can be comprehended by pure reason and by virtue of conceptual necessity alone.

d) Among contemporary thinkers, two authors have renewed the philosophical tradition. H. Duméry (1957) used technical concepts from Husserl's phenomenology in a revival of the Neoplatonist tradition. For Duméry, the mind's elevation toward God is not of the order of proof but rather of reduction. Reduction is “an act or movement that aims to cut across the various levels of consciousness in order gradually to arrive at their foundation.” This regression is not uniform. Indeed, Husserl distinguishes between eidetic reduction, phenomenological reduction, and constituent reduction. But this last transcendental gesture itself, while constituent and productive of essences, is not the final instance, since it is both one and multiple. A final reduction is therefore needed, which may be termed “henological,” and which gives the Principle, the transcendental One, beyond all determination. Reduction expresses the spiritual need for a pursuit of simplicity and unity. Here Husserl is in agreement with Plotinus.

This search for an indeterminate Absolute, taken up from Neoplatonism, was to find its most incisive critic in C. Bruaire (1964 and 1974), the author of a profound reworking of the ontological proof, for whom negative* theology came close to a negation of theology. According to Bruaire, the affirmation of God is demanded by the very logic of existence and arises once man understands that the desire to be God, which leads him to death* and annihilation, must be transformed into a desire for God, expressed in expectation and invocation. And this desire for God, formulated in terms addressed to God, is in turn conditioned by a language of God: in other words, by the discovery of a God able to express and reveal himself, and whose naming within philosophical discourse marks the limit of philosophy as such.

R. Swinburne (1979) is more concerned to maintain some contact with the scientific practice and meaning of proof, and attempts to assess the proofs of the existence of God in terms of the standards of the logic of proof. He bases his approach on the formalization of procedures for measuring the probability of a hypothesis (confirming or invalidating it) and develops the

idea of a balancing of the cumulative effects of the different inductive arguments. If one considers the cumulative probability of the various arguments (cosmological, teleological, moral, etc.), putting to one side the counterarguments (e.g., the existence of evil*), it becomes clear, on the one hand, that a personalist explanation is required, to the extent that a purely scientific explanation is incapable of explaining why the laws of the universe are as they are, and, on the other hand, that the existence of a Creator God is more probable than any other personalist explanation of the universe. The explanatory force of theism is thus superior to that of any scientific hypothesis. Measured in the light of the epistemology of the experimental sciences, the a posteriori proofs of the existence of God stand up well to the criticism. The affirmation of God, as an explanatory hypothesis, has as much objective probability as the generally accepted scientific hypotheses.

2. Logic of the Proofs

a) The word *proof* denotes in judicial terms the establishing of a fact, in the experimental sciences the verification of a hypothesis, and in mathematics the demonstration of a theorem. "Proofs of the existence of God" can be taken in any of these three senses. Empirical investigation, the experimental method, and rational deduction constitute three methods of proof that make the affirmation of God probable or necessary. Swinburne does not consider deductive proof but restricts himself to a posteriori arguments. Insofar as he interprets induction according to the rules of experimental verification, he is led back to positivism and overlooks, in the sciences* of nature themselves, the epistemological limitations of empirical proof.

On the one hand, the development of any empirical proof already goes beyond sensory experience and its content. Kant recognized this when he attempted to invalidate a posteriori proofs, even though conceptual thought is always preceded by a movement of transcendence that makes it possible: the exercise of language. On the other hand, the taking as axiomatic of physical hypotheses and theoretical representations actually leads scientific thought to go beyond induction and the purely experimental method.

If mathematical deduction is the highest form of scientific proof, it might be supposed that the most significant proof of the existence of God would take a mathematical and a priori form, such as the formulation attempted by the ontological proof. The analysis of formal systems has nonetheless made it possible to establish rigorously what philosophy has known since Aristotle's time—that any theory of demonstration

necessarily refers to undemonstrable principles. The most rigorous scientific proof can justify neither its presuppositions nor its method, and consequently cannot be taken as a model for metaphysical proof. Proofs of the existence of God cannot therefore be proofs in the usual sense of the term; they are not lesser proofs, but aim higher. The proofs here considered are insufficient as *proofs* but not as proofs of *God*. Indeed a proof of the existence of God cannot but refer to the linguistic resources required for a general proof to be possible. Thus Hegel's critique of Kant presupposes that the linguistic resources employed are those of speculative thought, which uses and goes beyond the contradictions of finite understanding. The proof of the existence of God then becomes the very logic of absolute discourse, the circular movement of the Concept determining itself by its own negativity and, as did the *Logic*, transcending metaphysics and theology. Substance, transformed into Subject, is realized and expressed as Totality.

b) This conclusion, though strictly Hegelian, probably does not do full justice to Hegel's project. The *Philosophy of Religion* argues that the ontological proof, the proof par excellence, is the translation into metaphysics of the Christian conception of God. The ontological argument implies the truth of the Christian revelation: God is Spirit, presenting himself freely and fulfilling himself in the action by which he becomes manifest. K. Barth* (1931) has clearly established that the historical sense of Anselm's argument presumed an adherence to the Word* of God. If Anselm was able to recognize and prove the existence of God, this was because he philosophized from the standpoint of faith, because "God permitted him to know him and because he was able to know God" (GA II, p.158). With Hegel this historical truth becomes a speculative proposition: the ternary structure of the *Logic* expresses God's Trinitarian existence as revealed in history*. But while this is the case for Hegel, the contingency of revelation and the essential duality of reason should perhaps be accorded more recognition than he gives them. Indeed, if there is "revelation," it can only be conceived of as a radical act of liberty, manifest within creation and able to be apprehended by the intelligence. God's supreme liberty is in fact constantly presupposed by the Christian affirmation, according to which God simultaneously both reveals and conceals himself within his revelation. When Schelling distinguishes between negative and positive philosophy (whatever the meaning that he assigns to this distinction might be), he clearly shows that intelligence and its sources have a dual structure. In affirming the existence of God, reason combines two intersecting movements. There is the

upward movement of an intelligence seeking to make sure of its purpose in the necessary Being, driven by the desire to go beyond all limits. Then there is a downward movement by means of which the intelligence receives the Word* of an Absolute that freely determines, distinguishes, and objectifies itself. Proof then takes the form of allowing the divine liberty to unfold and fulfill itself within the human mind. In a world that contains the vestiges (traces*) of the Creator, man, the image of God, is able to receive his Word as a supreme gift. Blondel, who in *L'Action* saw the ontological argument as the Trinity's approach to us, was reluctant to close the circle of thought into a definitive discourse.

c) The concept of the proof of the existence of God can be subjected to a twofold criticism. The idea of proof is incompatible with the object of theology, which is not precisely an object, while existence, not being a real attribute, is not susceptible of proof. There is an answer to these objections: on the one hand, proof in this instance is more than a proof, in the sense of a definite process; and on the other hand, existence is the affirmation of a freedom that defines its own right and expresses itself in a particular language. Proof is always preceded by the movement of speech, and speech is the very word of liberty. A foundational act, speech does not contain totality as a completed and closed totality, but as the horizon of a transcendence. And by situating the totality of conceptual definitions in a movement that engages with the perceptible in order to put it into perspective, and detaches itself from the perceptible in order to consider it, speech contains the possibility of a metaphysical discourse aware both of its limits and of the infinity of which it is composed.

Lévi-Strauss's reflections on language (1950) are all the more interesting in that they seem removed from any preoccupation with metaphysics. He opposes "symbolism," which "is characteristically discontinuous," and "knowledge," which is "characterized by continuity," showing how "the two categories of the signifier and the signified came to be constituted simultaneously and interdependently, as complementary units; whereas knowledge, that is, the intellectual process that enables us to identify certain aspects of the signifier and certain aspects of the signified... only got started very slowly."

It is thus a characteristic of the symbolic thought at work in our natural languages that there should be a permanent disparity between signifier and signified, resulting from "a superabundance of signifier," a "surplus of signification." This excess, which bears on the exercise of thought as expressed in speech, can be en-

compassed only by the "divine understanding." G. Fessard's commentary on these passages (1984) locates in this disparity between the two complementary units of signifier and signified the basis for a metaphysics of language in which the floating signifier—the symbolizing power at work in all language—expresses and brings into play a transcendental, supernatural* dimension. This dimension goes beyond both nature and humankind in such a way that, in order to conceive of the link between humanity and nature, Lévi-Strauss is inevitably drawn to invoke divine understanding: God as the perfect unity of Being (signifier) and Thought (signified). Thus the least judgment expressed by means of language "contains an ontological argument." In the most insignificant speech act, which opens onto an infinite dialogue, language situates in God not merely the formal but the real condition of its exercise. I *speak*, therefore God *is*. God, engaged in the destiny of Speech, can *be said* by whomever seeks him in Creation, and can *speak himself* to humankind in the context of a story that becomes meaningful. The proof of God is the intersection or "the cross" of this double utterance.

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See also **Knowledge of God; Natural Theology; Philosophy; Reason; Revelation; Truth**

Exorcism

From the Greek *exorkizô* (to ward off), "to exorcise" means to avert a devil by warding it off with signs of divine power: the name* of God*, the sign of the cross, laying on of hands, holy water, and so forth. "Imperative" exorcisms contain injunctions addressed to the demon; "deprecating" exorcisms are prayers* asking God to ward off an evil*, whether personified or not. A distinction can be made between the following kinds of exorcisms: baptismal exorcisms practiced on catechumens (baptism*); ancient exorcisms of inanimate objects (blessing*); exorcisms of the possessed, that is, of individuals considered to be invaded by a devil. Exorcisms are practically absent from the Old Testament; in the New Testament, the curing of possessed individuals by Jesus*—in a nonritual manner—are signs of his divine filiation* and of the coming of the rule of God (e.g., Mt 8:16 f., 12:28, 28–34). Frequent in the early church*, the practice of exorcism became scarce following abuses, criticisms, and changes in perception of the world.

Catholics and the Orthodox have never abandoned exorcism, but only the Catholic Church has a liturgical and canonical codification to set the norms of sacramental exorcism (sacrament*). Protestants have a wide variety of approaches concerning this matter. Exorcism is particularly frequent in the milieus of a funda-

mentalist or Pentecostal type, and in those milieus that are permeated by magic; its pertinence and its modalities remain the object of theological discussions.

The understanding of exorcism is closely linked to anthropology* and to soteriology (salvation*). Deliverance from evil, in all its dimensions, touches on the essence of Christianity: it is thus the church's duty to make salvation known to all those who are possessed by a spiritual conflict related to their psychosomatic condition, and which they cannot overcome through their own resources (recovery). Exorcism must be attentive to the modalities of incarnation* and grace*, and, more precisely, to inculturation* and the specific articulation—without confusion or exclusion—of the psychological and the spiritual.

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See also **Demons; Healing**

Experience

a) Concept. As a primitive, fundamental fact, experience is contact with the real, a condition of all knowledge and all action. This contact must be distinguished from the knowledge that results from it (*empeiria*, *Er-fahrung*), as well as from the experiences acquired from ordinary living (*Erlebnis*) and from the experiment guided by particular inquiry or hypothesis (*experiment*). Certain scholars (Jankélévitch, Dufrenne) propose a distinction between empirical and meta-empirical, with the former designating the everyday course of life, the latter that which unexpectedly perturbs it, such as grace or inspiration.

As contact, experience is consciousness of a relationship with the world, with the other, with God*—of an encounter with otherness. More than simple knowledge, experience means to sense, feel, and perceive. But while the world is unconscious of itself and of the individual, the experience of the other implies an exchange of incarnated consciousness.

Aristotle stressed that experience is memory: like knowledge, it is born of a stock of manifold perceptions (*Metaphysica* I, 1). Experience condenses the “experiences of consciousness,” transcends their duration, anticipates the event, recognizes it in the moment, and comes back through memory and thought. It is not true experience unless there is the possibility of reflective return: death*, the suppression of that possible reflection, is not an experience.

Furthermore, I must be involved in duration through my body. The experience of one’s body (cenesthesia, kinesthesia, diverse sensations, pleasure, sorrow, etc.) underlies and conditions all experience of others, of the world, and even of God.

Experience as a whole has a yet more profound condition: the presence of the self to the self that constitutes consciousness. But this is not something that is present in its perfection from the outset: rather, it continues to grow through external experience. Otherness promotes consciousness of the self.

Therefore, despite the diverse forms of empiricism, experience is not mere endurance, a pure state of submission. Yet idealism tends only to see a spontaneity, a creation of the mind: if the only reality is the mind, experience is reduced to the experience of the self and its representations. In such a perspective, otherness constitutes an insoluble problem. In fact, experience is

both reception and creation, acceptance and spontaneity in indefinitely variable proportions.

Mouroux (1952) distinguished several degrees of depth in experience. The *empirical* designates an experience that is undergone without critical reflection. The *experimental* experience is challenged by the experimenter, who coordinates elements of experience in order to constitute science. The *experiential* marks the most complete commitment of the person*; the person abandons himself to it along with his being* and his resources, his reflection and liberty*. It should be added that the person gives singular meaning to the event, and this new “meaning” can provide further evidence. “In this sense,” Mouroux emphasizes, “*all authentic spiritual experience is experiential*.” Thus, experience, born of what is simply lived, rises in the realm of science to the rational, and in special moments to the existential, or meta-empirical. Religious experience stems from this last type.

b) Experiencing the Sacred. Feeling the sacred is a criterion of humanity, a primitive fact that is therefore “archaic” and universal. Beyond all reference to personal transcendence, the sense of the sacred expects that beyond the perceptible, the utilitarian, there is a different order of reality that surpasses and envelops the former, granting it a mysterious meaning. The sacred is beyond my grasp, an invisible, inaudible, intangible reality. Direct contact with it would make me run the supreme risks: death, or even damnation.

However, this reserved “essence” paradoxically multiplies its “manifestations” (Van der Leeuw 1955) or “hierophanies” (Éliade 1965, 1968). Whether it involves the “natural” sacred linked to cosmic facts (mountains, storms, etc.) or the “existential” sacred, perceived at certain key moments in life (birth, marriage*, death, etc.), the sacred unites qualities that seem opposed, but are in fact inseparable: transcendence and immanence. It is because the sacred dominates the entire human spectrum that it penetrates it. This is true for both poles of the sacred: the divine, the holy, the majestic, the “consecrated”; and the diabolical, which is perverse, cursed, “execrable.”

Despite Girard (1972), the sacred is not essentially linked to violence*. It has an irradant character, extends across multiple experiences, colors them, unites

them, and constitutes one of their dimensions. Thus esthetic experience is the experience of an excess of reality and value that envelops the tangible object, removes it from the level of the utilitarian, and offers it for the happy contemplation* of the senses and spirit. The destruction of beauty is a profanation, a negation of the sacred as such. Moral experience is the experience of the absolute. The Good*, which judges not only my actions but also my feelings and most secret thoughts, imposes itself with extreme sacral force; it can lead me to the sacrifice of my possessions, my affections, or even my life. As for the connection between ontological experience and the sacred, this is noted by Éliade. The profane involves a degree of uncertainty within being, but the sacred *is* in the absolute sense; throughout the flow of events and the vicissitudes of history*, it remains immutable. It is also a principle of value, and so has a “hermeneutic*” aspect as giver of meaning. This is why societies* devoid of the sacred suffer from existential meaninglessness and vainly resort to a ritual of substitution.

The experience of the sacred seems to be a necessary condition, a “preamble” to the religious experience strictly speaking, in that the former is surpassed or amplified in the latter but remains separate from it: this would be the case with certain forms of animism, of humanism—*res sacra homo*—or the civic religion of Greco-Roman antiquity. It seems, however, that beyond traditional mythology, astral religion—including Plato’s God: the Idea of the Good (*Republic* VI); Aristotle’s God: Thought of thought (*Metaphysica* XII); and the One of Plotinus (*Enneads* VI)—the pagan soul* was in search of an ever higher and purer transcendence. Stoicism, especially among representatives of the imperial era—Epictetus, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius—offers the illogical aspect of uniting pantheistic affirmation (pantheism*) of an impersonal and material god with a religious feeling of true dependence. Epictetus’s religion, in particular, consists of praise, of giving thanks to an omniscient, provident, quasi-personal God.

c) *Religious Experience*. Express reflection on this form of experience is linked to the growing interest that Western culture has in its regard. Although, in the Protestant* movement, faith* was situated in will and affectivity, and although, on the other hand, during the romantic period, the strict deism* of the Enlightenment was rejected, religion and religious emotion were equated in Schleiermacher* (1958). It was intuition and feeling, inextricably linked, that constituted religion, without reference to any dogmatic objectivity received through a revelation*. It was in themselves that people would find religion. The believer was invited—

and this not without a certain leaning toward pantheism—to perceive God as present in all things, to become one with the universe, understood as the divine. The same fundamental orientations can be found in W. James (*The Varieties of Religious Experience*, New York, 1902; *Religious Experience*, 1931). He reduces religion to an internal fact of experience and excludes all institutions or dogmatic elements. The affirmation of God is recognized as having only a practical value: it brings the believer the comfort of religious emotions, the tonic of a joy that transfigures existence and renders suffering and sacrifice acceptable. In sum, this pragmatism is less about serving God than about using him. As indicated by the word *varieties* in the title itself, the specifics of religion are dissolved in a fog of emotion and feeling. This specific aspect does indeed present the two elements of fear* (the *tremendum*) and seduction (the *fascinosum*), as distinguished by Otto (1917). But the religious attitude greatly surpasses these elements: it is characterized by a feeling of total dependence on the transcendent God. It is from him that the religious man acknowledges receiving the whole of his being, his essence and existence, the norm of his actions, as well as the sense and goal of his destiny. I call him “my God” not because I own him, but, on the contrary, because he gives me entirely to myself and because I find joy in this dependence. The “place” of this acknowledgement is prayer*, private or ritual, in the dialogue between the human *I* and the divine *Thou*. Within the complexity of the religious act—bodily attitude, the mind’s contemplation, offerings, and sacrifices—human beings express, through their whole being, their radical contingency, their reverential admiration for the Absolute of being, value, and meaning. In Jewish monotheism* the religious experience is specified by decisive elements: God, the Creator, has spoken in history. He has chosen a people, has liberated them from slavery in Egypt, has made a Covenant* of salvation* with them as codified in the Law on Mount Sinai. He has revealed his sanctity to Israel, his glory*, the blinding light of his mystery*. Through the voice of the prophets*, whose inspiration cannot be reduced to the expression, however privileged, of a personal experience (See Pius X, *Pascendi*, 1907, DS 3490–91), as well as through positive or negative events, God, the author of salvation and the one who reveals, sustains the messianic hope* of his people, corrects their infidelities, and prevents them from succumbing to the supreme infidelity that is idolatry*. But deep in the religious consciousness of Israel there is a division. On the one hand there is the desire to attain a greater knowledge of the holy God and of his glory, the desire to see him (Ps 63[62], 84[83]), but on the other hand, there is the suffering that comes from

the impossibility of this: as creature and sinner, man cannot see the face of God and live (Gn 28:16 f.; Ex 3:4 ff., 19:12, 33:18–23). Furthermore, in the encounter of the Covenant, the parties are too unequal: the uncertain fidelity of human beings confronts the unfailing fidelity of God.

d) Christian Religious Experience. With belief in the Incarnation* of the Son of God, a decisive transformation takes place in religious experience. The believer can henceforth see the divine glory in the humanity of Jesus* and live on (Jn 1:14, 14:9). Man no longer hears the Word* of God through prophets, but through the Son (Heb 1:1 f.). One can even feel the flesh of the Risen One in order to convince oneself of its reality (Lk 24:39 f.; Jn 20:24–28); sensory experiences are coordinated, examined, and reiterated (1 Jn 1:1 ff.), especially during the post-Easter meals (Lk 24:26–43; Jn 21:9–14; Acts 1:3 f., 10:41). These experiences are intended to elicit and nourish faith. They do not limit it, since what is involved is a summons in the form of signs: the ambiguity of the sign preserves the freedom of the act of faith. Around Jesus, people divide into adversaries and disciples. But for the latter, the experience is so privileged that it inevitably engenders, after Pentecost, the duty and the act of witnessing, even at the cost of imprisonment, flagellation, and also death (Acts 1:6, 4:1–32, 5:15–41, 6:8–15, 7, etc.).

There is another type of Christian experience: one that, following the Ascension, is fed only by apostolic preaching*. In this case the “experience of Jesus” is had through the person and the words of direct witnesses; he is seen, heard, and touched through them and the vigor of their presence. This is a mediated experience, the experience of encountering Jesus “in others”—as in the experience of Polycarp, the disciple of John the Apostle.

After the death of the Twelve we find another type of experience. The Church* nourishes its faith through its only verbal witness, transmitted to tradition through the Scriptures. This is an experience, then, of faith alone. It is necessarily more austere, but there is a promise that it will bring to those who never knew either Jesus or the apostles the full benefit of a specific beatitude*: “Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed” (Jn 20:29).

This experience is an integral part of ecclesial communion*. Supported by the institution, it is the matrix of Christian existence. It is an experience of the realities of faith under the guidance of the Holy* Spirit (Jn 14, 15 ff. and 26, 16:12; Rom 8:16; 1 Cor 12) and the protection of the magisterium*. At once human and supernatural, it is made possible through baptismal grace* and comprises a dialogue with God in prayer, a certain vision (1 Cor 13:12; 2 Pt 1:19), and a certain

presence (Mt 28:20). To this are added the experience of the daily struggle against sin*, with the law of the body constantly revolting against the law of the Spirit (Rom 6:12–19, 7:14–25; 1 Cor 9:24–27); the experience of struggle against the false evidence of the world*, which opposes the light of faith (1 Cor 1:17–2:16); the experience of alternation between blind faith and sensible fervor (2 Cor 1:3–11, 12:1–10), the impulses of religious affectivity being neither the source nor the measure of theological faith; the experience of persecution through blood, contradiction, and contempt (Mt 5:11 ff., 10:23; Lk 21:12–19; Jn 15:18–16:4); above all, the experience of an intimate and personal relationship between the believer and the triune God (1 Jn 5:5–12), between the human *I* and the divine *Thou*; the experience of a specific exchange between believing man and the man-God Christ (Jn 14:19 ff.); the experience of Christian assembly, of liturgical prayer, of ritual action, of the sacramental meeting between God the Savior and the person to be saved, of the eucharistic Communion with the sacrifice of the risen and glorified Lamb*; the experience of being in the world, of being in solidarity with all those to be saved, and yet without being *of* the world (Jn 15:18–21, 17:14–18; 1 Jn 3:13); the experience of Christian unity that is always to be perfected in the love* of God and the brethren (Jn 13:34 f., 17:11, 17:21–26); the experience of mission* (Mt 28:20) and witness (Acts 1:8); the experience of God’s patience (Rom 2:4, 3:26, 9:22), and of the impatient but blessed hope: “Come, Lord Jesus!” (Rev 22:20).

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See also **Credibility; Mysticism; Pietism; Religion, Philosophy of**

Expiation

I. Old Testament

1. Expiation among Human Beings

a) Compositio. Expiation means the settlement of conflicts by compensation instead of punishment* or violence* (Gn 32:21; Prv 6:35, 16:14). Spontaneous (e. g., Gn 32:21), or institutionalized by law* ("Code of the Covenant*": Ex 21:18–36), it is excluded in the case of premeditated murder (Ex 21:12 ff.; Nm 35:31). The exclusion of a settlement procedure (*compositio*) for voluntary homicide distinguishes Hebrew law from other forms of ancient law. The goal of expiation is reconciliation through the recognition of a (civil) responsibility and the provision of compensation. Expiation replaces conflict with mutual understanding and punishment with compensation.

Expiation as such does not imply a substitution, but a mediator (intercessor, arbiter, judge) may contribute to the *compositio* (Ex 21:22, 32:30; Mk 12:1–11 and parallel passages). The advantage of compensation offered and accepted (Gn 33:8–11) is the balanced distribution of negative effects: to the damage suffered corresponds the restitution claimed and granted. This is the satisfaction that compensates material and moral losses. Expiation is: 1) negotiated: the two parties seek a balance with one another; 2) directed toward the interest of all, that is, the parties in conflict and society*,

which needs peace in order to prosper; 3) rational: instead of there being two negativities (damage inflicted and violent punishment), the positive character of reparation softens the damage inflicted; and 4) more durable than punishment because it is not hurtful.

b) Ethos of Expiation. Expiation presupposes moderation and gentleness by excluding vengeance and excess, by preferring peace* and equity to violence (Prv 16:14; Ps 103:9 f.), in the general interest. It resolves conflicts with clemency and by accommodating the parties: it calls for magnanimity from the wronged party and requires from the guilty party the intention to make reparation. It is creative: refusing to destroy, it creates compensation and peace. These qualities explain why *compositio* among human beings was transposed to the relationship between God* and humanity.

2. Religious Expiation

Before P (the "priestly" text; *see* Bible*), expiation is seldom mentioned, but 1 Samuel 6, 26:19; 2 Samuel 21:3, and other passages evidence its existence in an early period. In P, expiation is organized into a complex sacrificial system. The principal expiatory sacrifices*: *chattât* (Greek *hamartia*) 'âshâm (Greek *plēmmeleia*), and others, are distinguished by a particular rite of the sprinkling of blood (Lv 4–5). But the burnt offering is also expiatory (Lv 1:4).

Together with the Day of Atonement (*yôm [ha-]kip-pôûrîm*, Greek *hèmera [ex-]hilasmou*), these sacrifices make up a system of forgiveness for different categories of sins*. In the P narratives* there are other means of expiation: incense (Nm 17:11 ff.), the image of the serpent (Nm 21:8 ff.), zeal (in the sense of “jealousy for God”) (Nm 25:10–13; Ps 106:30), intercession (Ex 32:30; Ps 106:23), a sacred personal tax during a census (Ex 30:11–16; 2 Sm 24), and votive offerings (Nm 31:50). But it is especially the blood of an animal—or, for the poor, flour (Lv 5:11 ff.)—that accomplishes expiation (Lv 17:10 ff.; *See* Heb 9:22).

3. Interpretation

Historically, the most widespread interpretation explains expiation as a substitution for the guilty person, replaced by an innocent victim who suffers death* in his place. It is based on a conception of sacrifice defined as the immolation of an animal victim, especially after the rite of the laying on of hands (*semîkâ*) by the sinner on the head of the victim, this rite being explained as an identification of the guilty one with the victim or a transfer of the sin to the victim. The theory of vicarious punitive substitution (the innocent victim punished in place of the guilty one) is seldom defended today, but the identification of the human subject with the victim (Gese, Janowski) or the diversion of social violence onto a scapegoat are variants of the theory. Milgrom interprets the sacrifices of expiation and of *Yôm kippôûrîm* as rites of purification. It seems that these interpretations have neglected the secular analogy of the ritual of expiation: the offering as compensation offered and accepted restores peace. The particular blood rites of expiatory sacrifices and of the Day of Atonement cause blood to splash in the direction of the veil of the sanctuary and enter into the Holy of Holies (Lv 16:14 f.), into the presence of YHWH. This rite seems to signify the presentation of blood by sinful human beings as symbolic compensation, prescribed by YHWH. The rite of the scapegoat* on the Day of Atonement (Lv 16:20 ff.) expresses the removal of sins and impurities (*see* the sacrificial bird, Lv 14:7, 53). The laying on of both hands (Lv 16:21) is distinct from the laying on of only one hand, which precedes all sacrifices (Lv 1:4, 3:2). This gesture (*semîkâ*) seems to signify that the victim becomes the possession of YHWH, or that the celebrant is its owner.

4. Biblical Theology of Expiation

Ritual expiation represents in liturgical symbols the reconciliation between God and human beings (individuals and community). In it, sin is understood as negativity and damage inflicted, producing a break in

relation and a “responsibility” (an obligation to make reparation) in the sinner, God being the person harmed in this case. God renounces punishment by offering the possibility of a reconciliation through a ritual sign, that is, through the liturgy* of expiation and blood (Lv 17:10 ff.), which are expressions of his grace*. The offering of sacrifices brought by the sinner corresponds to a compensation that signifies regret for the evil* caused and the desire to accept the reconciliation offered by God. Expiation is an exchange in which God takes the initiative; the sinner responds to it. Hence, punishment or vindictive violence, effects of God’s anger, are replaced by a reparation that is both designated and accepted by him, thanks to his gentleness. Expiation is a nonviolent divine response. It is not the term *satisfaction* that is biblical, but the idea of the replacement of divine punishment (*poena*) by a compensation designated, given, and received with a view to a peaceful and definitive reconciliation.

II. New Testament

The reconciliation between God and human beings is thematized in narratives (parables*) and in the use of the Old Testament ritual terminology of expiation.

1. Parables

Mark 12:1–11, Matthew 5:25 f., and Luke 15:11–32 recount conflicts over money in which the protagonists may accept or reject an amicable settlement, favoring mutual understanding and favorable to the guilty or indebted party. In Mark 12:1–11, the owner’s son intercedes between the father* and the tenants to secure a negotiated and nonviolent reconciliation. The punishment of the rebellious debtors is delayed because of the owner’s kindness, to leave room for an amicable settlement, which fails. In Luke 15:11–32 the father chooses a smooth reconciliation with the prodigal son over punishing him for wasting his money, while the elder son thinks that his younger brother should be disciplined for that loss. In these three parables, secular *compositio*, a human though difficult solution, is the image of reconciliation with God, who prefers peace to strict justice* or violent punishment.

2. Logion of the Ransom (Mark 10:45 and Parallel Passages; 1 Timothy 2:6) and the Logion of the Cup (Mark 14:24 and Parallel Passages; 1 Corinthians 11:25).

The logion of the ransom is an embryonic parable: the “Son* of man” serves the “multitude” (the peoples?; *see* Dn 7; Is 53) by paying on its behalf and in its place the “ransom,” that is, the compensation necessary for the *compositio*. The terminology is not ritual but legal.

The metaphor of the “payment of a price” for the gift of life indicates that the “Son of man” fully commits himself (Mk 8:35 f. and parallel passages) in favor of the reconciliation of the multitude with God. The logion of the cup retains the expression “for (*huper*) the multitude” and replaces the life to be paid as compensation by the “blood to be shed,” a metaphorical designation of martyrdom* and an evocation of ritual expiation. Taken together, these two logia suggest the idea of the martyrdom of the “Son of man,” in view of a reconciliation between God and “the multitude,” by metaphorically using the language of secular *compositio* and ritual expiation (Is 53).

3. Terminology of Ritual Expiation

In Ephesians (5:2), Colossians (1:24), 1 John (2:2, 4:10), Hebrews (9 f.), 1 Peter (1:2), and Revelations (5:95 f.), the Old Testament ritual expressions of expiation serve to interpret the meaning of the violent death of Jesus Christ*. *Blood* evokes the ritual of blood, which is typical of liturgical expiation (*yôm kip-pôûrîm*). Romans 3:25 and Hebrews 9 f. establish a typological relation between the Old Testament ritual of expiation and the death and Resurrection* of Christ. Second Corinthians 5:21 can be read as an allusion to the sacrifice for sin (*chattât, hamartia*). The basis for the New Testament terminology of ritual expiation seems to be the metaphor of “blood spilled” for martyrdom. The metaphor also suggests the blood offered by YHWH on the altar to accomplish forgiveness (Lv 17:11). For martyrdom, in Israel*, reconciles God with his people* (2 Macc 7:37 f.) and takes the place of sacrifices (Dn 3:38 ff.). A martyr is a just person submitted to an extreme ordeal, obtaining as intercessor the salvation* of sinners and of Israel. The New Testament terminology of expiation combines the theology* of the martyr-intercessor with that of ritual reconciliation. The death of Jesus is understood in this context as the martyrdom of a just man, and the martyrdom of the just, persecuted from the second century B.C. on, is added, as another path of reconciliation, to the ritual expiation suppressed under persecution.

4. Conclusion

The New Testament links expiation to martyrdom because both accomplish reconciliation between God and the community. The vocabulary of “martyrdom” is based on the historical execution of Jesus the Just One, that of “expiation” on the grace of reconciliation. The martyrdom of a just person obtains that grace for the people as a whole (“the multitude”), but ritual expiation, the symbolic expression of the grace of reconciliation offered by God to the individual or collective sinner, has the same effect. One difference may be

noted: ritual expiation is celebrated with no intermediary except the priest* (see the sacerdotal typology of Hebrews), but the martyr is an intercessor for others. The mediation of Christ Jesus, whereby he reconciles human beings with God, is rooted in his death as martyrdom, not in expiation. The terminology of expiation serves to underscore the grace of that reconciliation with God, who prefers gentleness to violence, peaceful understanding to punishment.

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See also **Cult; Eucharist; Passion; Purity/Impurity;
Sacrifice; Scapegoat; Servant of YHWH; Sin;
Vengeance of God; Wrath of God**

Extreme Unction. *See* **Anointing of the Sick**

F

Faith

A. Biblical Theology

Faith is the inner attitude of one who believes. The words of the Bible that we translate as “faith” or “fidelity” (*’emunâh*, *’émèt*), and as “believe” (*hé’èmin*), come from the same Hebrew root (*’mn*); Greek shows the same relationship in *pistis*, “faith,” and *pisteuein*, “believe.” The underlying idea in Hebrew is that of firmness; in Greek, that of persuasion.

1. Old Testament

In English, “believe” can denote either an uncertain opinion or a strong conviction, based on an interpersonal relationship. The latter meaning is the one that is found in the Bible*; hence the frequency of the vocabulary of faith in the Psalms* (84 times); see also Deuteronomy (23 times), Isaiah (34 times), and Jeremiah (21 times).

a) Trust in God. The verb “believe” makes its first appearance in Genesis 15:6, a fundamental text. God* has made Abraham an improbable promise*, “And he believed the Lord, and he counted it to him as righteousness.” When God asks him to offer the son of the promise, Abraham’s faith is subjected to an ordeal (Gn 22:1), which he endures in obedience (22:2f., 22:18) and with confidence: “God will provide” (22:8, 22:14). Faith, confidence, and obedience are constantly linked. The converse is also true: faced with the land promised to them, the people refuse to enter it (Nm 13–14; Dt 1:19–45; Heb 3:7–4:11); they “de-

spised the pleasant land, having no faith in his promise” (Ps 106:24). In the desert, instead of believing God at his word (Ps 78:22 and vv. 32, 37), they “tempted” him (vv. 18, 41, 56) (temptation*), that is, they wished to force him to act (Ps 95:7b–10; Ex 17:1–7; Nm 20:2–13).

Adherence to God, faith, is only possible to the extent that God makes himself known. God speaks to human beings. He opens Job’s eyes to the works of creation* (Jb 38:1–42:6). He addresses an assembly (Dt 5:22ff.), but more often a single person* (Gn 12:1; Ex 3:4ff.) with whom he establishes an intimate relation (Jer 15:16) by giving him a mission* for the benefit of others (Gn 12:1ff.; Ex 3:10; Is 6:8–13; Jer 1:9f.).

b) Trust in Men of God. The envoy in turn must be believed. On what basis? In many cases his message is recognized because it is similar to previous divine interventions. In other cases, God confirms it by wonders, as in the case of Moses (Ex 4:1–9, 14:31; see 19:9) or that of Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1–24). But miracles* are ambiguous (see Ex 7:11; Dt 13:2ff.) and discernment remains necessary. By accepting the mediation of accredited messengers, believers enter into a community of faith. This is what the Israelites formed because “they believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses” (Ex 14:31) after their liberation from Egypt. This is the path of the covenant* (Ex 19:5f., 24:3–8), in which fidelity and obedience predominate, the basis remaining

the generous and gratuitous initiative of God. The recognition of such benefits for Israel* and for all human beings will always remain the Old Testament's essential "confession" of faith.

c) Faith, Religion, Ethics. Beginning with Elijah, the champion of faith in YHWH against the Canaanite cult* of Baal, the prophets struggled against idolatry* (Hos 8:4ff.; Jer 2:26ff., 10:2–5; Ez 9–12 and against a ritualistic conception of religion accompanied by what amounted in real, practical terms to disobedience of God. They gave vitality to the bond between faith and the practice of justice. The very politics of the city* had to have faith as a basis. This led to a refusal to rely either on military strength or alliance with major powers. Isaiah in particular followed this line: "If you are not firm in faith, you will not be firm at all" (Is 7:9, 28:16). The ordeal of the exile paradoxically led Israel to strengthen its monotheistic faith (Is 40:12–41:29, 44:6–46:13). But the message concerning the Servant* of YHWH was thought by Deutero-Isaiah to have come up against a refusal to believe: "Who has believed what they heard from us?" (Is 53:1; see Jn 12:38; Rom 10:16). The door opened onto what would later become the great apocalyptic revelations* (Dn 7–12), including that of the resurrection* of the dead (Dn 12:2; 2 Macc 7:9–29; Wis 5:1–5).

2. New Testament

a) Synoptic Gospels. In this historical context Jesus* proclaimed the imminent coming of the Kingdom* of God (Mt 3:17 and parallel passages). Mark summarizes his message in the terms of the first Christian preaching*: "Believe in the gospel" (1:15). But Jesus had already brought to the fore the fundamental significance of faith. He says to the person whom he has cured: "Your faith has made you well" (Mt 9:22 and parallel passages; Mk 10:52 and parallel passages; Lk 7:50). "All things are possible for one who believes" (Mk 9:23; see Mt 7:20 and parallel passages; 21:21 and parallel passages). In general he does not specify in whom one should have faith. He does not say, "Believe in me," but the circumstances reveal that the faith in God that he wants to encourage is linked to a faith in his own person. "He was teaching them as one who had authority*" (Mt 7:29 and parallel passages), as a fully accredited envoy. The expression "Amen, I say to you" is peculiar to Jesus (the Hebrew *'amen* affirms certainty). The signs and wonders that accompany his speaking are above all cures, which are asked for with faith (see Mt 9:2 and parallel passages, 9:28ff., 13:58). Peter* acquired the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah* (Mk 8:29). But Jesus foresaw for himself

a fate that seemed unworthy of the Messiah. His death on the cross provoked a refusal to believe that is reported in terms evoking the defiance of the people in the desert (Mk 15:32 and parallel passages; see Ps 78:18–22). It also provoked an adherence of faith (Mk 15:39 and parallel passages). The Good News was proclaimed in order to be believed by the entire world (Mk 16:15ff.).

b) Acts of the Apostles. For this narrative*, faith and baptism* "in the name of Jesus Christ" ensure for believers the forgiveness of sins* (Acts 2:38, 26:18), the purification of the heart (15:9), justification* (13:39), and salvation* (16:31). The first to be called to Christian faith are the Jews (3:26), and after them the Gentiles (13:46ff.). "Now the full number of those who believed were of one heart and soul*" (4:32). United by faith, they constituted the Church* (9:31).

c) Johannine Writings. They contain the verb "believe" 98 times. Unlike the synoptic Gospels, John's writings about Jesus often speak of belief *in him* (Jn 2:11, 3:16, 3:18). Jesus himself invites this belief (14:1), explaining that belief in him is belief in God, who sent him (12:44). The *interpersonal aspect* of faith is emphasized (1:35–51, 4:7–26), particularly through the parallelism between "come to" and "believe in" (6:35, 6:64f., 7:37f.). Faith establishes Jesus and the believer in a reciprocal inwardness (15:15; see 6:56, 17:20). A significant *doctrinal aspect* also appears, as witnessed in the profusion of the vocabulary of knowledge* and truth*. The word of Jesus reveals who he is (4:26, 6:35). It is supported by divine "works" that evidence his union with the Father* (5:36, 10:30, 10:38) and are "signs" likely to give rise to faith (2:11, 2:23, 20:30f.). The attachment to "signs and wonders" (4:48) impedes belief in Jesus on the basis of his words and, later, belief in the witnesses who have seen him risen (20:25): blessed is the one who believes without having seen (20:29)! Faith is expressed in explicit confessions of belief (6:69, 11:27). The declared aim of the writing of the gospel is to bring readers to "believe that Jesus is the Christ*, the Son of God" (20:31). Johannine faith encompasses simultaneously the gospel and the Scriptures of the Old Testament (Jn 2:22, 5:46, 20:8f.; cf. Luke 24:25, 44–47). It is a source of life (Jn 20:31, 11:25f.).

d) The letters of Paul give strong emphasis to faith ("believe" occurs 54 times; "faith," 152 times) and to its interpersonal aspect. Christ lives in the believer (Gal 2:20; Eph 3:17); the believer is "in Christ" (2 Cor 5:17; Phil 3:9) and is crucified with Christ (Gal 2:19, 5:24; Rom 6:6) in order to live with him as risen (Rom

6:4, 6:11). The doctrinal aspect is no less prominent: adherence to the message (1 Cor 15:3f.; Rom 10:5).

Apostle* to the Gentiles, Paul understood that human beings are “justified” by faith in Christ and not by observance of the Law* of Moses (Gal 2:16; Rom 3:28). Paul thereby defined the basis of Christian life. Whoever believes in Christ, who “died for our sins,” is freed from his sin “as a gift” (Rom 3:24). Paul rightly refuses to accept two heterogeneous bases for this fundamental justification, namely, faith in Christ and the “works* of the Law.” Galatians 3:6 and Romans 4 derive support from Genesis 15:6, reread in the light of the Christian situation. Perhaps to correct misunderstandings provoked by Paul’s paradoxes, the Letter of James (Jas 2:14–26) demonstrates that justification is not obtained by faith without works. James’s point of view is different: he is not concerned with initial justification but with the last judgment* and speaks not of the works of the Law but of those “of faith” (2:22). Paul, too, requires that faith not remain sterile: the last judgment will be made on each person “according to his works” (Rom 2:6; see 2 Cor 5:10; Gal 6:7–10).

In the letters written in captivity there is a notable emphasis on “the wisdom* and understanding” procured by faith (Eph 1:8, 1:17–20; Col 1:9) and on “mystery*” (Eph, six times; Col, four times). The pastoral letters are concerned with preserving faith from collapse (1 Tm 1:19, 6:20; 2 Tm 2:18), warning against “fables” (1 Tm 1:4, 4:7), and inviting the believer to embrace a “healthy” faith and doctrine (eight times).

e) The Epistle to the Hebrews presents the glorified Christ as our “merciful and faithful [Gr. *pistos*] high priest in the service of God” (Heb 2:17, 3:2; see Nm 12:7 Septuagint); it warns against the disastrous “lack of faith” (3:12–19) and invites the believer to a “full assurance of faith” (10:22). Hebrews 11:1–40, a splendid hymn in praise of faith and of the great believers of the Old Testament, shows faith at the origin of all worthwhile accomplishments, of triumphs achieved and of ordeals overcome. Along with the interpersonal aspect (11:6 and vv. 8, 11, 26f.) appear certain doctrinal aspects (11:3 and vv. 6, 19, 35), but the opening sentence defines faith by its effects. Neither specifically Christian nor even religious, this definition brings together two perspectives: one existential and

biblical (accepting a promise with faith is “a way of already possessing what is hoped for”), the other intellectual and Hellenistic (accepting the word of a competent person with faith is “a way of knowing what cannot be seen”). The two perspectives recur in the rest of the chapter.

f) *Pistis Christou*. This Greek expression (Gal 2:16c; Phil 3:9) and several similar ones have provoked discussion because of their ambiguity. In fact, the act of believing, so often mentioned in the New Testament (Greek *pisteuein*: 241 times), is never attributed in the text to Jesus. On the other hand, the New Testament often speaks of “believing in him” (42 3) or “faith in him” (9 3). As a consequence, *pistis Christou* may be translated “faith in Christ,” as *pistis Theou* (Mk 11:22) is translated “faith in God.” But it may also be translated “fidelity of Christ.” Finally, reference can be made to Romans 3:3, where *pistis* corresponds to the Hebrew *‘émét* and designates the absolute “faithfulness” of God.

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See also Dogma; Fideism; Grace; Justification; Knowledge of God; Law and Christianity; Liberty; Luther, Martin; Pauline Theology; Preaching; Revelation; Salvation; Truth; Works

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

1. Patristics

The first theology* inherited from the Scriptures (which it saw as canonical) images and concepts of faith that were rich and flexible. This theology did not systematize such images and concepts but is remarkable by its choice of perspectives. It made these choices on both missionary and exegetical grounds.

Christianity was rather quickly classified, according to the sociological taxonomy of late antiquity, among the schools of thought (*haireseis*) and was never tempted to identify itself with a particular ethnic group; it had an essentially missionary vocation as a community sent by the one whom the Father* had sent. This mission was carried out in a totally exoteric manner. There was a Christian cult* and there were Christian “mysteries*,” just as there were at the time a cult and mysteries of Mithra. Hence, there was a Christian initiation* and liturgical actions to which only believers were admitted. But unlike Mithraism and any other mystery religion, Christianity saw itself from the beginning as the bearer of a true word that could be proclaimed in the agora or the forum as well as in Jewish synagogues, a word to which only Jewish theology and pagan philosophy* were capable of responding. No apologetics were necessary to defend the idea of faith in the face of Israel, since faith was a biblical concept: the *pistis* of which the Christians spoke articulated in Greek a form of conduct without Greek equivalent (*contra* Buber 1950). But distinctions were required with respect to Hellenism, and Clement of Alexandria* was the first to provide them.

Indeed, in the Platonic conceptual framework, “faith,” in comparison to true knowledge (*epistēmē*, *gnōsis*), represented an impoverished form of knowledge. Clement adopted a dual strategy. 1) His first step was to rely on Aristotelianism against Platonism. Aristotle had in fact suggested a concept of faith that lent itself to theological acceptance. To be sure, faith was different from rigorous knowledge on the model of syllogistic reasoning based on experience. But although different, it was not of lesser value; rather, defined as the grasp of self-evident truths, it was more certain than reason* itself. Thus Clement in turn was able to define it by playing Hellenism against itself: “Faith, which the Greeks disparage because they consider it vain and barbarous, is a voluntary anticipation, a religious assent” (*Strom.* II. 2. 8. 4). 2) It was thereby possible to see faith as a near-synonym of knowledge (gnosis), and this second term made Christian experi-

ence* fully intelligible (and thus able to be used) in a mission* to the Greeks. Heterodox Gnosticism, to be sure, laid claim to “knowledge” (and also to faith); but for Clement, as was later true for Origen*, the fulfillment of Christian life in the contemplative experience of gnosis created no ambiguity. Gnosis did not abolish *pistis*; it was simply the full exercise of that faith.

Against Celsus, Origen enriched the theory with a reflection on the faith of simple people: the act of faith possessed the same dignity as the entry into philosophy, but it placed experience of a philosophical kind within the reach of everyone. Also against Celsus, he shed light on the believer’s trust in God with an analysis of the role played by confidence generally in interpersonal life. In the school of Antioch, and also relying on Aristotle, Theodoret of Cyr provided a new version of the theory. For him too, faith was the foundation on which one built gnosis, and gnosis was interpreted as a form of knowledge that *exceeded* the philosophical rather than being simply nonphilosophical; and he too contrasted the intuitive character of the grasp of faith with discursive reasoning. Theodoret offered the following definition: “Faith is the voluntary assent (*ekousios sugkatathesis*) of the soul, or else the contemplation* (*theōria*) of an invisible object, or the taking of a position with respect to what is (*peri to on stasis*), as well as a direct grasp (*katalēpsis*) of the invisible world, in harmony with our nature, or else an unambiguous disposition (*diathesis*) rooted in the soul* of those who possess it” (*Therapeutics* 1. 91, SC 57/1).

From the fourth century onward, *pistis* frequently became a synonym of “confession of faith” in Greek patristics, as, for example, in the expression “faith of Nicaea.” The most remarkable contributions to the doctrine of faith came in fact from monastic-mystical theology. Two major currents came into conflict, and the reconciliation of the two tendencies was to remain one of the permanent problems of Christian thought. A neo-Origenist tradition (Evagrius) thought of the life of faith in strictly intellectualist terms, while the Macarian tradition expressed it in purely affective terms. In addition, the noetics of Pseudo-Dionysius* provided a conceptual framework in which it was possible to articulate precisely the excess of ordinary reason in terms of the dialectical interplay of knowledge and unknowing that is characteristic of faith.

The Alexandrian concept of faith was not accepted as such by all of the Latin Fathers. Tertullian*, for example, sees faith as a relation to truth*, but the ratio-

nality of what is believable is denied, with celebrated rhetorical verve: the death* of the Son of God* “is believable because it is absurd”; and his resurrection* “is certain because it is impossible (*credibile est, quia ineptum est... certum est, quia impossibile*, *De carne Christi* 5). The theoretical contribution of the Latin Fathers was, however, composed of important assertions: that of the link between faith and the church’s *regula veritas* in the case of Irenaeus*; the affirmation of the *free* character of faith in the case of Zeno of Verona; the affirmation by Ambrose* of the *virtuous* quality of faith; and by Hilary of the clear distinction between belief and understanding (*intelligere*). It was left to Augustine* to create a synthesis out of these disparate elements. Setting himself to consider the relation between belief and knowledge, he sees faith as the prerequisite for any knowledge: Isaiah 7:9 (Vulgate), *si non credideritis, non intellegitis*, “if you do not believe, you will not understand,” is one of his favorite scriptural quotations. And in searching for the reasons for faith, he refers to grounds for credibility*—the fulfillment of the prophecies* in Christ*, miracles*, the success of Christianity—and bases the acceptance of faith on a theology of the authority* of the church (“For my part, I would not believe the Gospel if it were not transmitted through the authority of the Catholic Church,” CSEL 25. 197). The rationality of faith is complete, but in a mode that transcends the earthly uses of reason. Finally, Augustine formulated two distinctions that have remained canonical. On the one hand, he distinguished between the content of faith and the act of faith: *aliud sunt ea quae creduntur, aliud fides qua creduntur* (*Trin.* 13. 2. 5). And on the other, in the access to faith he distinguished a sequence of three acts: “believing God,” “having faith in God,” and “believing in God” (*credere Deum, credere Deo, credere in Deum*), of which only the third characterizes Christian experience.

In 529 the Second Council of Orange, assembled and inspired by Caesar of Arles and ratified by Pope* Boniface II, canonized the principal theses of Augustine on original sin*, grace*, and faith. At the end of the patristic age, the Christian West thus dogmatically confessed that “we must, with the help of God, preach and believe that the sin of the first man so diverted and weakened free will that no one since can love God as he should, nor do good for God, if divine grace and mercy* have not shown him the way” (*DS* 396).

The Christian East, although it had not had to refute Pelagianism*, and thus had not sharpened its formulations to this extent, would probably have accepted these assertions. And because it experienced no real debate about faith, the history of its theology of faith is that of a peaceful persistence of patristic conceptions.

2. Medieval Theology

Most medieval theologies of faith were also organized around a speculative exegesis* of Isaiah 7:9. In Anselm*, the leitmotif of a faith in search of understanding, *fides quaerens intellectum*, should be understood as what he says it is. The arguments and the apparently exorbitant desire to find “necessary reasons,” *rationes necessariae*, follow from beginning to end a believing process (see Barth* 1931), carried out by a reason to which the very act of believing has granted through grace the competence that it possessed before the Fall. Anselm’s primary purpose was not apologetic, but rather to articulate the logic of the language of faith. But because that logic unfolds under the presupposed aegis of harmony between rationality and faith, it is also the logic of a weakened (but not annihilated) reason, whose inherent dynamism leads it to seek faith (and hence, in a second stage, to seek and find itself).

In Abelard*, by contrast, we encounter a new missionary theology. Nurtured by the “arts of language” (*artes sermonicales*) that the Latin West was in the process of rediscovering (logic, rhetoric, grammar), this theology had as its goal the transmission of faith to simple people or its defense and illustration against heretics and non-Christians (for example, in the *Dialogue between a Philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian*). Like almost all theologians of faith and reason, Abelard commented on Hebrews 11:1 (Vulgate)—*Fides est substantia rerum sperandarum, argumentum non apparentium*, “faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen”—and places the emphasis of the commentary on his interpretation of *argumentum*, which he glosses as *existimatio*, “evaluation.” This presupposed an exalted idea of reason: the believer who addresses nonbelievers or other believers in these terms must himself possess an *intellectus fidei* capable of proving that the language of faith is fully invested with meaning. Abelard, however, knew the limits of discursive rationality: true knowledge* of God, *cognitio*, is without location in the world and the church; it is a purely eschatological reality.

Abelard’s theory found a relentless adversary in Bernard* of Clairvaux. Bernard did have an Anselmian conception of reason healed by faith, and this might have made possible a positive appreciation of Abelard’s work. But his monastic theology, focused as it was on spiritual experience, could hardly find a place for the instrumentalization of philosophical theories, and Bernard’s emphasis on the will and the emotions, like that of his disciple William of Saint-Thierry, led to a different understanding of the act of faith and of the life of faith.

We owe to the theologians of Saint*-Victor several original concepts and propositions. Also interested in the problem of the faith of simple people, Hugh of Saint-Victor interpreted it by reference to the solidarity of believers. The faith of the simple, like that of the just of the Old Testament (whose christological faith was only implicit), was carried by the faith of the clergy and the monks. Hugh elsewhere sketched a theory of knowledge illustrated by the model of the "three eyes": the eye of the flesh making possible knowledge of the world, the eye of reason making possible knowledge of the self, and the eye of contemplation making possible knowledge of God. The eye of the flesh was not blinded by sin, so that it has the ability to ascend from the world* to God; and the three modes of knowledge are in addition interdependent, so that faith, by making contemplation possible, also affects knowledge of the self and the world.

Commenting on Hebrews 11:1, Hugh places the emphasis of his commentary on *substantia*, and posits that it is already eschatological goods that "subsist" in the experience of the believer. Finally, he provides his own definition: faith is *certitudo quaedam animi de rebus absentibus, supra opinionem et infra scientiam*, "an intellectual certainty concerning absent things, superior to opinion and inferior to science" (*De sacram.*, PL 176. 330). And he contributed to thought about the balance between rational and emotional factors in positing that *fides quae* was governed by reason and *fides qua* by the powers of emotion, that the "matter" of faith lies in knowledge but its "substance" in *affectio*.

For Richard of Saint-Victor, commentary on Isaiah 7:9 did not lead to a theory of theological knowledge, as was the case for Anselm, but immediately to a theory of mystical knowledge. And for him, faith grasps the *rationes necessariae* in the framework of a mystical contemplation, in a manner rather close to that of Anselm. Peter Lombard was the first to articulate a problem that was to reappear in all later theologians, that of the faith of devils (*Sent.* III. d. 23, see Jas 2:19). If we must concede that devils believe, then we must admit the existence of a faith that is dead and of no use to salvation*, reduced to a pure act of knowledge. To demonstrate by contrast the true nature of *credere in*, Peter Lombard was then led to broaden the field of the *quaestio de fide* to encompass all theological experience (faith-hope*-charity). And it was in *caritas*, which he identified with the Holy* Spirit, that he saw the foundation of theological life, a foundation that was guaranteed by what was akin to an inspiration.

For his part, reflecting on the relation between faith and reason, Gilbert de la Porrée noted a reversal: in the things of this world, reason precedes faith; in the

things of God, faith precedes reason. Gilbert was primarily a theoretician of the scientific practice of theology, for whom *intellectus fidei* was identical to theological knowledge. But, like Anselm, he described a labor of reason entirely pursued under the protection of the act of faith. He thus modified a classic Augustinian formulation: where Augustine defined faith as a *cum assensione cogitare*, a "thought with assent," Gilbert defined it as a *cum assensione percipere*, a "perception with assent." An early interest in what would later become the *analysis fidei* was beginning to surface. Finally, there was another beginning in Nicholas of Amiens, the first thinker to conceive of reason as entrusted with providing "preambles to faith."

Two major tasks were thus bequeathed to the theologians of the 13th century: that of *précising* the place of faith in all cognitive experiences and that of integrating faith into the general economy of the Christian experience. The wish to accomplish both tasks was universally evident. In William of Auxerre, for example, we encounter a theory of theological knowledge in which the articles of faith make up the set of axioms on which a rigorous theology must be based; but speculative experience can nonetheless not be abstracted from Christian life as a whole, for faith also gives rise to the love* of God. For William of Auvergne, the weakness of reason in its worldly use is asserted with such force that faith in it becomes improbable, *improbabilis*, but the grace of faith is also asserted with similar force, and theological experience gives evidence of reason going beyond itself, making possible the dissolution of all improbability. In the *Summa halensis*, the theory of faith is first of all a theory of the bases for a science, but a science that attains its object by "tasting" it, *secundum gustum*, within an experience whose cohesion is ensured by emotional factors and the work of the will.

For Bonaventure*, the theory of faith is rooted in a theology of history* in which the preambles to Christian experience are not provided by philosophical work* (he constantly saw philosophy primarily as the legacy of a dead past) but by the history of Israel. It is incumbent on a theology of the Old Testament to provide the concrete precomprehensions and pre-experiences of Christian faith. At the center of his interpretation, the triad of "memory," "intelligence," and "will" composes an "image of the Trinity*," *imago creationis*, in human beings. Sin has almost erased this image, but theological life restores it in the exalted mode of an *imago recreationis*. Faith is consequently an event that occupies the entire space of consciousness. Because human beings do not enjoy eschatological immediacy in their relation to God,

their faith requires the speculative services of discursive knowledge—but on the path that leads the mind to God, faith is focused on mystical experience and is fulfilled in that experience as an immediate relation. A disciple of Bonaventure, Matthew of Acquasparta particularized the relation of will to intellect in terms that had a long-lasting influence: faith is related *causaliter* to will, it is related to intellect *formaliter* and *essentialiter*. He also produced a theory of knowledge according to which faith and knowledge can coexist in the same person.

The analysis proposed by Thomas* Aquinas remains the most straightforward, the least encumbered with nuances. The presupposition is intellectualist: “believe” is said of an assent to truths guaranteed by primordial Truth itself. But if there is room in the Thomist structure of knowledge for purely rational assent (for a pure and simple constraint exercised by truth on the intelligence), the natural operation of reason cannot go beyond a metaphysical affirmation of God, for which Thomas provides a model in the first questions of the *Summa Theologica*. The logic of belief is distinguished from a logic of pure intellection in that it is intellectual assent moved by the will; thus it is both a process of knowledge in the strict sense (its order is that of *theôria*) and a work of liberty* (hence meritorious). Because no one believes except by reason of an attraction exercised by God on him (Jn 6:44), faith is an *innate* virtue. And because it does not consist of a momentary act but of the permanence of a way of being, it is a *habitus* and an innate *virtue*. Christian experience, however, is not limited to the experience of faith; charity in fact is the “form of the virtues*,” of the theological virtues (faith and hope) as of the others. Faith, on the other hand, acquiesces to truths proposed in a linguistic form that make up a system, but its spiritual dynamism goes beyond—*actus credentis non terminatur ad enuntiabile sed ad rem* (“the act of believing ends not at the expressible but at the deed”; *ST* IIa IIae. q.1. a. 2. ad 2)—and aims toward God himself through what it causes us to say truthfully about him. And in the framework of an intellectualist eschatology* in which the absolute future of humanity is a plenitude of knowledge, faith itself takes on a certain eschatological coloration: on this side of death it is like a “foretaste of the future vision” (*In Sent.* III. d. 23. q.2. a. 1. ad 4) that it promises to human beings. The necessity of belief is finally rooted in the created nature of human beings (before the Fall, Adam* must have believed) and not in the concrete conditions of sinful existence.

Beginning with Duns* Scotus, followed by Ockham, medieval theology underwent a reorganization. The clearest result of this was a reduction of the field

of philosophical knowledge and hence an enlargement of the realm of faith. When the order of things no longer appeared to be the product of a divine will conceived on the model of arbitrary will, Anselm’s idea of a discernment of “necessary reasons” was doomed to disappear in favor of other concepts: that of faith defined as “learned ignorance” or as an “incomprehensible grasp of the incomprehensible” (Nicholas* of Cusa); or that of a confidence that refused to base itself on any form of credibility* or to ally itself with any form of philosophy.

3. Reformation and Modern Theology

a) The theology of Luther* carried out a work of concentration: a christological concentration on the one hand, and a concentration on the living experience of faith on the other. A certain number of refusals followed: a refusal to accept the existence of a “dead faith” (the only mortal sin is the sin against the Holy Spirit, and its consequence is the disappearance of all faith); a rejection of the Augustinian distinction between *fides quae* and *fides qua* and of the distinction made by Peter Lombard between *fides catholica* and *fides cum caritate*; and a rejection of the distinction between *acquired faith* and *innate faith* (WA 6. 84–86). These refusals were the result of positions taken. Luther understood faith primarily as a salvific process that is worked out in human beings by the Holy Spirit. It is also understood as the birth certificate of the new person—*fides facit personam* (WA 39/1. 283. 1)—and as the focus of a theological experience (faith-hope-charity) from which it cannot be abstracted and in which, moreover, it appropriates traits characteristic of hope and charity. Faith also is born from the Word*—*fides ex auditu* (Rom 10:17)—and requires no legitimation.

Because it is based in Jesus Christ and is lived as faith *in* him (*credere in*), it is not possible to isolate the contents of faith that individuals might meditate upon in a first stage and then assent to in a second stage. In the end, only faith makes it possible to recognize the divinity of God, and Luther found provocative language for this assertion: “*Fides est creatrix divinitatis, non in persona, sed in nobis*—Faith creates divinity not in itself but in us; outside of faith, God loses his justice, his glory, etc.; where faith is lacking, there remains nothing of his majesty and his divinity” (WA 40/1. 360. 5ff.).

The Lutheran *sola fide* is intelligible only on the condition that we recognize that it depends on a new arrangement of the realm of faith by virtue of which “belief” receives an unprecedented extension. By refusing to distinguish in the act of faith between the

work of reason and the work of will (and the emotions), Luther in fact posits that faith is a gift of the Holy Spirit to the entire person* and an offering of the entire person to God. The concept deserves to be called “existential,” something also shown in Luther’s lack of interest in protological (on the faith or the knowledge of Adam) or eschatological speculations. Faith is an act of the whole person, and it is so in a manner not susceptible to analysis. Finally, although the logic of confidence, *fiducia*, is also a logic of knowledge, since the particularity of faith is to recognize God given to humanity on the cross of Jesus*, it has no rational preamble and does not open onto a new use of speculative reason. The problem of the faith of simple people therefore does not arise, for the act of faith is the same in all, and in the world there is nothing beyond the act of faith.

The theory nevertheless required adjustments when the rebellion of a single man against medieval Catholicism took the form of a mass movement that was finally organized into a church. Lived faith had to be inscribed in symbolic books, and Reformation confessions of faith revived in Protestantism* the notion of *fides quae*. The experience of preaching* and especially the experience of confessional polemics also demonstrated that recourse to the purity of the gospel in fact required the development of a theology. It thus fell to Luther’s best disciple, Melancthon, to systematize the founding teachings of the Reformation in didactic form. The first important characteristic of this systematic organization was the reemphasis on the content of faith: “*Fides est assentio, qua accipis omnes articulos fidei, et est fiducia acquiescens in Deo propter Mediatorem*—Faith is the assent of whoever accepts all the articles of faith, and it is the confidence of whoever accepts God by reason of the Mediator” (CR 23. 456).

The act of faith is broken down into three stages: “perception” (*notitia*), “assent” (*assensus*), and “confidence” (*fiducia*). Perception and assent are the work of reason, confidence the work of the will. This conception might be called neoclassical. It does not distort the governing idea of faith alone as justification, and its general outline was adopted by Calvin*. However, Calvin introduced a new factor into the analysis, incredulity, of which he asserts that it is “always mixed with faith” (*Inst.* 1536, 3. 2. 4). Protestant theology of the 17th century did not modify this balance.

It was in its decree on justification* that the Council of Trent* responded to Protestant theologies of faith. First of all, Trent rejected the earlier concentration on the question of faith and reaffirmed the doctrine of the theological virtues: the union of human person and God could not be accomplished in the single element

of faith but required hope and charity (*DS* 1531). It then rejected the concept of *fiducia*, which could lead to belief in the possibility of a *subjective certainty* of salvation: *cum nullus scire valeat certitudine fidei, cui non potest subesse falsum, se gratiam Dei esse consecutum* (*DS* 1534). The council further recalled that theological life is a response in man to prevenient grace (*DS* 1553), which enables free will to cooperate with the work of the God who “calls” him. Lastly, the grace of God does not revive a free will that original sin has abolished (“slave will”), but brings about its restoration.

b) From Trent to the early 20th century, two separate but linked problems were to occupy most of the attention of Catholic theology: the analysis of the act of faith and of the (rational) preambles to faith. In a complex history, two major tendencies stand out.

- 1) In response to the suspicions that the Reformation had brought to bear on the capacities of reason, there was a reorganization of apologetics from which was to arise a “fundamental* theology” endowed with an ambitious program: to demonstrate the “truth of religion,” “Christian truth,” and “Catholic truth” (*demonstratio religiosa, demonstratio christiana, demonstratio catholica*). New missionary necessities were added to the needs of confessional polemics. In the face of the libertines, arguments had to be made in favor of religion as such. A “new world” had to be evangelized. The duty of speaking presupposed the possibility of an intelligible and true discourse. Without the notion of a reason universally imparted to everyone, always present in sinful human beings who innately aspired to belief, this program could not be carried out. It is not without significance that the spearhead of missionary Catholicism, the Society of Jesus, chose as its official theologian Thomas Aquinas, one of the medieval thinkers most confident in the powers of reason. But while the arguments of medieval theologians, including Thomas, proposed first to explore the field of rational experience opened up by faith, and only secondarily to pick out the rational preambles to faith, modern apologetics was paradoxically constructed so as to delay the moment of belief in order to provide a better basis for the rationality of that belief. The central christological and Trinitarian affirmations of Christian discourse, were, of course, never subsumed under the authority of an apologetic demonstration—it is because G. Hermes assigned excessive tasks to its apologetic

that he was accused of “rationalism*” in 1835. But in support of its preaching the church could rely either on *facts* (fulfillment of prophecies and miracles, with the resurrection of Jesus as the supreme miracle) or on universal truths of reason, above all the existence of God. And with perfect coherence, Vatican* I finally set the entire authority of the church behind a definition of the prerogatives of a nontheological knowledge of God in aid of faith—the prerogatives of a nontheological theoretical enterprise conducted under the supervision of theology.

During the same period there appeared in Catholic thought the form of irrationalism known as *fideism**. In the form it assumed in the work of Bautain, and which was condemned, fideism was not identical to a rejection of all forms of credibility and of any preambles to faith. But it replaced the leitmotif of an intellect in search of faith with the idea of a *cor quaerens fidem*, the logic of which necessarily led to the diminution of the claims of rationality and a neglect of the tools of rational apologetics. A major point, however, is worth noting. The condemnation of fideism was made by positing the *possibility* of a certain knowledge of God through natural reason (DS 2751; repeated by Vatican* II, DV §6) and later (in the antimodernist Oath) even the possibility of a *demonstrative* proof of the existence* of God (DS 3538). But the documents do not at all suggest that this knowledge is achieved anywhere in a normative form. They speak rather of a perpetual labor of reason by saying that it can in principle be accomplished.

- 2) These concerns also led to new questions concerning the act of faith. The motive force of faith, its “formal object,” is the “authority of the God who reveals [himself]”; it is because there is free obedience that there is faith, which is a consent to *believe* where one does not *see*. A problem followed for the theoreticians of the *analysis fidei*: how to think of the personal contribution of the person to his or her act of faith. There was certainly no question of reconsidering the strictly supernatural character of faith as defined by the Council of Orange. But after those reversals in theory and in the church that were caused by the Reformation, it was, on the other hand, necessary to restate in new terms that the act of faith was—also—the meritorious result of a free decision.

The concerns of Christian humanism, as Erasmus* had defended them against Luther, were then taken over by the missionary concerns of the 16th and 17th

centuries. In this case, too, the predominant role played by the Jesuits in the pastoral enterprises of the time, whether in the intellectual and spiritual training of the elite of the old world or in the evangelization (conversion*) of newly discovered cultures, largely explains the concern to grant to human beings, as creatures called on to believe, the greatest freedom that theology could countenance. Greek theology had resolved this problem in the patristic age by making use of the concept of cooperation between God and human beings (*sunergeia*), so that divine activity did not lessen human activity but made it fully possible. This concept, however, had never been articulated in a system (which probably explains its persisting suggestive power). The Catholicism of the Counter Reformation, on the contrary, wished to systematize, which led both to heterodox constructions (the “Augustinians gone astray” [Lubac*]: Baius and Jansenius) and to competing constructions among which the Roman magisterium* finally admitted it was unable to decide: Bañezianism* and Molinism. The debates had to do not only with faith: in fact, predestination* and the divine presence, together with the status of evil* and God’s permitting of it, were the most discussed questions. But whether one defended a theory of grace in which a divine gesture—“physical premotion”—was a precondition for any human spiritual decision (Bañez), or a theory of “concord” between nature* and grace (Molina), the question of the act of faith soon appeared in the debate. The intentions governing its appearance were no doubt pure. But the kinds of theological analysis to which they led (and to which they led all the parties to the debate)—breaking down the act of faith into moments, the distribution of intellectual and voluntary-affective factors according to the moments at which they came into play, the localization of the help provided by grace—had the result of putting theories into circulation, or creating a theoretical climate, in which faith lost all its lived unity. And the assimilation of the content of faith to a system of true propositions, a constant temptation of post-Tridentine theology, added a depersonalizing aspect to the doctrines that were proposed.

c) In the same period, Protestant theology had simultaneously to integrate the exigencies of an irrationalism—Pietism*—and those of rationalism—the *Aufklärung* or German Enlightenment.

- 1) Pietism was more a theology of Christian life than a theology of the access to Christianity, and its first distinctive note was the orchestration on a large scale of a traditional theme that the reformers had not forgotten, that of Christian expe-

rience as a new or a regenerated life. The Pietists affirmed this by linking justification with sanctification, by emphasizing the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in human beings, but also by dismissing any merely imputational concept of justification in favor of a conception of faith as the “life of Christ in us,” as the experience of a *Christus inhabitans* (already present in Weigl). Making its appearance later, the second distinctive note of Pietism was the assignment of Christian experience to the realm of the “heart.” The enterprise of Pietist theology was then to carry out an “affective transposition of doctrine” (Pelikan) in which the contents of faith were articulated in such a manner that they called for the assent of the heart rather than of reason, and in which faith in turn committed the believer to a life of “piety” and sanctification entirely governed by feeling. This theology intended to be “experiential” (Oetinger), understanding by that the immediate experience of the Holy Spirit. And it revealed its real provocative force when it asserted that the only ones who possessed *fiducia* (bluntly, the only ones who really had faith) were those who had known such an experience. These premises did not prevent Pietism from taking on missionary activities. In the late 18th century the *Discourses* of Schleiermacher* and the *Génie du christianisme* of Chateaubriand demonstrated that the religion of feeling could also be organized in apologetic form, and then Schleiermacher’s *Christian Faith* offered a dogmatics that is from beginning to end dominated by religious feeling.

- 2) It was principally as a response to the Enlightenment that the apologetics of feeling was conceived, and the faith it proposed was one that knew, or thought it knew, that reason no longer led to God. In the voice of Kant*, the moderate wing of the *Aufklärung* had said both that theoretical reason knew nothing of God and that that left the field open to faith. On the other hand, Enlightenment philosophy had also had its radicals, who had asserted that the limits of the rational were the limits of the knowable. The consequences were many: a grammar of belief translated into postulates of practical reason (Kant); a Christianity devoid of mystery (Toland); a first historicist “demythologization” of Christian origins (Reimarus); and a skeptical rationalism that knew no access to God other than the “leap” of faith (Lessing); among others. A faith not in search of reason and a reason not in search of

faith, simplistic a dilemma as it may seem, does not overly distort the spirit of the age. Two theological tactics were possible and were followed: that of a rationalist theology principally concerned with justifying all its statements by the standards of enlightened reason (theological “rationalism,” in the technical sense of the term), and that of a systematic theology of feeling for which emotion alone is the organ of knowledge in religious matters (Schleiermacher and his posterity). The 19th century, however, saw the opening of a third path, a redefinition of the reciprocal positions of “reason” and “faith.”

- d) Destined to have no theological influence—or at least none that was faithful to their intentions—before the 20th century, the works of Hegel* and Schelling* contain a more or less revolutionary contribution to the *disputatio de fide*. The contents of faith, in Hegel’s *Phenomenology* and *Logic* and in Schelling’s *Philosophy of Revelation*, actually become philosophical objects in their own right. Christian exoterism is thus pushed to its highest point. The positivity of Christianity and the inscription of what is believable in Christianity in a history and in facts are all offered to the operation of the intelligence, on the sole condition that rationality sets itself no a priori limit, that is, on condition that it truly intends to perform a work of reason (*Vernunft*) and not to content itself, like the Enlightenment, with a work of understanding (*Verstand*). A hint of rationalism readily arises. If in Hegel there is still room for religious faith in the journey of the knowing mind, this journey concludes with a full experience of the rational, an “absolute knowledge” that knows faith better than faith knows itself; and knows the contents of faith better than faith itself knows them, because it knows them by means of conceptualization and faith knows them by means of “representation.” However, the idea of a reason essentially capable of thinking what faith believes corresponds in part to Anselm’s interest in “necessary reasons.” Furthermore, the idea of a philosophy that assigns central positions to a Christology* and a Trinitarian theology breaks down a barrier between philosophy and theology that had only been constructed in the 13th century and that Bonaventure himself had not really known. The question of a knowledge (*gnôsis*) that knows more and better than faith nevertheless raises objections that the texts cannot resolve satisfactorily. This is a culmination of theological intellectualism,* in the context of which the faith of simple people cannot be seen as embodying a fullness of experience. This position prohibits in advance someone like Theresa of Lisieux from playing a magisterial role in the church.

e) On the fringes of the debates of his time, the work of Kierkegaard also had to await the 20th century (namely, the appearance of “dialectical theology”) before it exercised real influence. It contains two aspects, the first of which easily masks the second. Against Hegelian intellectualism (the “system”), Kierkegaard is first of all the theoretician of a strict voluntarism* that frequently recalls Lessing’s “leap of faith.” Conceived in a strictly apophatic manner as an “absolute paradox,” separated from man by an “infinite qualitative difference,” the God of Kierkegaard makes impossible the traditional interplay between *intellectus quaerens fidem* and *fides quaerens intellectum*. On the one hand, faith does nothing but accomplish a break in relation to any other human act (intellectual or emotional). On the other hand, it is not defined as something that restores a reason weakened by sin (Bonaventure), or as establishing a reason even more reasonable than that of Adam—nothing lies beyond the pure act of belief. As rigorous a fideism as possible is linked, however, to a reorganization of knowledge in which, in a very paradoxical way, Kierkegaard accomplishes by other means a part of Hegel’s and Schelling’s program. In this instance too, a division of labor that had become canonical is abolished in favor of a unified field in which the logic of “existence” is given at bottom only a single duty, the defense and illustration of the Lutheran *fides facit personam*. The reasons governing the *Philosophical Fragments* are those of Christology. A dialectic of existence, clearly aimed at founding faith in no other way than on the paradox of the God who has come incognito among human beings, unfolds, however, in such a way that the Christian experience effects a horde of meanings. There is no “system of existence,” says Kierkegaard. The question of faith, moreover, does not have to do with a body of truths to be believed, but with the person of the God who invites us to follow him. The coincidence of access to Christianity and access to the self (to the truth of subjectivity), however, makes possible a recapitulation of the whole person in the life lived before God. And finally, by denying that belief was easier for the disciple of the first generation than it is for modern man, Kierkegaard is led to form a concept of “contemporaneity” that provides a first profound response to the challenges of the historical critique of the foundations of faith, whether that critique came from the Enlightenment or from the Hegelians of the left.

Protestant theology of the 19th century was divided among the various influences mentioned above. Schleiermacher’s idea of a faith coextensive with feeling was predominant. The work of the *Aufklärung* was also continued in the form of a historical-critical demolition of Christian sources that was to culminate in

Schweitzer’s judgment that Jesus was totally unknowable, and his proposition of an act of faith that could no longer even claim certainly to derive from a gospel. Finally, Liberal Protestantism called into question the christological structure that the principal current of Christianity had always recognized in faith. Distinguishing faith *in* Jesus from the faith *of* Jesus (e.g., Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1900), and favoring the latter, made possible the appearance of a new *notitia* (entrusted with determining what critical history had left intact in Christianity) and a new *assensus* (entrusted with acquiescing to the Good News of God the Father); and although *fiducia* survived, it was only in the form of a certain piety.

From the Restoration to the First Vatican Council, the interventions of the Roman magisterium in theological life made it possible to lay out a path—that of a faith without fideism and a reason without rationalism—and the appearance of a triumphant Neoscholasticism sometimes seemed to indicate the appropriate way of following that path. The modernist crisis, however, was to demonstrate that more significant readjustments would be necessary. The crisis arose first from the repercussions of Protestant exegesis among the Catholic intelligentsia, and when it broke out, the Catholic tradition* and the Protestant tradition were on the point of once again taking up a common history.

4. Contemporary Theology

“New Thought,” the title of an article in which the Jewish philosopher Rosenzweig summarized the arguments of his *Star of Redemption*, also expressed the general ambition of contemporary forms of Christianity. Throughout various schools and confessions, common needs had in fact appeared, and new possibilities had surfaced.

- 1) The needs were linked to the appearance of philosophies “of the person.” Employed to designate the concrete individual engaged in the operation of all his or her faculties, the concept of person could render appreciable service by avoiding the subtle divisions between rational, voluntary, and affective factors characteristic of classical theology. In this context the merit of Rousselot (1878–1915) was to propose the first description of the access to faith that proceeded by means of a concrete integration of all the dynamics at work (credibility). Rousselot himself was influenced by the *Grammar of Assent* of Newman*, a book of 1870 that was nevertheless ahead of its time. Instead of treating assent as the final moment of an intellectual-discursive process, Newman linked it to a complex intuition

- based on a “sense of inference,” the *illative sense*. It was only after Rousselot that Newman’s epistemology became common currency.
- 2) The lexicon of the “personal” appeared elsewhere to criticize the representation of an “objective” and disinterested rational activity, a representation that was extremely difficult to use in a theory of the act of faith. The important book on this question was *Personal Knowledge* by the chemist and epistemologist Polanyi (1958). Devoted to bringing to the fore the uncriticized presuppositions of any intellectual work and the tacit beliefs that such work presupposed, to showing the element of self-implication (hence of “nonobjectivity”) that it involved, and to demonstrating the need for a certain theoretical aptitude (*skills*) that can derive only from concrete contact with reality, the book put an end to a caricature of scientific rationality. In doing so, it made possible a clearer perception that the act of faith is not rational *despite* what it contains of self-implication and decision (see Torrance, Ed., *Belief in Science and Christian Life: The Relevance of M. Polanyi’s Thought for Christian Faith and Life*, Edinburgh, 1980).
 - 3) Another related event was the theological acceptance of Gadamer’s hermeneutics*. *Truth and Method* by Gadamer (1960) carried out a critique in high style of “prejudices against prejudice,” which made possible a clearer apprehension of the (“hermeneutic”) logic according to which the act of faith included an act of comprehension, itself relying on precomprehensions. And because it included a rejection of all individualist theories and situated every work of interpretation within interpretive traditions, it also made possible the location of the act of faith within the total interpretive work of the Christian community.
 - 4) The ecclesial status of faith was also to become a major concern. Theologies dealt with it in different ways. In *Catholicisme* by H. de Lubac (1938), “to believe” is conjugated in the plural by showing the presence of ecclesiological elements in the entire architecture of Christian dogma*. In the same period, philosophies of the person attempted to propose a concept of the “we” (e.g., G. Marcel). Later, J.D. Zizioulas was to emphasize the strictly “ontological” novelty of belonging to the church. As for narrative* theologies, they provided a useful description of faith as an entry into a community that affirms its identity by telling its founding stories and as a personal appropriation of those stories.
 - 5) After a long tradition of indifferent silence, it was thus impossible not to ask what “believe” means biblically. To be sure, it was still possible in 1952 to write a treatise on faith in which the present experience of faith is not thought of as a reactualization of acts normatively rooted in the experience of Israel and of the first Christian generation (Guérard des Lauriers, *Dimensions de la foi*), but as acquiescence to a doctrine, and thereby to ratify the opposition proposed by Buber (1950) between Jewish faith (“historical”) and Christian faith (“doctrinal”). Against Buber, however, the main current of theology was able to establish that in this domain continuity won out over discontinuity (see Flusser 1994; Werblowsky 1988), so that Israel’s capacities for the experience of God also entered into a Christian experience taken in its complete existential dimensions. Christian faith is not a Greek attitude.
 - 6) Also recuperated were patristic sources, and with them a concept of “knowledge” enriched with all the overtones of the *gnôsis* of Clement of Alexandria and Origen. The concept of *fides quaerens intellectum* consequently ceased to be that of a faith seeking to give itself conceptual tools, and could again designate an innate impulse of faith; “intellection” ceased to be understood primarily as the production of knowledge and revealed a more complex (and more experiential) logic of knowledge.
 - 7) A more flexible idea of rationality imposed itself all the more in the 20th century because belief frequently lost its status as an image of the irrational and was positively integrated into the logic of knowledge. In Husserl it could be learned that consciousness lives innately in the element of belief. By focusing on ordinary language and the experiences that it expresses, analytical philosophy was also able to observe that the border between belief and knowledge is less certain than the old models of reason suggested. The “Wittgensteinian fideism” of which D.Z. Phillips is considered the earliest proponent (see Nielsen, *Philosophy*, 1967) is the most brilliant example in the Anglo-American world of a philosophy that affirms the full legitimacy of belief while at the same time prohibiting any foundational maneuver.
 - 8) The disappearance of the propositional theory of revelation* (a product of post-Tridentine dogmatics) also made possible any dissociation between “believe in” and “believe that” (see Price 1965), in favor of the latter. In the principal theo-

logical currents of all confessions, the act of faith then appears less as an acquiescence to a body of truths (which it still is as late as Roussetot) than as the discovery of a divine Thou. An apologetics of *proof* necessarily tends to yield place to a pedagogy of spiritual experience aimed at providing a unified initiation into a *Christian experience* whose possibility it knows to be rooted a priori in every human person: for example, in the “transcendental Thomism” derived from Maréchal (Lotz, Rahner*, Coreth, and others); in Schaeffler (*Fähigkeit zur Erfahrung*, 1982), within the framework of a hermeneutics of meaning; and in J. Mouroux, in an approach that combines Thomist inspiration with personalist influences (*L'expérience chrétienne*, 1954).

- 9) Finally, we can note a new interest in the language of faith. The question was classically that of the contents of faith, of the true language used by the one who believes. The influence of research on self-involving languages (Evans, *The Logic of Self-involvement*, 1963) has, however, led contemporaries to be more willing to interpret the language of confessions of faith, of prayer*, and of the liturgy* (Bruaire 1977; Ladrière 1984). As for the secular philosophical research devoted in Great Britain to the phenomenon of faith (Price, Cohen, Helm, etc.), they are awaiting their theological reception from which could emerge a new evaluation of the *fides quae* as well as a new perception of the relationships between theological faith, belief, and knowledge.

Two common characteristics are shared by most of these tendencies. 1) The first is an interpretation of faith that sees it first as a reality that is destined to survive. Attributing to faith an eschatological or pre-eschatological dimension is not really theologically original. But whereas medieval theology placed primary emphasis on the distance separating faith and “vision,” contemporary theology is more willing to emphasize a continuity. This emphasis is expressed in radical form by von Balthasar*, who paradoxically maintains that faith is a divine mode of existence (1984). Another radical form is provided by the realized eschatology of Bultmann*, for whom a present faith today grasps the truth of existence in such a way that nothing remains to be hoped for. In any event, and excepting such extreme cases, theologies of the 20th century agree in describing the experience of faith as establishing in human beings modes of being that characterize their humanity in a definitive manner.

2) A theology concerned with distinguishing the factors—intellectual, affective, voluntary—that enter in the form of a sequence into the genesis of the act of faith has been replaced by a theology more concerned to describe the simultaneous cooperation of everything that makes up human beings (or the “person”). In the theory of faith proposed by Balthasar, the preeminence accorded to the concept of *evidence* and the choice of an aesthetic model bind truth and experience together in a meaningful way (evidence is the experience of truth) and give to experience a twofold content, intellectual and affective. What is given to be believed, insofar as it is given to be believed, is also given to be loved and so provides grounds for hope. An integral theory of faith does not seem to be thinkable if it is not in fact organized as a theological anthropology*.

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See also Credibility; Hope; Love; Philosophy; Reason; Revelation; Truth

Faith of Christ. *See* Christ's Consciousness

Fall. *See* Sin, Original

Family

A religious conception of the family has been obvious since the epoch of the patriarchs in Israel*: the family is made for procreation* and is intended to transmit inheritance and secure the protection of its members, whether they be related by blood, marriage*, or adoption. These presuppositions are no longer accepted. Knowing that family and structures of kinship take many forms across cultures, we are tempted to say that the family is only a social construction. Some have gone further, stating that this construction is the enemy of individual liberty*, emotional fulfillment, or gender equality. It remains the case, however, that no known society* has left human sexuality to function in a purely anarchic way, and that the multiplicity of familial structures shares one common feature: the universal existence of rules of marriage and systems of kinship. The contemporary context is, in Western society, that of a crisis of the so-called “traditional” family, and economic globalization is tending to promote a similarly critical situation within other cultures. In the face of this crisis, and of the fact that it is not a development external to the church*, one might at least expect that moral theology* would be of service. In a situation of total uncertainty in secular discourses on the family, it might provide theologically exact coordinates for a Christian response to this crisis. The present crisis proves, perhaps, that the family is “a new idea, yet to be discovered” (Chapelle 1996).

a) Family in the Bible. In the Old Testament, family presupposes a patriarchal, largely patrilineal and endogamous kinship system, in which the production of male heirs is a chief concern. Israel needs sons: to ensure continuity of the people's faith* and traditions* (Ex 13:14f.; Dt 6:20–25) and, in the pre-exilic period, to pass on family holdings (but *see* Nm 27:1–11 and 36:1–14 on female inheritance in default of a male line). Women* find their social and religious identity primarily as mothers. This is the basic purpose of marriage, even though, ideally, spouses should also be partners and friends linked by mutual fidelity (Gn 1–3). Marriage was sometimes polygamous in the patriarchal period and until about the time of the monarchy (Gn 29:21–30; 2 Sm 5:13–16; 1 Kgs 11:1f.). Concubinage was also permitted (Gn 16:1–4 and 30:1–13). Levirate marriage, requiring a man to marry his brother's widow and beget sons in his name, provided protection to the bereaved woman and furthered continuation of the family line (Gn 38:8; Dt 25:5–10). Only husbands could initiate divorce (Dt 24:1–4; but *see* Mal 2:14f. for a critique of this situation). Sex outside marriage was prohibited, but much more stringently for women than for men (Lv 20:10; Dt 22:22–29; Prv 5:7, 5:27), since female promiscuity threatened patrilineal inheritance.

In the New Testament, this family-centered ethic is perceptibly amended, if not subverted outright. Mar-

riage and family are the background for many of the sayings and parables* of Jesus*, and in them he takes up at least one position against Israelite family law*, in the form of his rejection of divorce (Mt 5:27f. and 19:9; Mk 10:11f.; Lk 16:18; 1 Cor 7:10f.). Of more importance, however, is the call to join the community of disciples, which is structured in a way that owes nothing to marital or familial status. Not only does the founding experience of individual call and individual response occur outside the institution of the family, but family loyalties can create an obstacle to the demands of the gospel (Mt 10:37 and 12:46–50; Mk 3:31–35 and 10:29; Lk 8:19f. and 14:26; Gal 3:28). It was certainly possible for late medieval theology to take the “holy family”—Jesus, Mary, and Joseph—as a model for every family of believers. However, in order to find scriptural legitimization for this model, it must be perceived as what it was, a family that God’s initiative had caused to deviate from all other received models.

In the Roman Empire, where Christianity first spread, the family, *familia*, was placed under the authority of the *paterfamilias* and included not only relatives in the strict sense but also slaves, servants, and property. In the form of marriage most common in the first century A.D., the wife remained under the authority of her natal *familia* and hence was not a member of that of her husband, though they shared a common domicile. Conversely, married children of the *paterfamilias* remained members of his *familia*, but usually occupied separate residences. Membership in a particular family considerably influenced a person’s identity and social role. Adoption (of an adult male, preferably from among kin) was a common means of transmitting and controlling a name, a patrimony, or a line of succession. Marriage served the same aim, and also served to increase a family’s influence and wealth. A hierarchical friendship between spouses and a long-lasting marriage were the ideal, but such an ideal was rarely realized, especially in the upper classes. Older men were usually married to younger women (girls married at 12), which often precluded egalitarian relationships; sexual activity outside marriage was accepted for men but prohibited for citizen women. Divorce and remarriage were frequent, for political as well as personal reasons; consequently, precariousness was an important feature of familial experience. In this context, the appearance of a group, the Christians, who downplayed the importance of family roles and regarded themselves as primarily a community of brothers, clearly called the patriarchal institution into question.

In the earliest Christian communities, the lively expectation of a Parousia* that was believed to be immi-

nent certainly led to doubts as to whether it was appropriate to found a family. This reluctance dissipated as the Parousia was deferred into the future. Nevertheless, it left a trace, in the attribution of eschatological significance to celibacy chosen “for the sake of the kingdom.” More important, no doubt, was the very rapid appearance of “domestic codes” intended for married Christians. These codes were generally adaptations from Greek philosophical models and revealed a church eager to articulate norms for family life, partly because of the threat of persecution. They address the members of households in hierarchical relationships (husband/wife, father/children, master/slave) and urge submission on the subordinate party while exhorting the *paterfamilias* to love* and restraint (Eph 5:21–6:9; Col 3:18–4:1; 1 Pt 2:18–3:7). Abstracted from all the New Testament testimony, these texts have undeniably been used throughout the centuries to assert within the family a man’s authority and a woman’s submission, a practice that stands in tension with the egalitarian thrust of the preaching* of the Kingdom. A major theoretical task thus made its appearance: because the *eschaton* had not been realized in the “event of Jesus Christ,” the right of family structures to have a legitimate place among Christian realities had to be guaranteed; but because the *eschaton* had been well and truly anticipated, the fraternal experience of the disciples had to be permitted to become the measure and the norm for the family experience.

b) Family in Christian Tradition. The Encratite tendency to place a wholly negative value on the physical dimension of existence was very quickly rejected by the church, but it survived in a minor mode among patristic authors. Thus, some Fathers*, most notably Jerome (c. 342–420), came close to condemning marriage in their praise of virginity. The mainstream, represented, for example, by Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215), saw marriage, lived in a spirit of self-control and aimed at producing children, as compatible with the Christian life (*Stromata* 2, 23, SC 38; *Paedagogus* 2, 10, SC 108). The family possessed theological legitimacy because it was a site for the transmission of faith: the religious education and spiritual good* of children was its true *raison d’être*. John Chrysostom*, who compared the family to a small church, urged married couples to turn aside from wealth and luxury, and to educate the members of their families for lives of prayer* and service (*Hom. in Eph.* 20, PG 62, 135–48).

The indissolubility of marriage was gradually imposed in theology and canon* law. By protecting women against divorce initiated by their husbands or

fathers, indissolubility promoted equality within the couple* and gave couples some leverage against paternal power. With the reforms of Gregory VII (c. 1015–85), canon law prohibited remarriage after divorce. Since the theory of the purposes of marriage included the licit exercise of sexuality, each of the marital partners had the right to demand that the other perform his or her “conjugal duty.” On the other hand, men and women of all social classes could always enter into the religious life in the name of an ideal of virginity that trumped the demands of family life.

The position of the Reformers was partly a response to the abuses to which church regulation of marriage had given rise and partly a reaction against the celibacy that the church had not succeeded in imposing on clerics* in a satisfactory way. The logic of the Reformist reaction held that marriage and family were ordinary and blessed states of life, ordained by God for human benefit, and in relation to which the church had no function other than to attest God’s blessing*. Luther viewed the family as the basic unit of society, a privileged realm where a Christian bore the cross and served God and neighbor. Subsequently, Puritanism* established an exceptionally strong connection between the family and religious identity. God made a “covenant of grace” with believers and their descendants, in which children were not guaranteed salvation* but could be made more open to it by efforts of their parents. This benefit accrued even to servants who shared in the family’s religious discipline. The assimilation of the family to a basic form of Christian community was still to be found in the writings of F.D. Maurice (1805–72), the most important Anglican moralist of the 19th century. It was even at the center of the “cult of domesticity” as advocated by authors such as Alexander Campbell (1788–1866). Within Catholicism*, the 20th century has witnessed a notable development in the treatment of the purposes of marriage: the documents of Vatican* II and the revised Code of Canon Law (1983) henceforth identify the community of love and mutual aid (*mutuum adjutorium*) as being of the most importance.

c) Modernity. The ideas and the reality of the modern world could not fail to have an impact on the family in general, and on the Christian idea of the family. Modern ideas included the ideals of the Enlightenment: individual dignity, personal responsibility, and individual freedom. Modern reality was that of an industrialized and urbanized world that separated the private sphere of women (the home and the education of children) from the public sphere of men (waged labor and politics). With the advent of a cash economy, a situation arose in which children’s marriages no longer de-

pended on inherited property and (hence) on parental approval. In industrialized countries, fertility declined rapidly near the end of the 19th century, at the same time as the right to education and the right to vote were becoming accessible to women. Life spans increased, posing the problem of the care of elderly family members. The fact that the modern family is mobile, often due to circumstances of employment, has fragmented the networks of extended kin in which children, the sick, and the aged were cared for in previous generations. (One should, however, avoid overgeneralization on this point; it has been shown that the nuclear family did not make its first appearance during industrialization.) These new circumstances demonstrate that it is not sufficient to wish to obey the injunction to honor one’s parents; one must also have the support of a social system. Since the forms of the family are changing, the exercise of family responsibilities is also required to take on a new aspect.

In practice, Europe and North America, heirs to an already ancient intellectual tradition that privileges contractual relations to the detriment of family relations, display little dexterity in the theoretical and practical treatment of family realities: if authentic interpersonal bonds are born only from consent, then biological bonds become almost irrelevant. Accordingly, we witness the rejection of the patriarchal family and the appearance of “nontraditional” family relations between heterosexuals or homosexuals. Medical techniques aimed at providing remedies for sterility permit couples to buy, sell, or trade gametes and embryos, creating new relationships between parents and children. Consequently, the biological relationship of parents and children seems no longer to have any meaning in itself. The facts of nature seem to be totally absorbed into totally cultural practices. The family is no longer a given, to be presupposed, but a plastic reality, completely in the hands of humanity.

The consistency of education also poses a grave problem. Western laws authorize serial marriages, but, after divorce, men in Western cultures hold less responsibility for their children than in African or Asian societies that permit polygamy or institutionalized concubinage. Economic, social, and emotional insecurity, especially for women and children, has been a major and troubling consequence of rising divorce rates. In certain countries, the state has taken over some of the functions of support and education once the domain of the family. However, it is unclear whether children can become responsible adults without a strong family network.

d) The Christian Position. A Christian discourse on the family must be organized around a number of doc-

trines. The theories of creation*, original sin*, and incarnation* provide the base for all possible theologies of the body, and they imply an ethic of corporeal realities that perceives procreation and kinship as strong determinants of family ties. At the same time, the position that love occupies in the logic of virtues*—it is both the “form” of all things and the qualifier of interpersonal relationships, as well as of the relationship with God—obviously prohibits us from regarding the family as a biologically grounded social mechanism for the efficient organization of reproduction, material life, and protection. And because, logically, human love must see in the beloved a gift of God, which calls for fidelity, it is not possible for Christians to accept the idea of an indeterminate series of contracts that one may freely choose or break to maximize one’s own best interests.

In its recent teaching, the Catholic Church has revived a concept from the patristic era, calling the family a “domestic church” (Vatican II, *LG* 11, *GS* 48; see John Paul II, *Familiaris consortio* 21). A similar view has been proposed by Protestants, like Erich Fuchs (1995). The idea reaches back to the house churches of the New Testament, which gathered in individuals’ homes to celebrate the cult and for the agape (Rom 16:3–5). The concept has certainly retained its force, both descriptive and prescriptive, even though it demands to be more finely determined. For example, family relations cannot consistently claim to have a strictly ecclesial dignity unless greater equality within the family—especially between men and women—has been established. Moreover, if the Christian family should be a place of evangelization, it can only do so by allowing its members to acquire social and civic virtues as well as familial virtues. The idea of the “domestic church” is not that of a private moral and religious haven, set apart from the city*, but that of a school for faith, peace*, and hope* in the service of the common good. All the Christian churches have at their disposal the ecclesiological resources that are needed to permit the family to take on, in a coherent way, the task of coexistence lived out as communion* and service. All the churches also have an experience of tradition capable of shedding its light on familial mediations.

Unlike the church, the family doubtless has no eschatological future. Its order is that of divine “man-

dates” that humanity accomplishes within worldly historical time*. Nevertheless, theology knows that provisional realities receive a new meaning in the Christian experience*; the family must therefore appear as a reality “before and after” (Bonhoeffer), destined to be erased, but capable of engendering that which shall not pass away.

- Augustine, *De bono conjugali*, BAug 2, 15–99.
- Augustine, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, BAug 23, 41–289.
- Augustine, *Ep.* 188, CSEL 57.
- Jean-Paul II, *Familiaris Consortio*, AAS 74, 81–191.
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See also Couple; Ethics, Sexual; Marriage; Procreation; Woman

Family, Confessional

a) Meaning and Usage. In the early 19th century the Catholic theologian J.A. Moehler (*Symbolik* 1832) gave the name “confessions” to the various church currents internal to Christianity, which until then had been called “religions,” “religious parties,” or “Christian societies.” “Confession,” which already had various complementary meanings in theology*, has since then been the technical term used to designate a particular Christian tradition, a confessional family.

This usage can be explained historically and theologically against the background of the Reformation. Having challenged the magisterial and ministerial structures of the church*, as well as the centralized exercise of authority*, as being the glue and the expression of the unity* of the church, most of the communities that came out of the Reformation defined themselves in relation to doctrinal references set out in confessions of faith*. For example, the Augsburg Confession of 1530 became the common charter of the Lutheran churches; the Thirty-nine Articles that of the Anglican community; the Confession of Faith of La Rochelle (1559) that of the French Reformed churches. At their ordination*, pastors* committed themselves on the basis of these documents. Although their intentions were universal, these confessions defined the faith and identity of particular churches, and for that reason, when several of these churches made reference to a single document, they were called “confessions” or “confessional families”. In the late 19th century, geographical expansion led confessional families to organize themselves into world churches and to establish international structures. For example, in 1867 the Anglican Church organized the first meeting of the Lambeth Conference, which brought together all the bishops of that confessional family. In 1877, the Reformed churches founded the World Alliance of Reformed Churches; in 1881, the Methodist churches set up the World Methodist Council. The World Baptist Alliance was created in 1905, and the World Lutheran Federation in 1947.

Catholicism* and Orthodoxy* have always refused to be considered as confessional families. These churches do not see themselves as church traditions alongside others, but each one considers itself to be the sole full expression of the single Church of Jesus Christ. A more sociological approach to “confession”

as the expression of a particular church identity would however lead to the inclusion of these churches within the group of confessional families. This notion is indirectly confirmed by the regular participation of the Orthodox patriarchate* and the Pontifical Council for Unity (Vatican) in meetings of the leadership of confessional families, which, since 1979, have preferred the title World Christian Communities.

b) Character and Structure of Confessional Families. For confessional families, it is understood that the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church takes on concrete existence in this world in plural forms. Each confessional family sees itself as an expression of that one church. Many consider themselves as world churches and are structured accordingly. This is the case for the Anglican communion and the communion of Lutheran churches, who each, in this way, approach the self-understanding of the Catholic and Orthodox churches. Others, by contrast, emphasize their character as free associations or federations of churches. Within a single confessional family, participating churches are conscious of belonging to the same spiritual family sharing a single historical heritage. Forms of piety and liturgical celebrations, doctrinal references, church structures*, as well as visions and priorities are the same, or at least very similar, for all. Member churches of a particular confessional family generally live in full church communion: communion in the celebration of the word* of God and of the sacraments*, as well as mutual recognition of ministries*. Their international bodies have analogous structures (regular general assemblies, executive committees, presidents and secretaries-general, commissions for theology, mutual aid, and education, etc.). The authority of international structures, however, remains limited. Member churches, generally organized into regional or national communities, insist on their autonomy, giving them the power of decision. After a difficult period during which many considered the Ecumenical Council of Churches (ECC) as a place in which distinctions between confessional families would be overcome, solid cooperation has now been established between the ECC and confessional families, almost all of whose churches are members of the ECC. Confessional families are the privileged locations for theological dialogue among

Christian traditions. The reconciliation that has already taken place between various confessional families is essential for the unity of the whole church.

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See also Anglicanism; Baptists; Calvinism; Catholicism; Creeds; Lutheranism; Methodism; Ecumenism; Orthodoxy; Pentecostalism; Unity of the Church; World Council of Churches

Father

A. Biblical Theology

a) Old Testament. The Hebrew word 'av means "father," but it is often also applied to a broader relationship across generations, for example, with the ancestor of a tribe (Gn 10:21, 17:4, 19:37), and, by extension, to the inventor of a skill or a mode of existence (Gn 4:20f.; Jer 35:6), a king (1 Sm 24:12), a prophet* (2 Kgs 2:12), a priest* (Jgs 17:10), a protector (Jb 29:16; Sir 4:10), a counselor (Gn 45:8), or the creator of rain (Jb 38:28, "Has the rain a father...?").

Fathers and mothers are to transmit instruction in wisdom* (Prv 1:8, 6:20), the narrative of Israel*, and the commandments (Ps 44:2, 78:3–8; Ex 12:26f., 13:14f.; Dt 6:20–25). The Law* prescribes duties in this domain (Ex 20:12, 21:15, 21:17; Dt 5:16; Lv 19:3). The rebellious son is to be punished with death*, but according to Deuteronomy 21:18–21, not by decision of his father alone, but after appearing before the elders (*see* Prv 30:17).

The predominantly patrilineal genealogies are an expression in time* of the union of the tribes in space (Gn 1–12; 1 Chr 1–9): they interpret God's plan. In relation to persons (A. Alt) or places (O. Eissfeldt), "the God of Abraham your father" (Gn 26:24 and, already in the sense of "ancestor," in Gn 28:13, 31:5, and 32:10) tends to become the "God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Ex 3:6, 3:13). Deuteronomy (1:11, 1:21, 6:3) uses this formula to underline continuity from generation to generation. In Chronicles, it is a stereotype equivalent to YHWH (2 Chr 13:12), used in the struggle for conversion* (2 Chr 19:4) and against apostasy (2 Chr 34:33).

God is compared (analogy*) to a father who loves

his children (Ps 103:13; Prv 3:12, 14:26). The filial status of the people is proclaimed (Dt 14:1; Is 1:2; Jer 3:19) as early as the eighth century B.C. (Hos 11:1). The assertion that Israel is the "firstborn son" of YHWH (Ex 4:22) is of uncertain date: according to Eissfeldt ("L"), this formula is part of the oldest stratum of the narrative, but according to Noth it may be Yahwist. It is set forth as the key to the whole narrative* of the departure from Egypt.

YHWH is also the father of the king. The notion of adoption, which was to play a major role in New Testament Messianism*, appears in Psalms* 2:7 (*see* 2 Sm 7:14 and 1 Chr 28:6). The king addresses YHWH as his "father," "the Rock of my salvation" (Ps 89:26). It is only later that God is more commonly invoked as a father (Sir 23:1 and 23:4 [Greek], 51:10 [Hebrew]; Wis 14:3), and that the just are described as "son of God" (Wis 2:16, 2:18, 5:5). The invocation "'avinou malkenou" ("our father, our king"), in the second blessing* in the Jewish liturgy*, probably dates from the first century A.D.

Finally, a symbolic feminine (Hos 11:8; Jer 31:20; Is 49:15) expresses God's tenderness toward Israel (Briend 1992).

b) New Testament. In the New Testament, the Greek word *theos*, "God," always means the Father (Rahner* 1954). Jesus* is aware of being his Son before his crucifixion.

The use of the familiar Aramaic 'abba, a term of family intimacy, to address the Father is peculiar to Jesus himself and has few Jewish parallels (Jeremias 1966; *see* the discussion in Schlosser 1987). In the

Gospels*, Jesus always addresses God as his Father (Mt 17:3; Jn 17:3), with the sole exception of “Eli, Eli...” (Mt 27:46). However, it is thanks to his death (Mk 15:39) and resurrection* (Mt 28:19) that Jesus is confessed as the Son of God. Matthew inserts Christ*, born of God, in the lineage of David (Mt 1:16), and Luke relates him to God through Adam* (Lk 3:23–38). The book of Mark is the “gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God” (Mk 1:1).

Jesus reveals the Father to those around him in giving them knowledge of himself. He does not establish a household, or secure any progeny, but he insists on the commandment (Decalogue*) to honor one’s father and mother (Mt 15:4ff.) and on the Creator’s arrangements for establishing the human couple* (Mt 19:4ff.); yet one cannot follow him without being free from family* ties (Mk 1:16–20).

The Sermon on the Mount introduces the expression “Our Father” (Mt 6:7–13) in the midst of a series of “The Lord’s Prayer” (10:3, above 13:3 in Mt.). In the “hymn of jubilation” (Mt 11:25ff.), Jesus speaks of the mutual knowledge of the Father and the Son, and his joy in seeing his children receive his revelation*. All believers are called upon to use “*abba*” themselves, thanks to the Spirit, who makes them sons of God and co-heirs with the Son (Gal 4:6; see Rom 8:14–17). Finally, Acts (3:13 and 13:32) makes a connection between the Christian faith* and the Jewish heritage of “our fathers.”

The Father shows himself through Jesus in his solidarity with sinners following his baptism* (Mt 3:13–17). Peter’s confession (Mt 16:17) is attributed to “my Father who is in heaven.” The transfiguration illuminates the synoptic prefigurings of the Passion* and the resurrection by advancing the communication of the Father to the disciples by the Son (Mt 17:1–5).

In his agony, Jesus still cries “*abba*” (Mk 14:36). In Luke’s Gospel, the mercy* of the Father (see Lk 15:11–32, 6:36) is that of Jesus on the cross (Lk 23:34 and vv. 43 and 46). John (Johannine* theology) presents for our contemplation a Son who is the Father’s only child (*monogenès*; 1:14 and 1:18) and who was present “in the beginning” (1:1; see Gn 1:1). This filiation* implies a distinction between the Father and the Son, on the one hand, and, on the other, God’s pater- nity in relation to all believers, “born...of God” (1:13), “one” all together, as the Father and the Son are “one” (17:11 and 17:20–23). By contrast, to fail to believe in the Son is to fail to love him while hearing his word*, to have as one’s father the Devil (demons*), “a murderer from the beginning,” liar and father of lies, and to carry out his wishes (8:44), instead of performing the works* of Abraham (8:39), whose faith has made him become “the father of us all” (Rom 4:16–25). John reveals the unique fatherhood of God, exposing his imitators without falling into dualism.

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See also Creation; Family; Filiation; Knowledge of God; Monotheism; Trinity

B. Systematic and Historical Theology

a) Definition. The term “Father” when referring to God can signify the following: 1) priority in the order of creation*; 2) universal authority*; 3) benevolence toward his creatures; 4) an adoptive or familial relationship to man; 5) the begetting of the Son; 6) essential masculinity. Traditional Christianity has resisted meaning number 6, while distinguishing the three divine functions of creation (1–3), adoption (4), and generation (5).

b) Greek and Roman Antiquity. Zeus, conceived as masculine, is the “father of gods and men” in Homer (e.g., *Iliad* 1, 544), the title denoting authority over other gods rather than temporal priority. “Jupiter” contains the root *pater*, “father,” and is a title of Aeneas (*Jupiter Indiges*), who was often called father of the Roman nation. Augustus reinforced the divine sanction of his principate (27 B.C.–14 A.D.) by assuming the title “father of the fatherland” (*pater patriae*).

From the third century B.C., the Stoics employed the term to assert an affinity between gods and men, calling men the offspring of Zeus (Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus*; Aratus, *Phaenomena* 5; see Acts 17:28). This kinship was believed to reside in intellect, but Seneca (*De providentia* I, 5) declares that it lies in virtue*, being acquired by imitation rather than inherited. Epictetus (*Discourses* II, 10, 7) reminds us that fatherhood still implies authority: just as all a son's things are at the disposal of his father, so all a man's things are at the disposal of God.

Plato calls the Good* the father of the Beautiful (*Republic* 509 b), and the Demiurge father and maker of the world* (*pater kai poietes*, *Timaeus* 28 c), adding that he is difficult to discover and impossible to reveal to all. Plutarch urges that no affinity between the highest God and the material world is implied: the Demiurge is father of the soul*, but only maker of the body (*Moralia* 1001 C). Numenius (middle of the second century A.D.) distinguishes the Demiurge from the transcendent deity*, calling the latter the "Father of the Demiurge" (Fr. 21 Des Places). Borrowing the language of archaic poets, he styles the first God "grandfather," the second his "son," and the world their "grandchild." Plotinus applies the term "father" to the mind in relation to soul, and to the One in relation to mind (e.g., *Enneads* III, 5, V, 5). The cardinal point is usually resemblance, since the lower reality is an image of the higher reality, and even matter is an emanation of divinity in his view. At the same time, the transcendence of the higher reality is implied, so that those who desert the Good for the Beautiful are styled undutiful sons (*Enn.* V, 5, 12). Plotinus holds that, although both the world and Mind are eternal, they are not consubstantial* with each other, or with the One.

In mystery religions, the savior God is often called the father of his initiates, obviously by adoption, and the Mithraic initiate may himself attain the rank of father. Finally, Platonists assert an intellectual affinity between all men and the gods, but progress in virtue can make a man a "father of gods" (Plotinus, *Enn.* VI, 9; Porphyry, *Sententiae* 32).

c) *Judaism, Hermeticism, and Gnosticism.* In Philo's *De opificio mundi*, the terms "father" and "maker," clearly derived from Plato, are at first interchangeable, denoting both the benevolence and the authority of God. In relation to man, his image, however, God is Father in a special sense, and the term "maker" disappears. The logos (Word*) is his firstborn, and the man whose reason* obeys it is "the heir of divine things" in the treatise of that name. Abraham is a father, not only biologically, but through a secret allegory: as the "cho-

sen father of the sound" (*De mutatione* . . . , §65–68), he begets rational language.

Rabbis were called "Abba," but Jesus* may have been unique in using the term habitually of God. In Gnostic (gnosis*) and Hermetic literature, both of which have associations with Judaism, the secret teaching is passed from father to son, although it is not clear, in the *Allogenes* and *Hermeticum* 13, whether the relation is natural or nominal. Although the author of being is often called Father in Hermetic literature (e.g., II, 17), and is supposed to be an intellect, his transcendence is continually stressed, with allusion to both *Timaeus* (28 c) and the Jewish notion of God's inscrutability. Ibn Gabirol's teaching that matter is an emanation from the Godhead is therefore highly unusual.

Irenaeus* (*Adv. Haer.* I, 1), the Gnostic Valentinus (c. middle of the second century), averring that no name* is truly predicable of the highest principle, styled it *propator* ("ancestor"). For the Gnostics, the divine is often a combination (syzygy) of feminine and masculine, although the masculine principle always remains dominant. In their view, the Father of the Old Testament is a lesser divine being (the Demiurge), feminine or asexual rather than masculine, and limited in knowledge (e.g., Epiphanius, *Panarion* XXIII, 3–8). The true paternal being is the source of spiritual existence, but exercises neither authority nor providence* in the world. Nevertheless, the world is said to emanate from him, sometimes through the feminine power Sophia (see Prv 8:22).

d) *Patristic.* Early theologians inherited three conceptions of the fatherhood of God, who could be 1) Father of the world, according to one reading of Plato; 2) Father of the elect, according to Judaism and the New Testament; or 3) Father of the Son, according to the Gospels* and, presumably, the liturgy* (see Mt 28 finis; 2 Cor 13 finis). Three points defined orthodoxy*: to deny any natural affinity between creature and Creator, while affirming the adoptive relation that holds between the elect and their redeemer, and distinguishing this from the eternal generation of the Son. Nevertheless, these terms are not exactly synonyms, as the Son is both creator and redeemer of the world, and John 1:13 was read in some manuscripts as applying to Jesus.

Proclamations of God's fatherhood in apologetic texts, often based on Plato, illustrate his unity, his transcendence, and his providential government. Between 150 and 250, *Timaeus* 28c was quoted by Justin, Minucius Felix, Athenagoras, Tertullian*, Clement of Alexandria*, and Origen*. While the Gnostics and Nu-

menius distinguished between the father of the intellectual realm and the maker of this world, Irenaeus asserted the unity of God's Kingdom over both matter and spirit. Where Jews maintained the unity of the Godhead, Justin (apologists*), in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. A.D. 140) also credits him with a Son who created, educates, and redeems humanity.

Trinitarian speculation in the third century led to a strong differentiation of dignity between Father and Son; this subordinationism* reached its extreme form in monarchianism, which denied internal relations in the Godhead, and therefore made the Father himself suffer on the cross (e.g., Tertullian, *Adv. Praxeian* 2). Even for Tertullian, however, the Son becomes hypostatic only for the creation of the world, and his power is delegated from a "monarchic" Father. Origen was the first to affirm that fatherhood is inherent in the Trinity*, Son and Spirit being coeternal with the Father; yet he protests against the practice of addressing prayer* to the Son. Prayer is addressed to the Father alone (*De oratione* 15), by the Son. In his *Dialogue with Heraclides*, Origen styles the Son a second God (*heteros theos*), but if, in a sense, there are two gods, both are one single God. Origen uses *genesis* ("genesis") and *ktisma* ("foundation") interchangeably with *genesis* ("procreation") as names for a productive activity peculiar to God, which is distinguished from human *poiesis* ("making"). Nevertheless, the subordination of the Son is clearly implied, as is also the case in Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170–235), who argues in his *Contra Noetum* and *Refutatio* X for a position like Tertullian's, but calls the Son *genomenos* ("brought into being").

After the Arian controversy, in the fourth century, orthodox writers generally distinguished between the genesis of the world and the eternal generation of the Son. Athanasius* makes no reference to Plato in his constant use of the term "Father," and introduces the adjective *idios* ("proper") to denote the Son's possession of his Father's essence (*Contra Arianos* I). Human beings obtain adoption only by partaking of the Son, to whom prayers are rightly offered by the church*. The extreme Arianism of Eunomius allowed for still more detail. According to Eunomius, the divine essence is fully knowable, and he identifies it as the quality of being ungenerated (*agenneron*): because the Son is generated (*gennetos*), he cannot therefore be God. The Cappadocians (Gregory* of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, and Basil*, *Ad Ablabium*) replied that the divine essence is unknowable; that the division of the persons is one of operation rather than nature; and that the fatherhood of God is merely the priority of eternal cause over eternal effect. Their idiosyncratic contemporary Marius Victorinus (*Contra Arianos* I, 51) holds

that the Spirit is (figuratively speaking) the mother of the Son.

Origen, who sometimes seems to allow only a moral union between Father and Son, postulates a natural affinity between man's mind and God's (e.g., *De principiis* I, 1; I, 3, 5). Gregory of Nyssa maintains (*De opificio hominis* 11) that the human mind is so like God that it is equally inscrutable, but the full affinity is possessed only by abstract humanity, before the Fall and the division of the sexes. The image, like all three Persons, transcends the categories of male and female (*In Canticum canticorum*; see Gregory* of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 31). Others insist that man achieves the image by adoption; thus Cyril* of Alexandria locates it in acquired virtue (*Ad Calosirium*). For Epiphanius (†403), the meaning of the term "image" is inscrutable (*Anchoratus* 56). The divine Fatherhood itself in relation to us is defined by Hilary* of Poitiers as "invisible, incomprehensible, eternal, self-existent, self-originating, self-sustained" (*De Trinitate* II, 7).

e) Mediaeval and Byzantine Period. The Lord's Prayer and, since the mid-second century, baptismal creeds connect the title Father with God's lordship over the world. In the Greek Church, the doctrine that the Father is the sole fountainhead of the Trinity remains a cardinal point of disagreement with the West, in whose creed the Spirit proceeds from both Father and Son (*Filioque**). John the Scot Eriugena (ninth century), in his *Peri physeon*, makes matter an emanation from the Godhead; Gnostic views were also echoed by Joachim of Fiore (millenarianism*), who argued that a kingdom of the Son had replaced that of the Father, and that a kingdom of the Spirit would supersede that of the Son.

Thomas* Aquinas holds that the Father is so called both essentially and personally: in the latter sense, he is peculiarly the Father of the Son, but in the former he is the Father of all, in the sense that all receive from him (*ST* Ia, q. 33, a. 3).

f) Modern and Contemporary Era. Protestantism* has generally conceived of God as Father of his creatures rather than of the Trinity. Criticism of the idea of divine fatherhood has come from liberal theology*, psychological anthropology*, and political radicalism, and in each case criticism has led to a renewal of interest in Trinitarian speculation among orthodox theologians.

Luther* identified creation with fatherhood, but traditional Protestantism reserves the term "sons" for the elect. The liberal theologian Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930) finds the heart of the Gospel in God's paternal (i.e., benevolent) relation to all men (*Wesen des*

Christentums, 1899–1900). Extreme liberals have argued that the concept of a personal God, implied by the term Father, is untenably anthropomorphic. Thus, Paul Tillich* prefers to call God the ground of being. The omission of the term “Father” is already notable in Schleiermacher*’s *The Christian Faith* (1830), where such terms as “creator” and “governor” are preferred, and the Trinity is relegated to a brief appendix.

Psychological theories see the notion of God as an extension of the attitude of children to their fathers. Ludwig Feuerbach (*Wesen des Christianums*, 1841) holds that Judaism and Christianity confer on a paternal God the infinite possession of those qualities that the worshippers find lacking in themselves. Freud* (1913–14) derives religion from the guilt incurred by the sons of a primeval ancestor who murdered him and then tried to retrieve his powers through the sacrifice* of a totemic animal. Jung (1952) sees the Bible* as the history of the slow education of a tyrannical father figure.

Political criticism of the concept of God as Father asserts that patriarchal theology justifies inequality in society* and the church. Authoritarian ideals have been supported by such works as Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha* (1680, rebutted by Locke), which derives kingship from the absolute rights conferred by God on Adam and transmitted by primogeniture. Feminist theologians contend that the exclusively male priesthoods* of the Orthodox and Catholic churches are combined with an authoritarian structure, and have campaigned for both women’s ordination and the liturgical use of female terms with application to God. J. Bachofen and others have maintained that the worship of the Goddess was the original religion.

Barth* combines the Calvinist notion of elective fatherhood with Trinitarian theology in a powerful set of structures. The Father’s liberty* is a property of his Trinitarian nature, and as the Father of the Son he elects mankind to salvation. Moltmann, who believes that only Trinitarian theology can prevent the use of God’s name to support authoritarianism, presents the generation of the Son as the source of the Father’s liberty and benevolence, since it enables him perpetually to act with regard to an Other. Nicholas Berdyaev offers a similar explanation for the creation of the world, since he makes the whole Trinity an emanation from a nameless ground of being. For all these writers, the fatherhood of God is both the guarantee of his ineffabil-

ity and the clue to his relation with other beings. Catholic theology asserts the same paradox of concealment in revelation. Karl Rahner* frequently calls the Son the symbol of the hidden Father, while Hans Urs von Balthasar* (1967) says that the glory* of the Father is manifested through the *kenosis** of the Son in his incarnation* and, above all, on the cross. Thus, the Trinitarian title that expresses God’s omnipotence* and sufficiency is also the revelation of his inalienable love*.

One contemporary reconstruction, influenced by J. D. Zizioulas, has had an impact on the theology of the Trinity, as well as on other matters. Zizioulas, who is an exemplar of the “Greek model” of Trinitarian theology studied in his own time by Thomas de Régnon, conceives the Trinity on the basis of the kingship of the Father, without making use of the concept of divine *ousia*. God is without cause, but, in God, the Father is the cause of being, by communicating his being to the Son. Roman theology, which also understands the Father as the *fons et origo totius divinitatis*, should also show that it is capable of avoiding any construction of the Trinity on the basis of a divine essence.

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See also **Consubstantial; God; Hypostatic Union; Monotheism; Nicaea I, Council of; Subordinationism; Trinity; Word**

Fathers of the Church

a) *Origins of the Expression.* Until the beginning of the fourth century the term *Father* was used sporadically in the texts as a sign of deference and gratitude to designate individuals whose teachings the author had followed—for example, Alexander of Jerusalem’s remarks about Pantaenus and Clement of Alexandria* (recorded by Eusebius in his *History of the Church* VI, 14:9) and, more generically, comments by Clement himself (in *Stromata*, I, 1, 3) and Irenaeus (in *Adversus haereses* VI, 14:9), who refers to the term’s being used by “one of his predecessors.” In the fourth century, even before “Father” began to be used in the plural to designate the members of the Council of Nicaea* (Basil* of Caesarea’s *Letters*, 52, II and I40, 2) or, more generally, to designate past links in Christian tradition (by Athanasius* in *Ad Afros* 6, and Gregory of Nazianzus—see *Orientalia*, 33:15), an approximation of the complete expression can be read in Eusebius.

Being fond of the epithet *ecclesiastic*, Eusebius included it in the titles of at least two of his works (*Ecclesiastical History*—or *History of the Church*—and *Ecclesiastical Theology*) and attached it (c. 336) at least three times to a mention of the Fathers in the course of his polemic with Marcellus of Ancyra (*Contra Marcellus* I:4 and II:4 and *Ecclesiastical Theology* I:14—in vol. 14 of *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*). In addition to the term “Father,” the expression “Ecclesiastical Fathers” is already sometimes applied to the bishops* at the council*, and sometimes applied to the whole body of those who, in earlier generations, accomplished a mission of explanation and transmission of church* doctrine.

Given the interchangeable character of the adjective and of the genitive case in the Greek and Latin of that epoch, it could be expected that our expression “father of the church” was already about to be born. But it was far from receiving immediate adoption. Although fifth-century writers continued, with increasing frequency, to refer to the Fathers, it was only at the Lateran Council of 649 that the expression was found simultaneously in both Greek and Latin. The proceedings of that council, written in Latin, were translated immediately into Greek by Maximus* the Confessor; they include the phrases: “All the recognized Fathers of the Church,” in canon 18, and, in canon 20, “the Fathers of the Holy

Catholic Church” (J.D. Mansi’s *Sacrorem Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 10:1157–1158A and 1159–1160E, and *Denchiridion symbolorum*, 518 and 522). In both canons these mentions of the Fathers are linked together with the mention of the five Ecumenical Councils. The intention was probably to link the findings of the council to the teachings of the Fathers, as they appear in their individual writings, when they are completely consonant with the ones given in the council.

The more common expression *the holy fathers* appears in canons 1–11 and then again in canons 17–19 of the Lateran Council. Other contemporaneous documents use similar expressions, which suggests that the term “father of the church” was used almost haphazardly. Pope* Agatho spoke of “the Holy Fathers that the Apostolic Church of Christ receives” in 680, and there was mention of “the holy and acknowledged Fathers” at the Third Council of Constantinople* in 680.

From 392 to 393 Jerome had put into circulation a more flexible and comprehensive expression. Although the title of his work, through emulation of Suetonius, spoke of “illustrious men,” his prologue stated the intention of “drawing up a list of the writers of the Church”; and even though the first intention incited him to create the broadest listing, which included among these “illustrious men” Philo and Seneca, the second list provided a more useful criterion. It was “to introduce rapidly all those who published something on the Holy Scriptures*” (see Richardson, Ed., *TU*, XIV). Jerome’s continuator, Gennadius of Marseilles, cited the work under the title *De viris illustribus* (*Of Illustrious Men*); however, in his first introduction, he called Jerome’s book “*catalogus scribarum*” (“a catalogue of writers”).

b) *The Expression’s Entry into the Canon.* At the beginning of the sixth century, probably in Italy or in southern Gaul, an anthology was published known as *Decretum Gelasianum*. After giving lists of the canonical books of the Bible, the three Apostolic Sees, and the three Ecumenical Councils, this anthology adds a list of “short treatises of the holy fathers received into the Catholic Church.” These short treatises are by 12 authors—six are in Greek, six are in Latin, and a single piece is by Pope Leo I (IV, §2 and 3; 36–38). Follow-

ing these lists, without a roll of names, comes a more inclusive definition: “in the same way, major and minor treatises of all the orthodox fathers who, without having deviated from a single tenet of the Holy Roman Church, without having left the faith* and its preaching*, participated in its communion*, by the grace of God, until the last day of their lives” (38–39).

The Council of Trent* used the traditional conciliar vocabulary when it referred to the “example of the orthodox fathers” at the moment that it accepted all the books of both Testaments (*Conciliarum œcumenicorum decreta*, 663:15ff.). What is even more important, it mentioned “a unanimous consent of the Fathers,” which should not be violated when interpreting the Scriptures (*Conciliarum œcumenicorum decreta*, 664:22ff.). The latter expression did not, however, lead Melchior Cano (1509–60) to identify in that statement a specific *locus classicus* or theological theme. Cano’s sixth such theme is, in fact, “the authority* of the saints,” and not that of the Fathers. In addition, Cano distinguishes this authority from a seventh one, which is “the authority of the scholastic doctors*” (*De locis theologicis*, 1563). Only in the edition obtained by Serry (1659–1738), which was reprinted innumerable times, are the titles in which the word “Father” occurs added to the chapter heads of Book VII. Sixtus of Siena (1520–69), another post-Tridentine theologian as well as a historian of exegeses*, uses the expression here and there. For example, he holds that the “most illustrious Fathers of the Church” had witnessed in favor of Origen (1566, I, IV, 439) and that certain writings from the New Testament had been held to be apocryphal* by the “earliest Fathers of the Church” (I, I, 2, 32). Sixtus also drew up a list of the authors who had written commentaries on the Scriptures. This very comprehensive list is much more in the line of the hieronymic “ecclesiastical writers.”

It would seem that it was in the 17th century that the big names in “Positive Theology” tended to distinguish more clearly “the Fathers” from more recent ecclesiastical authors. Perhaps this was due to the influence of the Protestant idea of a gradual corruption of the message of faith, for, until the Reformation, there was a tendency to recede ever further from the source. At least according to a survey, Petau (*Theologica dogmata*, 1644–59) prefers to speak of *Patres et magistri* (“Fathers and teachers of the Church”) or of *Patres antiqui* (“Ancient Fathers”); Thomassin (*Dogmata theologica*, 1680–89) speaks outright of *Patres Ecclesiae* (“Fathers of the Church”). But, since the communal nature of the Fathers’ statements is the most important point in this type of theology*, they hardly concerned themselves at this date with specifying what a father of the church was as an individual. Tillemont

(1637–98) stands essentially for the tradition of Jerome’s *De viris illustribus* (Of Illustrious Men) and of his list of “ecclesiastical writers.”

In the revised *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (1752) a still quite elastic definition occurs: “Father, or Father of the Church, is said of ecclesiastical authors who preserve for us in their writings the tradition of the Church.... The name of Father or of Father of the Church is given to those who lived in the Church’s first 12 centuries. Those who wrote since the 12th century are called Doctors, not Fathers.”

C.L. Richard’s almost contemporary *Dictionnaire* gives no chronological limits, but it distinguishes the “former doctors of the Church who have preserved the tradition in their writings” from “the bishops assembled at Councils.” It must be noted that, as in the first usages, both expressions essentially concern collectives. Littré gives the same chronological limit as does the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*: “The Fathers of the Church or, absolutely, the Fathers (capitalized), the holy doctors from before the 13th century, from whom the Church received and approved the decisions on matters of faith.” Then follow examples drawn from Pascal*, Fléchier, and La Bruyère (among which none contain the determiner “of the church”). Under the heading of “Father,” Larousse in his *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle* gives a definition inspired by Littré, shortening it by a few words; but in the entry “Patrology,” Larousse gives another and fuller definition, which is all the more remarkable for its different time-limit from the earlier entry: “The Fathers,” he holds, “can be split into two periods,” the first going from “the establishment of Christianity to the end of the sixth century”—and the names cited immediately afterwards confirm that indeed that was his end-date. Larousse also indicates that Catholics, such as Ellies du Pin and Bellarmine, after the example of Protestants, such as Cave and Oudin, list all the authors among the “ecclesiastical writers.” The *Dictionnaire de patrologie* (Dictionary of Patrology), in the series *Bibliothèque du clergé*, which was published between 1851 and 1859 under the general editorship of Migne, and edited by Sevestre, is in fact another *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (On Ecclesiastical Writers). It goes as far as the 12th century and includes Abelard* just as readily as Origen* or other likely people.

It was in the manuals of Catholic patrology (from the ninth and 20th centuries) that attempts were first made to draw up a list of characteristic features that would determine the acceptance of such and such an ecclesiastic among the Fathers of the Church. J. Fessler gives three of them in his *Institutiones patrologiae* (1850): a) An orthodox doctrine and a knowledge that is essentially sacred; b) a saintly life; and. c) an-

tiquity. But on the point of antiquity, the limits are quite loose. Fessler would gladly go forward as far as Bonaventure* and Thomas (25), while acknowledging that after Mabillon, Bernard* (who died in 1153) is most often called the “last of the Fathers.” To Fessler’s mind, the title of bishop is not indispensable, nor is that of priest*—he is anxious in fact to include Prosper of Aquitaine.

Without quite adopting them, O. Bardenhewer numbers four characteristics in his *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (1913): a) Orthodox doctrine; b) a saintly life; c) approval by the church; and d) antiquity. Earlier (I, 16) Bardenhewer mentions that a certain agreement had been reached in fixing the limits of that “antiquity” in the East, at John of Damascus (who died before 754), and in the West, at Gregory* the Great (who died in 604). On two occasions (*DthC*, 12/1, 1933) E. Amann gives this definition: “The Fathers of the Church are ecclesiastical writers from Christian Antiquity who should be considered particularly authoritative witnesses to the faith.” Amann then lists the four “attributes by which one recognizes a Father of the Church,” which are identical to those proposed by Bardenhewer, including the chronological limit, even though Amann points out that “even today, one still hears ‘Saint Bernard, the last of the Fathers,’ ” (ibid., 1197). Even though he adopts these attributes, Amann has to concede that each one is only usable with a certain margin of flexibility.

The same four attributes are found again in German Catholic publications, such as in the three editions of the *LthK* (1933, 1961, and 1997) and *HTTL*. On the other hand, dictionaries of Protestant inspiration (*RE*, *TRE*, and *RGG*) do not include an entry on *Kirchen-vater* (“Father of the Church”). The *ODCC* (1957) remarks that the term forms part of the popular language rather than of the technical language.

c) Present-day Usage of the Expression. The instruction of 10 November 1989 of the Congregation for Catholic Education, while going to some trouble to restore the distinction between *patristic* and *patrology*, gives no definition of the expression “father of the church.” It includes Clement of Alexandria and Origen among the Fathers cited, thereby tacitly abandoning some attributes that seem to be a 19th-century invention, restricted to the Catholic confession alone. Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, in his *Theologische Prinzipienlehre* (1982), concedes that serious questions arise from demanding orthodoxy and antiquity as characteristics for Fathers of the Church. He suggests a more theological and less historical definition: “The Fathers are doctors of the Church indivisible.” One problem would then remain: determining to what ex-

tent the rarity of the communications, often one-way, between the various parts of the Christian world, made it possible for any Father at all to practice a really ecumenical teaching role.

Benoît (1961) recalls the *DThC*’s definition, then proposes three others. The first, which in fact defines *patristics*, translates a text by Overbeck and depends on a conception that distinguishes radically between the Christian writings that have literary forms separate from the Greco-Roman models and those that adhere to them: “Patristics is the study of Greco-Roman literature of Christian confession and of Christian interest.” The Fathers are thus the authors of this type of Christian writing. After this first rather literary definition, the second revises a phrase by the historian Mandouze: “The Fathers are the authors of the first Christian centuries, who were universally involved as direct or indirect witnesses of the Christian doctrine or of the life of the Church at this epoch.” Lastly Benoît furnishes his own definition, more in conformity with the Protestant conception of the Christian message: “A Father of the Church [can be defined] as an interpreter or a writer of exegeses on the Scriptures. . . . A Father is defined by his attachment to the Church’s tradition, which itself is measured against the Scriptures, that is, in the last analysis by its faithfulness to the Scriptures.”

Faced with this wealth of choices, however, a Protestant author, Lods (1988), observed that “it is really impossible to give a definition of Father of the Church that satisfies everyone.” Indeed it seems that one risks indulging in a quite futile exercise with an attempt, by restricting the plural, to define the group very narrowly, or, by using in the singular an expression which designates a collective, to award to such and such an individual, to the exclusion of such and such another, the epithet of “father of the church,” treated as a sort of precocious ascendant of the title of doctor. The most useful word is no doubt the adjective “patristic,” a parallel to “monastic,” “scholastic,” and “Baroque,” which allows us—just as they do—to designate conveniently a certain period of theological and literary production. Otherwise, it would be better to stop at “ecclesiastical writers,” which is just as traditional a designation (or, if needed, given the equivalence noted, at “writers of the church,” writers who have tried as best they could to work and to produce within the bosom of the church). That policy avoids the ridiculous stance of having to exclude people like Origen or Hippolytus, or even Tertullian* or Lactantius. And the example given by Augustine* in the West, just as the one given in lesser measure by Cyril* in the East, shows the danger that might lurk in separating too thoroughly a Father, in the singular, from the whole of the group.

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See also Apologists; Apostolic Fathers; Doctor of the Church; Tradition

Fear of God

In the Bible*, fear gets hold of the human being whose life is threatened by a death* threat. But the expression “fear of God” covers a wider spectrum of meanings, some of which are known in the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Canaanitic religions.

The terminology of fear is rich in Hebrew: *yâré* (and its derivatives) is the most commonly used, but the following roots are also used: *phd* and *’ym* (tremor, terror), *chrd* (tremor), *chtt* and *’rç* (fright), *gwr* III (fright), to quote only the most frequent. In Greek, the verb *phobeô* and its derivatives are by far the most frequent, but the fear of God may be expressed with the *sebomai* group.

a) From Dread to Reverential Fear. The origin of the expression “fear of God” is probably to be found in the terror provoked by certain manifestations of God*, by which a human being experiences sanctity*, transcendence: theophany* (Ex 20:18), vision or dream (Gn 28:17), demonstration of force in creation* (Jer 5:22 and Ps 65:9), spectacle of a dignitary arrayed with his authority (Ex 34:30 and 1 Sm 12:18), and history* (Ex 15:15–16 and Ps 64:10)—in particular, in the wars* of YHWH (1 Sm 11:7 and 2 Chr 20:29) and his kingship (Ps 47:3 and 96:4).

The noun *môrâ*’ (“Terrible”) is a divine title (Ps 76:12) and the adjective with the same meaning, *nôrâ*’, in parallel with the predicates “great” and “saint,” describes YHWH (Neh 1:5), his Name* (Mal 1:14 and Ps

111:9), his Works* (Ex 34:10), his Day (Jl 2:11). Likewise, the high actions* of God are called *nôrâ’ôt* (Ps 106, 22) or *môrâ’im* (Dt 4:34).

In the Gospels* and the Acts of the Apostles, the fear of the beneficiaries or witnesses of apparitions (Lk 1:12 and 24:37), of miracles* (Mk 4:41 and 5:15; Lk 7:16; and Acts 2:43), and of the signs of resurrection* (Mk 9:6 and 16:8) must reflect the same respectful and admiring experience of recoiling in front of the Kingdom*’s signs.

Even in the Old Testament, and in particular in the texts quoted, one seldom finds unalloyed terror in front of the numinous; the notion takes on most often meanings of respect, of reverential fear, and of trust toward that God who saves man from death (Jer 32:39f.–40), even if the prospect of the Last Judgment* raises the fear of punishment* (Is 2:10; Ps 9:20f.; and 2 Cor 5:10f.).

b) “Do Not Fear!” The frequent formula “Do not fear” is used to reassure, to comfort, and to encourage in a moment of fear, of crisis, or of necessity (secular context: Gn 43:23 and 1 Sm 22:23). It is often pronounced by God himself or by his authorized representative. Thus, at the time of an encounter with God, particularly if the beneficiary knows he is a sinner, this formula means that God does not come for death, but for life, and as a result fear may change into respectful trust (Ex 20:20; 1 Sm 12:18–24; and Mk 6:50).

For those facing difficult circumstances and adversity, particularly war, the invitation to fear is fol-

lowed by a promise* of success or by a victory (Dt 31:6–8; Jos 10:25; Is 35:4; and Mt 10:26–31), which will arouse the fear of God (Ex 14:10 and vv. 13 and 31). The formula “do not fear” is also frequently used in the oracles of salvation* (Is 41:10 and Jer 30:10, and *see also* Gn 15:1 and Mt 28:5).

c) Developments of the Concept. In Deuteronomy and the deuteronomic literature, the fear of God is a key concept of the theology* of alliance. It designates loyalty toward YHWH and it materializes in observance of the Law*. The synonyms are significant: to serve God (Jos 24:14), to listen to his voice (1 Sm 12:14), to keep or practice his commandments (Dt 5:29), to love him and to become attached to him (Dt 10:12f. and 10:20), and to walk behind (Dt 13:4) or in the way of God (Dt 8:6). The opposite of the fear of God is idolatry* (Dt 6:13ff.).

In the biblical wisdom literature* (except for Ecclesiastes), the fear of God is close to wisdom* (Jb 28:28). It is its beginning (Prv 9:10), its early signs (Ps 111:10 and Prv 1:7), the schooling leading to it (Prv 15:33), and its root, fulfillment, and crowning (Sir 1:11–21). Linked to intelligence and knowledge* (Prv 1:29 and 2:1–6), the fear of God underscores the religious aspect of wisdom. It is experienced in ethical rectitude and in the refusal of evil* (Ps 34:12–15 and Prv 3:7 and 14:2), as seen in Job (1:8). Such a behavior leads to life (Prv 10:27 and 14:26f. and Sir 6:16).

The expression “God-fearing” is in keeping with the

preceding developments, but it has various meanings. In the Psalms*, the God-fearing man is the just man whose behavior is honest. The plural of the same expression, the God-fearing men, designates the community assembled for worship* (Ps 22:23f.), all the people* of God (Ps 85:8f.), or only the believers (Ps 25:14). Switching to the Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament, when used with the term “worshipper” (*sebomenos*), “God-fearing” serves to describe pagans* who are close to Judaism* (Acts 10: 2 and 13:16).

Addressing the Philippians and exhorting them to “work out your own salvation” (Phil 2:12), Paul coined the phrase “fear and trembling” (*phobos kai tremos*), but said that if we follow the Spirit, we will be sons of God and so free from “fear” (Rom 8:12–15; *see also* 1 Jn 4:18). It is thus possible to see that the expression “fear of God” moves us somehow away from the ordinary meaning of the word “fear.”

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***See also* Decalogue; Filiation; Law and Christianity; Prayer; Spiritual Theology; Theophany; Word; Wrath of God**

Febronianism

A German episcopal doctrine, analogous to Gallicanism*, the manifesto for which was *De statu ecclesiae et legitima potestate Romani Pontificis liber singularis* published in 1763 by J. Febronius (pseudonym of J. N. von Hontheim, auxiliary bishop of Trier and spokesman for the archbishop electors of Germany), Febronianism presented itself as a reform of the Catholic Church,* taking the primitive church as a model, preserving for the pope* only a primacy of honor, advocating greater power for bishops* and more autonomy for secular authorities. Febronian ideas expressed the wishes of a good number of the bishops and princes of the Holy Roman Empire. A new reform pro-

gram was proposed by the archbishops of the Empire in 1786. Among other things, it proposed the end of exemptions for and the diminution of the powers of papal nuncios, but it had no effect. The political transformations resulting from the French Revolution changed the state of mind of German bishops; the age of Febronianism was followed by an age of ultramontanism*.

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- R. Reinhardt (1995), “Episkopalismus,” *LThK* 3, 726–28.

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***See also* Gallicanism; Ultramontanism**

Felicity. *See* **Beatitude; Supernatural**

Feminist Theology. *See* **Woman**

Ferrara, Council of. *See* **Basel-Ferrara-Florence, Council of**

Fessard, Gaston. *See* **History**

Fideism

Fideism, as the word indicates, attributes to faith* (*fides*) the principal role in religious knowledge, which, when taken to the extreme, however, leads it to question the very possibility of an authentic access to faith. Reacting to the exclusive rationalism* of the Enlightenment*, fideism is nevertheless dependent on certain fundamental presuppositions of the position that it challenges. Not only does it perpetuate the opposition between “reason*” and “faith,” conceived as two independent entities, it also accepts the technical-mathematical conception of “reason” that prevailed in the 18th century, and sets against it a global vision of knowledge that gives prominent status to immediate

intuition, concrete historical reality, and affective and psychological dimensions. It also relies on the mediation of authority* and tradition*, denounced by Enlightenment rationalism. These themes make it possible to understand the development of fideism in the early 19th century and the importance it assumed, after the failure of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, in the context of the restoration of a system of Catholic theological teaching. Its influence was felt not only in France but also, to a lesser degree, in other countries (schools of Tübingen*).

The best known representatives of this movement were, under the label of “traditionalism*,” L. de

Bonald (1754–1840) and H.-F.-R. de Lammenais (1782–1854), and under the label of “fideism,” Ph.-O. Gerbet (1798–1864), L.-E.-M. Bautain (1796–1867), and A. Bonnety (1798–1879). Their attacks against the Scholasticism of their time, which they regarded as rationalist, provoked controversies that focused essentially on the status of knowledge within the framework of a fundamental* theology.

Under the influence of F. X. von Baader, Hegel*, Schelling*, and F. H. Jacobi, the Strasbourg professor L. Bautain accentuated the opposition to rationalism by relying on Augustine*'s distinctions and by defining true philosophy* as a quest for wisdom*, which was identified with religion itself. However, the positions he took caused difficulties, firstly with his bishop*, Mgr. de Trévern, which finally led to serious discussions in Rome*. At the conclusion of these discussions in 1840 Bautain had to subscribe to a series of theses (DS 2751–56) that accepted the possibility of reaching knowledge* of the existence* of God by inductive means, indicating that reason could precede or even lead to faith. These propositions were placed at the beginning of the German edition of the documents of the magisterium on the faith of the church (Regensburg 1938), so as to emphasize the decisive import of the questions that had been debated. And, to provide even more emphasis, extracts from the letter *Qui pluribus* of 1846 were attached, in which Pope* Pius IX had taken a position on fideism and traditionalism on the one hand, and on rationalism in Catholic thought on the other (G. Hermes). The magisterium* thereby attempted to remove the dangers of both sides by defining a moderate position between the two extremes. Other doctrinal statements followed, including the Syllabus of 1864 and the decrees of the First Vatican* Council in 1870.

The name “fideism” was also claimed around this time by a group of French Protestants represented by A. Sabatier and E. Ménégoz, who applied the principles of Schleiermacher* and adopted positions derived from the school of the history* of religions. It was of course possible to attempt to resolve these problems in the 19th century by adopting an intermediate formulation, dismissing the extremes while preserving the “parcel of truth,” which in fideism lies in the emphasis on the supernatural dimension of Christian truth* and its knowledge. But it is difficult to be satisfied with positions consisting of a superficial juxtaposition of different propositions that merely assigns to each one a positive or negative value. (This is the criticism that should be leveled at the declarations of the magisterium, as well as at the foundational work of Blondel*, *Histoire et dogma* [1904], even though the latter's philosophical-theological approach was aimed

at going beyond a purely extrinsic juxtaposition of the competing arguments.)

To the extent that they put into play the relations between revelation* and reason, these controversies have continued in current ecumenical debates. Can human beings accede to or open themselves to revelation, and can the means that are universally available to them (ideas; concepts; language; acquired knowledge; logical or systematic associations; historical, social, legal, and cultural determinations; and so on) be used to express this kind of truth? The controversies necessarily raise the question of Christian anthropology*, and particularly the concept of knowledge that it presupposes. However indispensable distinctions in this area may be, it would, therefore, hardly be credible to defend a unilateral position that satisfied itself with challenging the presence in gospel truth either of a rational element or, on the other hand, a supernatural* element going beyond mere reason. Similarly, it is no longer acceptable to isolate each of the two components in a way that would exclude any articulation between them. Christianity, in fact, understands its message and the faith that responds to it as realities that are also rooted in the order of reason, as facts that certainly point beyond a purely rational world* but can in no way be conceived as contrary to reason. This is what makes that truth communicable, without in any way being detrimental to its specific content or altering its profound essence. For not only do the very dignity of human beings and the meaning of existence depend on this possibility of communication, but so too does the meaning of the history that unites God with humanity and with the world. In this respect, we cannot accept the existence of one all-embracing truth, endowed with its own logic, without introducing an open conception of reality. In this reality, the components are organized according to positive relations that themselves determine real differences, without making these differences into autarkical entities locked in their antagonism or reciprocal exclusion.

Fideism should thus be seen as an attempt to do justice at the level of human experience to what there is in concrete and immediate reality that is irreducible to the analyses of reason. It represents the quest for a wisdom superior to pure learning, the desire to keep reality open to a possible transcendence and everything that that implies. All these themes have met with increasing interest in our time. We can sense in them the attraction for a certain irrationalism (which, if its influence were to grow, would in turn require a reaffirmation of the rational factors in Christianity). It would, however, be better to define an approach that keeps a balance between the two poles, and so makes the pendulum swings between them unnecessary. A “logic of faith”

should simultaneously do justice to human existence and to the meaning of the gospel. It will probably reach this goal if it is able to resist the restrictive approaches that ultimately contradict the very reality of man and expose him, individually and socially, to unnecessary dangers. Reason is a constituent part of a Christian faith that also contains human elements of a nonrational character. It should therefore be possible, even before fully formulating the idea of what Christian faith is, to carry out a consistent articulation of the rational and the nonrational, thereby providing spiritual access to supernatural faith.

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See also **Credibility; Faith; Modernism; Rationalism; Reason; Traditionalism; Wittgenstein**

Filiation

In the Bible* the term *son* (*bén* in Hebrew and *huios* in Greek) is used to designate origin, dependence, or belonging, as well as the relationship of a father and mother with their offspring. The naming of Jesus* as God*'s only son and the adoptive filiation that follows for the believer occupy a central place in the New Testament.

I. Filiation in the Old Testament

1. Physical Parenthood and Figurative Senses

In the narrow sense, a son (or daughter) is anyone born from a father* and a mother. In a wider sense, sons include other descendants (Gn 29:5 and 31:28), and the Israelites are designated as "sons of Israel*" (Gn 32, 33; Ex 1:7 and 3:10), whereas the term "sons of men" designates humanity in general (Ps 12:1). (The English Standard Version of the Bible, however, renders these phrases as "people of Israel," "children of Israel," and "children of man.") According to the Law* of Moses, the family*'s firstborn male is consecrated to the Lord (Ex 13:1). Designated also as sons in the Old Testament are companions, disciples, servants, whoever is connected to a group, and whoever is a native of such and such a place.

2. Filiation with God

The angels* are sometimes called sons of God (Wis 5:5; Jb 1:6, 2:1, and 38:7). This expression comes from surrounding religions, and it has a figuratively weaker sense; it means that in the hierarchy of beings, the angels occupy a position close to being divine, without God being considered their father.

When Israel is called son of God, the intention is to translate in terms of human relationship the connection between God and his people*, as in the statement that the people whom Egypt had treated as slaves were adopted by God as sons (Ex 4:22; Hos 11:1; Jer 3:19; and Wis 18:13). Israel has done nothing to deserve such a filiation; it lives for receiving the Law and for remaining faithful to it. By extension, the members of the people who will remain faithful to the covenant* concluded in the Sinai are called "sons of the Lord" (Dt 14:1). The psalmist who keeps his heart pure does not betray the generation of the children of God (Ps 73:15). The just is persecuted for having called himself "God's son" (Wis 2:18). Conversely, God may bemoan the fact that the sons he reared up "have rebelled" against him (Is 1:2): they have become "rebellious children" (Is 30:1) or "faithless children" (Jer 3:14). The hope* remains however that the people remember

having been adopted, and they go back toward their Father (Is 63:7–16, especially vv. 8 and 16).

If a founding oracle presents King David in a relationship of son to God (2 Sm 7:14 and Ps 89:26–27), it is never in the sense of the surrounding monarchies: David is never deified. It is, rather, a matter of insisting on the particular place he occupies, with his descendants, in the economy of election: the Messiah*, descended from David, will also be adopted by God and recognized as son (*see* Ps 2:2–8).

II. Filiation in the New Testament

1. Outside Christology

The same semantic universe of the expression that appears in the Old Testament is found in the New Testament. Sonship is used to describe family relationships in the literal sense, and is also widely used in the figurative sense, as in “sons of the Kingdom*” (Mt 8:12), “son of peace*” (Lk 10:6), “sons of this world” and “sons of light” (Lk 16:8), “son of perdition” (Jn 17:12), and “sons of the prophets*” (Acts 3:25).

2. Filiation of Jesus

The originality of the New Testament resides in the presentation of the filiation of Jesus.

a) Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) If Jesus is the son of Mary* (Mk 6:3), the childhood narratives* (Mt 1–2 and Lk 1–2) highlight the particular nature of his filiation: the angel Gabriel announces to Mary that her son will be called “Son of the Most High” (Lk 1:32) and “Son of God” (Lk 1:35). Matthew 1:20 and Luke 1:35 translate into their narratives a theological affirmation: the double nature of Christ*, son of a woman* and only Son of God. The account of Jesus’ baptism* (Mk 1:9–11) and that of the Transfiguration (Mk 9:2–10) highlight the quality of this divine filiation of Christ: Jesus is Son of the Father in a unique relationship of communion*, that of “beloved Son,” of only Son.

The expression “Son of God” gives an account of the relationship of Jesus with his Father in a manner that is not devoid of ambiguity. In the account of the temptation* (Mt 4:1–11), Satan uses the title as a sign of omnipotence as do the devils expelled by Jesus (Mk 3:11 and 5:7). The evangelical narrative makes us discover that Jesus is “Son of God” in the humbling and acceptance of finiteness: it is the passage through death* that is the true sign of his divine filiation, a perspective that is unacceptable for the disciples who also form a notion of the divine filiation under the sign of omnipotence (*see* Mk 8:27–33 and Mt 16:13–23). Peter*, after his confession at Caesarea, is called Satan

by Jesus because he refuses the perspective of the cross. Finally, at Gethsemane, in total obedience to the will of God (Mk 14:32–42), Jesus shows fully his unique filiation. By calling upon God as Father (*Abba*) and accepting death, Jesus reveals another comprehension of God. The confession of the Roman centurion (Mk 15:39) highlights this new discovery of the divine filiation of Jesus to the cross.

Finally, the use of the traditional messianic title “Son of David” is to be noted. This title is being used in spite of the fact the Gospels* have shown its insufficiency to account for what is new in Christ (*see* Mk 12:35–37).

b) Paul. If Jesus was born from a woman, it was as Son of God (*see* Gal 4:4, where biological and divine filiation coexist). This divine filiation of Jesus is recognized thanks to his resurrection* (Rom 1:3–4 and 1:9). This means that with God revealing himself to the world through the death of his Son, he is contesting the usual image that mankind has of him (*see* 1 Cor 1:18–25). In an altogether different language (that of the Son’s vocation), the Epistle to the Hebrews extends the paradoxical rapprochement anticipated by the Gospels and by Paul between filiation and sacrificing the Son for death (*see* Heb 1:2, 1:5–8, 5:1–8, 7:3, and 7:28).

c) John’s Gospel, the presentation of Jesus as the only Son, who reveals the Father, is of fundamental importance. All there is that must be known about God is from then on knowable in the meeting of faith* with the Son, the messenger who fully reveals to man the love* of his Father (Jn 1:18, 3:16–18, 3:35–36, and 5:19–30). Like elsewhere in the New Testament, this revelation* comes through via Jesus’ death, which is regarded as a glorification (Jn 12:16, 12:23, 12:28, and 13:31–32).

3. Filiation of the Believers

Starting with the particular filiation of Jesus, the New Testament develops the notion of the adoptive filiation of the Christians.

a) Synoptic Gospels. The relationship between the “sons” and the “Father” is often described through the intermediary of the language of parables (*see* Mt 21:28–32 and Lk 15:11–32). In the words of Jesus, God reveals himself as a compassionate Father of his children.

b) Paul. The major texts in which the theme of adoption (*huiiothesia*) is developed are Galatians 4:1–7 and Romans 8:14–17. The new condition of the believer is

that of adopted son, heir to the Father and no longer a slave (in Gal 4:21–31, the believer is not son of the slave Hagar, but son of the free woman Sarah). It is faith in Christ and no longer obedience to the Law (Rom 3:21–31) that makes adoption possible, and it is the Spirit that makes us adopted sons and makes us cry out: “Abba! Father!” (Rom 8:15). By associating the believer with the death of Christ, baptism is the sign par excellence of his new condition (Rom 6:1–14).

c) *John’s Gospel*. The believer “must be born anew” (Jn 3:7), which means that he must find his origin in God, the Father. Freedom characterizes this newborn, who is like the wind—nobody knows where he comes from or where he is going (see Jn 3:8). Conversely, slavery characterizes those who have not recognized Jesus as the messenger of the words* of the Father, and who are sons of the devil in spite of their claim to be sons of Abraham (Jn 8:31–59). It is thus underscored that man is always son of someone, always in a state of dependency and never autonomous. Only those who are set free by the Son are really free (Jn 8:36). John’s epistles extend the same theological intuition: whoever confesses the Son “has the Father” and is “in the Son and in the Father” (1 Jn 2:22–24).

III. Conclusion: From the Only Son to the Adoptive Sons

According to the total corpus of New Testament evidence, the filiation of Jesus, if it preexists Creation* (Jn 1:1–10), is fulfilled and can be seen in the Incarnation*. It is through finitude in Jesus that God calls all men to filiation. Jesus reveals to mankind the new face of a God unveiling his voluntary limitation—not the face of a mighty Father who judges and condemns, but the face of a loving Father who is welcoming and willing to adopt mankind. Such a Father opens to mankind

the road to a freedom, which, though finite, or in other words human, will still be one of the main attributions of a filiation that has been regained (Gal 5:1f., 5:13).

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See also Adam; Adoptionism; Anthropology; Arianism; Consubstantial; Couple; Family; Father; Messianism/Messiah; Prayer; Son of Man; Trinity; Woman; Word

Filioque

As the term itself suggests—*filioque* “and the Son”—the controversy known as the *Filioque* centered on the Latin theological doctrine expressed in the Nicene

Creed: *qui ex patre filioque procedit*, referring to the Holy* Spirit “which proceeds from the Father* and from the Son.”

a) *From the Scriptural Evidence to the Schism of 1054.* In the Gospel of John, Jesus speaks of “the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father” (Jn 15:26) (*para tou Patros ekporeuomenon*) and who “will take what is mine and declare it to you” (Jn 16:14). Paul speaks of the Spirit “of the Son” or “of Christ*” (Rom 8:4; 2 Cor 3:18; Gal 4:6; etc.). The creed of the First Council of Constantinople* states that the Spirit “proceeds from [ek] the Father.” A baptismal confession of faith* collected in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius (374) speaks of the Spirit that “proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son” (Hahn).

Toward the end of the fourth century, Latin theology* began to assert that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son. The beginnings of this assertion are to be found in the work of Hilary* (whose preferred formula is, however, that the Spirit proceeds “from the Father by the Son”). The doctrine also appears in the work of Ambrose*, although he uses the formula only with respect to the mission (Trinity*) of the Spirit (PL 16, 762, 783, 800, 810). The only place where it is fully set out is Augustine’s *De Trinitate*. After Augustine it became widespread in Latin theology. Leo the Great adopted it in a vague form (SC 74, 150), and then explicitly in 447 (PL 54, 680—possibly apocryphal*). The *Filioque* appears in the so-called Athanasian Creed.

The doctrine is absent from Greek patristics. A few formulae of Epiphanius and Cyril* of Alexandria resemble it. Cyril even employs words close to those of Latin theology (e.g., PG 75, 585b): he talks of the Spirit “proper” (*idion*) to the Son (PG 71, 377d), and states that the Spirit “derives from” (*proeisi*) and “extends in front of” (*prokheintai*) the Son (PG 76, 173a–b). The Greek Fathers* preferred formula confines itself to the words of the Bible: the Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son (e.g., Pseudo-Cyril, PG 94, 1140b, John of Damascus PG 94, 821b). “From the Father by the Son” is in fact uncommon (but found as early as Origen*, *In Joan.* II, 73–75, *dia tou logou*; Gregory* of Nyssa, Jaeger III/1, 56; VIII/2, 760).

The discrepancy between the Latin and Greek theologies was first analyzed by Maximus* the Confessor in his letter to Marinus, in which he observes that the *Filioque*, confessed by Pope* Martin I, is equivalent to “from the Father by the Son.” Maximus restricts himself to a procession of the Spirit “by means of the Logos” (*dia mesou tou Logou*) (PG 91, 136). John of Damascus (c. 645–ca. 749) explicitly denied the *Filioque*: the Spirit “is the Spirit of the Son not because it comes from him (*ouk ôs ek autou*) but because it comes by him (*all’ôs di’autou*) from the Father, for the Father alone is cause (*monos aitios ho Patër*)” (PG 90, 849b).

The insertion of the *Filioque* into an official confession of faith was undoubtedly a Spanish initiative intended to combat Arianism* (while emphasizing the equality of Father and Son) and Priscillianist modalism*. The confession of faith of King Recared at the Third Council of Toledo (589) affirmed the *Filioque*. It was repeated by Toledo IV (633), and again in the profession of faith of Toledo XI (675). In 787 the Third Council of Nicaea* (images*) affirmed that the Spirit proceeded “from the Father by the Son” (Mansi 12, 1122). The Council of Frankfurt, called by Charlemagne in 794, refused this point: “by” the Son was not equivalent to “from” the Son (PL 98, 1117). The authority* of this last council, however, was not great.

In the ninth century a liturgical problem was added to the differences between the Greek and Latin theologies. Greek eucharistic liturgy* seems to have included a confession of faith since the fifth century (the practice was apparently initiated by the Patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller), but the insertion of a similar confession into the Mass of the Latin Church came later. Toledo III called for the Creed of Nicaea and Constantinople to be sung in the course of the liturgy. Its use became widespread. In 794 Charlemagne had it sung (with the addition of the *Filioque*) at Aix-la-Chapelle. In 807 the abbot of the Mount of Olives introduced the practice to Jerusalem*; but the addition of the *Filioque* gave rise to a dispute with the Greek monks of Saint Sabas. The matter was referred to Pope Leo III and Charlemagne. The emperor’s theologians wrote a number of treatises on the Holy Spirit (Theodulf, Smaragdus, a pseudo-Alcuin). Leo III confessed the *Filioque* (PL 102, 1030–32) but refused to insert it into the Roman liturgical texts and called for its suppression from all liturgical formularies (PL 102, 971–76). His demand was in vain: the insertion of the *Filioque* was finally accepted by Benedict VIII in 1014 (at which date the Credo became part of the Roman eucharistic liturgy). The 16th-century reformers would retain the addition.

The charge of liturgical innovation was to recur constantly in Greek polemics against the *Filioque*. The Council of Ephesus* had declared the creed (the “faith,” *pistis*) of Nicaea-Constantinople inviolable (COD 65, 16 Sq), and the Council of Chalcedon* had repeated this declaration (COD 87, 3 Sq), so Latin liturgical practice was in violation of church* discipline. It appears, however, that this argument did not feature in the earliest debates. Photius did not use it; and it was only when Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, in his discussions with Nicetas Stethatos in 1054, accused the Greeks of deleting the *Filioque* from the creed that the patriarch Michael Cerularius realized that the Latins had added it.

In the meantime the Greeks' objections had been expressed more extremely by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, who in 867 put forward an opposing theology according to which the Holy Spirit proceeded "from the Father alone" (monopatristism) (PG 102, 292; also 721–42). The problem of the *Filioque* was to be among the causes of the schism* and would be central to all the debates between East and West; indeed it was probably more important than the issue of Peter*'s primacy.

b) Theological Development and Ecumenical Initiatives. From the 11th century onward, Latin theology was unwavering in its affirmation of the *Filioque*. In the Greek world, Gregory of Cyprus suggested a qualified wording: "[...] the Spirit accompanies the Word*, and it is by the Word that it proceeds, radiates, and appears in its eternal and pre-eternal splendor" (PG 142, 290c). Gregory* Palamas took up some of Gregory of Cyprus's ideas, and contrived a possible place for the *Filioque* in the order of "energetic manifestation": the Spirit—not as hypostasis, but giving hypostasis to the divine energy—pours forth from the Father "by the Son" (*dia tou Huiou*), and even "from the Son" (*ek tou Huiou*) (PG 147, 269–300). The *Filioque* was ratified by the Fourth Lateran* Council in 1215, reaffirmed at the unionist Council of Lyons* II (1274), and again at the council of union at Florence (1439). The latter declared it to be equivalent to the formula "from the Father by the Son"—giving preference to the *Filioque*, but without insisting that the Greeks incorporate it into the creed.

The union of Florence was short-lived, but it was again the desire for reunion that provided the impetus for a fresh consideration of the subject in the late 19th and the 20th centuries. In 1874–75, a conference in Bonn gathered together representatives of Russian Orthodoxy* and of the Old Catholic Church: the latter accepted Greek theology in its entirety. Some important theses by B. Bolotov, relating to this conference, were published in 1898. According to Bolotov, Photius's formula ("from the Father alone") was a theologoumenon, not a dogma*. Moreover, "The *Filioque*, as a particular theological opinion, cannot [...] be an *impedimentum dirimens* to the reestablishment of ecclesiastical communion" (thesis 27): this thesis was accepted in the 20th century by S. Bulgakov, P. Evdokimov, and L. Voronov, but rejected by V. Lossky. The Anglican Church, which was represented at the Bonn conference, has repeatedly declared itself ready to remove the *Filioque* from the creed, "whatever the merits or demerits of its doctrinal content" (*Iren.* 48 (1975), 362). K. Barth* was a notable defender of the *Filioque* in modern Protestant theology (*KD II/2*, 273

Sq), though the Protestant churches as a whole are prepared to abandon its liturgical use. The Catholic episcopate in Greece dropped it in 1973.

c) Reconciliation of Latin and Greek Views. The search for a solution to the problem of the *Filioque* took a number of forms in the history of theology after 1054. It seemed inconceivable to Duns* Scotus that there could be heresy* involved, in either Latin or Greek pneumatology (*I Sent.*, dist. 11, q. 1). Bonaventure* distinguished between the faith common to all, the clarifications that had given rise to the divergence, and the formulae that stoked the controversy. Thomas* Aquinas pointed out that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father *by the mediation of the Son*, since the Son receives from the Father (*I Sent.*, dist. 12, q. 1, a. 3), and noted that the Greek *ek* is not equivalent to the Latin *ab* (*ibid.*, a. 2, ad. 3). However, the most significant progress has been the fruit of recent research. The Greek concept of *ekporexis* is one thing, and the Latin concept of *procession* (which entered theology with Tertullian) is another. Greek theology has two verbs, *ekporeuesthai* and *proienai*, to describe the (eternal) relationship of the Spirit to the Father and its eternal relationship to the Father and Son, while Latin dogmatics employs only *procedere*. Greek Trinitarian theology, on the other hand, is structured around the concept of the Father's "monarchy": the Father alone is the "principle" (*arkhè*) and cause (*aitia*). Thus Latin theology is able to say that "the Spirit proceeds in principle from the Father and, by means of the latter's immaterial gift to the Son, from both in communion* (*communiter*)" (Augustine, *De Trin.* XV, 25, 47, PL 42, 1095). It can even say that the Father and the Son are "a single principle" in relation to the Spirit (Augustine, PL 42, 921), and that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son "as from a single principle," *tamquam ex uno principio* (*COD* 314, 10; 526, 40–42)—which would be an absurdity within the conceptual framework of Greek theology.

A formula that will do justice to both Eastern and Western theology must therefore respect these conceptual differences. J.-M. Garrigues has proposed the following formulation: "I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who issuing from the Father (*ek tou Patros ekporeuomenon*), proceeds from the Father and the Son (*ex Patre Filioque procedit, ek tou Patros kai tou Huiou proion*)" (1981). An Orthodox reception* of the *Filioque* is not inconceivable (Lossky 1967), and nor, even, is a Catholic reception of monopatrism (Halleux 1990). The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992) may be overoptimistic when it speaks of a "legitimate complementarity" that, "provided it does not become rigid, does not affect the

identity of faith in the reality of the same mystery* confessed" (§248). All the same, more than one Orthodox theologian acknowledges that the Son "is not uninvolved" in the ekporeisis of the Holy Spirit (Bobrinskoy, Zizioulas).

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See also **Ethics; Father; Trinity; Word**

Finitude. See **Death; Infinite; Nothingness**

Flesh

I. Old Testament

1. Field of Reference

In the Old Testament, *flesh* signifies in a fairly general way human beings, man, humanity ("all flesh," as in Gn 6:12), the animal*, food (Ex 21:10), and, in a more restricted sense, man's fragility (Ps 56:4), or even the sexual organs (Ex 28:42). In the Old Testament, the most common meaning is concentrated on man as an individual or even as a collective. Three main axes mark the roughly 6,270 occurrences of *flesh* (*bâsâr* in Hebrew and *sarx* in Greek). They are: totality, vitality, and relationship. Because of the wealth of the topic, the lexicons of the original languages and those of translations align even less often than in other cases.

a) *Idea of Totality.* To express the completeness of the human being as an *individual*, biblical authors refer freely to the various parts of the human person (body, mind, blood, soul*, heart, bones, skin, kidneys, etc.); these terms accompany "flesh" in a synonymous parallelism, or they replace it. "Flesh" also refers to the collective, in order to stress the solidarity of earthly creatures. The syntagm *kol-bâsâr* ("all flesh"), which appears 40 times in the Bible*, takes into account either the whole gamut of creatures, including humans and animals (Gn 6:17, etc.), or the more restricted group of mankind (Is 40:5, etc.). This solidarity of the flesh and in the flesh expresses even more particularly the ties of blood, the union of spouses in a single flesh (Gn 2:24, or in Gn 2:23, where the concept is expressed as "flesh of my flesh"), and so on.

b) Vitality of the Human Being. This quality is recounted in various ways. In the Second Book of Kings, the leprous flesh of Naaman the Syrian becomes healthy and alive like a child's after his healing (2 Kgs 5:14). Ezekiel sees the Creator "cause flesh to come upon" a valley full of dry bones, which spring back to life (Ez 37:6).

c) Relationship. Lastly and above all, *flesh* implies the idea of a relationship. Man is understood in his condition as a creature in relation with God*, but also in his dialogue with other beings made of flesh.

2. From the Hebrew to the Greek of the Septuagint

Translating from one language into another (the Septuagint, or LXX) caused important semantic differences in the anthropological domain as well as in the theological interpretation.

a) The Hebrew *bâsâr* is rendered quite often (about 145 times) as *sarx*. Among other terms, the most frequently used is *sôma* (body).

b) The synonymic practice of the LXX differs from that of the Hebrew (see below). It tends, in fact, to create a distinction between flesh, body, mind, and so on, more in conformity with Greek anthropology*. The *sôma* (body) constitutes the human envelope; this latter is thereby distinguished from the *pneuma* (spirit), which therefore refers to an independent, more spiritual part of the human being. In the LXX, the stress is placed less on the whole; it expresses more the complexity of the being made of flesh.

II. New Testament

Paul's epistles and the Gospels* are the chief books to consider.

1. Authentic Epistles of Paul

Paul gives increasing importance to "flesh," about which he often creates a theological theme. Three stages are apparent:

a) Corinthians. In the First Letter of Paul to the Corinthians, it does not seem at first glance that Paul has yet organized any theological thoughts about the theme of the flesh. The word *flesh* takes on various meanings, in fact, which are quite commonplace. All the same, the milestones of his later development can already be discerned. This development has its origins in phrases such as *kata sarka* ("according to the flesh") in 1 Corinthians 10:18. Even if "flesh" is not mentioned directly in 1 Corinthians 6 (except in the citation from Gn 2:24 in 6:16), the first elements of the

depreciation of the flesh begin to show there. In the Second Letter to the Corinthians, these sketches grow clearer, and the beginning of a more thematic theological meditation can be seen. Paul does not yet contrast the flesh and the spirit, but the terms *kata sarka* ("according to the flesh") and *en sarki* ("in the flesh") take on more definitive meanings.

b) Galatians. The Letter to the Galatians seemingly represents a very active period in Paul's meditations on the flesh. Indeed, these epistles contain the various meanings of flesh, including the human viewpoint indicated by flesh and blood and the weakness of the flesh that results in Paul's illness (Gal 4:13). But chapters 3 and 4 of Galatians constitute the letter's real center, and it is there that the theme is expressed. Paul accentuates the link between the flesh and sin*, either as a return to the pre-Christian era, or as desire for the sinful flesh (*epithumia*).

The apostle attacks violently those who want to turn from the spirit to the flesh and follow a path in opposition to the Gospel (Gal 3:3). The homily on the two unions, based on the allegory of Hagar, the slave whose son "was born according to the flesh," and Sarah, the free woman, whose son was born "through promise*" (Gal 4:23) brilliantly illustrates Paul's thought. The contrasting of the flesh (*kata sarka*) with the spirit (*kata pneuma*) begins to take on greater and greater definition. Finally, the quotation from Psalm 143:2 in Galatians 2:16 plays an important role in this period of theological maturation. Paul would take it up again in Romans 3:20. The Pauline version of this line from the psalmist states, "by works of the law shall no one [actually, *pasa sarx*, which means, literally, "all flesh"] be justified"—which distances itself from the Hebrew and from the LXX—and it is not a matter of chance. The steps have been marked already in Galatians; the route has been signposted for the theological treatise in the Epistle to the Romans.

c) Romans. In the Letter to the Romans, Paul takes up again the ideas sketched in 1 and 2 Corinthians, and especially the contrast between the flesh and the spirit, which was already developed systematically in Galatians. A violent inner struggle had taken possession of the apostle. He tries to explain it to himself from a theological point of view in his thematic perusal of the flesh and the spirit, Romans 7 to 9, the watershed of the two big sections of the first part of Romans (chapters 1 to 8 and 9 to 11), which preserves the traces of the apostle's inner struggle, specifically in his use of "flesh." Other thematic links are woven, with the theme of justification*, on the one hand, and with the theme of the salvation of Israel* on the other.

As an overture to the theme, the indictment in Romans 7 contrasts life in the flesh (*en tē sarki*), a place of sin, of aging, of death*, to the newness of the spirit (Rom 7:5, 7:6, 7:18, and 7:25). We are told that by “sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, [God] condemned sin in the flesh” (Rom 8:3). Paul stresses the contradictions between the authority of the Law* and that of the Spirit, and he gradually introduces a theology* of the filial spirit, the gift of God for life. The word *flesh* invades the beginning of chapter 8, appearing in verses 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, and 13. In these verses the apostle affirms the perishability—even more, the death-dealing power—of the flesh. But, nevertheless, Paul in no way devalues Christ*’s coming in the flesh. Chapters 9 to 11 emphasize the coming into the flesh of the Son born of David’s line (Rom 1:3). Focused on the problem of Israel’s abandonment, chapters 9 to 11 are framed by the question of the Salvation, which came in the flesh (9:3, 9:5, 9:6, and 11:14). As an introduction to this dramatic question, Paul lists the privileges of the Children of Israel (Rom 9:4–5), placing at the summit the supreme privilege of the Incarnation*—*ho Christo te kata sarka* (“Christ, according to the flesh”). In this way, Paul demonstrates the importance of the progression from the flesh to the promise (Rom 9:8).

2) In the Gospels

While the Gospel According to Mark and the Gospel According to Matthew, which follows Mark, give hardly any emphasis to the theme of the flesh, the Gospels of Luke and John—each in their own way—enhance this motive theologically.

a) *Mark and Matthew.* Mark’s three mentions of “flesh” are all placed within the words of Jesus*: In Mark 10:8 and Matthew 19:5, while addressing the question of divorce, Jesus cites Genesis 24. In Mark 13:20 and Matthew 24:22, the Greek word for *flesh* is used for *life* or *person*. Finally, in Mark 14:38 and Matthew 26:41, at the moment of the agony, Jesus recalls the weakness of the flesh. In addition to picking up these three traditional sayings from Mark, Matthew adds to the pericope of Peter*’s confession of faith, Jesus’ remark that the Father in heaven had revealed to Peter what he had confessed, and not “flesh and blood” (Mt 16:17). “Flesh and blood” is rooted in the Hebrew idiom *bâsar-wa-dâm*, which recalls the limits of the human condition compared to divine revelation.*

b) *Luke.* Luke’s Gospel uses the word *flesh* in an original way. Near the beginning and at the end of his Gospel, Luke establishes an inclusive relation between the two common usages of *flesh*. In the quotation from

Isaiah 40:5—“all flesh shall see the salvation of God” (Lk 3:6)—he uses *flesh* to mean *humans*. Then, in the words of the risen Jesus, he brings out the Greek contrast between the spirit and the flesh—“a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see that I have” (Lk 24:39). Luke also mentions the flesh three times in the second part of his work, the Acts of the Apostles. All three references (Acts 2:17, 2:26, and 2:31) come in Peter’s homily at Pentecost and are marked by the theme of hope* in the resurrection of all flesh.

c) *The Fourth Gospel.* The originality of the theology of the Gospel of John lies essentially in two passages in John 6 and in the prologue. In chapter 6, where Jesus speaks about the bread of life, the word *flesh* is used seven times. The first six occurrences (in vv. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, and 56) refer to the eucharistic* flesh of Christ, which he is offering as a food that will give everlasting life. The last use of the word *flesh* in this passage (6:63) accompanies the other six in order to explain the role of the Holy Spirit. It reflects back to another use of the word in Jesus’ dialogue with Nicodemus (Jn 3:6).

Verse 14 of the prologue of the Fourth Gospel has delivered to Christian theology a confession of faith in the incarnation of Christ—“and the Word became flesh” (*ho logos sarx egeneto*). Today the phrase remains at the heart of Christian faith*. It is a unique occurrence, but it encompasses the whole of John’s theology. The manifestation in the flesh becomes one of the privileged themes of the glory* of Christ. John’s epistles tell of the importance that his communities gave to the recognition of Christ’s having come in the flesh (2 Jn 7).

A study of the context in which the word *flesh* is used should thus not be neglected and care should be taken not to come to hasty conclusions when determining the meaning of *flesh* in its different occurrences. In particular, the way in which the Bible sees *flesh* should be distinguished, in many instances, from the way in which it sees the body. But when all is said and done, several passages, especially in the New Testament (including 1 Cor 5:5, Col 2:23, and 1 Pt 3:21), still remain obscure.

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See also Adam; Animals; Anthropology; Cosmos; Johannine Theology; Law and Christianity; Pauline Theology; Resurrection of Christ; Resurrection of the Dead; Sin; Soul-Heart-Body; World

Florence, Council of. *See* **Basel-Ferrara-Florence, Council of**

Forgiveness. *See* **Mercy**

Formgeschichte. *See* **Literary Genres in Scripture**

Formulas of Faith. *See* **Creeds**

Francis de Sales. *See* **Spirituality, Salesian**

Francis of Assisi. *See* **Spirituality, Franciscan**

Franzelin, Johann Baptist. *See* Tradition

Freedom, Religious

Religious freedom is an aspect of political freedom and should be distinguished from the idea of freedom found in the New Testament. Like other freedoms, religious freedom involves the rights and privileges of citizens within an organized political community, concurrent with the guarantee that the states will protect such rights. In Western democracies*, religious freedom is essentially the negative freedom to practice or not one's religion, to meet and assemble for religious purposes, and to change religion.

Until the fourth century, theological reflection had no occasion to address the questions that would divide Christians later: whether the civil authorities* ought to give active support to the Christian religion, abolish paganism*, give official recognition to ecclesiastical authorities, or punish heresy*. Scripture says nothing about religious freedom, but the early apologists* and martyrs liked to quote Peter*: "We must obey God* rather than men" (Acts 5:29). By obeying Christ's injunction to refuse to grant unto Caesar what was God's, they gave witness to the possibility of an alternative society* capable of resisting an empire with totalitarian pretensions.

Out of its early struggle for freedom from imperial domination, the church* gradually developed the notion of two different orders of authority. Later, this was articulated as the theory of the two powers: that church and state are each autonomous in their own spheres. The clearest statement of this doctrine is in the often cited letter of Pope* Gelasius (492–96) to the Emperor Anastasius I, written in 494: "There are two powers . . . by which this world is ruled, the sacred authority (*aucltoritas*) of priests and the royal power (*potestas*)" (PL 59, 41–47). Centuries of debate followed over the relation between the two powers, particularly over the precise meaning of the "superiority" of the spiritual. Nevertheless, it is obvious that adopting the distinction ended the concept that dominated antiquity for which

religion and city were interdependent. The modern concept of religious freedom could not have emerged without such controversies.

Following the Edict of Milan (313, in SC 39), which proclaimed universal toleration for all religious convictions within the empire, Christianity was soon placed in a privileged status, to the detriment of paganism. It is understandable that in the eyes of a church that had been persecuted for two centuries, and that had always been convinced, even in the midst of the harshest persecution, that rulers were "instituted by God" or "appointed by God" (Rom 13), Constantine could have appeared sent by God. However, it soon became clear that the support of the emperor confronted the church with new problems that potentially threatened its freedom. The state increasingly intervened in church affairs; from this followed the danger that crucial doctrines might be compromised for reasons of state. In the fourth century, for example, the empire temporarily supported Arianism*.

Constantine was indifferent to the theological controversy over the consubstantiality (consubstantial*) of the Word* with the Father* and considered all such disputes to be forms of childishness (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, GCS I, 67–71). However, it was also his conviction that he was a colleague of the bishops* (*Vita*, GCS I, 84, 20–23) and a "bishop of external affairs" (*Vita*, GCS I, 124, 9, 11). Because the theological dissension threatened the unity of the empire, he could not avoid the Trinitarian controversies and often counseled orthodox bishops to compromise with the Arians, threatening sanctions if they refused. When his son Constantius sought to impose Arianism, the church realized the threat to its independence.

The church was also forced to reflect on the proper relation between orthodox rulers and various heresies, especially those that threatened the unity of the empire. This issue came to a head at the time of the Do-

natist crisis (Donatism*), which was to have an influence for centuries because of the role played by Augustine*. At first, Augustine advocated leniency toward the Donatists and rejected recourse to the secular power to bring them back forcibly into communion* with the church. He did change his views, however, and accepted the intervention of legitimate authorities (*ordinatae a Deo potestates*), thinking that coercion led to the return to the truth and salvation of many Donatists who would have remained so by force of habit (Markus 1970): “We see many who have renounced their former blindness; how could I begrudge them their salvation by dissuading my colleagues from exercising their fatherly care, by which this has been brought about?” (*Ep.* 93, CSEL 34–2). Augustine legitimized the use of force to compel heretics back into the church by appealing to Luke 14:23, “compel people to come in.”

Given other emphases in Augustine’s political theology* that mitigate the triumphalistic defense of a “Christian empire,” one wonders why it did not occur to Augustine, when he was thinking about religious coercion, to restrict the scope of the state’s actions. Perhaps it was because he did not consider Christian rulers and civil servants as members of the governmental machine, but as members of the church, through which the church uses their power for just ends. Augustine thus continued “to speak without inhibition of Christian emperors long after he had abandoned all talk about a Christian empire” (Markus).

Augustine’s view found ready application in the prefeudal world of the early Middle Ages, in which the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical authorities was acknowledged in principle but, in practice, it was much easier to think of political realities in terms of princes and officials than in terms of abstract political concepts such as “state” or “government.” Augustine believed that coercion was to be used only in exceptional cases, but its use was eventually given general validity, in no small measure because of Augustine’s authority.

According to Thomas* Aquinas, faith* is by nature an act of freedom, and it is therefore wrong to force infidels—Jews, Moslems, or pagans—to become Christians (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 10, a. 8). This does not imply that their religious practices should be tolerated within a Christian *res publica*. Such tolerance is permissible only if it leads to some great good* or prevents some great evil (*ibid.*, a. 11). While Jews (Judaism*) may be permitted to practice their religion, since they prefigure the Christian faith and in a sense bear witness to it, other religions should not be tolerated except to prevent some greater evil (a. 11). As for the heretic who persists in his heresy, Aquinas articulates the common

view in saying (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 11, a. 3) that “the church gives up hope of his conversion and takes thought for the safety of others by separating him from the church by sentence of excommunication; and further leaves him to the secular court, to be exterminated from the world by death.” Indeed, heresy appeared to medieval theologians to be a culpable error, an example of insincerity and bad faith, an error that should not be permitted to spread like a cancer through a morally and religiously unified body politic.

This view persisted after the breakup of Christendom into nations and after the fracturing of Western Christian unity in the Reformation. The views of the Reformers are accurately summarized in the *Confessio belgica* (1619, *BSKORK* 119–36): concerning civil magistrates, it is said that their office is not only to have regard to the welfare of the state, but also to protect the ministry*, and remove and prevent all idolatry* and false religion (article 36). Similarly, the Westminster Confession (1647) states (ch. 23) that it is the duty of the magistrate “to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the church, and that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered and observed.”

The two heresies penalized by death in the Code of Justinian (482–565), the denial of the Trinity* and the repetition of baptism* (originally targeted at Arians and Donatists), were taken to justify action against anti-Trinitarians (e.g., Michael Servetus, 1511–53) and Anabaptists*. Luther*, Melancthon (1497–1560), and Calvin* all appealed to the imperial law. Only the Anabaptists were exceptional in rejecting all coercion in matters of faith, believing that compromise and worldliness inevitably result from church establishments.

The ideal of a society unified by a common faith and baptism remained long after heresy came to be seen as inculpable error. *Cuius regio, eius et religio*: this principle was imposed at the Peace of Augsburg (1555). When remedies to religious discord were supposedly found by adopting a skeptical or relativistic position, religious freedom was still not approved of, or it would even be suppressed for reasons of state as with Hobbes (1588–1679), or by the establishment of a “civil religion,” as with Rousseau (1712–78). If certain religious claims or forms of worship were by nature indifferent, they could easily be penalized or proscribed for the sake of political unity.

Before Vatican* II, the Catholic position was expressed by means of notions of thesis and hypothesis: religious pluralism was tolerated *in hypothesis* and re-

jected *in thesi*, in favor of a Catholic confessional state. This doctrine was still being defended by Leo XIII in *Immortale Dei* (1885). Largely through the efforts of the American Jesuit John Courtney Murray, this doctrine was rejected in the conciliar declaration on religious freedom, *Dignitatis Humanae*, which ranks among the most important ecclesiastical documents on the problem. While it clearly affirms the principle of religious freedom, it is very much a compromise document, which embodies a number of different arguments in support of the principle. These include, for example, alongside arguments from scripture, the idea of the right and duty to follow one's conscience* and seek the truth, as well as the constitutional principle of limited government. Murray, who was the defender of the "constitutional argument," found the other arguments less convincing.

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See also Anabaptists; Church and State; Donatism; Martyrdom; Orthodoxy; Relativism; Revolution

Free Spirit. *See* Beguines; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism; Vienna, Council of

Free Will. *See* Liberty

Freud, Sigmund

1856–1938

a) Psychoanalysis of Religion and Theory of Culture. Freud is known for having asserted ever more confidently an association between religion and obsessional neurosis. “[O]ne might venture to regard obsessional neurosis as a pathological counterpart of the formation of a religion,” he wrote in 1907 (“Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices”). This association, which appears throughout Freud’s work, is not a diagnosis drawn from clinical experience and observation of certain constants (endless repetition of rituals, magical expectation of their effectiveness, proliferating fabrications about their origin); it rather has to do with a theory of religion and a concomitant interpretation of culture. At the intersection of prehistory, ethnology, and psychoanalysis, Freud asserts that the establishment of collective ritual practices and the recognition of fellow human beings have a common foundation in the dissolution of social organization caused by a sexual impulse that also engenders neurosis.

During the founding events of collective life, this impulse is said to have destroyed the imaginary and megalomaniacal identification of the members of the primal horde with the supposed sexual omnipotence of their leader. This identification, by subjecting them to the authority* of the “archaic Father*,” and to the constraints guaranteeing the life of the group, provided them with sexual satisfaction only by means of the expectation of an imaginary legacy. The archaic Father is said to have been put to death in circumstances that excluded his customary replacement. The organization of the group is then supposed to have collapsed and required the establishment of a fraternal pact: that is, a new social organization based on a new distribution of sexual energy. The sons now have access to women and recognize one another as alike and equal; but because the catastrophe was just barely avoided, sexual energy is in part turned against the self. Anxiety therefore infuses sexuality and organizes its expression (incest taboo, exogamy, prohibition of killing the rival); anxiety is produced individually in the form of obsessions, and collectively in the form of a totemic cult, which oscillates between expiation for the primal murder, nostalgia for a return to the authority of the archaic Father, and exaltation over his removal. The establishment of the totem is interpreted to mean that the ar-

chaic Father is not dead and that his protective power has survived. The burdensome veneration he receives restores the former submission and deserves some recompense. As for the periodic sacrifice and eating of the totem, they symbolically repeat the action of the conspirators and confirm their descendants’ possession of the stolen omnipotence of the archaic Father. Totemism thus works to maintain the fraternal bond but allows guilt to spread and to be repeated.

All religions thus obsessively bring together a demand for sexual pleasure and the desire to reconnect with an omnipotence that has been overcome by proliferating sacrificial practices. Establishing a link between recognition of fellow human beings, religion, and neurosis, religion becomes an ambiguous partner of culture. It tames asocial instincts and participates in the psychic development of fear. Moreover, it evades the critique inevitably provoked by the conflict between illusory hopes and real sacrifices only by imposing itself on people at an early age and thereby limiting their intellectual development.

This analysis applies to Judaism* and to a lesser extent to Christianity. With respect to the Jewish religion, Freud thought it possible to establish that Moses was put to death by Egyptian slaves who had been led across the Red Sea. Evoking the unconscious memory of the primal murder, this crime violently divided Jewish consciousness between the expectation of the highest election and the necessity of subjecting themselves to divine law*. The result was an unequalled ethical tension finding its counterpart in an identity entirely based on the exaltation and the work of intelligence. Christianity is also rooted in the climate of totemism. In the Eucharist*, what is involved is an omnipotent hero, his putting to death, and the symbolic incorporation of his power. But by reason of the historical proximity of the death of Jesus*, Paul, the creator of this “new religion,” was unable to identify the omnipotence of Christ* with that of the archaic Father. Reviving fantasies that preceded totemism and are detectable in the cults of mother goddesses, he made Christianity into a “religion of the Son,” in which Jesus is the repository of an omnipotence that is to be shared, not challenged. This religion proposed a regression that was likely to reactivate polytheistic

tendencies (the cult of Mary* and of the saints) but that would not have, theoretically, any cultural influence. Freud, however, took note of the cultural importance of Christianity, largely attributing the credit for this to the Reformation.

b) Reception of the Freudian Critique. Freud's analysis has lost the points of support on which it originally relied. Protohistorians soon abandoned the hypothesis of the primal horde, and ethnologists that of the descent of all religions from a totemic cult. Biologists have challenged the possibility of cultural heredity, and psychoanalysts have expressed surprise at Freud's silence on the position of women. Moreover, the Freudian theory of Christianity develops a second theory of religion hardly compatible with the first, neglects the developments of Trinitarian theology (Trinity*), and overemphasizes the cult of the Virgin.

Furthermore, Freudian analysis appears to have had little effect on many thinkers. Badly received in Jewish cultural circles, it was considered an unfortunate deviation (O. Pfister, R. Laforgue). Although some disciples (E. Jones, G. Roheim) drew on it in order to study myths*, these individuals' work made little impact on specialists in the history of mythology. As for other readers of Freud, either they did not attempt to articulate with reference to a particular point their general reservations concerning psychoanalysis, or they paid more attention to the relations between religion and psychoanalysis as articulated by Lacan (C. Lévi-Strauss, D. Vasse).

We might then conclude that the Freudian theory of religion is merely an extrapolation, outside its field of operation, of the *nil nisi sexuelle* dear to Freud, unless we consider that it sheds interesting light on the occupation with and contamination of religion by neurosis.

But we can go further. The Freudian approach to totemism under the categories of the archaic, the sexual, and the infantile certainly constitutes a myth (Freud himself calls it a "scientific myth"); it nevertheless produced a major shift with regard to the positivist interpretation of religion. By making the Parousia of the positive spirit the structuring axis of history*, A. Comte (1798–1857) had in fact strengthened the positions of rationalism* against religion: since humanity must necessarily move away from belief, it is appropriate to endure the rhythm of that movement. Far from flatly reiterating the positivist credo, *The Future of an Illusion* asserts that if there is indeed an illusion and its prompt dissipation is to be desired, its pure and simple disappearance cannot be expected. There is at work in it, even if awkwardly, a psychic dynamism that lies at the very foundation of our culture. *Civilization and Its Discontents* again considers the incapacity

of the *logos* to provide an account of human development that has any immediacy. An irritating thorn is thus set in the heart of rationalist conviction, and it is not gratuitous. Classical philosophy* was interested in representation as a repository of knowledge; those representations were called religious that were devoid of any identifiable knowledge content. This simplistic definition of the religious was, however, challenged under the pressure of a critical movement internal to rationality. The advent of the natural sciences, and the role played in them by perception, led to the idea that representations do not come from two sources, one rational, the other affective, but that everything comes together in a representational process operating at the juncture of individual inclinations and stimuli emanating from reality. Taking up this argument, psychoanalysis investigates the dialectic of desire developing in religious representations and in their ritual staging. Without accepting everything that it says on the subject, we can agree that it does not dishonor religion by seeking to understand how the sexual, understood as the stimulus to an unavoidable interest in others, is at work in it; and how it serves, even awkwardly, the joint development of sociability and culture. Psychoanalysis would thus attempt to understand the transmutation of *éros* into *agapè* (love*).

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JACQUES GAGEY

See also **Ethics; Sexual; Hermeneutics; Marx, Karl; Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm; Pauline Theology; Sin**

Fundamental Choice

Fundamental choice is a theory according to which the sequence of acts performed by an individual is underpinned by a fundamental choice for or against God*, for or against the good*. The theory makes the concept of "mortal sin*" impossible, that is, an individual sinful act that is enough in itself to separate man from God. The theory has a certain force: it compels us to

evaluate every existence through the totality of its decisions and its developments. It also has a certain weakness: it presupposes the existence of an underlying coherence, both in the present and over time—but moral choices, in the plural, may very well be incoherent, both synchronically and diachronically.

JEAN-YVES LACOSTE

Fundamental Theology

Christianity is a religion of revelation, and this gives fundamental theology its primary and constant mission as well as its very content. "So faith comes from hearing" (Rom 10:17). But in what way is the proclaimed or well-understood announcement credible? Who guarantees it? The right to take a position freely before the challenge of the Christian preaching* entails the duty of being accountable for this decision to oneself and to others, as much as is rationally possible. The Bible defines the program of fundamental theology: "Always being prepared to make a defense to anyone who asks you for a reason for the hope that is in you" (1 Pt 3:15; *see also* Phil 1:7 and 1:16).

I. History of Fundamental Theology

The history of fundamental theology is first of all one of its content, and second, one of the names it has been given.

1. Stages of Apology and Apologetics

a) Antiquity and Middle Ages. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, Christian apologetics targeted, on the one hand, Judaism* and on the other, the Greek "pagan" environment where the first Christians lived. Later, it targeted Islam. The writings of the New Testament already sought to highlight their own consistency

with the Old Testament, which could be read as typologically foreshadowing the arrival of the Messiah, Jesus*. Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* (v. 160) opened a millennium of polemic literature, *Adversus Iudaeos*. A dozen or more classical apologists* in the second century A.D. raised their voices against the accusations and errors of the "Hellenes" (see F. Morel's *Corpus Apologetarum*, Paris, 1615). Subsequent times saw the development of great polemics against the "Mohammedans" or the "Moors," as in, for example, *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Iudaeos*, written by Raymond Martini in about 1220–1284.

b) *From the Reformation to the Enlightenment*. It was during this period that Christian apologetics underwent a sufficiently systematic development to earn its name, which did not appear until the 18th century, and then in Protestant literature! (See Ebeling 1970.) Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) shows the transition from circumstantial apologetics to a more fundamental one, which flourished later in the historic upheavals of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries (see Niemann's *From Medieval Apology to Modern Apologetics*, 1983). Precursors of the Reformation, such as John Wyclif (†1384) and Jan Hus*, had already questioned the legitimacy of the papal church* and its hierarchy*. The reaction to these criticisms engendered the first *Tractatus de Ecclesia* (Jean de Raguse, 1431; Juan de Turrecremata, 1486.)

Subsequently, the great Reformation of the Western Latin Church (Luther*, Zwingli*, Calvin*) enhanced the need for urgently defining the "True Church" by its essential characteristics, *notae ecclesiae*. Among all the qualities attributed to the Church of Jesus, four traits took shape based on the ancient symbols: unity*, sanctity*, catholicity (in the etymological sense of universality), and apostolicity. (For the Catholic Church, see Thils 1937, and for the Protestant churches, Steinacker 1982.) The Church of Rome* claimed exclusive ownership over these, and a very systematic part of its apologetics—the *demonstratio catholica*—was mostly devoted to justifying this claim.

Pierre Charron (1541–1603) in his apology of the *Trois verités...*, published in 1593, divided into three parts the issues that were to preoccupy theologians far beyond the Age of Enlightenment*. Here are the treatises corresponding to the three truths in question (2nd expanded edition, Paris, 1595):

1. *Religion* in general: "There is a religion accessible to all and to everyone, as against all atheists and nonreligious persons" (1).
2. *Christianity*: "Christianity is the best religion of all: opposing all nonbelievers, Gentiles, Jews and Mohammedans" (113).

3. The *Catholic Church*: "Of all the divisions existing in Christianity, the Roman Catholic is the best: opposing all heretics and schismatics" (193 and up to 607).

In his *Triumphus Crucis* (1497) Savonarola had already treated the triple issue of religion, Christianity, and the church, although he had only touched on ecclesiology* in a marginal way. On the other hand, the Huguenot Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1549–1623), arguing against Catholicism*, devoted a special work to ecclesiology, the *Traité de l'Église* (1578), while the fundamental question of God* and Christianity from the perspective of Revelation* provided the subject for yet another book, *De la vérité de la religion chrétienne* (1581.)

In the tripartite structure of apologetics, strictly confessional defense is preceded by two other parts, devoted respectively to *demonstratio religiosa* and *demonstratio christiana*, and it is the latter that theologians of the Enlightenment emphasized. The issue was no longer the differences between Christians but Christianity as a religion of Revelation, which Deism* wanted to replace by a religion of nature* and reason*. Opposing that, the theologians evoked the miracles* of Jesus and the actualization of the messianic prophecies* of the Old Testament to prove Jesus' "supernatural*" and divine mission. Thus, a whole new subdivision devoted to revelation appeared within *demonstratio christiana*, and the issues of whether revelation was possible and necessary were most often discussed in rational terms, regardless of the fact that it had occurred in Jesus.

There was abundant apologetic literature of the 18th century (see Niemann 1983), and much of it illustrates the principle of the tripartite division—for example, in the *Vertheidigung der natürlichen, christlichen und katholischen Religion nach den Bedürfnissen unserer Zeiten* (1787–89), by Beda Mayr, O.S.B. The middle part of this work in its turn is divided into two volumes. The Irishman Hook, who taught at the Sorbonne, also wrote a *Religionis naturalis et revelatae principia* (1754) based on the model "natural religion—religion of Revelation—church."

c) *19th and 20th Centuries*. The 19th and 20th centuries saw the spread of late-Enlightenment radical atheism* in the form of vulgar materialism, of dogmatic "dialectical" materialism, and even of a pathos of freedom based on existential precepts. The time had come for the third systematic part of apologetics, *demonstratio religiosa*, establishing the existence of God as a precondition for a possible revelation and discussing his qualities, as well as his relation with the

world* and with humanity as the Creator. These fundamental questions took a place of prominence in voluminous works appearing in German around 1900 under the title of *Christian Apologetics*—for example, the works of Schanz, Hettinger, and Weiss. Neoscholastic thought had risen to the ranks of an official doctrine of the Catholic Church since the time of Leo XIII, and Leo's encyclical *Aeternis Patris* of 1879, and was grounded in the teachings of Thomas* Aquinas, who would inspire a number of manuals right up to the 20th century, such as those by Garrigou-Lagrange (Le Saulchoir, Belgique, 1929–31, 3rd Ed.), Dieckmann S.J. (Valkenburg, 1925–30), and Tromp S.J. (Rome, 1937).

Mention should be made of Lang, who wrote three books in Germany: one on religion (1957), another on the mission of Jesus, and the third on church ministry (1954, 1967–68, 4th Ed.). Also of note are the treatises on religion, revelation, and the church in the first three volumes of the four-volume *Handbuch der Fundamentaltheologie* (1985–88) by Kern et al.

2. Fundamental Theology: Term and Content

The first work to use the title *Fundamental Theology* was a two-volume manual by Ehrlich (1810–64), published in Prague in 1859 and 1862. The author added to that two notebooks of *Apologetic Supplements* (1863–64), emphasizing in §34 that the task of fundamental theology “is the same as that of apologetics” (see also §16).

Prior to that, Schwetz's work *Theologia generalis* had appeared in Latin (Vienna, 1850) and would subsequently be republished with revealing changes of title: *Theologia generalis seu fundamentalis* (1854), then *Theologia fundamentalis seu generalis* (1858–82).

Similarly, there was A. Knoll's *Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae generalis seu fundamentalis* (Innsbruck, 1852) and Guzmics's *Theologia christiana fundamentalis* (Turin, 1828). The general metaphor of “fundament” (basis) appeared in apologetic literature of the early 18th century, and “Fundamental Theology” seemed to echo the then frequent title of *Fundamental Philosophy* (see *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* 2, 1972).

Ehrlich aims to show that salvation through revelation, as it appeared with Jesus, is the turning point of all human history*. This belies the strong influence of the Catholic School of Tübingen (from the first half of the 19th century)—specifically, that of Drey (1777–1853) and of the Freiburg professor Staudenmaier (1800–56); and through their influence Ehrlich would reveal himself to be an heir of Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher*. Drey's main work, *Die Apolo-*

getik als wissenschaftliche Nachweisung der Göttlichkeit des Christentums in seiner Erscheinung (1838–47) comprises three volumes: I, *Philosophy of Revelation*; II, *Religion in Its Historical Development and Its Fulfillment in the Revelation of Christ*; and III, *Christian Revelation in the Catholic Church*. Thus, Christianity is situated in the context of the universal history of religions, which finds in Christianity its culmination, and constitutes in its internal coherence and organic whole a history of divine revelation. For Drey, all religion is based on “man's [natural] contact and link with God,” an “internal revelation” (I), and an inspiration bestowed in the very act of creation. But there is also a need for an “external revelation” (see I), so that the “internal image” of God in the human being can acquire an explicit form. Just as creation is subdivided spirit and nature into two areas, divine revelation works by inspiration and miracle. Reality can only be proven through reality (see I). Thus, apologetics (whose name Drey retained) actually became fundamental theology.

Neoscholastics and the First Vatican* Council put an end to the spread of the ideas of the Tübingen School. Yet, manuals, even when following a more traditional apologetic line, continued to appear, preferably under the modern title of *Fundamental Theology*, which referred simultaneously to the justification of faith as a decision and the basis of theology*.

3. Fundamental Doctrine

In theology the term *fundamental doctrine* has a global concept that may refer to two areas: 1) a formal and epistemological approach to theological sources and methods, and (2) a materialistic and hermeneutic approach to the fundamental questions of the Christian faith.

a) *Theory of Theological Knowledge*. Works that sought to lay the foundations of a scientific study of theology were often given the title *Theory of Theological Knowledge*. Other titles given to such works included *Encyclopédie théologique*, *Theologia generalis*, *Introduction...*, and *Prolégomènes de la dogmatique*. Pierre Annat (1638–1715) accepted in 1700 that his *Theologia positiva*, devoted to these issues, be called *Fundamentalis Theologia*—the oldest occurrence of this term found to date (Stirnimann 1977).

In the beginning, the *encyclopedic* nature of these works was promoted. Schleiermacher's *Brief Outline on the Study of Theology* (1811) had a determining influence on Catholic theologians Drey in his *Brief Introduction...* (1819) and Staudenmaier in his *Encyclopaedia...* (1834). In Pelt's *Theologische Encyclopaedie* (1843) fundamental theology, or “the fundamental

doctrine” (the first part of a systematic theology), is devoted to a discussion of the “principles of the unique Christian Church... and the principles underlying various confessions.”

It is in this framework that Gerhard Ebeling’s works (1970; 1975) aroused a new interest in fundamental theology in the Protestant world, even though it had long been considered “a Catholic specificity.” Here it was approached as the science of the basic principles underlying the whole of theology and all particular theological disciplines (1970). In 1974 Wilfrid Joest accomplished Ebeling’s program in his own way by publishing the first Protestant work under the title of *Fundamentaltheologie*; it was subtitled *Theological Problems about Basis and Methods*. The methodological part deals with theology’s function and (exclusively scriptural) sources; its hermeneutic, logical, and semantic problems; and, finally, its scientific character.

On the Catholic side, the theory of theological knowledge claims to have its roots in Melchior Cano’s *Loci theologici*. The classical scholastic work is Scheeben’s *Theory of Theological Knowledge* (1874.) The evolution of Catholic thought in the last century—affected, among other things, by Vatican* II—has influenced theological epistemology, which is the subject of the fourth treatise of the *Handbuch der Fundamentaltheologie*. Its topics are: God’s word* and faith, the Holy* Scripture, tradition*, catechesis*, and theology as a science of faith and its scientific practice.

b) Toward a Fundamental Theory of Christianity. The need for such a theory has been largely felt. As Seckler (1988) has pointed out, “we are lacking genuine advanced research into the essential content of Christianity” on its basis and its central message. The Tübingen School largely opened the way in this direction. Recently there have been some landmark advances in the area of the so-called “fundamental items” (since the 17th and 18th centuries): the “essence of the Scripture,” the “essence of Christianity,” the “hierarchy of truths” (Vatican II, *Unitatis Redintegratio* 11) and the “abbreviated formulae of the faith.” Rahner’s *Grundkurs des Glaubens* (1976; translated into English in 1978 as *Foundations of Christian Faith*) has sought to play the role of an introduction to “the concept of Christianity.” Söhngen revived an older project of Rahner’s (see the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 2, 1960). It sought to construct a noology of revelation as a primary and rigorously formal science. (It would have been unfortunate to give this discipline the initially planned name of *Fundamentale Theologie*, since it would have been indistinguishable from *Fundamentaltheologie* except by means of an untranslatable graphic device.)

Joest reflects upon the “basis of faith” (26) and the “ultimate confidence underlying the faith” (50) in the part of his *Fundamental Theology* devoted to the principles of theology (see Seckler 1975). This primary foundation is Jesus Christ in whom “God Himself is present among humankind” (50.) But *how* he is present is only described *within* faith: the primary question of the *justification* remains to be answered, not that of faith itself but of the credibility* of its proclamation.

II. Understanding Revelation and Justifying Its Credibility

1. Traditional Approach of Vatican I

In its constitution, *Dei Filius*, promulgated on 24 April 1870, Vatican I made the following declaration against fideism* and traditionalism*: “God, who is the end and origin of everything, can be known with certainty through the natural light of the mind from all things created” (1991 *Enchiridion Symbolorum* 3004; see Rom 1:20). “Natural (or philosophic) theology” manifesting this knowledge is part of the “preambles of faith.” The council opposed rationalism*, specifically, the semirationalism of Hermes and Günther (*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*), who, following Kant* and Hegel* respectively, admitted that even the “mysteries*” of supernatural revelation could be grasped by reason in their internal possibility, once their reality was recognized. The council affirmed that there were terms of faith “totally surpassing human intelligence (*humanae mentis intelligentiam omnino superant*)” in such a way that their revelation by God is “absolutely necessary” (1991 *Enchiridion Symbolorum* 3005). These mysteries are believed, therefore, “not because of their intrinsic truth, acknowledged by the light of natural reason (*non propter...intrinsicam veritatem*) but by virtue of the authority of God himself as the author of revelation” (*Enchiridion Symbolorum* 3008). These are “secrets hidden in God,” *propria dicta mysteria*, among which theological education places highest the Trinity*, Incarnation*, and the Eucharist*.

Knowledge of (supernatural) revelation is justified above all by the miracles*, which are considered “absolutely certain signs, understandable to everyone,” as well as by the accomplishment of prophecies (*Enchiridion Symbolorum* 3033). The church “itself is a powerful and constant source of credibility...by virtue of its marvelous propagation, its eminent sanctity, and its inexhaustible generation of good” (the council borrowed this idea from Cardinal Dechamps). It is possible, moreover, that “reason enlightened by faith may yield the mysteries of faith to a certain intelligence that is sometimes extremely productive (*aliquam...mysteriorum intelligentiam*), relying just as

much on the analogy* with objects of natural knowledge as on the consistency of the mysteries among themselves and with the ultimate human goal.” Thus, side by side with external criteria, Vatican I admitted both *objective* and *internal* criteria justifying the credibility of revelation.

2. New Approach of Vatican II

The transformation of Vatican I into Vatican II is marked by the influence of Pascal* and Newman*, through the intermediary of what is usually called the “apologetics of immanence”—see Blondel*, but also *De la certitude morale* (1919, 8th Ed.) by Ollé-Laprune (1839–98), Laberthonnière (1860–1932), and Gardeil (1859–1931). For this approach, it is not only the intellect but human beings as a whole, with their will and emotion, who must seek access to the revelation (see Aubert 1958 and Waldenfels 1969).

The old apologetics, which had been reproached with adhering almost exclusively to criteria external to the revelation, had been mostly derived from manuals of theology still subscribing to the demonstrative scheme of Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa Theologica* (III, q. 43, a.e 1): “For those things which are of faith surpass human reason, hence they cannot be proved by human arguments” but only “by the argument of Divine power: so that when a man does works that God alone can do, we may believe that what he says is from God.” This was followed by a comparison: “Just as when a man is a bearer of letters sealed with the king’s ring, it is to be believed that what they contain expresses the king’s will.”

a) *Perfect Intelligence of Revelation.* Aquinas’s comparison shows how much the event of revelation was reduced to the expression of a formal doctrinal authority, which, once legitimized, was to be accepted without questioning, whatever teaching it might proclaim. This presupposes, first of all, that it is possible to fundamentally *separate* the *fact* of a revelation from its *content*. However, that is not at all the case. According to Vatican II’s constitution, *Dei Verbum*, “It pleased God...to reveal himself and to make known the mystery of his will thanks to which men, through Christ...become sharers in divine nature; [in this revelation, the invisible God talks to men] to invite and receive them in communion with Him. The economy of Revelation is realized by deeds and words, which are intrinsically bound up with each other.” Revelation consists neither of words only, nor of various *truths*—in the plural—alone, concerning the mysteries, but in the *reality* of the *unique* mystery of the act by which God communicates his presence to the people. It is in the “fact” of revelation that his essential content—God

himself—offers himself to us. The fact implies the content; the content renders the fact explicit. That is why no one can know the fact of revelation without being existentially confronted with its content.

b) *Cumulative Justification.* Revelation thus understood cannot be subjected to traditional demonstration. If it is impossible to separate the fact from the content of revelation, then it is imperative to abandon the second precept of Aquinas’s citation and deny that revelation, as a fact, can and must be the object of a direct and rigorous argument, based on the historical reality of miracles that can only be attributed to the actual power of God. This would mean taking the content of revelation, the global mystery of the faith, to the level of natural truths accessible to human reason.

This necessarily leads to rethinking the apologetic call for *miracles*, which should no longer be perceived as a break in the laws of nature by the sublime power of the Almighty but, in Augustine’s words, as an act “which contradicts not nature but only our *experience of nature*,” an act “going against the *generally known* course of nature” (*De civitate Dei* 1:21 and *Contra Faustum* 29:4). Therefore, miracles should be defined as unusual events in the structure of global meaning that religion establishes, as events, which one understands, while remaining open to them, as accomplished by God in a particular manner (through the intermediary of “secondary,” interworld reasons).

The Resurrection* of Jesus Christ surpasses by far all “physical miracles.” Paul lists in 1 Corinthians 15:5–8 those who witnessed the apparition of the Crucified whom they recognized as living. As for the *via empirica*, the empirical justification of the credibility of revelation through the practice of the actual church (according to Vatican I—see above), it can be obtained only through “the contribution of Christianity to a more human world” (*Handbuch der Fundamentaltheologie* IV); the defense of human dignity; and the affirmation of the rights of all human beings to freedom and equality; but also through such peaks of literary apology as *Le génie du christianisme* (1802) by Chateaubriand (1768–1848), along with *Les martyrs ou le triomphe de la religion* (1809), and such official church documents as the pastoral constitution *The Church in the Modern World* (*Gaudium et Spes* 5) by Vatican II and Pope Jean-Paul II’s inaugural encyclical *Redemptor hominis*. The “external” criteria, in their multiplicity and diversity, contribute by their global convergence—in Newman’s “illative sense” (*Grammar of Assent*, Chapter IX)—to creating a “moral” certainty with regard to the divine legitimacy of Jesus and the church, which lives and proclaims His Gospel.

c) *“Internal Logos” of Revelation.* “The miracles of Jesus also demonstrate that the kingdom has already come on: ‘But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you’ (Luke 11:20; see Matt. 12:28).” With this passage (from *Lumen Gentium* 5), Vatican II established that miracles are *not only external signs*. God’s Kingdom is manifested first and foremost “in the person* of Christ himself” (*Lumen Gentium* 5). His church constitutes “the sign and the instrument of the most intimate union with God, as the unity of the entire human race” (*Lumen Gentium* 5.1). Its members must be a “sign that renders Christ visible in a way that is perfectly adapted to our times” (*Apostolicam Actuositatem* 16.) All of this indicates that at the *very heart* of the person and work of Jesus one can find revelation, which he not only proclaimed but truly incarnated.

Vatican I accepted that the *teachings* of Jesus—as collected in the writings of the New Testament and interpreted by the councils* of the early centuries through the characteristic dogmas* of Christianity—also allow an individual *in himself* to attain a certain understanding of the mysteries of faith (*Enchiridion Symbolorum* 3016). How far can one go in this direction that fundamental theology has not yet exploited to the full? What is the boundary of the program of *fides quaerens intellectum*, the “faith seeking rational intelligence”?

Fundamental theology can and must adhere to this program: “The human reason, in its attempt to understand the content of faith, can find ‘material reasons’ that help satisfy the demands of justification” (Pottmeyer 1988). We must show “*the internal coherence* of the message of Revelation and the faithful interpretation that it is possible to give, through this message, of our experience* of reality”; we must bring to the fore its “internal rationality.” But can the internal coherence of the faith in the Trinity be proven—as Hegel undertook to do—“in the medium of intersubjective rationality” (Seckler 1988)? Can it even be “integrated into other non-Christian cognitive frameworks to find *itself in them*?” The *Handbuch der Fundamentaltheologie* contains examples (I:189–93 and II:71–83; see also, on a more “material” level, II:197–222) ascribing to fundamental theology the task of “opening to knowledge” (IV:486) the “content of faith” (487)—to the extent that truth “given media coverage through faith can open itself to reason as governed by God” (477)! This is the task that a treatise on the “theory of Christianity” would have to fulfill (see above). But that would mean betraying its legitimate intention to expect answers from it that it could not provide.

d) *Justification by Witnessing.* Someone who represents a credible authority, worthy of confidence, is

called a “witness.” He is the “appropriate intermediary of the message of Revelation” (Pottmeyer 1988). According to Vatican II, every Christian “must be a witness before the world to the resurrection and life of the Lord Jesus” (*Lumen Gentium* 38) and “must learn to give witness to the hope that is in them (1 Peter 3:15)” (*Gravissimum Educationis* 2). Over and above verbal testimony, the council promotes testimony from experience. Certainly, what matters in the long run is what the testimony tells of God and his Kingdom and thus of the eternal destiny of every human being. But “the testimony cannot be separated from what it testifies to, nor can the certificate be separated from its certified content” (Ratzinger, in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* II, 511; cited in Pottmeyer 1988). The witnesses give to the Kingdom of God a physical reality and a human face in concrete history. Thus, the testimony appears as an indispensable means of making revelation credible through experience, because truth acquires a convincing presence and an immediate transparency in the one testifying. This representation of the truth *within* and *through* the witness makes patently clear the conjunction of internal and external reasons on which faith in the revelation is founded, still without any doubt, and in varying proportions.

III. Toward Building a Fundamental Theology

The history of fundamental theology and the debate on the central articulation of revelation and credibility suggest the following agenda:

- A. Fundamental theology as a science of foundations (“material part”):
 1. Religion of the one God
 2. Revelation in and by Jesus
 3. Structures of the church
- B. Fundamental theology as a science of the basis (“reflexive part”):
 4. Theological epistemology
 5. Reflection on fundamental theology
 6. Theory of Christianity

Let us briefly explain this agenda: *Part A* preserves the tripartition of apologetics as it has appeared since the beginning of modernity and has been maintained throughout all changes of approach. By *apologetics* is meant not only the defense of Christianity “toward the exterior” but first and foremost the responsibility of Christians toward themselves and their companions in faith. In *Part B.4*: Theological epistemology discusses not only the sources and methods of theology as a science (see above) and its subdivision into various disciplines, but also poses in depth the question of how the church as a community of faith acquires specific

knowledge (see Seckler in *Theologische Quartalsschrift*, 1983). B.5 reflects more precisely—as we have tried to do here, however briefly and imperfectly—on the discipline of fundamental theology.

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See also **Dogmatic Theology; Hermeneutics; Theology; Truth**

Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism is a type of religious reaction to all forms of modernity. Within Christianity this phenomenon is mostly characteristic of Protestantism* but is

also found in Catholicism*. In fact, the term *fundamentalism* was coined in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century, but it was only toward the

end of that century that the term began to be applied to some Catholic movements.

a) Protestantism. Between 1900 and 1915 a group of conservative evangelical Protestants published a series of brochures entitled *The Fundamentals*. These brochures responded to a certain number of discussions that had been animating American Protestantism over the preceding half a century. In the beginning, Protestant evangelical churches*, although they had their differences, shared a certain common perspective, but toward the end of the 19th century three debates tore them apart. The first one occurred as a number of liberal- and modern-minded Protestants accepted Darwinian theories of evolution*. The second one was due to the teaching of biblical criticism (exegesis*) in some major seminaries. The final disagreement resulted from the progressive view of history* that was characteristic of liberal Protestantism: a view whereby an immanent God* was bringing forth his Kingdom* with the help of human effort. These ideas gained a lot of support at a time when many evangelists were ardent followers of millenarian and apocalyptic* views of the imminent end of the world*.

During the First World War, different churches fought for power. The conservatives (especially among some Baptists* and Presbyterians*) sought to keep their power when they had it or to regain it if they had lost it. They fought mostly about the teaching of theology* and the locations for sending out missions*. In 1919, a global association, the World's Christian Fundamentals Association, became the common mouthpiece for all churches concerned. In July 1920, a Baptist journalist, Curtis Lee Laws, editor-in-chief of *Baptist Watchman-Examiner*, appealed to all those who thought like him to call themselves *fundamentalists*, and the term prevailed. Laws criticized the conservatives' passivity: the church needed people who were ready to fight for the Lord. Thus, all who rallied to fundamentalism were considered fighters against modernity*. They practiced a literal interpretation of the Bible*: for them, Mary*'s immaculate conception had actually taken place, as had the punishment of Christ* for our sins (expiation*); real, too, were the physical resurrection* of bodies and the Second Coming. And underneath all this lay a literal conception of the infallibility of the Bible.

At the time of these debates fundamentalism received a certain amount of unwelcome publicity through a Tennessee trial about the teaching of evolution in schools. The moderates and liberals retained control over their churches while the defeated fundamentalists left the churches to establish their own confessional groups, biblical colleges, papers, radio stations, and so on. Opposing their extremist positions,

in 1942 the moderates created a World Evangelical Association that the fundamentalists attacked. The fundamentalists became visible again in the last third of the 20th century, reacting against the liberal trends in major Protestant churches.

In the United States the first fundamentalist movement was generally apolitical; but the most recent movements, conversely, are openly and aggressively political. Building alliances with some more moderate evangelical conservatives, they have organized to seek political power. After 1980 they became very influential among the Republicans. About the same time identical, although less politicized, forces gained ground in Canadian Protestantism and, finally, in Latin America and other countries where the United States has been sending missionaries. This is how a fundamentalist party came to power repeatedly in Guatemala.

b) Catholicism. The fundamentalist movement in the Catholic Church has not been significant. The infallibility of the Bible is not a dogma* for Catholics, thus offering little ground for fundamentalism. Catholicism allows some leeway for developing dogma (John Henry Newman*) as well as for the importance of tradition* and, in contrast to the fundamentalists, it does not consider the Bible to be the only authority*.

Yet one can observe some Catholic movements today that are quasi-fundamentalist. They emphasize the conservative pontifical documents from the last few centuries and are wary of the more moderate decrees of Vatican* II (Monsignor Lefèbvre's anti-Vatican II movement in France is a vivid example). These movements did not draw undue attention from the hierarchy*, but they did influence certain informal developers of fundamentalism among some Catholics. Some such influences came from relations with Protestants—such as through charismatic movements that crossed denominational borders.

c) Main Characteristics of Fundamentalism. The array of conservative, orthodox*, and other traditional* movements are not necessarily fundamentalist. Their attitudes must be transformed for them to become fundamentalism. First of all, they have to become a lot more militant than they normally are. Fundamentalists claim orthodoxy, but they have a tendency to choose doctrines and practices that they qualify as fundamental. Feeling threatened by the destructive forces of modernity, they avidly grab at anything that might help them eliminate the threat to their faith* and their personal and social identity.

Being determined to defend themselves, fundamentalists take their position from a particular document (most often the Bible), which serves them as a rule to

discern what is really “fundamental.” They have a tendency to constitute separate groups and clearly distinguish themselves, sometimes even in a Manichean way, from the rest of the Christians and the world around them. They leave no territory for agreement with others and no room for moderates. “True believers” find the moderates a lot more dangerous than the moderns or the “unfaithful.” Equipped with their principles, they apply Laws’s command: fight for God. They consider themselves specially chosen to accomplish the divine designs while confidently approaching the apocalyptic end of history. Indeed, moderate evangelical, pentecostal, and conservative movements are more popular than the fundamentalists; still, the fundamentalists have been thriving in the times of secular and ecclesiastic upheaval that are centered on the end of the second millennium. They appear authoritative to people who do not know what to hope for and easily

accept the model of a church that would protect them from all others and would allow them to combat the forces deemed hostile to God.

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MARTIN E. MARTY

See also Choice; Eschatology; Literary Genres in Scripture; Messianism/Messiah; Millenarianism; Myth; Salvation; Secularization; Theology; Traditionalism

G

Gadamer, Hans Georg. *See* Hermeneutics

Gallicanism

Even though it wrongly suggests the existence of a uniform doctrine, “Gallicanism” is a useful term of reference for a series of distinctively French attitudes toward ecclesiastical power, and the principles on which they were based. Its unifying principle was a resistance on both political and ecclesiastical grounds to maximalist interpretations of pontifical primacy, as exemplified by ultramontanism*. However, the bedrock of Gallicanism was primarily political: it represented the concept of what would come to be called the “separation of powers,” the total division of the spiritual from the temporal.

1. History

The foundations of all future Gallicanism were probably laid by the juridical counselors who developed the principle of this separation during the conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and the French King Philip the Fair (1303), and also by the clerics* who simultaneously developed its dogmatic* aspects (Jean de Paris, 1302). References to the original Gallicanism, which brought into play a typically medieval conception

of society*, would have a long life, but its interpretations would be rereadings and datings. Another founding element of a “Gallican” conception was the prospect of an internal reform of the Church*, to be carried out by the General Council (Durand de Mende, 1312), and the Schism* of the West made this prospect seem quite real and imminent. By proclaiming the superiority of the Council as the representative of the Church militant, the Council of Constance* (1414–17) marked an important turning point. And although French authors held a central place in the elaboration of the Council’s theses, it was not only on account of their proposal of an ecclesiology* of a mystico-corporative type (Gerson, d’Ailly), but also because of their arguments against the defenders of papal power, a rationale based often on an ancient ecclesiastical right of which only France was supposed to have preserved the traces—the *Freedoms of the Gallican Church*, of which the monarchy was the protector. The *Pragmatic Sanction* of Bourges (1438), an adapted acceptance of the Council of Basel*’s decrees, reinforced these abstract references and tendentious reconstructions.

Never put into effect, this text would become an idealized reference; in 1516, a concordat between France and the Holy See replaced it. While moderating the wording, the concordat upheld certain of the demands of the *Pragmatic Sanction* with regard to Roman interventions, but suppressed elections to benefices, entrusting these appointments to the sovereign, with a right of ratification being reserved to the pope himself. From that date onward, the French sovereign assumed the role of mediator between the Gallican demands of the juridic counselors and theologians, who were preoccupied with preserving a participatory ecclesial model, and the most extreme of the Roman theorists. The Reformation was to make the situation more complex. By forcing French Catholics to choose between fidelity to Rome* or rejection of Rome, it could only weaken Gallican attitudes in those who wanted to remain faithful to Rome. On the other hand, the wish to preserve the kingdom's integrity also encouraged a more "political" attitude, which favored dialogue with the Protestants and a search for union. One French response to the Council of Trent* would make these elements clear. At the close of this Council, two forms of Catholicism* confronted each other in France, both manipulated by the monarch, who was trying in this way to control them more easily. On one side were ranged a party of "Romans" or ultramontanes, anxious to reform the Church according to the Tridentine model and the wishes of the papacy; on the other side, the "Gallicans," whom reasons of national unity (but also ideological motives) drove to reject this conception, which they countered with the principles of the ancient Church. Thus it was that the *Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane* was published in a collection designed to supply *proofs* of a different practice, that is, its authorized precedents (Pithou, 1598; Dupuy, 1639). At this stage, the Gallican resistance came just as much from parliamentary circles as from the ranks of the theologians.

In this matter the works of Edmond Richer (1559–1631), syndic of the Faculty of Theology in Paris, took on particular importance. By publishing Gerson's writings and those of the more extreme conciliarist authors, Richer really adopted the stance of a redrafter of ecclesiological Gallicanism. He set himself apart from Gerson's democratic conception (his 18th-century disciples would return to it) in order to bend it toward "sacerdotalism." In particular he added a political component to it by expounding a systematic regalism in his short *Libellus de ecclesiastica et politica potestate* (1612). Richer was condemned at the Synod* of Sens in 1612, and the clergy rejected an article proposed to the Etats Généraux in 1614, which shows that these ideas were not majority views. It was not until almost the end of the century that editions and

re-editions of the syndic's works would exert a real influence. But under Louis XIII, the Gallicanism of both the politicians and the ecclesiastics consisted above all in upholding national independence by maintaining a prudent relationship with Rome, on which Spanish influence was feared. The example of Richelieu, who used the Gallican arguments as a means of applying pressure or even of blackmailing, confirms the pragmatism of this attitude.

Of course, by asking the papacy to intervene in the Jansenist* question, France gave it the opportunity to assert its supremacy. Nonetheless, the French prelates were anxious to put into effect the reception of the papal bull *Cum Occasione* (1653) by adding their own interpretation. This effort, of which the archbishop of Toulouse, P. de Marca was the guiding spirit, simultaneously went against the varied strands of Gallicanism, the first successes of a renewal of the Catholic theology of the episcopacy, and the influence of historical works devoted to the great examples of the past. The successive interventions of popes concerning the Jansenist question and the difficulties to which it gave rise encouraged a more vigorous assertion of papal infallibility*. In theological circles strained relations resulted, and this tension soon took a political turn with the conflict between Louis XIV and Pope Alexander VII (1662). On that occasion the Faculty of Theology in Paris was "invited" to expound its doctrine on the points of contention. It obeyed in six articles (1663). The first three expressed the doctrine of the "separation of powers"; of the independence of royal power; and of the duty to obey. The other three contained an acknowledgment of Gallican liberties; a denial of papal supremacy over the Council; and a denial of infallibility. These prudently written proposals were taken up again, in part, in the *Quatre articles du clergé de France* of 1682.

The occasion which brought the latter into being was a new conflict between France and the papacy, this time about the right to regalia, that is, the king's prerogative to draw revenues from vacant abbeys, which had been extended to the whole of the kingdom. To put pressure on Innocent XI, the king and his ministers convoked a meeting of the clergy that produced a declaration in four articles. These articles, drafted by Bossuet, who instilled into them a patristic spirit, presented a codification of what until then had been simply a cluster of convergences:

- 1) In temporal matters, kings and sovereigns are subject to no ecclesiastical power within the order established by God. They cannot be deposed, either directly or indirectly, by invoking the authority* of the leaders of the Church. That same authority cannot dispense their subjects from the

submission and obedience which they owe them, nor absolve these subjects from the oath of fidelity.

- 2) The total power that the Apostolic See and the successors of Peter*, vicars of Jesus Christ, hold over spiritual matters is such that the decrees of the ecumenical Council of Constance nonetheless retain their full force.
- 3) The exercise of apostolic authority should be modeled on the canons created by the Spirit of God and be confirmed by the general respect of all. The rules, customs, and constitutions accepted in the kingdom and in the Gallican Church must retain their full force and traditional usages must remain unchanged.
- 4) The pope has the chief role in matters of faith*, and his decrees concern all the churches and each church individually. However, his judgment is not final without the consent of the Church.

This declaration truly constituted Gallicanism, that is, a doctrine peculiar to France, since it was ordered to be taught throughout the kingdom. And since, rather than condemn it explicitly (Alexander VIII's apostolic constitution, *Inter multiplices* [1690], dealt more with the process of promulgation than its content [DS 2281–85]), Rome preferred to encourage refutations, commentaries and defenses were published that contributed to the deeper examination and circulation of Gallican ideas. Far from resolving the conflict with Innocent XI, the declaration aggravated it, and the pope refused to grant investiture to the bishops chosen from among the members of that assembly. In 1688 Louis XIV had an appeal drawn up to the future General Council, thereby adding a dangerous precedent to the Gallican arsenal. A compromise was negotiated with Innocent XII: the bishops appointed had to disavow the declaration and Louis XIV had to agree that it would not be taught. The king did not keep his word, and the teaching of the articles of 1682 remained obligatory during the whole of the Ancien Régime—which is what gave the 18th century French church its seeming Gallican homogeneity.

Anxious to control the religious situation in France, Louis XIV again approached Rome, which he asked to intervene in the issues raised by Quietism* (which the pope did in the 1699 bull *Cum alias*), then again on the question of Jansenism (*Vineam Domini*, 1705; *Unigenitus*, 1713). On those occasions the bishops insisted on verifying the pontifical judgment before giving their agreement (which they did in the assemblies of the clergy in 1700, 1705, and 1714). This insistence heralded the component of the long conflict with the papacy that would centre on *Unigenitus*. It was a multiform component moreover, since the “authoritative

Gallicanism” of the bishops and the monarchy was joined by more extreme interpretations, inspired (through Richer, whose works were beginning to be rediscovered) by the conciliarist authors. The appeal to the Council, in 1717, was the culminating point of this “participatory Gallicanism” since it provoked the joint opposition of the pope and the king.

From that time onward two Gallicanisms existed in France and they also exerted an influence on the whole of European Catholicism. The two models persisted until the French Revolution, when they came into conflict on the subject of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790). The constitutional Church and its defenders (Grégoire, Tabaraud) marked the end of this conception inspired by Richer; the episcopacy and many refractory members of the clergy demonstrated the continued presence of the other position.

The restoration of Catholicism under Napoleon was accomplished with the agreement of a papacy whose authority was very clearly on display, and it marked the end of the Gallican Church. Survivals of Gallicanism could be seen, but these were primarily matters of tradition and cast of mind: they represented above all a cultural continuity, via treatises of theology and history*, or of liturgical practices. One could also note the presence of an administrative Gallicanism, facilitated by the constitutional articles added to the Concordat of 1801, which had been anxious to control religious activity and also to orient it. These elements, and especially these attitudes, revived ultramontanism, which led to a reaction by several bishops and theologians in favor of a moderating episcopalism. A neo-Gallicanism can therefore be observed, which preferred to place itself in the tradition of Gerson and of Bossuet, but which was above all a response to ultramontane excesses (Mgr. Darboy, Mgr. Maret). Vatican* I permitted a major debate on these questions. In addition to the proclamation of papal infallibility, the confirmation of the primacy of the pope and the unchallengeable nature of his judgments marked the definitive end of Gallicanism.

2. Chief Characteristics

The above historical overview emphasizes the pragmatic character of the Gallican position. It represented a reaction to particular conditions, and more generally to direct or indirect strains in relations with papal authority. A dialectical element is associated with it, so it is important to resist too rigid a definition. In this sense, Gallicanism can be seen as a series of reactions to the demands of ultramontanism (both terms were coined in the 19th century), which indeed points to an ideological view.

Gallicanism was opposed to ultramontanism on the question of a “separation of powers,” since it denied

the papacy any right to intervene in temporal matters, and even rejected, in addition to the demands of Boniface VIII's bull *Unam sanctam* (1302), the theory of an indirect authority. It opposed ultramontanism by defending episcopal jurisdiction* (in particular on everything that concerned the exempt religious orders) and by placing collegial action in the foreground. It denied papal infallibility in favor of ecclesiastical consensus; it relativized primacy; and above all it submitted the pope's Magisterium* to a process of active interpretation that considerably restricted its authority.

This resistance and opposition were based on a historicizing argument that drew from the past the elements that allowed it to reconstruct an ideal ecclesiological model. From that time onward, not one but multiple Gallicanisms existed, according to both the practical and utopian ecclesiological model that each particular individual or author constructed by manipulating his references.

3. Gallican Models

a) Two Constants. The first constant was a legal concept inherited from the Middle Ages, which adhered to the constitutional character of a Church ruled by the canons; that was the meaning of the *Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane*. It based itself on references to Antiquity—the mirror of the Church in its early period—allied to a reformist preoccupation, in order to rediscover the original purity. This view was stimulated by the wish to restore Christian unity* and heal the schism of the Reformation, the damage caused by which was felt on the national level. It drew on a static view that idealized the early Church and rejected any evolution in doctrine or in ecclesiastical* discipline. On the other hand, it approved of communion*, expressed by the joint action of the bishops united to the Holy See. It saw in the synods, the provincial and national councils, as well as in the ideal general council, events that formed part of the ordinary running of the Church.

The second constant was the national conception of the relations between Church* and State. The role of the monarchy was not perceived in the same way by the politicians and by the ecclesiastics, but they all agreed to acknowledge a secular power's right of regulation and of "protection," principally in its relations with the Apostolic See. In the ultimate Jansenist variation, it was agreed to transfer the powers of the monarchy to the nation, represented by its elected officials.

b) Two Models. These constants made possible the development of quite different ecclesiological models, founded on two conceptions of society. On the one side stood a participatory Gallicanism, and on the other, an authoritarian one. The former emerged from a

medieval substrate founded on Aristotle's *Politics*, and it developed a democratic model centered on the ideas of interpretation and representation. It understood representation to be a process of definition of truth*, which starts from the base and rises through levels of authority to be expressed at the most elevated level. Reception, meanwhile, was viewed as an inverse process of adhesion that confirms and authenticates the decision. This was the conception held by parliamentary and university circles, and the one that the opponents of *Unigenitus* would adopt. As for authoritarian Gallicanism, it adapted the hierarchized Tridentine model to the interests of the monarchy and of the episcopacy. It would speak of regalism and episcopatism.

Many of the concepts circulated by the ecclesiologies of the Gallican type belong to the orthodox core, such as the principle of communion, given new vigor in recent decades. Their polemical use provoked condemnations, and the condemnations elicited necessary clarifications.

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See also **Conciliarism; Jansenism; Ultramontanism**

Gattungsgeschichte. *See* **Literary Genres in Scripture**

Gautier of Saint-Victor. *See* **Saint-Victor, School of**

Gehenna. *See* **Hell**

Gentiles. *See* **Paganism; Universalism**

Gerdi, Hyacinthe Sigismond. *See* **Ontologism**

Gilbert de la Porree (Gilbertus Porretanus/Gilbert of Poitiers). *See* **Chartres, School of**

Gilson, Etienne. *See* Thomism

Glory of God

a) Old Testament. Whereas the Greek *doxa* suggests reputation, fame, the Hebrew *kâvôd* (adj. *kâvéd*) expresses the weight, the value of a person (Gn 13:2) or of a city (Is 62:2). The term is chosen to designate possessions (see Ps 49:17; Jb 19:9; 29:20)—such as those of Abraham (Gn 13:2) and of Jacob (31:1)—and the “weight” or “importance” (TOB) of Joseph in the heart of Pharaoh. Glory is what characterizes the king, whether he is divine (Ps 24) or human (Prv 25:2). The glory of one at prayer may be God* himself (Ps 3:4; 57:9; 62:8). The glory of the flesh is perishable (Is 40:6; see 17:4 in the Septuagint). The glory of God (“glory of the Lord”—the phrase appears 53 times in Psalms) is associated with his name* (Ex 33:19; see Ps 29:2; 72:19; 79:9; 96:2f., 7f.; 102:16; 113:3f.; 115:1; 145:5), with his splendor (*tife’ârâh*: Is 63:12, 14). It is present in the cloud (Ex 40:34f.; 2 Macc 2:8), in the ark (1 Sm 4), in the temple* (1 Kgs 8:10), and in Zion (see especially Is 4:5; 24:23; 60; 62:2; 66). If holiness* defines God in himself, glory is his radiance (Is 6:3). It is God communicating about what he is by what he does.

It is because God creates by the Word* (Gn 1:1–2:4a) that the heavens “speak” in recounting his glory (Ps 19:1), that he is celebrated in reply (Ps 104:31–34; 147:12). The cosmos* (Sir 43:1, 9, 12, 44) and man (Sir 44:2) attest to the permanence of his glory. Theophanies* assume cosmic aspects (Jb 38:31–38); those psalms* that are called psalms “of the King of glory” (Ps 24; 29; 96; 97; 145) glorify God as creator and eschatological judge. The theophanies of the covenant* give full prominence to the theme of glory (Ex 24:15bff.). Once Moses has been made aware of this glory, even and especially after the idolatry* of the golden calf (contrast “glory/idol”: Ps 106:20; Jer 2:11; see Rom 1:23), he can only aspire to see it again (Ex 33:20), although it is not now linked to a cosmic phenomenon. Moses’ face “shone” (Ex

34:29f., 35), which the Septuagint renders as *doxazesthai*, “to be glorified.”

Ezekiel, while having as a priest an acute sense of the glorious presence of the Lord in the temple, also perceives (and it is all one) how divine glory overflows the site of its manifestation. The same glory that appears in personal form to the prophet* (Ez 1:28; 8:2, 4) is present in the temple, but not restricted to that place (10:18f.). It accompanies the people* of God into exile (11:22f.) and on their return from exile (43:4). Glory and Spirit interpenetrate in a conception that develops that of the new covenant according to Jeremiah 31:31 (see Ez 36:26). Prophet of the glory of YHWH, Ezekiel is also, and correlatively, the prophet of his Spirit. The description of the future temple, once again inhabited by glory, prepares for the apocalyptic continuations (also evoked by Hg 2:3, 9; Zec 2:9).

The literary sources most in harmony with the theme of glory are those that emanate from circles close to the temple (priests, psalmists); they help to describe the great theophanies of Sinai (Ex 24:40; Lv 9:6, 23; Nm 14:10). In the late period of the Old Testament, the wisdom writings see in Wisdom* the divine manifestation that gradually encompasses all the others. They link it to the theme of glory (Sir 24:17), and emphasize its parallel with the glory of the cult* (Sir 45; 50:5–13). Wisdom itself is “the radiance of the glory of the All-Powerful” (Wis 7:25; see 9:11).

b) New Testament. *Doxa*, in the theological sense, is very frequent in the New Testament (appearing more than 200 times). The complex meaning of *kaukhasthai* (“to glorify oneself, display one’s pride”) should not be overlooked. It is, for example, characteristic of the Pauline* corpus (where it is found more than 50 times), expressing the way in which human beings are given prestige, either vainly (Rom 3:27; Gal 6:13), or in God, in Christ* (Rom 5:11) and his cross (Gal 6:14),

and particularly in the community of the apostle Paul's disciples (1 Cor 15:31; 2 Cor *passim*).

The continuity between the glory of the temple and the new glory is attested by the hymn of Luke 2:29–32; it is in the temple that Simeon recognizes in the child Jesus* the “glory of Israel.” The same jubilation recurs throughout the other gospel authors.

2 Corinthians 3:4–5:6, the *locus classicus* of Pauline theological aesthetics (Balthasar* 1969), closely ties together the themes of glory, the “new covenant,” and the Holy Spirit, on the basis of an echo of Exodus 32 and 34. The glory of God in Christ is communicated to the community of believers by the integration of the Torah, the prophets (repetition of Jeremiah), the wisdom books (theme of “reading”: 2 Cor 3:15), and apocalypics* (2 Cor 3:13—the *telos*). In John, the glory of the Son in the flesh culminates in his final prayer* (Jn 17:5), which presents a synthesis of the theme: the one of whom “we have seen his glory” (Jn 1:14) has shown it in many signs (Jn 2:11) until it reiterates Isaiah's vision of that glory (Jn 12:41). He has not however obtained the personal union of “belief.” The rejection is interpreted as a preference for the glory that comes from human being over the glory given by God (Jn 12:43). Conversely, Jesus exalts the communication of glory between the Father*, himself, and his disciples. He shows its nature in this way: “The glory that you have given me I have given to them, that they may be one even as we are one” (Jn 17:22). To be sure, it was necessary to wait for the cross, the Passion*, and the Resurrection* for a total manifestation of that glory to the disciples. But for John 13:31f., it is from eternity to eternity, so that, through the prologue, the perspective extends to the entire history* of mankind.

When it comes to the revelation of glory, a special place is reserved in the synoptic tradition for the transfiguration (Mt 17:1–8 and parallel passages). The substance of this episode is reflected back onto the narrative* of the baptism* of Jesus (Mt 3:3–17 and parallel passages) and forward onto that of his agony in Gethsemane (Mt 26:36–46 and parallel passages). The entire life of Jesus is thus permeated by his glory.

By “doxologies” is understood the formulas (preserved in all the “glory to”s of Christian liturgies*) by which God and his Christ are glorified. Their frequency in the Pauline writings (Rom 1:25; 9:5; 11:36; 16:25ff.; 2 Cor 1:20; 4:15; Gal 1:5; Eph 3:21; Phil 4:20) shows that this homage of praise held the principal place in the prayers of the earliest communities. Indeed, glory is the end of all things (Eph 1:6, 14), those of God and those of man, who in the end are one. The Book of Revelation illustrates this in its doxologies (1:6; 5:12f.; 19:1) and in the picture (inscribed in traditional visions) of Jerusalem* illuminated by the glory of God, toward which flows the “glory of the nations” (Rev 21).

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See also Holy Spirit; Name; Praise; Temple; Theophany; Wisdom; Word

Gnosis

a) Gnosis and Gnosticism. At the beginning of the Christian era the term *gnosis*, meaning knowledge, signified exclusively a particular type of knowledge having to do with the essence of things, such as the mysteries of the divine world and celestial beings. The term went beyond simple *pistis* (faith*). The “gnostic” who was initiated into this knowledge was guaranteed

salvation. The concept was susceptible to orthodox theological use. Thus Clement of Alexandria, followed by other fathers* of the church, proposed the ideal of the “true gnostic” as a perfect Christian who allows himself or herself to be transformed by “knowledge” in such a way as to live in harmony with God*. The term *gnosticism*, then, is better suited than *gnostic* to

signify the religious movement that developed, over the first centuries of Christianity, into a multitude of sects that shared the same conception of gnosis, a conception the Church* fought against and rejected. This movement is known to us first through the polemics of the heresiologists, who often distorted it in their descriptions, and more lately through an increasingly rich collection of rediscovered original texts, the most important being the Coptic library found at Nag-Hammadi.

b) The Characteristics of Christian Gnosticism. It is impossible for a single definition to encompass gnosticism as a whole because of the variety of its theories, but its principal distinctive traits can be described as follows: 1) A dualistic factor tends to dissociate creation* from redemption, just as it tends to separate completely the material world, dominated by evil or limited powers, from the spiritual world, the domain of the transcendent and “unknown” God. It is from this latter world that human souls* emanate, souls of spiritual essence, prisoners of this world on earth. It is from the spiritual world, too, that the Savior descends in order to bring back to the higher world the souls of the elect—those who possess *gnosis*. This dualism can be explained by the anguished priority given to the problem of evil—of its origins and why it exists. It attempts to disengage the human soul from any personal responsibility. 2) A privileged knowledge, transmitted through secret, unveils the mysteries of the celestial world. 3) Speculation, which explores the plenitude of the divine (or *Pleroma*), tries to discover the entities (or *aeons*) of which it is formed in a manner that tends toward mythologizing. 4) A form of anti-Judaism sees in the “god of the Jews” only a demiurge, creator of the universe.

c) The Great Gnostics of the Second Century. Not including Marcion*, who is not a gnostic in the strict sense of the word, Basilides and Valentinus are the most important gnostics of the second century. Basilides’s system is not well known. It seems to have philosophical resonances and includes a negative conception of being*; the “unknown” God becomes, for Basilides, “non-existent” and produces a seed, a sort of primitive chaos, in which is enclosed all future evolution*. His eschatology* is marked by pessimism, with everything in this world returning to a state of cosmic forgetfulness. Valentinus, whose sect flourished with great success, is more important. Metaphysician and mythmaker, he is the author of a system dominated by the notion of the *syzygy* (conjunction) of male and female entities. Starting from the Father* (who is Void and Silence) the Valentinian *Pleroma* is

deployed by successive emanations of pairs of *aeons*. The last *aeon*, Sophia, is at the origin of the production of the material world by the demiurge. Humanity is divided into three categories: carnal people, psychic people, and spiritual people. It is only to these last that certain salvation is promised through the *aeon* Jesus*, Savior, fruit of the *Pleroma*. Valentinus found justification for his system in the Old and New Testaments and used a particular exegetical method in which allegory played a large role. His theological concepts stimulated the thinking of the fathers of the church and resulted in their elaboration of the dogma of the Trinity*. The sect of Valentinus developed into two schools, the Italianate and the Oriental, with doctrinal and exegetical variations. Several Nag-Hammadi documents (notably the *Gospel of Truth*) contributed to a better knowledge of Valentinianism and of the stages of its evolution.

d) The Origins of Christian Gnosticism. The extremely difficult problem of the origins of gnosticism has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The fathers of the church perceived gnosticism to be an internal deviation from Christianity due to its contamination by philosophy, particularly by Platonism. This is generally corroborated by the explanation of Adolf von Harnack, who wrote of the “chronic Hellenization of Christianity.” This thesis is simplistic, however, and recent research considers the gnostic phenomenon rather as an intellectual or spiritual attitude with universal influence and scope. The tendency is to ascribe the gnosticism of the first centuries of Christianity to the development of religious syncretism that issued from Alexander’s conquests (especially the influence of Persian dualism). Mention must also be made of the existence of a pre-Christian gnostic (Simon of Samaria) and especially of a Jewish gnosticism (gnostic elements are present in some of the intertestamentary writings). Resurgences of an Egyptian religious mentality must not be excluded either.

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See also **Alexandria, School of; Fathers of the Church; Heresy; Intertestament; Judaism; Manicheanism; Platonism, Christian; Scripture, Senses of**

God

A. Theological Problematics

I. Biblical Theology

In its more normative occurrences (those of the burning bush and of the *Shema Yisra'el*), the biblical naming of God, *YHWH 'Elohim*, is a double naming. *YHWH* (conventionally rendered as “Yahweh” when the vowels omitted in Hebrew orthography are added) records a unique and indispensable historical revelation, while *'Elohim* refers just as much to what the pagans call “God,” even when an idol is designated. This bipolarity continues into the New Testament, whose message cannot be conveyed without the association of the word that names Jesus* and the one that, in any language, names God.

1. The Old Testament

a) How Does the Biblical God Make Himself Known? The Book* cannot be understood as a direct and immediate communication from God. It conveys in written narrative form the fact that certain people, especially in the beginning, heard God speak to them, directly or not. Sometimes God showed himself: this event was exceptional (Ex 24:10; Is 6:1; Am 9:1), or was reported with reservations and corrections (Dt 5:24ff.; Nm 12:6ff.), or even denied completely (Dt 4:15; Ex 33:20; Jgs 13:22). The recipients of the divine communication were usually individuals, chosen to address their communities.

b) The Object of Divine Communication. God behaves in the same way as humans do, in the sense that God reveals less what he is than what he likes and what he feels. What pleases him is declared to the peo-

ple* through the law* of Moses and through the prophets*. It is especially through the latter that what he feels is shown, the intensity of divine pathos even going so far as to give himself up to be read in the bodily history of his messengers (Is 8:1–4, 18; Hos 1:1–3; Jer 16:1–9; Ez 24:15–27). Wisdom* transmits the word along with life itself, from parents to children, and it enables both to go back to their divine origin (Prv 1–9).

c) God's Identity. The message is authenticated by God's signature, which is the Name*. This name, *YHWH*, refers back to history. It is linked to the Mosaic Law: the burning bush next to Sinai (Ex 3).

The word *YHWH* is formed of two components: the subject (third person: “He”) and the verb *to be*, in the third person. As it stands, the narrative* interprets *YHWH* as derived from the verb in the *first* person, for first of all God utters it in this form in Exodus 3:14 (adopted in Hos 1:9, in the negative form in the Hebrew!). Here the Vulgate—*Ego sum qui sum* (Ex 3:14a: “I am who I am,” not retained in 14b, despite the Hebrew)—is more faithful to the Hebrew than the Septuagint's *ho on* (“the being”).

God's name makes him known as subject: it is in the act of speaking that his essence of being is given, by his signing of a promise*. For this reason he calls out, he is called to, he is announced, without ever losing the link that ties him to the founding event (Ex 3:15 ab). The covenant* can be considered the authorization and foundation of the exchange of words between God and humanity. Committed to a covenant that cannot proceed without controversy, the biblical God exposes

himself to history*. One of the biblical epithets that best sums up the divine manifestations is that of “living” (1 Kgs 18:15; 2 Kgs 2:2; 3:14; Jer 10:10; 23:36). God is living, although immortal. Correlatively, the idol is a god who is not living.

d) Transfers. “The Lord our God, the Lord is one” (Dt 6:4). Now, biblical monotheism* has two aspects: its exclusiveness, and its capacity for infusing with YHWH’s identity those manifestations of the divine that, in olden times, did not claim to be His: according to Exodus 6:3, if the patriarchs did not know YHWH, it was because he appeared to them under another name. According to a different tradition*, Abraham was able to recognize YHWH in the “God Most High” (Gn 14:22) whom the kings of Canaan worshipped (14:18). To oblige the people to choose either Baal or Yahweh (1 Kgs 18:21) was also to displace onto YHWH some of Baal’s characteristics (Hos 2:18b). These kinds of connections did not necessarily spring from a spirit of annexation. Rather than a wish to conquer the surrounding surface, the narrative aimed to conquer time*—from before Israel* up to its origins. More than others, the narrative encountered other cultures and religions along the way: it did not suppress these interferences. The fact that a journey so attracted toward the Unique one has left such visible traces of its vicissitudes is worth mentioning. It should be added that fidelity to the one God was not originally focused on the number (*monotheism*): it was part of an effort not to confuse him with what might be another god, even under his name.

e) Ambivalences. God has spoken “at many times and in many ways” (Heb 1:1): this variety is also characteristic of his actions. Some of them unfold in a mixture of light and darkness whose ambivalence the narrator stresses or does not manage to hide. There are moments of dread when a humano-divine being becomes Jacob’s enemy (Gn 32:23–33), or when YHWH (Ex 2:24ff., MT; LXX: his Angel) tries to kill Moses’s son (or Moses himself?). There is a crucial moment, at the heart of this history, when the division of roles between God and the “destroyer” (Ex 12:23.27) is still not clear, in the extermination of the first-born of Egypt. God already ratified the violence* of the whole mass of humanity after the flood (Gn 9:2). Ezekiel’s temerity in having God say: “I gave them statutes that were not good” (Ez 20:25) is a unique example. With regards to the enormous cultural amount of bloody sacrifices*, however, the uncertainty is not lifted: did God want them (Jer 7:22; Am 5:25; Ps 15:18ff., but v. 21) or did he not?

The biblical narrative reveals precisely what will

later become its crises: that is, where the irrepressible rather than the intended character of its truth* is revealed. The texts are in no way eager to show God dissociating himself from the darkness. The opacity of these texts also lends them weight. God strangely assumes humanity’s darkness, as if he could heal humanity from darkness only by accompanying it through. The most convincing aspect of the process is its slowness, because God’s purpose is that the whole human city* becomes a holy society*. That is why he is called king, one of his most remarkable titles (Nm 23:21; Is 6:5; 44:6; Ps 24:7ff.; 48:3).

f) Holiness and Love. “I am holy,” says God (Lv 11:44ff.; 19:2; 20:26; 21:8). Thus is expressed that property of God which is his insofar as he is the only one to *be* God; a property, nonetheless, which is able to touch human beings (Lv 21:8) as the burning coal touched Isaiah (Is 6:6–7). This characteristic pervades the whole ethical domain from further back, from his founding. It ensures him his position as one who respects the singular, of the proper name that, within the network of kinships, designates the sanctuary of each being (Lv 18). The communication of what is unique can be called love*: God loves Israel (Dt 4:37; 7:8; Hos 11:1) and calls on Israel to love him. The encounter with the holiness of the biblical God is a test, a shock, a “fear*.” There is no reason to be surprised that it is in continuity with the experience* of God’s love.

g) Divine Paternity. God speaks as subject. God is alive. God is holy. God loves. His position as speaker already places God in a contradictory position with respect to himself. And he speaks to himself (“Let us make.”) before making man in his image. The fact that in his image he makes man masculine and feminine could tell us something about what he is, the nearest deduction being that he contains a difference. Genesis 1:27 does not call the Creator “Father” (despite Gn 5:3). According to Proverbs 8:22 from the beginning God engenders eternal Wisdom. This introduction of a God who engenders Wisdom points toward the identity between divine speech and divine life, toward a God who is father of life and truth. This God is indeed invoked in the texts, although sparingly, under the name of Father*. To call him so had been the privilege of the king (Ps 2:7; 89:27; see 2 Sm 7:14).

Since Israel has the role of the mother and sons (Hos 2:4), God is sometimes featured as her spouse (Hos 1–3) and as her father (Hos 11:1), or as her spouse and creator (Is 54:5; Is 62:5 [?]). Maternal feelings are not alien to him. The implication of God in the couple’s relationship supplies the Song of Songs with its full

meaning. His implication in the genealogies, illustrated particularly in Genesis, is always assumed. The intersection of nuptial language and the political register (e.g. Jgs 9:3; 2 Sm 5:1; 19:13f., and Gn 2:23) is not a justification for conflating them, but indicates a decisive *locus* of the divine manifestation.

h) A God of Excess. The law maintains evil* as well as good* within boundaries. Transgression of the law is only remedied and healed by excess, heralded by certain prophecies inspired by the upheaval of the exile (Is 54–55; 59:21; Jer 31:31–34; Ez 16:59–63; 20:44; 36:16–32; Joel 3:1–5). To his people who will break the covenant, God will respond by giving it more than he had already given; more than the renewal of the covenant, he will give his people the ability to be faithful to it, which their awareness of sin* will make possible. Where biblical anthropomorphism is principally transcended is perhaps in this excess of forgiveness: “I will not execute my burning anger (...) for I am God and not a man” (Hos 11:9). Jer (31:31) calls it the “new covenant.” Israel then wonders about God’s compassion toward its rightful sufferers.

2. The New Testament

The God of the New Testament makes himself known through the voices of those who spread the “good news” (gospel), which is destined first of all for Israel (Rom 1:16), then for the whole of humankind. The announced novelty consists in the fact that God gives himself entirely to his Son Jesus. Now, this gift has further repercussions: “How will he not also with him [his Son] graciously give us all things?” (Rom 8:32).

a) Difference in God. Jesus’ relationship with God can be understood in the difference. Jesus has taken his place among the Jews who worship God. When called “good,” Jesus points out that only God is good. Dying, he cries out: “My God, My God” (see Jn 20:17b). In reply (Heb 5:7) the Father (designated as “God”) raises Jesus from the dead (Acts 3:14ff.), exalts him (Acts 5:31), makes him Lord and Christ (Acts 2:36), and makes him Leader and Savior (Acts 5:31; see Rom 1:4 “proved that Jesus is the powerful Son of God”).

b) Divine Unity and Unicity. This difference is that between a “Father” and a “Son.” The character of Jesus’ filiation* is unique (monogenesis*). In Jesus, God has “his own Son” (Rom 8:32), his beloved Son. No other expression of the relationship between God and Jesus has been so widely turned into a theme as that of their paternity-filiation: the life given by God is the life received by Jesus. It is only Jesus’ way of being that

fully reveals what the condition of son of God is, and thus “equal with God” (Phil 2:6). To be son is not to be slave. The synoptic Gospels make this visible already through of the Son’s regal style: “But I tell you” (Mt 5), his liberating “authority*” (Mt 7:29; Mk 1:27), his daring to absolve sinners, the biblically unprecedented calls to suffer “because of me” (Mt 5:11). John takes it all up schematically: “No man ever spoke like this man” (7:46). Those who hear the speech see the actions: “Whoever has seen me has seen the Father” (Jn 14:9). The Son can reveal the Father without reserve because the Father, this God without jealousy, “shows him all that he himself is doing” (Jn 5:20). “All that I have is yours, and all that you have is mine” (Jn 17:10); this authorizes the New Testament’s most radical statements, such as “I and the Father are one” (Jn 10:30) or the “My Lord and my God” (Jn 20:28), addressed to the risen Jesus. A hymn borrowed by Paul puts the name of Jesus alongside the name formerly revealed to Moses: “above every name” (Phil 2:9). The divine essence, by remaining attached to a narrative series, confirms its own unicity, symbolized by the theme of the name: “...your name, which you have given me,” says the Son (Jn 17:12; see Jn 6:27: the “seal” of the Father).

c) The Work of the Son. God is not fully known as long as the ambivalence is not resolved, the veil lifted with which he had wished to cover himself during the time of his “forbearance” (Rom 3:26). The era of biblical slowness is over: Jesus does indeed follow the rhythm that tells him his “hour” has come, but this hour precipitates the victory of the light and tears the veil. In his son, God himself does more than pardon: he delivers himself without resistance into the hands of sinners, experiencing the evil that he heals. The Pauline teachings will show that the cross reveals with shattering clarity the way in which sin and death* have made use of the law for their own benefit. As can already be discerned in the Old Testament, God’s way of experiencing human history continues right to the end. Darkness can only be vanquished by being walked through. The excess which tears the veil of the old law is also the very one that the whole Old Testament heralded. It is in the forgiveness that turns the instrument of malediction, the cross, into an instrument of salvation* destined first of all for those who have desired it, that God definitively reveals who he is, without need for any later additions.

d) “All who are led by the spirit of God are sons of God” (Rom 8:14). The hour of Jesus draws brothers into the filiation that is his own. The specific nature of the gift of the Holy* Spirit offered to human beings

signifies that “brothers” are at the same time “children” (*tekna*: Jn 13:33; *paidia*: Heb 2:13f.); but also something other than simply Jesus’ heirs or continuators during the course of history, and more than disciples (Jn 6:45; 16:12f.): they breathe the same life-truth that Jesus had received, it is through liberty* that they share the condition of son that belongs to this Jesus whom they call “Master and Lord” (Jn 13:13). This still incomplete expansion of the filial condition gives, or will give, its full magnitude to the divine work.

God does not withdraw from time. The capacity of the biblical God to reveal himself as having been there already will also apply to the Father of Jesus Christ. For that to come about, an era of patience reopens. The discursive undertaking of a rereading which relates the two Testaments to each other makes possible the broad propagation of the gospel message, and above all ensures its penetration in depth. This message not only wins adherents to a new religion, it discloses its prehistory. The Gospel* of John recounts in particular how the coming of the Word* made flesh reveals the work that the Father was doing, before that advent of the Word, among the “children of God who are scattered abroad” (Jn 11:52), in every human group that is “not of this fold” (Jn 10:16): “Everyone who is [already] of the truth listens to my voice” (Jn 18:37; *see* 3:21). The bipolarity, which the Old Testament had outlined, between the God of a singular series and the God of all people is adopted again as a promise.

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See also **Anthropomorphism; Father; Monotheism; Name; Theophany; Word of God**

II. Patristic Theology

1. Preliminary Remarks

The theology* of the fathers* of the church was organized at first as a discourse on God the Father of Jesus Christ, to become with Augustine* a theory of God the Trinity. God is of course the God of the Jews (Justin, *Dialogue* 11, 1) and of the pagans, but he is known in a new way (Tertullian*, *Adversus Praxean* 31, 2; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* VI, 5, 41–42). There is a central paradox: God is both alone and not alone,

single and multiple (Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean* 5, 2; Hippolytus, *Contra Haeresin Noeti* 10). The Father cannot be named without also naming along with him his Son and his Holy Spirit, which are like his “two hands” (Irenaeus*, *Adversus Haereses* IV, 7, 4; 20, 2). The Son, in his turn, cannot be named without the world and human beings entering into the theme: for “God is love*” (1 Jn 4:8, 1 Jn 4:16), and loving human beings constitutes his “distinguishing characteristic” (Gregory of Nyssa, *Catechetical Orations* 15).

The Christian God is both like and unlike the Absolute known by paganism*. In pagan thought there reigns an absolute transcendence with which one can only communicate through mediators, within a hierarchical system. But the Christian God is a personal God, whose transcendence does not forbid proximity and who appears in history as “Emmanuel,” “God with us.” In paganism, moreover, the Absolute—Plotinus’s “the One,” for instance—necessarily engenders, “like an overflowing crater” (Gregory of Nyssa, *Catechetical Orations* 29, 4; *see Enneads* V, 1, 6), or more precisely he does not engender but radiates (this is, the second hypostasis which “engenders” the Forms or the Ideas: *see* P. Hadot in Plotinus, *Treatise* 38, 1987). He gives nothing, and above all does not give “himself.” By contrast, the God who is Father of Jesus is the bearer in himself of a mystery* of donation and of alterity in which is rooted another type of alterity, the creation*. In this, theology very early recognized a new sign of transcendence (creation *ex nihilo*: Hermas, *The Shepherd* 26, 1 [Mand. 1]; *see* G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts*, Berlin, 1978). In order to be understood, the church fathers’ expositions on God must not be separated from a double context: the name of “God” applies to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and “theology,” which is the contemplation* of God in God, is inseparable from the “economy” in which God manifests his love for human beings, his *philanthrôpia* (Titus 3:4).

2. Before Nicaea I

God was spoken about in the daily life of the Church, in its catechetical and cultural experience, before he was discussed in the works of theologians: therefore the oldest language* (and a language that theologians would be able to use almost permanently) was that of the Easter kerygma, of doxology, of the baptismal liturgies* associating Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. But since the goal of Christian language was not only to allow believers to testify to and verify as a community what they believed, but was also a language aimed at non-Christians, Christianity would not be able to avoid using the words and arguments that seemed the most universal, those of philosophy*. The Apostolic* Fa-

thers already casually employed a lexicon imbued with a philosophical tone (Clement of Rome, *Correspondence*, 20 and 24, 5; Ignatius of Antioch, *Polyc.* 3, 2; *Eph.* 7, 2). Begun in fact before the Christian era (by thinkers such as Philo of Alexandria), the confrontation of biblical faith* with Greek rationality became necessary among the fathers with the advent of the apologists*. Thus, Justin commended the practice of idolatry for the sake of a purer conception of God, of whom he saw traces among the pagans themselves (*Apol.* I, 5 and 46; II, 8–11). Moreover, he transferred certain features of the God of late Greek philosophy onto the God of Jesus Christ: God receives the titles of unbegotten (*agennētos*) and of impassible, and is placed at a distance from the world. It becomes unthinkable that the unbegotten “should have left the super-celestial regions in order to appear in a corner of the world” (*Dial.* 60 and 127). It is not him but his Word who appeared in the Old Testament (*Dial.* 60–61; 127–128; *Apol.* I, 63). When the apologists state that God possesses a creative power that allows him to come into contact with what is not him, they are therefore making almost the same statement as the philosophers—but by identifying this power with Jesus of Nazareth (Daniélou 1961), they simultaneously distance themselves as far as possible from philosophy’s conceptual framework.

If it had to be proved that there is no ambivalence between the Christian and the philosophical naming of God, it also had to be proved that the God known in Jesus Christ was a God already known in the Old Testament. To counter Marcionite and Gnostic dualism, Irenaeus of Lyons stated forcibly that the same God is creator and savior, the God of Israel and the Father of Jesus, God both just and good, uniting in himself superficially irreconcilable attributes*. No other God stands above him, for he encompasses and dominates everything (*Adv. Haer.* II, i, 1–4). Here we stand at the origins of the first affirmation of the symbols of the faith (“I believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty,” see Irenaeus, *ibid.* I, 10, 1, *Apostolic Tradition* 85 [SC 11 bis, p. 85]; *DS* 1–15, 125, 150). In addition to its anti-Judaism, Gnosticism represented a second challenge for theology: it claimed specifically to have a knowledge of God (a “gnosis”) superior to faith. In Irenaeus’s terms, the gnosis claimed to know God *according to his greatness* and thus came to a deadlock, for no one can see God thus and live (Ex 33, 20). On the other hand, *according to his love*, God is “seen by man, by those he chooses, when he chooses, and how he chooses” (*Adv. Haer.* IV, 20, 5): it is in the element of faith that he is known then, through the “various divine economies” which he chooses in order to allow himself be known (*ibid.* I, 10, 3; II, 28, 1–3; IV, 20, 5–7).

Among the pre-Nicene fathers it fell to Origen* to make the most systematic and speculative propositions, and perhaps also to use simultaneously the most philosophical as well as the most biblical language. Origen borrowed from Clement of Alexandria (for instance *Strom.* V, 12–13) a necessary insistence on God’s unknowability. He also shared the Greek understanding according to which the infinite* is unthinkable as such, unthinkable without a determination. But since the divine paternity stands foremost in his axiomatics, to speak of the Father “without limits” (*apeiros, aperigraphos*) is only possible by speaking simultaneously of the Son who is his “delimitation” (*perigraphè*) and thus makes him knowable and shareable (see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* IV, 4, 2; IV, 6, 6; see the Gnostic theories, *ibid.*, I, 2, 2, Daniélou 1961; and Crouzel, SC 253). The concepts are metaphysical, but they are in keeping with a historical framework within which the contemplation of the Son’s sufferings authorizes even Origen to challenge the Greek dogma* of divine impassibility: “We must dare to say that Christ’s goodness has seemed greater and *more divine* and *truly in the image of the Father* when he abased himself, making himself obedient even unto death, and unto death on the cross.” (*Com. in Jo.* I, 32, §119)

A reconciliation of divine unity and the multiplicity of the created, such as the mystery of Christ, allows it to be understood (*ibid.* I, 20 §119); a reconciliation of divine incomprehensibility and the revelation in Jesus Christ of God’s paternal secret—it is very clear in Origen that theology cannot speak of God and of his relationship with man without developing a trinitarian discourse. Even if Origen’s trinitarian theology suffers from a certain subordinationism* (for instance *ibid.* XIII, 25, §151–53)—which would be reinforced later by Eusebius of Caesarea and even more so by Arius—in any event, the language used is Christian through and through.

3. After Nicaea I

It fell to Athanasius* of Alexandria, the greatest of the Nicene theologians, to develop a trinitarian discourse that could not fall back into the old ruts of modalism* or into subordinationism, and that could refute the Arian conception of the intermediary, of the Son that God produced in order to produce the world (*Contra Arianos II*, 24, PG 26, 200A). The Son is not a son in order to be a demi-god: “Even if God had thought it well not to create the world, nonetheless he would have had his Son” (*ibid.* II, 31). The trinitarian mystery of God is, moreover, a shareable mystery: “Not only has God created men, but even more so he has also called them ‘sons,’ in the sense that he has engendered them” (*ibid.* II, 39). One cannot speak about God in a Chris-

tian context without also speaking about man, because it is in the christological unity of the human and the divine that the divine can be most fully apprehended. What is more, it is of all human beings that one must speak when speaking about God, for the divine relationship between Father and Son is an open relationship, in which room is made for a “filial adoption” that realizes an assumption of the created within the Trinity.

Nicene theology was to extend and refine itself in the theology of the Cappadocian Fathers, to whom first of all we owe the refinement of the trinitarian vocabulary: unicity of the divine *substance*, triplicity of the *hypostases*. These expressions would govern all the affirmations of divine unity. The classic questions about knowledge and participation had to undergo a similar refinement in the controversy with Eunomius. According to the latter, in fact, man can know God as God knows himself (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* IV, 7, PG 67 B; see SC 28 bis, nn. 4, 12), but no one, not even the Son, can share in him. Gregory of Nyssa’s response first of all made it possible for him to formulate a theory of grace* that makes thinkable the participation of the created in the uncreated through the Son’s mediation. Furthermore, it allowed him to maintain the absolute unknowability of the being* of God (of his *ousia*), while at the same time conferring a positive meaning to the confrontation between man and divine infinity. In fact the infinity of the *ousia* corresponds to a desire to which the divinity of God opens a limitless field: that is why Moses, “having set his feet on the ladder at the top of which stood God, does not stop climbing, for each rung which he reaches in the heights always opens onto a beyond” (*Life of Moses* II). Thus, theological science has always to be accompanied by a certain nescience. But if God’s grandeur is the gauge of our scanty knowledge, God’s grace and condescension contain the conditions for a fortunate knowledge and relationship, in the eschatological perspective of man’s eternal ecstasy toward God.

Augustine’s speculation began in the context of Neoplatonism, the schema of “exit” (*proodos*), of “conversion*” (*epistrophè*) and of “dwelling” (*monè*) in God thus providing the framework for a consideration of the ascent toward God, of anagogy. All the same, post-Nicene demands soon forced him to have recourse to a consideration of analogy* (O. du Roy, *L’intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon Saint Augustin*, 1966), in which man’s spiritual life* is the complete image of divine life, in such a way that it becomes possible to speak about God in the terms that rational psychology uses to speak about human beings. Moreover, making a distinction, with regard to God, between the “absolute” names which are suitable for the three divine persons* and the “relative” names which characterize each of them in their relation to the

two others, Augustine imposed a theory of relation, coordinated in his case with a notion of the divine substance, a notion destined to dominate Western theology. He also had to distance himself from Plotinus’s conceptualizations by making a major decision: unlike Plotinus, he would no longer place above everything an Absolute which was “beyond being”; rather, in line with a metaphysics of “degrees of being,” doubtless inspired by Porphyry, he would place above everything the God-Trinity identified with the Supreme Good and with Being (*Sermon* 7; *Civ. Dei* XI, 28; see du Roy 1966; Madec, *La patrie et la voie*, Paris, 1989; Solignac, *Les Confessions*, BAug).

The tradition of Plotinus, received in the context of thinking in terms of “exit” and “return,” *exitus et reditus* (Proclus), was to find in Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite its most remarkable sphere of influence. Theology divides at this point: on the one hand into a theology of affirmation (cataphatic), which sets out the manifestations of God with regard to human beings; and on the other hand into a theology of negation (apophatic), in which human beings go beyond the content of what they understand in order to strain in ecstasy toward union with God. Richer than the affirmative way, the apophatic path differs from the former notably in that it has far less to do with any kind of discursive-conceptual practice than with an experience. Whether apophatic knowledge is considered as Pseudo-Dionysius’s last word (Lossky 1944), or whether it is understood as a stage on the way toward a third moment, that of going beyond by means of eminence (Puech, *En quête de la gnose I*, 1978), or whether going beyond by means of eminence itself is based on the mystery of Christ taken in its integral aspects (Corbin, *RSPHTh* 69, 65–75), one aspect of the Dionysian contribution remains primary and incontestable: in short, if one can “speak about God,” exactness demands an admission that one is speaking about the “mystery of God”; and if therefore theology proves itself adapted to its object by making itself a “mystic” theology, it is to experience*—to the experience of the one who allows himself to be initiated into the mystery—that God offers himself, and for this experience, God is not the one about whom it speaks but the one whom it “honors in silence.”

The end of the patristic era and of Byzantine theology would see confirmed in a few great creative syntheses the work of the previous centuries. For Maximus* the Confessor the paradox of the Christian God appeared even stronger in the light of Chalcedonian Christology*: God shows himself to be still more God not only because he is both one and triune, but also because in Christ comes to pass the union without confusion or separation of the one and the multiple (*Quest. ad Thal* 60; *Letter* 44; *Quaestiones et*

dubia q. 173, CCG 10). God appears in Christ in total truth, as the trinitarian lord of the universe. Man appears in Christ in total truth, as the adoptive son existing in the image of the eternal Son. One problem still remains, that of the real condition of the divinization, *theôsis*, that God proposes to man as his absolute future. How could the unsharable be shared? Pseudo-Dionysius contented himself with naming the problem: "It is shared unsharably." In the twilight of Byzantine history, Gregory* Palamas would try to solve the problem by applying to it in a new way a distinction already known by the Greek Fathers: a distinction between the divine essence, which remains strictly unsharable, and the "uncreated energies," which divinize the one who shares in them. Doubtless the theory's originality is less important than the permanence of the preoccupations to which it responds. Patristic thought, and the thinking to which it gave rise, never ceased to meditate on God's transcendence except to meditate on a condescension that they knew to be just as great: trinitarian theology, Christology, the theory of divinization, all the patristic discourses aim to express the necessity of this double meditation, as it is imposed by knowledge of a God who is recognized as Father in the Son who became one among human beings.

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See also **Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite; Gregory Palamas; Negative Theology; Platonism, Christian**

III. Medieval Theology

1. The Name

In the Middle Ages the name of "God" (God = *theos*) was associated with two origins: *theorô* ("I see": Pseudo-Dionysius, *Divine Names XII*, 2, 969 C) to re-

fer to the coincidence between the divine vision and the creative act; or *theô* ("I run"), to indicate the cosmogonic course of the Word touching all beings to give them life (John the Scot Eriugena, *De divisione naturae*). God's unicity, revealed by the Bible* as well as by the Koran and confirmed by Neoplatonic speculations, renders problematical the use of the name in the plural: God is a proper name; it is improper, idolatrous, meaningless, to speak about several "gods" (William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea*). But is it the name that is most proper to God himself? Under the influence of Maimonides this status came to be reserved for the name YHWH, the only name that is but God (Bonaventure*, *Sentences I*), that human beings cannot utter, and that God alone knows. God can be named only by God, that is why he reveals himself in the Scriptures* by names whose multiplicity compensates for this partial approach. Following Augustine, a primary distinction is made between the "name of substance" ("whose name is 'I am'," Ex 3:14) and the "name of mercy*" ("the God who was worshipped by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," Ex 3:16), thus coordinating divine economy and theology.

2. Knowledge and Revelation

Knowledge* of God is a response to divine revelation. But God does not reveal himself in the Holy Scriptures alone. He also reveals himself in his work, the "book of the world" (Hugh of Saint Victor, PL 176, *De arca Noe morali* II, 12; *Didascalicon* VII, 3, 814 B). Creatures are "mystical likenesses," making possible the contemplation of their author (Baldwin of Canterbury, *De sacramento altaris*, PL 204, 744 D). Thus a symbolic theology unfolds, for which nature* is a system of correspondences that expresses the glory* of God. The very structure of the theology articulated around the opposition between things and signs (Peter Lombard, *Sententiae I*, Grottaferrata, 1971, d. 1) makes God the Signified par excellence in all creation. The medieval encyclopedias shared in this work of listing and understanding the divine works, in order to better know their author.

For Augustinian tradition it was by retreating inside his soul* that man could best reach the one of whom he was the image: through the image, he would glimpse the original (Augustine*). Socrates's injunction, "Know thyself," thus became the way to know God (Courcelle 1975). God is therefore in the depths of the soul, more elevated than the soul, but reached through its highest point. Union with God can be achieved through two of the soul's faculties, intellect or love (intellectualism*, voluntarism*). "Charity itself is the eye by which God is seen" (William of Saint Thierry, *La nature et la dignité de l'amour*). In a more veiled but fundamental way, God is also reached in an

ethical and emotional dimension, as the one who is the object of the desire for God, or of the fear of him. Adopted in a theological context, these qualities imply that he is present and knowable through fraternal love: "Fraternal love is God," said Peter Lombard (*Sententiae* I).

Knowledge of God culminates in the admission of his unknowability: he surpasses any image (William of Saint Thierry, *Meditativae orationes*), he is incomprehensible (Alexander of Hales, *Summa theologica* I), inaccessible (Bonaventure, *Hexaemeron*). But formulating this unknowability remains the only way of understanding it; to think about God is not only to think about something greater than all else (*maius omnibus*), but to test the unthinkable (*quo maius cogitari nequit*, Anselm*), to know God as unknown (Thomas* Aquinas).

For this *learned ignorance* (Nicholas* of Cusa), the highest speculation about God attains the same object as does the simple believer's faith. However, it implies a survey of inappropriate positions, and a critique of naive, magical, or anthropological elements. It is theology's task, therefore, to separate the concept of God from the metaphors, the narrative interlacings, and the textual contradictions. Thus, the *translatio in divinis* never ceases to test human language, submitting it to logical rules in order to reach in a fitting way God's nature and attributes (Boethius*). Several "paths" intended to purify our knowledge of its finite imperfections and to raise them to a pure perfection converge at their summit: it is necessary to sort out what is said about God without truth and what is said about him with truth, even if the latter be denied with more truth (Pseudo-Dionysius, *Divine Names*, I, 3). A distinction must be made between: the image of God and what is only its trace* (its more or less erased vestiges); proper names and names that are metaphorical, foreign, or improper; and the absolute perfections (*simpliciter*) that are better than their negations, and which can be attributed to God ("better than everything which is not him," according to Anselm), and mixed perfections, which can be attributed to certain beings, but not to God (analogy*). These paths are integrated in several ways, sometimes by stressing God's unknowable transcendence, beyond every perfection (Rhineland*-Flemish mysticism, Nicholas of Cusa), sometimes by stressing the constitution of a transcendental concept applicable to God envisaged as the maximum of perfections (John Duns* Scotus: "We do not love negations in a sovereign way," *Ordinatio* I).

3. Principle, Middle, and End

According to a Platonic schema, God is often characterized as principle, mediator, and end of the universe as he is of human existence. "What then is God? For

the universe, the end; for choice*, salvation*; for himself, he knows what." (Bernard* of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, *Opera omnia*)

The ultimate end, God is the one who can only be enjoyed (*frui*) and never exhausted as a means (*uti*), the one toward whom the whole cosmos* and all human action reach, he is beatitude*, glimpsed here below through shadowy sketches, and which will be fully grasped only in the celestial homeland. As principle, God is creator, such that his capacity to create and to preserve the world suffices to reveal his nature. "Whatever creature comes along, if they make such a heaven and such an earth, I shall say they are God" (Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*). God's nature is studied first in a reflection on the Trinity, essential in the confrontation with Judaism* and Islam: the unity of the essence that, following Augustine and Boethius, is distinguished from the trinity of persons, makes possible a speculation on God's existence and his nature. If God is said to be "substance," it is in a sense that transcends the limits of this category, since it cannot lend itself to accidents. Of a spiritual nature, he is characterized as life, sovereign good, perfection, and above all, charity: by essence, God loves himself and all things, the good he does and not the evil that we do. Thus, his attributes are truth*, immutability*, simplicity*, such that all that is in God is God, including his operations: prescience (divine knowledge*), providence*, omnipresence*, predestination* (justice* and mercy*), omnipotence*, and will (in the order given in Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, and their commentaries). His relationship with the world presents the problem of non-reciprocal relations between eternity and time*: although God is in himself "Lord" of all eternity, he is not the "ruler of the world" until after the creation (Alexander of Hales, *Summa theologica*).

As mediator, God wills the salvation of human beings, and he alone can restore them to the image of God. The history of salvation is thus marked by long stages, and is understood according to a trinitarian rhythm, following Joachim* of Fiore and Bonaventure*: a reign of the Father (creation, revelation), of the Son (incarnation), of the Holy Spirit (in grace* and in the sacraments*). The questions then become: can one say that "God is [a] man," or is it only the person of the Word who unites himself with humanity? (Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*). Can God suffer? Is he really present in the Eucharist*? The autonomous development of a theology of essence made these questions all the more pressing.

4. Birth of a Natural Theology

Scholasticism* assimilated the philosophical theology of Antiquity (Proclus, *Elements of Theology*) and found

itself confronting Jewish and Islamic theology (Maimonides and Avicenna respectively). After its confrontation with the logic and grammatical disciplines, Scholasticism turned theology into a scientific discipline. The possibility of a philosophical theology, then of a theological philosophy, is founded on Romans 1:20, interpreted by Peter Lombard's *Gloss* (PL 191, 1327). Natural theology gradually separated itself from the economy of salvation and from speculation about the Trinity to acquire its own autonomy. From the 13th century onward, knowledge through faith became detached from the Scriptures and the world, setting up a third form of revelation (Alexander of Hales, in *I Sent.*).

This move was characterized by the constitution of "God" in a concept, distinct from everyday, natural, and religious usages. In the first place, he is often replaced by a proper term developed by the theologian in his speculation on God. This trend is visible as early as Anselm (*Monologion*), with the concepts of *summa essentia*, *summus spiritus*, *ipsum bonum*. Each theologian would thus deploy his own proper name for God, allowing him to contemplate God's existence, nature, and main attributes: *ipsum esse* in Thomas Aquinas's case, *Necesse esse* for Henry of Ghent, *ens infinitum* for John Duns Scotus (*De primo principio*, Bonaventure), and, more idiosyncratically, *maximum et minimum*, "Non-other," or even the untranslatable *possest*, in Nicholas of Cusa (*Triologus de possest*). A series of calls to order countered this trend of specialization in infinite scission: Bernard of Clairvaux denounced Abelard's use of logic, Bonaventure thundered against the masters of arts, Gerson demanded the return to current vocabulary ("Letter to Pierre d'Ailly"). These theologians thus emphasized that the God of the believers possessed attributes unknown to the philosophers, such as liberty, love, and omnipotence (Damian, *Letter on Divine Omnipotence*, SC 191). The concept constructed by philosophical reason alone diverged increasingly from the God known through revelation.

Secondly, this plurality of divine names was confronted by the ontological affirmation of God. Since God's names must transcend the limits of the finite meanings of being, they are acceptable only to the extent that they express the attribute transcendently. Thus, the Augustinian school favors the True; a Pseudo-Dionysian trend prefers to speak about God as Good, rather than as Being (Bonaventure, *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*); another, Proclusian, school of thought named him as One (Dietrich of Freiburg, Berthold of Moosburg); yet another, blending Aristotelianism and Platonism*, would speak about Being itself (Thomas Aquinas). But they all ran the risk of being reduced to the existing (*ens*) in general, even if it were distinguished as infinite (John Duns Scotus). One

way of transcending the transcendental itself was then to imagine God as nothingness* (John the Scot Eriugena, *De Divisione Naturae*, Hadewijch of Antwerp, Eckhart, Suso, Angela di Foligno).

Thirdly, scholastic theology increasingly constructed a priori the philosophical name of God, to the point of forming a true natural* theology: reason* alone possesses the principles that make it possible to demonstrate God's existence and nature. While Thomas Aquinas's five paths left to faith the job of acknowledging the unity of their five respective goals, and their identity with "what everyone calls God" (*ST* Ia, q.2, a, 3), Henry of Ghent stressed the necessity of starting from a previous concept that implied a priori "God's" unicity and singularity. With Henry, then with John Duns Scotus, the a posteriori proof simply verified the existence of a term corresponding to the concept. God is reached metaphysically, independently from all cosmology, as the "first principle" in conformity with his concept. John Duns Scotus's *Tractatus de Primo Principio* (c. 1308) completed this journey by presenting the first autonomous metaphysical treatise about God. Nicholas of Cusa brought out its implications: the thought of God becomes a conception of the Concept (*Idiota de sapientia*, *Opera omnia* V), and God is absorbed into the thought that engenders him. Ockham (*Quodlibeta septem*, *Opera theologica* IX), Bonaventure, then the Nominalists* would deny that the proof of God reached the one God—thus confirming the split between theology and philosophy.

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See also Aristotelianism; Deity; Existence of God, Proofs of; Negative Theology; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism; Scholasticism

IV. Reformation and Modern Theology

1. From Luther to the Protestant Orthodoxies

The theological controversies sparked off by the Reformation had no effect on the content of the trinitarian and christological confession: in these areas Luther* took over in its totality the legacy of patristic and medieval theology. All the same, the seamless continuity of a confession of faith cannot lead to neglect of the fact that the order of reasons was subjected to profound upheavals. In fact it was Christology, and more particularly the theology of the cross, that provided Luther with a focus for theological organization. God is indeed firstly the transcendent lord of history, the omnipotent and sovereign will on whom everything depends, and in whose hands creatures are mere "puppets." But if there is a theology that assigns itself the mission of speculating on the inaccessible lord of creation—a *theologica gloriae*—this theology suffers from a deficit: it cannot know God's love, and it can only acknowledge that the Almighty is also, christologically, the All-Near. Now, it is indeed charity and the nearness of God that matter when theology is articulated as the "theology of the cross," *theologica crucis*. The God revealed through his opposite on the cross of Christ, the God to whom only faith gives access, it was this "burning furnace filled with love" that Luther experienced, and it was its paradoxical manifestation that he thematized. All natural knowledge is excluded: it is in Christ, and nowhere else, that God entrusts his promises, proves his fidelity, and reveals his trinitarian secret. Not only is theology alone able to speak about God, but it can also only do so by basing itself on a christological contemplation.

A shared fundamental agreement about the faith confessed by the Church, together with a new outline of theology's path, was also encountered in Calvin*—and this new outline did not always meet the Lutheran path. Divine majesty and glory were the key concepts. Calvin's God was primarily the one who had created everything for his glory, and whose glory, in conformity with the doctrine of double predestination (and in opposition to Lutheran indeterminism), revealed itself as much in the election of some as in the reprobation of others. Divine proximity was therefore absent from this theology; and it would be one of Calvinism*'s constant tasks, faced with Lutheranism*, to propose a Christology in which, in the name of the founding principle that wanted the finite to be incapable of harboring the infinite (*finitum non capax infiniti*), God would reveal himself in any event as the Almighty. Here again, the thought is strictly theological, and natural reason can only attain fruitless knowledge. But it was undeniably another image of God that was provided. Such a theocentrism was present in Zwingli*, where it was additionally fed by humanist influences. As for Bucer's theology, first structured as a theology of the Holy Spirit, it would evolve later toward a christocentrism.

The Reformers' primordial intuitions had to undergo a certain marginalization from the second half of the 16th century onward. Melancthon's *Loci*—the first of the Protestant dogmatics—exhibit, during the course of their redevelopments, a return to favor of the theoretical moves that Luther and Calvin had excluded. The proofs of the existence* of God regained there a rightful theological place; Luther's insistence on the "hidden God" was recalled, but exerted no strong influence; lastly, the systematic scaffolding tended to obfuscate Luther's primarily existential interests. Later, Protestant theology would turn into a new Scholasticism, which certainly owed its confession of faith to the Reformers, but which also owed a good part of its conceptual trappings to post-Tridentine Catholic theology, and to Suarez* principally, while at the same time it marked a new chapter in the history of Christian Aristotelianism*.

2. The God of the Enlightenment

Although at the dawn of modern theology God appeared as omnipotence and love, classical rationalism* did not fail to influence theology in its own turn. From Descartes* to Leibniz* and Wolff, the God of the philosophers did not experience any great metamorphosis with regard to his classical or medieval forms, when he was conceived as supreme power or supreme reason. Nonetheless, this God, who is also God the warrantor of a perfect mathematization of the real (he

is also Newton's God) would enter theology without any part of his concept being thought through again. Enlightenment theology was very willing to be *theologica more geometrico demonstrata*; its God would borrow more than one major trait from the God of theism (deism*). The notion of God's omnipotence in creation therefore tended to overshadow any sense of a historical revelation. Divine love was largely interpreted in terms of a universal benevolence, which itself tended logically to preclude any possibility of divine wrath. In the face of the avowed reality of evil, the question of providence acquired an urgency that it had never had before: and if it was a matter of admiring the universe, as science revealed it, it was just as much a matter of acquitting a God being tried by human suffering. Natural knowledge of God ended up by becoming the focus of theology—and even more so in Protestantism* than in Catholicism*. From “physico-theology” to “neology” and to strict “rationalism,” an exemplary path thus envisaged the theological crowning of the God of pure reason—a God who was perhaps nothing more than the apotheosis of the enlightened intellectual.

3. The God of Feeling

The 17th and 18th centuries were not only an age of pure reason and of theological rationalism*. As early as the mid-17th century the divorce pronounced by Pascal* between the “God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” and the “God of the philosophers and scholars” was pregnant with a theological task that relaunched the Reformation's initial impulses. This task was to define itself steadily, and doubtless be diverted, when Pietism* arose to ask theology to speak to it of a God “felt in the heart” (soul*-heart-body). Beyond confessional barriers, the “emotional transposition of doctrines” (Pelikan) is thus the exact counterweight of a rationalism to which the Enlightenment, nevertheless, cannot be reduced. Here the merciful Savior counters the all-powerful Creator, the sorrowful face on the cross counters an almost faceless God; and the establishment of a close link between theological work and the spiritual experience of “regenerated” man counters a practice of theology where only the scientific/rational is of significance. Thus God intervenes as the one who moves man's emotions: once again he is that “furnace of love” of which Luther spoke, and the in-self of the divinity is important only because of what it is for me. These strains are noticeable in the work of the greatest Anglo-Saxon theologian of the century, Jonathan Edwards*, and they certainly find their most compelling (and conclusive) expression in Schleiermacher*'s work. In his *Reden über die Religion* (1799), the latter had striven to give credit to religion

from the perspective of a somewhat Rousseauist contemplation of the universe. His *Dogmatik* (1821) went considerably further. It proposed a condition for access to God, the “feeling of absolute dependence,” in which man abdicates any claims to absolute autonomy: “God” acquires his meaning in the element of feeling, of the *Gefühl*. Even more importantly, everything that is said about God is only said about him obliquely, and informs us only of what feeling grasps according to its own logic. The in-self of the divinity then vanishes; and those doctrines that the theologian does not manage to topple under the influence of feelings cannot help but be marginalized—thus trinitarian theology is relegated to an appendix of the work.

4. The God of Ethics

If it was necessary for Schleiermacher to have recourse to feeling, this was because pure reason, in its use of metaphysics, no longer seemed to permit access to God. To the growing Pietism, the God of reason did not seem quite capable of inspiring piety. But Kant* had intervened between this Pietism and Schleiermacher, and after the demolition of the proofs of God's existence that was undertaken in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, the God of reason had disappeared to make way for the God of practical reason, at once moral legislator, sovereign Good, and eschatological judge. With religion reduced to morality, the result obtained by Kant could not but be accepted by rationalism, and in fact accompanied it until its disappearance, when the quarrel between rationalism and supranaturalism ended and the theological world's interest was captured by the episodes of Hegel*'s legacy. The moral God was to reappear, perhaps even more strongly, in the middle of the 19th century, when A. Ritschl (1822–89) started his polemics against “metaphysical idols.” He based his theology on Christology and on the concept of love, the latter being reduced to its ethical content. Kant's God would be the God of liberal Protestantism: he was therefore the God whose death would be announced by Nietzsche*.

5. The Absolute and the Spirit

The God of pure reason certainly did not die as a result of Kant's critique, and the philosophies of German idealism were to give him currency. Thought of as “Absolute,” “Absolute Idea,” “Absolute Spirit,” or “Lord of being,” the God of Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling* is in each case the God of metaphysics, a God whose manifestation *ad extra* (“economy”) requires him to be deciphered on the basis of the moment of “immanence” of the divine life, and a God who remains unknown in the realm of feelings. On the one hand, the a priori requirements of reason are once again honored: thus,

Hegel proposes an ample defense and illustration of the proofs of God's existence. On the other hand, however, Hegel's and Schelling's God (but not Fichte's) is indeed the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob who has entered philosophy; a redefinition of the "philosophical" in its relations with the "theological" is at work here, and represents what is perhaps the most important intellectual event in the theology of the 19th century. All the same, Hegel had to wait until the 20th century for a theological hearing that would respect the aims and the actual contents of his texts, and the theological reception of Schelling's late texts has only begun. The history of 19th century Schellingianism is one of a strongly influential school of thought (see Wolf, *PhJ*, [98] 1991, 145–160), but one which almost fell into oblivion. And the history of Hegelianism* presents the pathetic spectacle of faithful and not very talented heirs (the "old Hegelians"), incapable of preventing the "young Hegelians" from proceeding to a total secularization* of the master. The same would happen to the protest made by Kierkegaard* against Hegel in the name of a subjectivity that sought the Absolute, not in history*, but in an experiential logic of faith (a protest that, moreover, should not mask the fact that both thinkers exhibited the same contempt for the classically defined boundaries of the philosophical and the theological!), with the result that it would not be properly heard until the 20th century. The 19th century remains the century of Schleiermacher.

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See also Being; Deism and Theism; Descartes, René; Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich; Kant, Immanuel; Kierkegaard, Søren Aabye; Luther, Martin; Pietism; Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von; Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst

V. Contemporary Theology

1. *The God of Crisis*

The inaugural act of contemporary theology was unquestionably to break away from Schleiermacher and his heirs, and the manifesto of this rupture was Barth's *Römerbrief* (1919), a plea for divine transcendence and alterity, for faith as the only element of a just affirmation of God, and for a strict theological theocentrism. Whatever the names given to this reorientation by Barth ("dialectic theology," "crisis theology"), the return to a pure Calvinist conception of divine majesty was undeniable. "God" intervenes here as judge and critical authority in relation to what man could say about him that he has not said about himself; he intervenes as the one par excellence who cannot be appropriated, denouncing the "religious" constructions that make him a god tailored to human needs or a god measured by human experiences (*Erlebnisse*). Thus, a hermeneutics* of feeling in its religious function (Schleiermacher) is opposed on the one hand by the Word in which God expresses himself objectively, and on the other hand by a divine inaccessibility that dooms to failure any self-transcendence of man toward God. The demolition of any anthropocentric base would be pursued methodically, and in a manner independent of all the changes of direction that Barth's thought would later take—thus his trinitarian theology would avoid the concept of person, because of the weight of anthropological reference with which modernity had loaded it, and would have recourse instead to the concept of the "mode of being," *Seinsweise*. This purification of theological language also led to a rejection of any form of natural* theology and to a fierce polemic against the concept of *analogia entis*, which was viewed as "an invention of the Anti-Christ." Only divine liberty and divine love open the field to a knowledge of God and to a discourse about God. Several thematics arising from the early Barth would live on vigorously through the course of the century, and would often cut across confessional boundaries.

a) *God's unavailability*, relayed by the criticism of the objectifying language provided by Heidegger* in his *Being and Time*, would supply an organizing concept to all the theologies anxious to free God from the clutches of metaphysical thought. Whether it was a

matter of writing a theology of the Crucified Christ “between theism and atheism*” (Jüngel); of thinking of God as existing “without being” (J. L. Marion); of setting up the “trial of God’s objectivity” (Colette et al., CFI 41); or still of thinking of God as “ever greater,” or as a “God ever more God” (M. Corbin), the desire to let God alone say who God is remained a common preoccupation despite the diverse approaches.

b) *The unknowability* of God outside of faith is a classical theme of the Reformation, but it has taken on a new urgency in the wake of Barth. This theme is linked to the one above: natural theology is criticized for having boarded God for inspection by the world and by man. Nonetheless, the theme becomes complicated insofar as God’s unavailability is tied here to a theology of revelation occupied with freeing the term “God” from all meanings and references other than Christian ones. Whether through a criticism of conceptual “idols” (Marion), through a challenge to “religious” language in the name of a non-religious reading of the biblical texts (Bonhoeffer*), or through the redevelopment of an integrally theological ontology (Dalferth), the debt to Barth is clear, whether it is acknowledged or not.

c) Barth was not without precursors. E. Schaefer had already protested theological anthropocentrism, and the Kantian phenomenology of the sacred developed by R. Otto (*Das Heilige*, 1917) had prepared the way for an exaggerated affirmation of divine alterity. This second reference is paradoxical, however, for reticence before the “sacred” is a characteristic sign of Barth’s influence in theology. E. Levinas would provide a useful conceptual couple when, in a context outside that of Christian theology, he would distinguish the “sacred” from the “holy”: this distinction goes to the heart of Barthian and post-Barthian criticism of the “religious.” One then realizes that the theologies of secularization* (Van Buren) or the theologies of the world (Metz) have perhaps fed on crumbs from Barth’s table—if the enchantments of the sacred in fact reveal a divine that is not God, then the disenchantment (Weber) of the world is an event worthy of applause.

2. The God of History

Another path was opening up to whoever wanted to have done with both moral and emotional theological anthropocentrism, the path of a particular understanding of Hegel. To the Barthian theme of a divine eternity as the judge of time, W. Pannenberg and J. Moltmann opposed the theme of a universal history with which the divine manifestation is strictly co-

extensive, and the theme of a God who is craftsman of history and craftsman of the future. Contemplation of the “infinite qualitative difference” that separates the Creator from the creature then yields to an essentially “economic” theology, busy deciphering the traces of a divine interest in the history of man; the God of crisis cedes place to the God of the eschatological promises that have already been proleptically realized (Pannenberg), and whose complete fulfillment is history’s secret (Moltmann). Thus God enters theological discourse as the one who *has* come. Whether the traces of his passage are readable by any kind of historiography (Pannenberg’s extremist position) or whether their interpretation requires a hermeneutic based on faith (Cullmann), theology’s first task remains the same: to identify a divine signature in the facts of the world. And to the extent that these attempts are contemporaneous with the “new research on the Jesus* of history,” launched by E. Käsemann in 1953, it is hardly surprising that the question of God is first asked there in a christological context and that the trinitarian perspective only reveals itself at a later stage. For the looming of eternity over the present time (Barth) is thus substituted an appeal for direction coming from the end, an appeal for eschatological accomplishment to loom over history. Waiting for the Parousia*, therefore, becomes a substitute to the *memoria Dei in Christo*; God is the one who *will* come. At the time of writing, the best textbook on Catholic theology to have been published for a very long time, *Mysterium Salutis* (1965–75), also presents itself as a broad reading of the “history of salvation.” And even the most speculative of the Catholic theologies of the period, that of H. U. von Balthasar, adheres to this logic—a logic that Vatican II also made its own.

3. The God of Subjectivity and the Lord of Existence

Although the publication of Barth’s *Römerbrief* should be considered Kierkegaard’s first theological victory, subjectivity, existence, and the existing influenced other theories than crisis theology; and they did not do it under Kierkegaard’s aegis alone.

a) Thus it was in the line of a certain Kantianism (from the Post-Kantian Thomism arising from P. Scheuer and J. Maréchal) that K. Rahner*’s transcendental theology was organized—a theology in which the historical (the “categorical”) reveals nothing, or almost nothing that is not deducible a priori (“transcendentally”) in the interpretation of the spiritual dynamisms of subjectivity or the lacunae that affect it.

Theological anthropology* thus becomes once again the matrix of the whole theology. Rahner was to make a terminological proposal close to Barth’s by

suggesting that “person” in trinitarian theology be replaced by the concept of “mode of subsisting,” *Subsistenzweise*, and he did it for the same reason, to avoid anthropomorphism*. Nonetheless, his viewpoint is the opposite: Barth’s starting point was the eruption of a word of truth into the human world; Rahner’s was an ontological/existential qualification which makes man a “hearer of the Word” even before it has been uttered.

b) It was under the influence of Heidegger that Bultmann, the young Barth’s fellow traveler, was led to express the question of God in an existential way. Here history is not forgotten in favor of the transcendental, but in favor of the eschatological, itself imagined in terms of “authentic” existence wrested by faith from the daily misfortunes of being-in-the-world. On (*über*) God himself, theology cannot speak; it can only speak of (*von*) him; and of him, it can only confess in faith his grace and his mercy. The historical reference therefore vanishes even before Bultmann’s exegetical skepticism* has led him to brand with unknowability the facts that the theology of the history of salvation invoked. Only God counts, in Bultmann’s view—the God who saves me today. Fichte can be paraphrased: it is the existential, and not the historical, that gives beatitude*.

c) Heidegger’s influence (but this time the influence of his philosophy of language) is also highly visible in the hermeneutical theologies of E. Fuchs and G. Ebeling, and to some extent in that of E. Jüngel. Yet again, the present is central: it is *now* that the Word must be heard and accepted, because it is now that the text of Scripture becomes a Word for me. And because theological interpretation aims to be existential, speaking about God is only possible with the presupposition, already adopted in Bultmann, that God is involved in the very structures of existence. The spoken Word, welcomed in the present where it is uttered, is a word understood beforehand.

4. The Death of God

Although Christianity is perfectly equipped to understand that even at the moment of death* God can find a place in himself, it fell to the 20th century to think of an Easter Saturday that is followed by no Easter joy banishing the darkness. The concept of “Christian atheism*” may indicate first of all, in a provocative way, a refusal to let the logic of theism put pressure on the confession of the God of Jesus Christ—and understood thus, almost the whole of living theology in the century shares this refusal. The “theology of the death of God,” however, has more than that to say. It says no less and proposes (in the case, for instance, of J. A. T. Robinson) to take leave from an onto-theological God. But it aims

to proclaim such a concentration of the divine in Jesus that on Good Friday it is indeed the whole divinity who dies on the cross, without anyone being able to resurrect him. The “gospel of Christian atheism” (Altizer) is thus the good news of a transfer in meaning: what “God” meant has passed entirely into man’s history. Chapters on theology may still have to be written after the death of God (Sölle), but this death is real, and the God who dies in the Hegelian sense of the definition *remains* dead in the Nietzschean sense of the definition: what was said about him must then be found to be said about another, or must also die. A generation later, the post-modern “atheologies” would adopt the majority of the themes of the theology of the death of God, by transposing them in a hermeneutical and grammatical perspective inspired by J. Derrida (Taylor etc.) and often by placing their “deconstruction” efforts under the aegis of classical negative theology. Lastly, without belonging to the movement—an Anglo-Saxon one above all—of the Death Of God Theology, H. Braun treads the same waters when he attributes to the term “God” only the quality of being “a certain form of interpersonality,” *eine Art Mitmenschlichkeit*.

There have certainly been other discourses in the 20th century. As responses to theological criticism of theism there have been efforts to defend and to illustrate the God of Scholasticism (e.g. Mascall); there have been strictly metaphysical redevelopments (e.g. Swinburne, or God as the “foundation of being” of Macquarrie); in contemporary orthodox theology there are trinitarian discourses which are careful not to compromise themselves with talk of the divine “essence” or “substance” (e.g. Zizioulas). Moreover, this critique is intensified in Process* theology, with its renewed challenge to divine absoluteness and the shifts it makes in the concept of divine eternity. It is intensified, in the same way, in the various readoptions of the theopaschite theme—without there being any unified school, K. Kitamori’s God escapes from the conceptualities of classical theism as much as does the God of F. Varillon or W. M. Thomson. One point at least is abundantly clear: whether it is a question (in the majority of attempts) of taking a definitive leave of him, or of making a new covenant with him (Rahner), the God of the philosophers is always present in contemporary theology, in the wings or on the stage.

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See also **Barth, Karl; Being; Christ and Christology; Eschatology; Heidegger, Martin; Language, Theological**

VI. Systematic Theology

Informed by almost 20 centuries of the Christian utterance of God's name, and whatever might be the multiplicity of contemporary expressions, whose coordination is extremely difficult, a systematic discourse could be organized according to the following currents of thought.

1. Christological Reduction

Christian Theology's first words are a christological confession: *Kurios ho Iêsous*, Jesus is lord/Lord, and its first task is to associate God with the specificity of Jesus' fate. God's name is certainly not utterable exclusively with regard to the "event of Jesus Christ." Nevertheless, the New Testament requires an assertion that this horizon is at least the only adequate one. No one has ever seen God, but the one who is closest to the bosom of the Father has made him known (Jn 1:18); whoever has seen Jesus has seen the Father (Jn 14:9). And based on the developments that these affirmations received during the early centuries of Christianity, christological mediation seems to be theology's identifying principle: "For in him the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily" (Col 2:9). The paradoxical coherence of Christian discourse requires therefore that everything that can be stated about God should hang on a christological interpretation. Theology only speaks about God by basing itself on a divine authorization: whether it uses the concept or not, it lives in order to make a constant appeal to a revelation, to a divine self-revelation; in Jesus' destiny it sees the perfect image of this unveiling. Therefore, it is first of all a matter of setting aside all the contents of the meaning of the word "God" that are not acquired or integrated christologically. The primordial element of the Christian naming of God is therefore memory. God is not primarily the one who *is*, but the one who *has come*: his "immanent" divinity is only strictly confessable when his "economic" divinity has first been confessed. It is a certain hermeneutics of a certain history that gives its exact meaning to the word "God"; the God who is discussed theologically is a God who gave rise to himself and gave himself a face.

2. The Trinitarian Unfolding

If theological reason is a reason certified by memory, it must also be stated at once that the God known in Jesus Christ is not an Absolute who has placed himself at the disposal of human beings by assuming their humanity, that God has not died in his divinity (in his transcendence, in his "highness") in order to give himself, in Jesus, a being-in-the-world. The christological economy of revelation, in fact, absolutely forbids a reduction in what we say about God to what we can say about Jesus: it is precisely christo-logical, which is more than Jesus-logical, because Jesus is recognized as Christ, as one signed with a messianic anointing that does not come from himself. Only a trinitarian hermeneutic can do justice to the "event of Jesus Christ" in such a way that the "opposition of relationship" between Jesus and the one he calls Father (and between Jesus and the Holy Spirit that he gives to his disciples) does not contradict the strict unity claimed by the Johannine Christ, and in such a way that it is necessary to speak about God simultaneously in the plural and in the singular (*hèn esmen, unum sumus*, Jn 10:30). The concept of self-revelation should therefore be defined. Jesus is not Lord as a revelation of *himself*, but as revealed by the Father and by the "unknown beyond the Word" (Balthasar). Speaking about God thus requires the use of a double language: both the language of *subsistence*, according to which God dwells in Jesus, and the language of *iconicity*, according to which Jesus is "the image of the invisible God" (Col 1:15; see 2 Cor 4:4) and "the radiance of his glory" (Heb 1:3). The one who *comes* is indeed the one who *is*; and in saying this we are not referring to the faceless being of a substance or divine essence, but to the "mystery" (*mustèrion*) par excellence, to which the "Jesus Christ event" yields itself in order to initiate (*muein*) reason, that of a divine life that is communion*. Jesus' resurrection*, then, is only the first word in Christology (Pannenberg, Moingt et al.) by being the first word in trinitarian theology. What God shows himself to be in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus ("economically"), so he is still (in an "immanent" way). Whether "God," *theos*, names the Father (in the New Testament) or the triad of persons (from Nicaea I onward), the christological faith cannot in any case unfold except in a trinitarian mode.

3. The God of Jesus Christ, the God of Israel

God expresses himself and shows himself in Jesus. Nevertheless, the christological "fullness of time" (Gal 4:4) cannot be interpreted as the first occurrence of divine word. The God of Jesus Christ is not a God immured in his own transcendence until the time of condescension has come—he is the God of Israel, al-

ready known, being already linked to humanity through a covenant. For this reason Old Testament pre-comprehensions are not optional in a hermeneutic of New Testament texts and of the confession of Christian faith. The first great theoretical debate into which the primitive Church had to enter was the debate provoked by Gnosticism and Marcionism*: a debate led by theologians announcing another God and abrogating the experience of Israel. If it has to be conceded that Christianity speaks about God differently than does biblical (and post-biblical) Judaism, the lesson from this debate is indeed that a Christianity that would disqualify the God of Israel would deprive itself *ipso facto* of the semantic, metaphorical, and symbolic resources necessary for the structuring of a christological affirmation. The discourse of alterity (“God otherwise”) cannot be maintained here without being tied dialectically to a discourse of continuity, and therefore without the formulation of a project for a christological reading of the Old Testament. When the curtain of the temple* is torn (Mt 27:51) and God is no longer present in the world except *sub contrario*, on the cross of Jesus, displacement and discontinuity are warded off—the God of Jesus Christ “scandalizes” Israel (1 Cor 1:23). Yet discontinuity cannot be imagined except in the light of an equally strong continuity. Post-biblical Israel can (or should) try to de-Judaize Jesus (“on his lips, we do not recognize our own verses”—Levinas) in order to contradict any Christian claim to continuity, but the pagano-Christian Church must itself maintain with all its might the homogeneity of the same speech act which fashioned Israel’s experience, and which makes possible the—difficult—recognition of the God of Jesus Christ as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

4. A Universal Meaning

If “God alone speaks properly of God” it is inevitable that theological statements systematically make their initial reference to the history in which the Absolute pitched his tent among human beings. Nevertheless, the provincial specificity of the “history of salvation” cannot all the same obscure the fact that God’s name is not just uttered within the confines of Israel and the Church. This has to be taken into account at several levels.

a) First of all, the God of Israel only takes his place among human beings, in the specificity of a culture, and subject to the accidents of language, by identifying himself at the same time as lord of the whole cosmos*; and what is more, as lord integrating all that is within the sphere of the covenant. The God of the covenant is God the creator and not one of those gods

who would share between themselves the sovereignty of the world and its peoples. But, reciprocally, God the creator is also the God of the covenant, and this (at least) means that there could be no question of man without God himself also coming into question. It is certainly “more natural” (Jüngel) for theology to organize itself christologically and in a trinitarian way than to make an appeal to meanings taken on by the word “God” in other spheres of experience than those of Israel and the Church. But the fact that that name is not theology’s exclusive property is itself a major theological fact; between what theology says about God and what non-biblical cultures and religions say about him, there could not exist a pure and simple ambivalence.

b) The importance of universality of a meaning and of a reference has a strongly attested place in philosophical rationality. It matters little here whether God entered philosophy so that his name might be sanctified in it or his divinity finally forgotten in it. The only thing that matters is the intersubjective agreement on what the words mean; and the service that can be asked of them here, and that they undeniably perform, is to prevent any referential errors. After all, such an ill-famed concept as that of *causa sui* has only God as possible referent. Its extreme poverty can be granted. But it must also be agreed that it refers to God without any ambivalence. Looking at it this way, the “God of the philosophers” is not the other of the “God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.” Some other terms are undeniably naming procedures, and names may be different, but the one that they name is the same. Doubtless God is misunderstood wherever the historical conditions of his manifestation are not admitted and considered. Nonetheless, that is not to say that God is unknown there, or unknowable.

c) Therefore it must be proposed that the God of Jesus Christ cannot be expressed if he has not already been pre-expressed; and if the pre-diction has the faith of Israel as its favored modality, it is also realized in the expectation of the nations. Although first in the order of systematizing reasons, Christology and trinitarian theology do not have the first word; their discourse is only audible because God has already been spoken about. And in whatever way one gives theological status to the expectation of the nations (in patristic terms of the theory of the “evangelical preparation,” or in J. S. von Drey’s of a theory of the “originating revelation,” etc.), it is important to note that God is never spoken about christologically/trinitarily without this language being partially receivable because it is partially pre-understood.

5. Word and Liturgy

Theology speaks about God and constructs propositional sequences with the same structure as the sequences constructed for any other body of knowledge. But whatever it says about God, we cannot say it without confessing that God does not stand face to face with the human person in the manner of a supreme object, but in the manner of a You, and therefore that we speak *about* God while presuming that we can speak *to* God. The theological assertion therefore cannot close full circle on itself, and its final coherence only emerges in the links that unite it to the doxology. Since this is so, it is not enough that God should be the universal object of successful semantic transactions: it is also necessary that the community of those who give a common meaning to “God” should also exist as a liturgical community of praise* and thanksgiving. It is certainly a sign of our historicity that we can speak about God, and moreover that we must do so. But amid the tasks (kerygmatic, reflexive, etc.) that history imposes on theology, it is also possible to set the whole histori-

ality aside in order to anticipate liturgically a transcending of objectifying language. Theology certainly could not absorb itself without remainder in the doxological, for the empire of praise would then be bought at a high price—that is, at the price of a closure on itself of the liturgical community and a ban on its telling the reasons for the praise. But neither can theology reduce itself to the dimensions of a theory of the divine, for it would cause the subtraction from this theory of the sphere of existential verification which only the experience of the liturgy, and of any prayer*, gives it. Such an oscillation is essential for the proper use of God’s name. Theory refers to liturgical practice as to the best use we can make of our words, while liturgical practice bases itself in turn on theoretical language as the condition of a universal communication of the reasons for believing in God and for speaking to God.

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See also **Language, Theological; Praise; Philosophy; Theology**

B. Philosophical Problematics

1. An Impossible Definition

Metaphysics seeks an unconditioned first principle, an absolute that goes beyond the rationality that is proper to the class of the conditioned; through this transcendence, metaphysics finds open the possibility of encountering the one who is beyond all finite names and that philosophical tradition itself has called, from the time of its Greek origins, *ho theos*, “God.” But what this name covers is essentially problematic, because philosophy, forbidding itself to accept as truths historical data received through a tradition, can only know of God—if indeed it can know anything about God—that which comes from rational investigation (Thomas Aquinas, *ST* Ia, q.1, a.1). The fact that God is a subject for rational thought is itself a problem. Philosophy does not propose a unanimous doctrine about God, but only questions. What is this God, who can neither be found in experience, since he is the supersensible foundation of all empirical reality, nor be known in a sacred doctrine, since reason rejects the historicity of revelation, nor be met in a personal face-to-face encounter, since first principles are universal? Is it not simply a name given for convenience to the abstraction of a transcendental X? Could one not, in that case, challenge the le-

gitimacy of this denomination and identification? Why “God”? Why not the Absolute, the First, the Supreme being? Rather than speaking of “God,” should we not speak of the “Divine,” the anonymous principle of the supersensible? Is it not the nearness, importunate but insistent, of the religions that call for a revelation, and in particular of Christianity, that, despite the methodological resolutions, causes a contamination of the God of metaphysics by the personal God, and that leads the philosopher, a Christian, to cross the threshold separating a principle of establishment and order from personal existence, and *eternity* of essences from eternal *life**? But if metaphysics is suspected of being nothing more than a theology in disguise, a surreptitious introduction to obedience in faith, should not a philosophy freed of all authority challenge fundamentally the claim to speak about God, and apply itself to a radical critique of the practices of power that, in God’s name, and in the name of a supposed knowledge of the supersensible, hold consciences in ideological dependency? Philosophy’s task would then be a deconstruction of the God-idol of metaphysics. And by doing this, would all thinking about God be invalidated, or reduced to the status of a historically obsolete tradition?

Swinging between the two extremes of methodological atheism and rational theism, philosophical discourse unfurls the whole range of human attitudes when faced with God. There is nothing that philosophy can say about God that does not also refer to man, or tell about one of man's ways; for it starts from man, uncertain about the end of its quest. Philosophy does not and could not claim to say everything about God, but at least to stay attentive to what every man can say about God. The question is to find out whether the God of the philosophers represents only a way of stating the essence of man, or if it is possible for reason to reach that which exceeds itself.

2. God and the Divine

a) The Divine as Image of Ideas. While it is a human discourse on God, philosophy is not for that reason anthropology, for its methodological demands imply a setting aside of those cultural and religious data from which man derives an initial definition of his relation with the divine. The first Greek philosophy, challenging the divinity of the natural elements, broke with the universe of polytheistic mythology; Anaxagoras, Protagoras, then Socrates were condemned for impiety. Plato went on to set subtly at a distance what he called "theology" (*Republic* II, 379 *a*), meaning by that, not the philosophical discourse on the gods but the poets' well-regulated mythology. If the philosophical norm corrected the traditional, Homeric representations, it was by founding itself not on a knowledge of the gods' true nature, but on the idea of justice*, of which the gods must be, for human beings, satisfactory images. The psycho-cosmic theology of Plato's *Laws* (I. X) does not claim to state a final truth about the gods, but only to produce, through a persuasive, incantatory discourse (903d), belief in an order of retributive justice, a belief that, gently and without constraint, ultimately favors obedience to the Laws.

Thus the gods are useful images, pointing out to the soul the care it should take of itself—that is, of its original rooting in truth, as is shown by the myth of the winged steeds in *Phaedrus* (26 et seq.). The gods are immortal. The soul therefore is immortal in what brings it closer to the divine (see *Republic*. X, 611c). "The divine is what is beautiful, learned, good, and everything of that nature" (246d). The gods are the blessed (247a; see *Banquet* 202 *c*), whose lives, moving about among the numerous "blessed contemplations," are devoted to "thought, nourished by intellect and unadulterated knowledge" (*Phaedrus* 247 *d*); they possess the necessary knowledge (*Parmenides* 134 *e*). The divine therefore makes it possible to imagine the philosophical life. "Only the philosopher's thought is

winged" (*Phaedrus* 249 *c*) because the philosopher, "always open through his reasonings to the idea of the being... turns his eyes to the divine" (*Sophist* 254 *a-b*); but if the philosopher alone can be called divine, it is not that in reality he has become a God, nor even that he finds in the gods models to imitate: it is because he attained the very reality that makes the gods (ibid.), a reality of which they themselves are only the images. The divine, blessed life is an image *ad usum populi* of the philosophical life: "he is possessed by a God, but the masses do not suspect it" (*Phaedrus* 249 *c*).

Plato therefore is not developing a theology for its own sake. He is not seeking the essence of the gods, nor that of the divine. His recourse to a mythical discourse is a way of evoking the Ideas, of translating philosophical concepts, into the language of Greek culture.

b) The First of the Beings. What Ideas have in common with the Olympians is separation; the God, or the divine, on whom the philosopher (to protect him from any specificity) does not confer any mythological name, is the transcendent—the one who, in contrast to the *daimôn*, "does not mix with man" (*Banquet* 203a; see also *Parmenides* 134 *e*). Aristotle retains this essential characteristic of the God, while criticizing the Platonic theory of the separation of Ideas. Consequently, the divine ceases to be identified with the world of Ideas, and theology as an autonomous science becomes possible, constituted by its proper object, and no longer as an ideological expression. The immanence of the intelligible consecrates the transcendence of the intelligence: it is the real registration of the birth of God in philosophical thought. "There is no doubt that, if the divine exists somewhere, he exists in that 'immobile and separated' nature..." (*Metaphysics* E, 1, 1026 *a*, 18 et seq.). In addition, this being is, with regard to every being, "the sovereign and first principle" (*Metaphysics*, K, 7, 1064 *b1*). Knowledge of the being as a being thus has with theology, or first philosophy, a favored relationship, even though—an arguable point—it might not blend with it. One cannot imagine what causes a being to be what it is, without imagining every being's first cause, which is the same thing as their end.

Aristotle initiated this theology in his *Metaphysics* L, 6–10. First, he proposed (L, 6) the existence of an immobile, separated, eternal being who is the cause, the end, the impetus of movement in nature (see *Physics* VII and VIII). But it is not enough to have discovered a first principle in order to talk about God; one must also assure oneself of the excellence of the life that the principle leads; because what God possesses in his own right is a perfect and eternal life (*Metaphysics*

1071 b 28). The perfection, the happiness that is felt in joy, in pure pleasure, belongs to the pure action, which has no other end beside itself; now, only contemplation (9b 24), or thought in conformity with itself (b 18), realizes in man already this coincidence of the act and the end. It is therefore as an “act of intelligence”—that is, “life in conformity with itself of the intellect, excellent and eternal” (b 27)—that the pure act can be described as divine. Chapter 9 specifies that “the sameness of the intelligence and the intelligible” (b 21), which characterizes the very act of thought in general, implies not only that God’s life must be an intelligent life, but, much more, that God is thought itself, in conformity with itself—that is, “the thought of the thought” (b 34).

Theology is not reduced to thought about the principle, it is linked to a thought about the life of excellence. God’s happiness surpasses everything that mortals will ever experience in their most perfect moments; but it is also the norm of the happiness of man, who is only man insofar as he is not only man (*Eth to Nic.* X, 7, 1178 a 5–7). This man par excellence, the most divine of all, is the philosopher; for Aristotle, as for Plato, to speak about God is to speak about knowledge of the divine, which is also divine knowledge, philosophy.

3. The Philosophical Contribution to the Theological Construction

a) *The One and the Unique.* For Greek thought, the superiority, the very transcendence of the divine, does not imply a commensurability of man and God; the divine is thought of as an extreme possibility of man. Paradoxically, God does not become radically other except in the greatest proximity with man. By making himself a man, God stops being divine and becomes foreign to man: madness for the wise, wisdom for the mad. God does not manifest himself as man imagined him. That is, Christianity had to appear before God became the infinite that no human understanding could understand, before the relation between God and man became that of the Creator to the *ens creatum*.

When Christianity wanted to find a philosophical model on which to build a theology, it did not therefore turn either to Aristotle or to Plato, but toward a late interpretation of Platonism, based on the fundamental dissociation between the primordial One and the Aristotelian order of the intelligence, which is homologous to that of being. The definition Plato applied to the Idea of Good (*epekeina tès ousias*, *Republic* VI, 509 b) is the keyword in a theology that affirms in its most radical consequences the transcendence of the One (see Plotinus, *Enneads*; Proclus, *Platonic Theology*;

Pseudo-Dionysius, *Divine Names*). This encounter between the monotheistic revelation and philosophical mysticism is a crucial event, not only for Christian theology, but also for the philosophical naming of God. The name “god” is not, in a theology of the polytheistic hierarchy, the proper name of the transcendent One, since it extends to the divinity of all other gods, among whom beings also participate (Proclus). If the One is “the cause of all deity,” and if “the gods owe everything for their being gods to the first God” (Proclus), is the name “God” for this reason univocal, when it is a question of first among others? Strictly speaking no name, not even the name “God” is suited to the first one. Revelation, however, brings about, in the sphere of philosophy itself, a reversal in terms: on the basis of Holy Scripture, God can be named; but at the same time he is the one who is called unknowable and transcendent.

The analogy no longer consists of sharing out divinity among the first and the others, but in sharing out names (Being, One, Good, whichever might be the one granted preeminence) between God and creatures; on the other hand, God’s mode of being cannot be shared by any other being (see *ST* Ia, q. 4, a 3; 1, q. 13, a 11, resp.). Henceforth, the Christian adoption of Neoplatonic theology makes it take on a quite different meaning: it is definitely God who is spoken of, in giving him a name that cannot be given to any other being (*ST* Ia, q. 13, a 9).

b) *God as Being.* It remains to be discovered by what right philosophy can talk about God. If the decisive passage from thought about the supersensible to thought about God presupposes revelation; if God is not *per se notus*, knowable through himself alone, that is, by the sole aid of reason; then metaphysics may well be *sermo de divinis* (Thomas Aquinas, *In metaphysicorum*, L, VI, I, 1168), *scientia divina* *ST* Ia, q. 1, a.1), but not, strictly speaking, *theologia*.

According to Thomas Aquinas, the common use of reason is not only insufficient for obtaining knowledge about God’s essence (*ST* Ia, q. 12, a 4 and a.12), but does not even manage to understand the meaning of the name “God,” since certain individuals (the Stoics), using their reason alone, did not flinch at the conception of God as corporeal (*ST* Ia, q. 2, a. 1). It is therefore not possible to be certain of the univocity of the meanings of the name “God” according to whether it is used by philosophers, apart from revelation, and by theologians or the faithful. Furthermore, even if one were to admit, with Anselm of Canterbury, that every human being can be convinced *sola ratione*, according to the simple necessity of reason, of the necessary reason for a *summum omnium quae sunt* (*Monologion* I),

and can deduce its essence from this concept to the point that *huic soli summae essentiae proprie nomen dei assignatur* (ibid.), the fact remains that rational investigation has its limits, for God is not only, as *quo maius cogitari nequit*, the necessary subject of thought, he is also *quiddam maius quam cogitari*, going beyond all thought, all finite understanding (*Proslogion*).

For God to become the subject not only of revealed theology, but of a philosophy based on natural light, he must be reduced to a common denominator. Although he restricts knowledge of God to the *doctrina sacra*, Thomas Aquinas opens the way for a secularization by finding, beyond Neoplatonism, the equivalence between God and being. 1) Among the names of God, “who is” is for him, in preference to the others, the proper one (*ST Ia*, q.13, a. 11). 2) God is identified with his own nature (deity*) or essence (*ST Ia*, q. 3, a.3); “God is not only his own essence... but he is his own being (existence)” (*CG I*, 21; *ST Ia*, q. 3, a.4). 3) On the purely metaphysical level the difference between the *ens primum* and the *ens commune* is abolished (*In Metaphysicorum, Prooemium*). The confusion between the being of creatures and God’s being is only avoided by means of a theory of analogy, which retains the preeminence of the *esse divinum*. However, to raise oneself to this level, one must abandon the resolutions that belong to finiteness, and therefore experience the *esse commune*, which is not the *esse divinum*, but its closest term in the order of being. Even if theology is not reduced to ontology, it becomes inseparable from it.

4. God and Nature

a) God as the Basis of Scientific Knowledge. Modernity’s inaugural event is the reduction of nature to what is mathematically knowable. The philosophical problem of God is consequently asked in new terms, independently of all revealed theology when, after Descartes, metaphysics is defined as the foundation of physics.

In fact this methodological overturning has the following consequences for the God of the philosophers. 1) Natural knowledge of God is based directly on the idea of God, which is neither received from tradition nor derived from the experience of creatures, since this knowledge has the same rationality as mathematical ideas. 2) This methodological identity between the knowledge of God and the knowledge of nature makes it possible to base the certainty of the latter on the former, because the creative act establishes a dependency, acting as a guarantee, between God and the ideas of things. 3) This dependency implies the immeasurable-

ness of the infinite from the finite, of God from nature as of God from the finite mind. Therefore, the properly Cartesian proof of God’s existence (*Méditation III*) takes its starting point not so much from the idea of God, “infinite, eternal, immutable, independent, all-knowing, all-powerful substance and through which myself, and all the other things which are... have been created and produced” (ibid., A-T, IX, 36), but from the fact that finite understanding can have an idea of him. If the idea of the infinite is the clearest and most distinct of all ideas (ibid.), that is the sign of the divine registration in human thought: it is precisely because the infinite is incommensurable with the finite that the mind must propose the Other, that which it is not, as the cause of the idea of God. The foundation of natural science is therefore not the “I think,” because thought’s turning back in itself does not reach the otherness of an object to be discovered, but God, for it is only his veracity*, linked to his perfection, that guarantees the idea’s relation to an object, to an essence (*Méditation V*), as it does to an existence (*Méditation VI*).

However, this dependency on the physical with regard to God, which is characteristic of the 17th-century philosophers, and which Pascal attacked specifically when he spoke of the “God of the philosophers [i.e., first of all the physicists] and of the scholars” (our emphasis), inversely reduces God’s role to its epistemological dimension, disregarding the living God. Modern vanity consists of wanting nature to be founded on the idea of a rational God. The God of the modern (meta)physicians opens the way to atheism. In fact, God’s metaphysical condition is ambiguous: rational knowledge of God is certainly indispensable with regard to primary philosophy, but it comes to its end in what it founds, which is secondary philosophy. This secondary philosophy, considered in its proper class, can also just as easily do without God.

b) The Need for God causa sui. Either physico-mathematical rationality develops its potentialities independently of any foundation; or, on the contrary, rational theology extends its sphere from the foundation up to the whole of the real and becomes an exclusively rational and totally ontotheological system (Spinoza). Understanding has freed itself from authority in the knowledge of nature by introducing into nature the principle of necessity; it should obtain the same result in its knowledge of God. The fundamental prejudice of theologians and of the majority of philosophers is the identification of power with indifference. Nature would thus be contingent with regard to God, although necessary with regard to us, as physics shows. Yet it is opposite that is true: our imaginations introduce con-

tingency into nature, while the things that depend on the immutable power of God cannot be other than what they are because “God’s will cannot be other” (*Ethics* I, prop. 33, note 2). The only thought in conformity with reason is that “God does not produce his effects through free will” (*Ethics*, I, 32, cor. 1) but through the necessity of his nature (*Ethics* I, 16, 17). God’s causality is not the relation to an exteriority: he is the cause of finite beings by being the cause of himself; he does not relate to nature as if to something other than himself (*Ethics* I, 18). In short, it is impossible to associate the idea of God with the idea of transcendence. The relationship between cause and effect is internal to God’s necessity (as with the relation of naturizing nature to nature: *Ethics* I, 29), and it is only from this viewpoint that he can be said to be a free cause (*Ethics* I, 17, cor. 2). The radical equivocity between the God of reason and the God of the theologians leads to this conclusion: if one admits the latter, then the system founded on the former is undeniably atheism. If God is not a separate being, situated outside the being of nature, he has no being of his own. But one can just as well say that it is the traditional theological system that constitutes an atheism, because it does not know what it is talking about when using the name “God”: “Men professing openly to having no idea of God and not to know him except through created things (whose causes they are ignorant of), do not blush to accuse philosophers of atheism” (Gebhardt).

The Spinozist system considers in all its rigor what one cannot not think of God. The necessity of rationality unites with the very necessity of God. It follows that Spinoza has exhausted all that reason can say about God and that, as a result, any rational system ends necessarily with Spinozism, and thus with atheism. That is the conclusion which Jacobi draws from his examination of Lessing’s Spinozism, leading the problem of God into a dilemma—either rational atheism, or fideist theism—which also tolls the death knell of all theology, both rational and revealed, leaving to feeling and belief the privilege of a relation to the true and living God.

5. The End of the Metaphysical Concept of God

a) *God as Idea.* Kantian criticism of metaphysics confirms Jacobi’s analysis up to a point. On the one hand transcendental philosophy, which shows how the object is constituted a priori in the subject’s faculties for knowing, founds the science of nature without recourse to God. On the other hand transcendental dialectics throws light on the logical defect that undermines any rational attempt to pass from the concept of God to his reality (*Critique of Pure Reason*).

Kant does not deny the necessity of thinking about God as *summum ens*, *ens realissimum*, *ens necessarium*; but he challenges the transition from this necessity in the realm of thought to the affirmation of a thing outside the realm of thought, which would correspond to necessity. God is not a concept describing a real being such as one might experience. It is an idea, a rule that reason makes for itself in order to thematize its own tendency toward the unconditioned, “a true abyss of human reason” (*Critique of Pure Reason*, AA III). Nothing in the order of being—that is, in nature constituted by understanding—corresponds to God. The ideal of pure reason, the regulator in the theoretic domain, corresponds in the practical domain to a God called up by the rational demands of the should-be (*Critique of Pure Reason*, AA V). But this moral God, moral author of the world (*Critique of Judgment*, §86–88), universal *imperans* of the categorical imperative (*Opus posthumum*, AA XXII) is only within ourselves, a product of practical reason, “the ideal of a substance that we create for ourselves” (*Opus posthumum*, AA XXII). However, reason constituted as desire demands not only transcendence but also the representation of God, thanks to an analogical path that makes it possible not only to reach it, but to think about the relation between the supersensible term and our reason (*Prolegomena to any Future Metaphysics*, §5–59; *Critique of Judgment*, §90).

b) *The Crisis of Metaphysics and the Death of God.* The rift between philosophy and life, between reason and belief, between speculation and revelation, is the symptom of a crisis. How can reason be deprived of the absolute? How can the revealed God remain hidden to the faculty in human beings that understands? This crisis has its origins in the confrontation between modern rationality springing from the natural sciences, and traditional metaphysics. To the extent that the physico-mathematical, as the norm of all scientificity, defines the sphere of the knowable in terms of what is quantifiable, empirically verifiable, God cannot be the subject of knowledge. However, the extenuation of the concept of God—one of the aspects of what Nietzsche calls the death of God—is not due only to the epistemological hegemony of measurable nature or to man’s emancipation with regard to all transcendent authority, it is the result of a confusion proper to metaphysics itself. In fact metaphysics has constituted itself in such a way that the name of “God” has reached the point of covering what Aristotle called “being as being”; in other words, this name has been changed from the truth of being in its totality. As such, he is ruled by necessity: necessity of thought—he is the one that one cannot not think about—and necessity of being—he is

the one who is necessarily such as he is, eternal and immutable (see *Metaphysics*, L.7, 1070b 10). The 19th century gives this subject of necessity another name: humanity (A. Comte), the Great Being, the being par excellence, for whom the whole of being is knowable through science, transformable through technique, and that manifests itself to itself in the process of history. The death of God is the moment of transition during which man discovers that the founder's position is vacant, but has not yet understood that he must occupy it himself, by becoming the subject in God's place.

c) *God, the System, and Reaching Beyond Metaphysics*. The equivocity that has undermined the concept of God since the encounter between Greek philosophy and monotheistic revelation derives from the fact that the same name is used to refer to the absolute subject and the Holy One of the Scriptures. The point of divergence of the two traditions is creation, which assumes the radical inequality of the created and the Creator; for reason, the break in the continuity of causality is a contradiction. That is why the article of faith encompasses the essential of revelation; revelation thus remains, in the main, incomprehensible, and therefore hidden. But does not the admission of a hidden God amount to a refusal to welcome the fullness of revelation? God as such is not thinkable unless the rational absolute and the revealed mystery are not reconciled in a dualist juxtaposition, but totally identified. The high point of metaphysics is where the concept of God is blended with God. Such is Hegel's speculative logic: the creative contradiction is the movement of the concept.

God not only manifested himself, he is the manifestation itself; in the act of creation, he moves out of himself in order to manifest himself. He is therefore, as Creator, what he is as God. Creation is consubstantial with him as both act and result (*Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*). Similarly, the logical concept is the gesture of placing oneself in finitude and, by this self-differentiation, of maintaining an infinite relation with oneself. Creating is identically the act of God and the act of the absolute Idea (*Enc.* §163). Contrary to the logic of understanding, which determines spiritual contents as external objects identified with their predicates,

speculation understands God's determinations internally, as its own. By identifying itself with the God of revelation, the God of philosophy is no longer the being abstractly opposed to the void, he is the movement by which being finds its meaning, finds itself—by denying itself; in short, he is the Spirit (*Enc.* §384).

Comprehension of God can be interpreted indiscriminately as the sanctification of philosophy (making it a form of divine service), or as the dissolution of the divine in the human. This time it is not only reason but revelation itself that seems to lead back to man: God has delivered himself entirely, and in his manifestation there is no remainder. It follows, after Hegel, that God cannot return in philosophy except in the background (see Heidegger, *Beiträge*). If all God's names have been exhausted in the history of metaphysics, the end of metaphysics, and therefore of its theology, opens up the possibility of thinking—but is it still a question of thinking?—about the one that Schelling, the first thinker of this goal, evokes as the *Unvordenklich*, the one who can only be thought about in advance.

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See also Being; Heidegger, Martin; Love; Nothingness; Philosophy; Reason; Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von

Good

Theological reflection on the nature of good represents the confluence of two distinguishable streams of thought, one deriving from the Bible*, the other from philosophical traditions. By far the greatest philosophical influence has come from Greek speculation, particularly that of Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and the Neoplatonists. From the patristic period until the Reformation, Greek philosophy* formed a generally recognized frame of reference and was used in thinking about the idea of good contained in revelation* and dogma*. The Greek framework remains influential, owing in part to the importance for Catholicism* of Thomas* Aquinas's synthesis, and in part to the continued and, today, particularly strong interest in ancient and medieval philosophy.

The predominant features of the Greek framework are its metaphysical account of good in general (*bonum in commune*), and the idea of the importance of the metaphysical and psychological foundations of specifically human or moral goodness. The latter feature explains the eudemonistic structure of the ethical theories associated with this tradition, and the centrality of the concepts of virtue* and right reason*. Within this broad theoretical framework, Christian thinkers debated the nature of divine goodness, divine law*, evil*, sin*, grace*, and the beatific vision*. Modern philosophical accounts of good have been less amenable to broad systematic development and adaptation to theological purposes. For that reason, none has achieved the sort of hegemony in theological discussion of good that Greek speculation has.

1. Good in General

Classical thought provides two models for understanding the nature of good, both of which postulate a necessary connection between good (*agathon*, *bonum*) and fundamental reality or being* (*einai/to on, esse/ens*). Each model is found in Christian thinkers.

a) Participation. In the first model, Plato and others pointed to a dependence of being on good. In *The Republic* (508 b–509 b), Plato asserts that the form of Good, that which is good in itself (*agathon kath'auto*), is the source not only of everything that is good, but also of all the other Forms, and hence of all being. All other realities have their being and their goodness

by virtue of participating in that Form. In the *Timaeus* (29 e–30 b), Plato suggests that this account of the metaphysical priority of goodness could be developed into a theory explaining the origin of the universe. The Neoplatonists developed this idea into a full-fledged cosmology involving the emanation of all things from the Good and their return to it.

Many early Christian thinkers found this cosmological view congenial. They found it natural to identify the Christian God* with the Good and, while recognizing the incompatibility of the doctrine of creation* with Neoplatonist emanationism, they were able nevertheless to accommodate the notion of participation within the doctrine of creation. For Christian Platonists such as Augustine* and Boethius*, this idea meant that the created being necessarily depends on God, who is the Good; as for the goodness of created things, that arose from their participation in—their being derived from—that which is good in itself. In the third of his theological treatises (*Quomodo substantiae*, c. 140–50), Boethius uses the language of emanationism: created things are good in virtue of their having “flowed from” (*fluxit ab*) God, the Substantial Good. In *De divinis nominibus* (IV, 693 b–700 c, 705 c–708 b), Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite characterizes Good as essentially diffusive of itself, by its very nature pouring itself out into creation. This outpouring of the divine nature results in a hierarchy of created beings that participate in the divine goodness to various extents.

These ideas about participation led in the direction of an explicitly theological and relational conception of good: God is the first and highest good, and all created good is good in virtue of a certain relation—participation—to good in itself.

b) Natural Teleology. The second model links the notion of good with the notion of an end. A natural substance is constituted by a substantial form or nature, by virtue of which the substance possesses a capacity for performing the activity or function characteristic of substances belonging to that species. The end, completion, or perfection of a natural substance is its having fully actualized its capacity, its performing the activity for which its form or nature provides the capacity. Since the state or activity that constitutes a substance's

full actuality is that substance's end, and since the end is good, that state or activity constitutes the substance's good. On this account, good for a substance of a given nature is the end determined by its nature, the fact of its being fully actual as a thing of that nature. One does not arrive, in this case, at an essentially theological or relational conception of good: the goodness of a thing consists in the actualization of a nature, and the state that results from it is intrinsic to the thing itself.

The natural-teleology account has extremely influential proponents in Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas in particular developed its Aristotelian underpinnings in elaborate detail. The rational soul*, for example, is a human being's substantial form (its first actuality or *actus primus*) and gives to that human being the complex set of faculties and capacities (powers, *potentiae*) grouped together under the heading "reason" (ST Ia, q. 95, a. 1). These "powers" are disposed for the relevant activity (*operatio*) or final activity (*actus ultimus*) by certain settled dispositions (*habitus*), which are the intellectual and moral virtues. The activity characteristic of human beings as such is living in accordance with reason. Aquinas, then, identifies good with actuality or being, claiming that good for a given substance is that substance's actualization of its specifying potentialities. A thing is good to the extent that it has actualized the potentialities specific to its species.

Despite their differences, the participation and natural-teleology approaches are not necessarily incompatible, and philosophical theologians such as Augustine and Aquinas have held them together. They thought of natural teleology as specifying or explaining what it is for a created thing to participate in the divine goodness. Each created thing's nature is a limited and partial representation of God, and a created thing participates more fully in the divine nature to the extent to which it realizes or actualizes its constitutive potentialities.

c) The Hierarchy of Goods and the Highest Good. Both these accounts of good imply a hierarchy among the constituents of reality. On the participation account, a thing is more or less good to the extent to which it participates in, or in some way represents, good. In accordance with the metaphor of "emanation," things that participate to a greater degree in good are "nearer" to it and things that participate less are "farther" from it. The highest good (*summum bonum*), the reality at the top of the hierarchy of goods, is that that possesses in its own unified nature all the perfections represented in fragmented and diminished ways in the variety of particular goods. According to

Anselm*, we can identify pure perfections by finding those attributes that it is unqualifiedly better to possess than not to possess. The supreme nature must possess every pure perfection (*Monologion*, 15).

The natural-teleology account defines a hierarchy of goods in terms of degrees of actuality. Different substances belonging to the same species possess more or less actuality depending on the extent to which they have actualized their specifying potentialities. Moreover, substantial forms (the first actualities, in virtue of which things are the kinds of things they are) vary in their degrees of actuality insofar as they constitute kinds whose activities are more or less rich, full, and complex. It is from this perspective that one can understand Augustine's famous hierarchy, which rises from inanimate beings by way of living beings to beings endowed with reason. The activity characterizing each level of being includes the activity of lower levels of being: human beings exist (as stones do) and live (as plants and animals* do), but they also understand (as neither stones nor animals do). The highest good in the hierarchy is God, who not only exists, lives, and understands, but is Truth* itself, the eternal and immutable measure and source of all understanding. Augustine's hierarchy, therefore, is a ranking of things both according to their goodness and according to their degree of being. The supreme good, Augustine argues, is also the Supreme Being, the God whose name is "He who is" (*Lib. arb.* II, 3–16). In similar fashion, Aquinas describes the *summum bonum* as pure and complete actuality (*actus purus*) and as being itself (*ipsum esse*) (Ia, q. 3, q. 4, a. 2).

d) The Universality and Transcendentality of Goodness, and the Nonreality of Evil. It is a consequence of both the participation account and the natural-teleology account that everything that has being is good. A thing is good either in virtue of participating in that which is good in itself—that is, in God—and everything that exists participates in him; or it is good in virtue of actualizing its nature, and everything that exists is in actuality to some extent. Christian philosophers and theologians were intrigued by the universality thesis not only because of the support that it received from respected authorities, but also because it was confirmed by the Bible, for example in Genesis 1:31—"And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good"—or 1 Timothy 4:4—"For everything created by God is good."

The medieval doctrine of the transcendentals is closely related to the universality thesis. Beginning in the early 13th century (see Philippe le Chancelier, †1236, Alexandre de Halès c. 1186–1245, Albert* the Great, Bonaventure*, and Aquinas), this idea was dis-

cussed as part of a larger doctrine that holds that being (*ens*), the one (*unum*), and the true (*verum*), in addition to good (*bonum*), transcend the Aristotelian categories. While the ten categories identify ten irreducible ways of being, being transcends the categorical structure of the world. Anything that is ontologically classifiable is a being, and to say of anything that it is a being is not to identify it as a member of some kind distinct from other kinds of things. According to the classical doctrine, being is the primary transcendental, and other properties are transcendental because the ontological ground of their application to a given thing is the same as the ontological ground in virtue of which that thing can be called a being. In the case of good, for example, the actualities in virtue of which a thing is good are precisely those in virtue of which it has being. Transcendental terms are convertible, or the same in reality (*idem secundum rem*). They are not synonymous, however, since they are conceptually distinct (*differunt secundum rationem*).

If goodness is a transcendental, and therefore universal, feature of reality, evil cannot be a reality. In Book Seven of the *Confessions*, Augustine explains how this idea was the cornerstone of his intellectual reconciliation to Christianity. Augustine had returned to Manichean dualism because it offered a clear explanation of the existence of evil: just as good things have flowed from that which is good in itself, evils have flowed from that which is evil in itself—a highest evil opposed to the highest good. His reading of the Platonists, however, convinced him that evil is not a nature or substance, but a corruption or privation. If evil is corruption, it must be corruption of something that is good in some way and to some extent: what has no good cannot be corrupted. Moreover, there cannot be anything that is pure corruption or privation, and so there can be no pure or highest evil opposed to the highest good, as the Manicheans supposed. All substances are good to some extent and, as goods, all flow from God, the highest good.

2. Human Good

a) *Happiness*. The metaphysics of good inherited from classical Greece provided grounds for a eudemonistic account of the human good: the human good is the state or activity in which complete actuality as a human being consists. Following the ancient tradition, thinkers in the Middle Ages called this state “happiness” (*felicitas*) or, with a theological nuance, beatitude* (*beatitudo*). Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, which, after its full recovery in the early 13th century, exercised enormous influence over reflection on good, presents two apparently conflicting accounts of the ac-

tivity constitutive of happiness. The account in the early books of the *Ethics* suggests that *eudaimonia* consists in an active life lived in accordance with practical wisdom*, whereas the account in Book Ten suggests that it is to be found in the activity of contemplation*, which is characteristic of the gods. Each of these accounts has attracted Christian thinkers, the former providing a model for the active life of service to others, the latter providing a model for the life of prayer* and contemplation.

However, from the Christian perspective, Aristotle provides at most an account of imperfect or merely human happiness. For Christianity, the ultimate end of human life is supernatural union with God, a state unattainable in this life. The ultimate good for human beings—perfect happiness—is therefore beyond this world, and beyond the natural capabilities of human beings. According to some theologians, special revelation is necessary in order for human beings to come to know what their supernatural ultimate end is, and special divine aid (grace) is necessary for attaining it.

b) *Virtue, Right Action, Right Reason*. According to the Greek tradition, the specifically human capacities (those possessed by virtue of having a rational soul, in particular, intellect and will) require certain habits (*habitus*) that dispose them toward their complete actuality. These habits are the intellectual and moral virtues, and they dispose a human being toward the performance of the activities in which human perfection consists. The acquisition and exercise of the virtues, then, is an integral part of attaining happiness. In addition to the traditional cardinal virtues that dispose human beings with respect to purely natural, imperfect beatitude, Christianity has held that there are certain theological virtues—faith*, hope*, and charity (love*)—that dispose human beings toward their supernatural end. Moreover, the notion of grace gives rise to the notion of infused virtues: these are not only theological virtues, but also moral virtues, which are needed to incline human beings toward their supernatural end, and which are infused by grace rather than acquired through moral effort.

Later medieval philosophers applied their metaphysics of goodness not only to agents but also to human actions*. Actions can be viewed as realities or beings, and they can be judged good to the extent to which they possess all the attributes (actualities) that they ought to possess. Since any human action is an entity—a reality—just in virtue of being an action, it possesses goodness to some extent (natural goodness), but it may also possess generic moral goodness, specific moral goodness, or gratuitous goodness, provided that certain other conditions are satisfied. Provided the

act (for example, the giving of alms) has an appropriate object (a person in need), the act has generic moral goodness: that is, it satisfies the most basic of several conditions necessary for the action's being purely and simply good. It has specific moral goodness if it is done for an appropriate end, in an appropriate way, and in appropriate circumstances. Finally, an action possesses gratuitous or meritorious goodness if it is performed out of charity.

Since the determination of the conditions of a good action is a matter for reason, these conditions were often summarized by saying that a good action must be in accordance with right reason. On the model of Aristotelian deduction, practical reasoning came to be viewed as starting from self-evident principles and progressing deductively to more determinate principles, and to applications of those principles in particular circumstances. The body of practical principles, whether self-evident (either to all people or only to the learned) or derived from such principles, is the body of natural law*.

c) Law and Divine Commands. For Augustine and Aquinas, the notion of law is closely connected with that of reason. Augustine identifies what he calls the eternal law as the source of all that is just and right in the laws that human beings develop to govern their temporal affairs, and he calls the eternal laws "the highest reason" (*Lib. arb.* I, 6–8). Developing these ideas of Augustine's, Aquinas holds that law is essentially an expression of reason. The eternal law, to which we have partial access through reason and revelation, is an expression of divine reason. The part of the eternal law to which we have access through reason is the natural law (Ia IIae, q. 90–94). Kant* falls squarely within this tradition that connects law with reason. For Kant, pure practical reason is the giver of the moral law. The rational will's dignity and autonomy consists in its being subject only to its own legislation (*Grundlegung* 1).

All Christian thinkers have recognized the existence of divinely revealed laws and precepts*, paradigms of which are found in the Decalogue*. However, contrary to some caricatures, very few have unequivocally endorsed a "divine command" theory of rightness and wrongness. Such a theory holds that the moral value of any act consists solely in its being approved or disapproved, commanded or forbidden, by God. Aquinas claims that only commands that issue from reason can have the force of law. Some thinkers, however, such as John Duns* Scotus or William Ockham (c. 1285–1347), clearly distinguish between positive and natural moral law. They claim that, in the case of divine positive moral law, the rightness of the acts com-

manded consists solely in their being commanded by God, and they take the prohibition of adultery and theft, for example, as falling within this category. Accordingly, these acts are morally wrong because God has prohibited them, and would be right if God enjoined them. Scotus and Ockham maintain, by contrast, that natural moral laws command or forbid actions the rightness of which is independent of the divine will. According to Ockham, not even God can alter the moral value of acts that depend on these laws, because that would involve a contradiction.

The view that God's commands or God's will fundamentally determine what is good or right represents a kind of theological subjectivism. This position *prima facie* appears to preserve God's independence and sovereignty by making God the creator of value, but the greater part of the Christian tradition has joined Augustine and Aquinas in eschewing it, preferring to think of the divine reason rather than the divine will as the ground of value.

3. The Philosophy of Good after the Reformation

In the modern period, philosophical reflection on the nature of good has generally led away from the idea that goodness supervenes on being. The most radical alternative is that presented by subjectivism. David Hume (1711–76), for example, argues that value is not an objective property: a thing's having value consists solely in its being valued by some agent. Value is something that agents impose on the world, not something they discover in the world. Christian thinkers have for the most part found subjectivist accounts unattractive.

The deontological tradition deriving from Kant leads away from the traditional idea of good in a different direction. Kant argues that the only thing that is unconditionally good is the good will, the will that is manifest in acting for the sake of duty. Kant conceives of duty as an imperative that is imposed on us by the universal moral law. His account therefore places the notions of duty and law at the center of moral philosophy, and philosophers who follow Kant in this respect begin not from an account of good, but from an account of justice*.

Finally, modern consequentialism is similar in structure to the tradition stemming from Greek thought: both provide what we might call a metaphysical account of good, and hold that morality has to do with promoting, maximizing, or bringing about good. The hedonistic utilitarianism* of John Stuart Mill (1806–73) exemplifies this view. According to Mill, the only thing intrinsically good is pleasure. All other goods are good, and actions are morally right, only insofar as they promote pleasure. Mill's utilitarianism is

a monistic account of good insofar as it holds that only a single thing—pleasure—is intrinsically good. Many consequentialist accounts, however, are pluralistic, identifying more than one intrinsic good. G. E. Moore (1873–1958), for example, held that personal affection, aesthetic enjoyment, and knowledge are among the things that have intrinsic value (1903).

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See also **Aristotelianism; Conscience; Ethics; Manicheanism; Platonism; Stoicism**

Gospels

Following contemporary usage, the word “gospel,” derived from the Greek *eu-aggelion* in the singular, means the declaration or the message of the “good news” of salvation* in Jesus Christ. In the plural form, it is generally used to refer to the four Gospels regarded as canonical—that is, accepted by the churches* according to the rule (Greek *kanon*, anglicized as “canon*”) of faith*. These four Gospels are arranged in the order Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, but this has no chronological significance, and the order has changed from time to time and from place to place. John’s Gospel, for example, has sometimes been put at the head of the list; the sequence Matthew, John, Luke, Mark is also found. Other gospels, referred to as *apocryphal*, are known in addition: they include the Gospel of Peter, of which no more than a fragment has been preserved, and several sections of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which was used by some Jewish Christians. Finally, still other gospels, originating at later dates, were circulated in gnostic circles, including the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Philip, which were recently rediscovered at Nag Hammadi in Egypt.

The canonical Gospels, gradually designated as such over the course of the second and third centuries, were circulated initially in the form of anonymous writings before they acquired titles and were ascribed

authors. The Gospels “according to Matthew” and “according to John” were given the names of two of the apostles*; then the other two evangelists were named in the titles of the Gospels “according to Mark” and “according to Luke.” These attributions were made at a very early stage, during the lifetime of Papias, who was Bishop of Hierapolis in the early second century. They have every appearance of being historically authentic, even though it remains necessary to keep a distance between the Greek scripture of the Gospel known as Matthew, and the Semitic tradition* related to this Galilean apostle. It is also very likely that there was a considerable lapse of time between the earliest oral traditions gathered from among the followers of the apostle John and the definitive compilation of the Gospel that bears his name. With that said, it is difficult to date any of the Gospels with certainty. However, in line with the earliest approximations, and following the mainstream exegetical consensus—while not denying that discussions continue on this subject—we can specify that: 1) Mark’s Gospel was written in Greek around the year 70, and, according to Irenaeus*, probably in Rome* after the death of Peter* (*Adversus Haereses* III, 1. 2); 2) Matthew’s was written around 80–85 in Antioch; 3) Luke’s was written around the same time, perhaps in Greece; and

4) John's was written around 95, probably in Ephesus in Asia Minor. All four gospels, like the rest of the New Testament, were written in Greek, though some of them may have been partly based on now-lost sources in Aramaic.

It should be mentioned that one of the oldest-known fragments of any of the Gospels, known as Rylands Papyrus 52, is from John's Gospel, and was written during the first half of the second century, barely a few decades after the text was probably first written down. In fact, we no longer possess the original forms of any New Testament texts. But numerous items of evidence in manuscript form allow us to work out the first states of these lost originals with some certainty, as is the case with some 108 fragments on papyrus, ranging from the second century to the fourth, and around 274 manuscripts in uncial (majuscule) Greek text from the fourth to ninth centuries, not to mention the very old versions in Latin and Syriac (eastern Aramaic). Of course, there is a relatively large number of variant readings among these manuscripts, but they are often of secondary importance. The main variations are indicated in critical editions of the New Testament—such as K. Aland and Bruce M. Metzger's *The Greek New Testament* (1983)—and are also mentioned in the notes attached to many of the various translations of the Gospels. Nevertheless, specialists in textual criticism have achieved some reliable reconstructions of the various states of the Gospel texts as they were transmitted in the churches in the second century and after, and have demonstrated the faithfulness of the tradition and transmission of the four Gospels.

It was somewhat later that Irenaeus (martyred in around 202) compared the Gospels to the four rivers of Paradise (Gn 2:10–14) and the four living beings who support God's throne (Ez 1:5–14 and Rev 4:6ff.). The iconographic symbols associated with each evangelist, and hence with each Gospel, are derived from this assimilation, by way of Jerome (the man for Matthew, the lion for Mark, the ox for Luke, and the eagle for John).

I. The Earliest Christian Discourse

The gospel—the proclamation of the Good News—was initially expressed in the register of speech, and therefore of orality, before it found written expression in the four Gospels, which were composed in the broad context of the destruction of the Temple* in Jerusalem* and its aftermath, between the year 70 and the end of the first century. The gospel tradition remained an oral one in Paul's time (between around 51 and 58). Various words are used to refer to this initial

spreading of the word, notably *proclaim* and *proclamation*, *witness* and *evidence*, *evangelize* and *gospel*.

1. Three Modalities of the Word

The terms “to proclaim” (*kerussein*), “to witness” (*marturein*), “to evangelize” (*euaggelizomai*) evoke the idea of a word* of salvation, proclaimed with sovereign authority by one who does not himself claim to be its author, for its principle is God*, Jesus*, or his Spirit. Such words of revelation* are spoken in the name* of God, in the manner of the ancient prophets* of Israel*. In this way, they are to be distinguished from simple speech (*lalein* or *legein*), and even from the giving of instruction about God or Christ* (*didaskein*). Later, however, the ministers established within the churches as successors to the apostles and the first Christian prophets preferred to use the vocabulary of instruction, or tended to assimilate to one another the verbs just cited. Even so, each of these verbs retained its own nuances within the framework of classical rhetoric, the “deliberative” or “persuasive” type being related to proclamation (*kerugma*), the “judicial” type to witness (*marturion*), and the “demonstrative” or scholarly type to instruction (*didache*), in which the speaker is located objectively, as if at a distance from the words being spoken. We shall examine each of these three modalities in turn.

a) To Proclaim. A kerygma, or proclamation, is a speech delivered in a loud voice, in public, and in the name of an authority* to which it refers. Through the mouth of a herald (*kerux*), a proclamation announced the holding of games and religious festivals. In aretalogies (collections of narratives* about miracles* and other claims to glory), or within the framework of mystery cults*, proclamations were concerned with the powerful workings of various divine beings. This pagan context probably led the compilers of the Septuagint to limit their use of the word (it appears there only 33 times, including in Genesis 41:43; see ancient translations* of the Bible). However, the verb *kerussein* (“to proclaim”) was adopted in translating several prophetic texts that were to play major roles in Christian reinterpretation—notably Isaiah 61:1, Zephaniah 3:14, and Zechariah 9:9, where the word is related to themes of liberation and salvation.

The verb is used frequently in the New Testament (nearly 61 times), other than in the Johannine* tradition, to mean not simply preaching*, but also a performative speech that effects salvation by proclaiming it. Like prophetic speech, it is already an act of God. Thus, Jesus proclaims the coming of the kingdom, and brings it about (Mt 4:17; Mk 1:38–39). The disciples proclaim it in their turn (Mk 3:14 and 13:10). In the

Pauline* writings in particular, such proclamations are directly related to the theme of the cross of the Risen One (1 Cor 1:23: “We preach Christ crucified”); and the Apostle proclaims “the word of faith” (Rom 10:8). However, just as, according to Greek custom, a herald was to be honored by all, so the *kerux* of such a proclamation appeared as his image inverted.

b) To Evangelize. Evangelizing, in the sense of announcing the “good news,” was also a matter of using the register of performative speech, but in this case the content of the speech is more directly in consideration. The gospel is the Good News of a salvation that affects both the present, in all its novelty, and the future last days. It is the performative speech of a confession of faith (Rom 1:16); it has to do with a mission, and tends toward fulfillment (Mk 13:10). Here, too, there is a significant difference from the way the same verb was used in the Hellenistic world, where it connoted only the idea of destiny or good fortune, while the noun *euaggelion* simply evoked the idea of a reward or victory. In the later context of the worship of emperors, it was sometimes adopted to refer to the “good news” of the birth or enthronement of an emperor.

In the Hebrew Scriptures, the verb *basar*, meaning to announce the joyful news of a victory (2 Sm 4:10), had already become important. It is sometimes linked to the theme of salvation (Ps 96:2 and Is 40:2, 52:7, and 61:1). However, the Greek equivalent of this verb was rarely used by the compilers of the Septuagint, while the noun *euaggelion* was little known, or unknown, in Hebrew as in Greek. Nevertheless, the following version of a passage from Isaiah has been found at Qumran: “so that [the Master of Justice] announces the good news in the time of your goodness, evangelizing the humble according to the abundance of your mercy” (1QH XVIII, 14; cf. Lk 4:18).

Verb and noun alike then became very important in the Pauline writings (where they are used 60 times) and in the churches that were influenced by them, as well as in the writings ascribed to Luke (Luke’s Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles). The Johannine tradition does not use either word, although the theme of witness plays a major role in it.

c) To Witness. Witness was understood as an aspect of the “judicial” type of rhetoric, within a situation of conflict in which the discourse of salvation is given confirmation by authentic testimony. In this case, both the verb (*marturein*) and the noun were used widely across the Hellenistic world. They both appear in the Septuagint (Is 43:9–12), and both John and Luke use them frequently. This insistence on the notion of reliable testimony, evident in the statements of those who

witnessed the events of salvation (Acts 1:8 and 1:22), may be explained by reference to the need to stand the test of time and the challenge of the persecutions, during which some went so far as to give their lives to support their testimony (Rev 2:13)—hence the current meaning of the word “martyr*.”

2. Paul’s Gospel and Mark’s Writings

In the Pauline writings, which were composed between around A.D. 51 and 58, *euaggelion* is not used to refer to any written text, but evokes all the force of a speech that effects salvation: “The Gospel is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith. . . . For in it is the righteousness of God” (Rom 1:16–17). In the Pauline writings, “righteousness” refers to the salvific action* of God, who pervades this speech, and acts through his very proclamation. Henceforth, Christ—and, therefore, the speech that proclaims him—is the only power of salvation, replacing the law* of Moses. Every part of that law retains the whole of its value as revelation, but it is now to be taken in relation to the new gospel as the promise* that points to its own fulfillment in Christ.

The earliest groups of Christians displayed a variety of opinions on this very question of the Mosaic Law. Some Jews who had become Christians sought to maintain the Law in its integrity, while the apostle to the nations insisted on the radically new nature of faith in Jesus Christ, which is offered to all believers, whether Jewish or not, and is effectively transmitted by *his* gospel (Rom 2:16 and Gal 1:7). This gospel openly confesses the cross of the Risen One as the principle of salvation. Paul proclaims it without even making use of the narratives or discourses that would later become the basis for the texts of the canonical Gospels. He was undoubtedly aware of these evangelical traditions, but he makes practically no reference to them, other than the narrative of the Last Supper (1 Cor 11:23ff.). Rather than reciting the words and acts of Jesus, Paul recreates their internal meaning—in his own terms, he “imitates” the Lord. Paul’s gospel, then, is the proclamation of salvation through the cross of the Lord of Sacrifice. Occasionally, Paul even seems to minimize the importance of one of the other ways of gaining knowledge* of Jesus, “from a human point of view” (2 Cor 5:16).

The Apostle, of course, gives all his attention to the cross of the Lord who lives forever, but the prolonged existence of the church, and the political upheavals that accompanied the Jewish uprising in the years 66–73, posed a direct threat to the memory of Jesus’ acts—it was no longer sufficient merely to allude to them, as in the Pauline corpus. It therefore became necessary to gather together in written form the vari-

ous traditions of the churches in Jerusalem, Antioch, and elsewhere, in order to safeguard the tradition as a whole. It was probably in the wake of various earlier attempts (evoked in Lk 1:1–4), that the first of the narrative ensembles now known as “Gospels” (Mk 1:1) was written down, and it was probably Mark’s. It stands midway between a proclamation of faith, in the Pauline manner, and a new type of presentation of the story of Jesus, transmitting his life and his words into the present within a didactic framework. Next, Matthew placed greater emphasis on Jesus’ words, while Luke, an historian, brought to his compilation a style of presentation that made it more like a biography. As for John, he adopted an entirely different style of presentation, which is both precise and symbolic, being centered on the interior life of Jesus and of the one whom the Gospel calls the “disciple whom Jesus loved” (Jn 21:7).

II. Forms and Functions of Evangelical Writings

Mark’s narrative was innovative in its comprehensive representation of Jesus, but its richness was drawn from a variety of sources. A critical reading of the four Gospels allows us to distinguish, even now, the specific features of these elements of the tradition, as Martin Dibelius and Rudolf Bultmann*, in particular, demonstrated in the first half of the 20th century. Here, we may cite only a few of the main elements, which were initially transmitted orally within the Christian communities before they were partially put into written form. Each of the evangelists made his own use of this heritage, in line with his own christological and missionary purposes.

1. Main Literary Forms

To begin with, the gospel was a confession of faith, a brief formulation of the kerygma (proclamation) of a Christian community, and presented in response to its needs. Traces of such confessions of faith are particularly evident in the Pauline writings (1 Cor 15:1–8), but they also appear in the Gospels (*see* Mk 15:39, Jn 20:28, etc.). Similarly, one also finds elements of blessings* (Mk 11:9–10) and even of ancient Judeo-Christian hymns, applied to Mary* or Zechariah (Lk 1:46–55 and 1:68–79), as well as elements of doxologies (Lk 2:14). However, the main materials of the Gospels may be classified as narratives or discourses.

a) Narratives. The Gospels contain several types of narrative. The narrative of Christ’s passion* is the only one that follows a sustained chronological sequence

(such as laid out in Mk 14:1–16:8). Other narratives, initially transmitted in isolation from each other in the oral traditions of the Christian communities, include: apothegms in which a statement (Greek, *logion*) made by Jesus is inserted into a small-scale narrative framework (Mk 10:13–16); accounts of controversies or polemics (Mk 3:1–6); tales of miracles (Mk 1:29ff.) or exorcism* (Mk 5:1–20), in which the emphasis is placed on Jesus’ salvific action and his struggle against the forces of evil*, and that are aimed at the active proclamation of the coming of God’s kingdom; narratives with a biographical or christological focus (Mk 1:9ff and 9:2–10); popular legends (Mk 6:17–28); and, finally, accounts of the appearance of the Risen One (Mt 28 and Lk 24). There are also accounts of Christ’s childhood, which were written at a later period (Mt 1–2 and Lk 1–2).

b) Discourses. The discourses are assemblages of the Lord’s remarks (*logia*) put together according to the theme that they share. As examples are five discourses found in Matthew’s Gospel: the Sermon on the Mount, which is a program for the evangelical life (Mt 5–7); the discourse on the mission*, which provides rules for the apostles whom Jesus has sent out (Mt 10); the discourse, in the form of parables*, on the kingdom of God (Mt 13); the discourse on communal life (Mt 18); and the eschatological discourse on the destruction of the Temple and the last days (Mt 24–25). These discourses are paralleled in Mark and Luke, although on a smaller scale.

2. Early Narrative Assemblages

It has also been recognized that, in addition to the groups of *logia* just discussed, the Gospels contain narrative assemblages, such as, in Mark’s Gospel, a group of controversies (Mk 2:1–3:6), a group of miracles (Mk 4:35–5:43), and a group of apothegms or “nested remarks” within a narrative (Mk 10:1–31). Some of these assemblages, which made things easier for those Christians who first preached on given subjects, must have been put into writing at a very early stage, and the literary style of each of the evangelists remains recognizable. Such a procedure would not have been at all astonishing in the culture of that time. The historians of the ancient Greek world, for example, arranged their materials topic by topic, depending on the subject, without any great concern for the chronology of events. In other words, writers and readers alike knew in advance that the placing of an evangelical statement or narrative within a work of literature did not in itself say or imply anything conclusive about its precise historical placing within the ministry* of Jesus.

3. The Four Gospel Narratives

Mark was the first to organize these isolated traditions, these blocks of narratives and discourses collected in the various communities, into a narrative ensemble that progresses from Christ's baptism* to his passion. Thus, he drew from the tradition the large-scale biographical portrait that is glimpsed in Acts 1:22 and in Peter's speech at Joppa (Acts 10:37–43). Matthew and Luke then worked from Mark's text, correcting it, reorganizing it, and manipulating it with the aid of new materials. The Johannine tradition is much more independent. In every sense, each of the evangelists provides a synthesis of everything that goes to make a life, within the framework of his own particular Gospel. Each of them gathered memories of the Lord from those who survived him, and summarized the confession of faith of his own community, as well as the rules that should be observed in dealing with the faithful or their enemies, without overlooking the rituals of baptism and communal dining that structured his community. We shall now say a little about the way in which each book* is structured.

a) Mark. The evangelist known as Mark presents a discourse that has a proclamatory or confessional finality, within the framework of a sequential narrative that takes us from the baptism to the cross. Mark's introduction describes the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist (Mk 1:1–13). The figure of Jesus, who is presented as the Son of the God in the strongest sense of the term, and his acts of salvation are continually emphasized throughout the three specific stages of the narrative: Jesus' ministry in Galilee and up to its frontiers (Mk 1:14–8:26); his journey to Jerusalem (8:27–13:37), which is punctuated by three announcements of the passion (8:31ff., 9:30ff., and 10:32ff.); and, finally, the account of the passion itself (14:1–16:8). Mark 16:9–20 is an addition, dating from the second century. The whole narrative is also structured around three pivotal moments at which God himself reveals his son: the baptism, the transfiguration (Mk 1:9ff. and 9:2–10), and the Roman centurion's confession of faith at the foot of the cross, "Truly, this man was the son of God!" (Mk 15:39). At the end, God, through the intermediation of his angel*, declares that Jesus has risen. This is the core of the Easter message (Mk 16:6).

Around the year 70, probably in Rome, and as a member of a church that admitted many different nationalities, Mark reworked an old Judeo-Christian catechism*, known in Peter's circle, placing greater emphasis on the theme of salvation through the cross. This brought him closer to Paul, whose companion he had once been (Acts 12:25). In this way, Mark, who

was described by Papias, in the early second century, as "Peter's interpreter," stood at the meeting point of two traditions.

b) Matthew. The Greek-speaking evangelist known as Matthew is traditionally situated within the sphere of influence of the Galilean apostle Matthew. He reworked and completed Mark's narrative. As a member of a church that was still largely Judeo-Christian, Matthew presents his Gospel in the form of a catechism, constructed chiefly on the basis of the five discourses mentioned above. The plan of his Gospel generally follows that of Mark's, but he added an account of Jesus' childhood (Mt 1–2) and some reports of the appearance of the Risen One (Mt 28:9–20). Matthew also reorganized the tales of miracles taken from Mark (Mt 8–9) and made use of numerous elements, unknown to Mark, that were collected from a second source, now known as "Q" (from the German *Quelle*, or "source"). This Judeo-Christian evangelist places a strong emphasis on the messianic figure of Jesus, who is Christ (that is, Messiah*), "son of David," and Lord.

c) Luke. The Greek-speaking evangelist known as Luke set to work as an historian (Lk 1:1–4) on a large-scale text arranged in two main sections. The first, Luke's Gospel, relates the life of Jesus; the second, the Acts of the Apostles, is the history of the first churches, gathered around Peter and Paul. As a member of a church of former pagans, which owed part of its heritage to Paul's apostolic activity, Luke reworked Mark's materials in his own way. His Gospel also contains an account of Christ's childhood (Lk 1–2) that is very different from Matthew's, as well as accounts of the appearance of the Risen One (Lk 24:13–53). Luke omitted certain elements from Mark (Mk 6:45–7:37) that a Greek readership would barely have understood; and, above all, Luke added a whole new set of the sayings of Jesus, most of them taken from "Q" (Lk 9:51–18:14). From the outset, Luke refers to Jesus as Lord (Lk 2:11), just as Paul had applied this title to Jesus. *Lord* evokes the idea of transcendence, and in the Septuagint the Greek word used refers to God.

d) John. The framework of John's Gospel, which starts with the testimony of John the Baptist and ends with the resurrection*, is very different from that of the three synoptic gospels. Here, the sayings and deeds of Jesus are depicted as much in relation to Judea as to Galilee, following a sequence of selected events generally accompanied by speeches (Jn 5:1–18 and 5:19–47). Ten of the narratives in John's Gospel have parallels in Mark's (for example, Jn 6:1–15); otherwise, John restricts himself to highlighting certain par-

ticularly significant events, starting with the miracle at Cana, the first of the signs presented by Jesus (Jn 2:1–12). John’s main concern is not to pile up the *logia* or the actions of Jesus in the style of the synoptics, but to insert his own profound understanding of the sayings and deeds of the Lord. On more than one occasion, John gives the impression that he is addressing the material from a more mystical or symbolic perspective. In addition, he gives us a more precise and exact view of the chronology of Christ’s ministry than Mark does. His allusions to the building of the Temple at Jerusalem (Jn 2:20) and to Jesus’ three pilgrimages* to that city at the time of the Jewish Passover (Jn 2:23, 6:4, 12:1) allow us to establish that Christ’s ministry lasted for more than two years, beginning around the year 27. These major differences between John’s Gospel and the synoptics suggest that his was written in a very specific communal milieu, which was of a Judeo-Christian type but was also probably influenced by the Essenes and, still more, by an elaborate conception of Christ as the Word* of God preexisting in the world* (Jn 1:1, 8:58, and 20:28).

III. Brief History of the Exegesis of the Gospels

Since the early second century (*I Apologia* 67), the time of Justin, if not earlier, the texts of the Gospels have been interpreted in the context of the liturgy* and with reference to the Lord’s Supper. The Gospels have functioned, in a sense, in line with their original purposes—to confess the faith, and to help the community to live. Of course, from the first centuries of Christianity onward, there have been attempts to reduce, if not eliminate, the differences among the four narratives, but as early as the late second century Irenaeus called for the unity of their message to be respected, whatever the diversity in their statements of it.

Much later, starting in the 18th century, and notably with Reimarus in Germany, and with Voltaire and the Encyclopedists in France, the language of the Gospels, which is shot through with images and symbols in the Semitic manner, increasingly came to seem hermetic, and to be used in ways that contradicted modern views of history*. Little or nothing of Jesus’ life seemed capable of surviving the historicism and positivism of the early modern era. Ernest Renan’s novelistic biography of the Galilean, *La vie de Jesus* (1863; *The Life of Jesus*) represents something of an attempt to escape from this positivist straitjacket, but its literary success does not compensate for its methodological defects. A better understanding of the language of the New Testament has been promoted by major literary and archeological discoveries in the Middle East—notably at Qumran

from 1947—and these have at last allowed us to make some more pertinent assessments of the literary methods used by the writers of antiquity.

Critical study of the Gospels has been undergoing vigorous development for more than 100 years, starting with the work of J. Weiss and J. Wellhausen, and passing through several stages in succession. 1) First, critical discussion of the sources of the synoptic gospels has shed more light on the literary connections among them. Two conflicting theories have been elaborated. One theory postulates the existence of two sources underlying Matthew and Luke—Marks’ Gospel and the source known as “Q”—inferred from the presence of common elements in both Matthew and Luke despite the fact that these two evangelists had no known contact with each other. This theory is upheld today by F. Neirynck of Louvain, among others. The other theory, associated with L. Vaganay, M.-E. Boismard, and X. Léon-Dufour, postulates one or several texts in Aramaic and Greek underlying all three synoptic Gospels. 2) From around 1920, however, Dibelius and Bultmann drew attention to the ancient literary forms that evolved from the oral tradition, launching a far-reaching reinterpretation of the Gospels known as *Formgeschichte* (form criticism). Bultmann was also the originator of a new hermeneutics* of the Gospels, adopting an existential interpretation inspired by his reading of Heidegger*. 3) From 1950 onward, a greater interest developed, in the *Redaktionsgeschichte* of the Gospels, and in the theology* or Christology* of each of the evangelists, as in Hans Conzelmann’s study of Luke. Since then, what is known as historico-critical exegesis has become better equipped to understand the literary genesis of each Gospel and to trace the *Traditionsgeschichte* associated with it from the first oral traditions to the stage of composition in written form, which came with varying lapses of time in each case. 4) Since 1970 there has been a reaction against these earlier interpretations, which are reconstructions of the literary history of the texts rather than readings of the Gospels as they now are. Some new literary approaches have gradually received recognition, including the semiotic method inspired by A. J. Greimas, and the exploration of the structural or rhetorical procedures of antiquity. 5) Today, the study of the Gospel texts exploits, without bringing into conflict, both *synchronic* procedures—reading the texts in terms of their present literary state and internal mechanisms—and *diachronic* procedures—interpreting them by reconstructing the stages of their development. In particular, attention is being paid, within the framework of the sociology of religion, to the different milieus of the Judeo-Christian and Hellenic-Christian communities from which the earliest elements of the Christian “memory” of Jesus were

drawn. Such varied studies allow us to discuss the story of Jesus while taking account of the social and communal contexts of these elements. Reacting against some of Bultmann's conclusions, E. Käsemann has laid the foundations for a historical methodology that could underpin evaluations of the authenticity of the reported sayings and deeds of Jesus, including his miracles. Located at a distance from novelistic biographies of Jesus, and refraining from any interference with internalized religious interpretations, critical research on the Gospels remains open to an improved understanding of the Gospels and, through them, to an approach to the figure of Jesus, who nonetheless remains mysterious.

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See also Bible; Book; Canon; Christ/Christology; Literary Genres in Scripture; Intertestament; Jesus, Historical; Messianism/Messiah; Miracle; Myth; Narrative; Parable; Passion

Gottschalk of Orbais. *See* Augustinianism

Government. *See* Authority

Government, Church

The government of the Church encompasses all the duties and powers assigned to the Church of Jesus* Christ to enable it to fulfill its mission in history*. This mission, in accordance with the Church's fundamental mandate, is to proclaim the gospel, to administer the sacraments*, and to guide communities in a pastoral spirit, while respecting different sociocultural contexts. The Church cannot achieve this aim in practice without the function of internal government involving an institutional dimension. The various denominations, according to their respective ecclesiological principles, have established different forms of government. They are, however, united insofar as they maintain the essentials of all the structural elements prescribed by the New Testament, though each organizes these in its own way. This is why, for all the frequently unilateral exercise of government within each Church, dialogue is an important element, and vital to the success of the Church's work. Throughout history the question of what form Church government should take has often been linked to the problem of relations between Church* and State, initially from the standpoint of their external form (Caesaropapism/Papocesarism, State Church/Church-State or city* of God*), then from the standpoint of the integration into the Church of political forms of government (the Church as monarchy, the debate over democracy*).

a) The Catholic Church. Its fundamental organization is not laid down by a constitutional charter, but is codified along with other regulations, chiefly in the *Code of Canon Law (CIC)* of 1983. It is underpinned by the conviction that the visible institution of the Church is the incarnation of the religious reality of grace*. As the people* of God, the Church is composed of believers among whom "there exists, as far as their dignity and activity is concerned, a real equality in accordance with which all work together at con-

structing the Body of Christ, each according to his own station and function" (can. 208, *CIC*). They are guided in this by a number of duties and rights, among which are freedom* of opinion, apostolic activity, spiritual* direction, and freedom of association (can. 209–31).

The Church is structured vertically into universal Church, local* Church, and community (parish). In it, authority is exercised by an ecclesial power (*sacra potestas*), hierarchically organized and having divine right, within which should be distinguished the power of order (*potestas ordinis*) and the power of jurisdiction (*potestas iurisdictionis*). The former is conferred by the sacrament of order, is absolutely inalienable, and is composed of prerogatives linked to episcopal, priestly, or diaconal ordination*. The latter may be temporally restricted; it is subdivided into legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The Pope* holds supreme jurisdiction over the universal Church, over all the particular churches, and over every believer. His authority is unlimited and not dependent upon any other organ of government. He is elected by the members of the College of Cardinals who have not passed the age of eighty, and he assumes his dignity (provided he is already a bishop*) by the simple act of accepting his election. He loses it only on dying, unless he abdicates, commits heresy*, or becomes insane. To exercise his universal ministry* he has at his disposal the Synod of Bishops, the College of Cardinals, the Roman Curia, legates, and nuncios. A bishop receives his ministry by delegation from the Pope, and is in charge of a local Church of which he is the legislator, administrator, and supreme judge. In these functions he calls on a diocesan curia that comprises the holders of various offices: vicar general, vicar episcopal, official, chancellor, notaries, trustees of the episcopal estate, and treasurer. The cathedral chapter is often replaced by a council of diocesan priests or a college of advisers. Bishops belong to the episcopal college, whose

members are hierarchically joined (*communio hierarchica*) to their head, the Pope. Except in the context of this union, they do not hold the supreme power of the Church, either in ecumenical councils or in the joint official decisions that they make across the world. The bishops, in addition, are generally assembled into an episcopal conference. At the community level it is the parish priest who fulfills the responsibilities of government, by delegation from the bishop.

This rigorously hierarchical structure is counterbalanced by a synodal principle of co-responsibility, in other words the working together of all the members of the Church according to their status. This principle expresses itself, on the level of the *universal Church*, in the ecumenical council and the Synod of Bishops (which since 1965 has been an assembly of bishops from different regions acting as a consultative body to the Pope). At the level of the *regional or national church* it can be seen in the episcopal conference (a permanent assembly of the bishops of a region or country, who exercise their pastoral responsibilities in it as a college; it is appointed by the Pope and constitutes a distinct legal entity), as well as in the regional councils (the plenary council for the territory under the authority of an episcopal conference, the provincial council for an ecclesiastical province). At the level of the *particular church* it appears in the diocesan synod, the presbyteral council, the pastoral diocesan council, and the board of trustees of the diocesan estate. At *parish* level it is to be seen in the pastoral council and the board of trustees of the parish estate. All these synodal bodies—with the exception of the ecumenical council and the authorities administering the estates of particular churches—have a merely consultative role and do not challenge the hierarchical principle.

b) The Orthodox Churches. While the different regional or national churches of the Orthodox community are governed by a common law, the principle of autocephaly and the lack, during the second millennium, of ecumenical councils with authority over the Church as a whole have made it impossible to codify the countless distinctive practices. Dispensations, and the principle of “economy” (which adapts legislation to different practical situations), serve moreover to give legal validity to departures from the regulations enacted by the first seven universally recognized councils. The basic church structure* is the local church, which administers the Eucharist* and is governed by a bishop. It is joined by the catholicity of the Church (in the *koinonia*—the *communio*) to all the other local churches, through their own bishops. In concrete terms, local communities joined together at an early date into regional unions, from which arose the patriar-

chates* and the autocephalous churches. The Orthodox Church has no central government as Catholicism* does. An autocephalous church is a particular church whose leader, usually a patriarch, is not appointed by a superior authority (patriarch, metropolitan, or archbishop), but rather elected and enthroned by a synod of bishops. He thus holds the entire power of jurisdiction, with the proviso that the rights of each particular bishop are preserved. The priest and real head of a local church is the bishop, on whom devolves the power of order (*exousia hieratikè*), of teaching (*exousia didaktikè*), and of jurisdiction (*exousia dioitikè*). His autonomy cannot be questioned by any other member of the hierarchy* (unless he is accused of neglecting the duties of his ministry).

The real constitutional principle of the Orthodox Church is the synodal structure, which has its theological basis in the equality of all the local Churches (and thus of their bishops). This principle is embodied in the following manner: the regional synod (*sunodos topikè*) is the supreme doctrinal, legislative, and judicial body of an autocephalous church, and has the right to elect its leader (a patriarch or other hierarchy). The regional synod is either episcopal (composed only of bishops) or eparchial (also open to priests, monks, and lay* members). The *sunodos endèmousa*, a typically Byzantine structure, gathered together on an almost daily basis the bishops who were present at the patriarchal see. It has equivalents (the holy synod) in most of the autocephalous churches (for the *ecumenical synod*, see council*). The primatial principle also plays a part in the Orthodox Church, however, more or less pronounced in accordance with the bishop's authority over his diocese, of the metropolitan over his province, of the patriarch over the autocephalous church, and of the ecumenical patriarch over the autocephalous churches as a whole. The power of this last is admittedly contested, but there is a tendency nowadays to accept that the unity of the Church requires the existence of a superior authority.

The laity—the community at the mercy of the hierarchy—has a relatively strong position within the Church structure, which is expressed through the interpenetration of Church and State, on the model of the *symphonia* between the Patriarch (the Church) and the Emperor (the State), which has allowed the apparatus of the State to have a great influence on the Church. The principle of catholicity aroused an interest on the part of 19th-century Slavophile Russian theology* (A. S. Khomiakov, 1804–1860) in the involvement of all Christians in the destiny of the Church. According to this approach, the responsibility for administrative and doctrinal government extends to all the faithful through the reception* of hierarchical rules, as well as

by teaching in the faculties of theology (generally entrusted to lay-people) and by preaching* (which may also be entrusted to them). Furthermore, the Church as a whole is infallible.

c) *The Churches Originating in the Reformation.* On account of their origins, these churches are clearly differentiated from the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church. They emphasize instead the common priesthood* of all the faithful and the unity of the spiritual ministry, whose different expressions are in their view a matter for human law (*ius humanum*). All ecclesiastical offices are temporally limited on principle. The freedom that the Protestant churches have thus granted themselves, but also historical circumstances (since not one German bishop adopted Lutheranism* in the course of the 16th century, the bishop's role in government was transferred to the prince as *summus episcopus in externis*), have brought about a proliferation of forms of government, which are codified in the key regulations of the various churches. We will consider only a few elements that they all have more or less in common.

In *Lutheranism*, a ternary structure is often encountered: within the parish community the tasks of government and administration are the responsibility of one or more pastors*, as well as a collegiate body (presbyteral council) consisting of the latter along with members elected from among the community. The parishes are grouped into associations on an intermediate level ("inspectories," ecclesiastical districts, deaneries, or consistories), generally under a minister, council, or synodal body. The highest authority is the provincial or regional church (*Landeskirche*), whose system of government varies greatly from one region to another. Generally speaking, authority is held by the synod, the bishop (or president of the regional church), or a directory: these are responsible for maintaining the unity* of the regional church, coordinating its activities, and supporting the communities in their church work. In addition, there is an administrative structure and a judicial authority. There are also denominational federations on a national level (such as that Alliance nationale des Églises luthériennes de France) or the international level (the Lutheran World Federation). In the *Reformed Churches*, the "presbyteral" form of government was established from the outset, with a ministerial structure on four levels: pastor, reader, elder, and deacon*. In

1559 the French national synod incorporated this form of government within a synodal structure (the *moderamina*). Authority is never vested in an individual ministry. The *Anglican Communion*, by contrast, has retained the episcopate and accords a large measure of authority by divine right to the bishop, who takes his or her place in the apostolic* succession. The Church of England is a state church, which grants an important role to the episcopal and, to a lesser extent, the synodal authorities. It is subject to the Crown, and Parliament and the Government also have a right of intervention. The government of the Church is organized hierarchically around the ministries of the bishop, priest, and deacon. The parish councils, cathedral chapters, diocesan assemblies, and General Synod of the Church all have their own specific rights. The latter has the power to adopt laws, which must however be ratified by Parliament.

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See also Collegiality; Communion; Indefectibility of the Church; Infallibility; Jurisdiction; Orthodoxy; Protestantism

Grace

Grace is the very essence of God's solicitude for mankind, as it is incarnated in Jesus* Christ and is communicated to the depths of human nature* as a gift from the Holy* Spirit. It also sums up the relationship that, based on this gift, is established between God* and a human being who will still need grace to answer to grace.

I. Biblical Theology

1. The Old Testament

The whole Bible* is a testimony of the act of God's grace. This purpose crystallizes in different concepts of the Old Testament, which are combined in many ways by formulas of reverence (for example, in Ex 34:6). At the same time, it points to the central importance of the confrontation of man with a God of grace in the veterotestamentary faith.

The Hebrew *chmn*, which, in human relationships, designates an attitude of kindness—most often from a superior to a subordinate—is the theological expression of God's boundless love* (Gn 6:8). The divine *chèsèd* founds a certain relationship with mankind, one that is marked by fidelity (Jer 31:3) and takes shape in the favors given by God (Gn 32:11); *rchm* represents the parental tenderness (Is 49:15 and Ps 103:13) and *çdq* an action dictated by fidelity to the community (Ps 36:7–9).

The veterotestamentary conception of grace is characterized by the consciousness of the free and unconditional solicitude of a God (Ex 33:19 and Dt 7:7f.) that exists for his people* (Ex 3:14). God's grace is shown in the Covenant* with Israel*, to which he binds himself as to a fiancée (Hos 2:21f.). His solicitude is seen in forgiveness and mercy*, YHWH answering to infidelity with more love (Is 54:7–10). Divine grace is also expressed in historical events (Is 63:7–14 and Ps 136), especially the Exodus. It is grace that prevents extreme peril or unjust persecution, that forgives a fault and favors prosperity on earth (by granting descendants or a country). The act of God's grace is first shown to a people, but as belief in his choice* falters, grace tends to be experienced by individuals. Post-biblical rabbinical Judaism* includes the events of Salvation*, in particular the Covenant and the Torah, as proofs of grace.

2. The New Testament

In the New Testament the act of God's grace finds its eschatological figure in Jesus Christ, in whom “the kingdom* of God is at hand” (Mk 1:15 par) and eternal life is granted (Jn 3:16). It is only in Pauline* theology that the term *kharis* itself becomes a central concept of the Christian message. Grace, here, is carried out above all in the justification* of sinners by Jesus Christ, who gave himself for them (Rom 3:23f.; 5). In Christ*, grace is offered to all men without consideration of merit (Gal 2:21). It is the power that triumphs over sin* and death*, and thus, that brings liberty* (2 Cor 3:17). A person participates in grace by proclaiming the Gospel*, faith (Rom 1:16), and baptism* (Rom 6). The act of God's grace unfurls in the charisma that forms the body of Christendom (Rom 12:3–21 and 1 Cor 1:4–9). The Deutero-Pauline emphasize the present existence in grace (Eph 1:3–14) which is granted in Jesus Christ (2 Tm 1:9f.), who is grace itself (Ti 2:11).

II. History of Theology

1. The Ancient Church

a) The Apostolic Fathers. Just as the neotestamentary epistles were already relating the consolation of grace offered in Jesus Christ to the exhortation of living in accordance with it, several texts by the Apostolic* Fathers stressed the ethical demands that the gift of grace entails. More specifically, it was in monasticism*, throughout the history of Christianity, that interest in the ethical consequences of grace was perpetuated.

b) Greek Patristics. The Greek patristics developed a doctrine of grace integrated into the universal perspective of the history of Salvation. Irenaeus* of Lyons thus understood grace as a salvific event (*oikonomia*) through which God, in a pedagogical process (*paideia*), brings man to participate in divine life, in accordance to an end assigned to him since his creation*. This concept holds the seed of the distinction between an original grace (resemblance to God) and a salvific grace (deification). The central event of this process of fulfillment of grace is the Incarnation*, through which the degraded image of God is restored and completed in man.

The conception of grace elaborated by Clement of Alexandria (140/150–c. 216/217) and Origen* is also from the perspective of the final deification of man. Influenced by Platonism* and stressing the free cooperation of man in the gift of grace, they opened the way to a mysticism* inspired by Neoplatonism (Evagrius Ponticus, 345–99, and Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite) that interprets grace as purification, enlightenment, and union.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, christological and pneumatologic doctrine developed under the influence of the idea of deification, insofar as it presupposed the divinity of the Son and the Spirit. This allowed theologians to specify the tie between deifying grace with the Man-God Jesus Christ and the regenerative act of the Spirit, as well as the Trinitarian dimension of grace, as the dwelling of the three divine persons in man.

c) About Orthodoxy. The Eastern doctrine of grace perpetuates the notion of the Greek Fathers. Jesus Christ's grace, divine life bestowed upon man through the abundance of Christ's life, is closely linked to the operation of the Spirit. Grace makes man similar to God and includes him in the communion* of intratrinitary life. It is above all in liturgy* that this deification is carried out. Gregory* Palamas's theology played an important role in the Orthodox doctrine of grace.

d) Western Patristics. The West integrated this doctrine on grace, which the Eastern Church saw on a universal and cosmic plan, in an entirely different context. Christianity here was understood as the institution and materialization of a new legal relationship between God and man. It involved understanding how the individual, a prisoner of his sin, might find the path to salvation through his personal liberty*. Grace, in this perspective, is considered a divine force that helps man reach salvation. This thought, which has roots in Tertullian* and Cyprian*, found its shape in Augustine*'s theology. For Augustine, the powerlessness of the sinner to do good*, and also his non-liberty, must be abolished, healed, and transformed from the inside by God's grace before the sinner can make progress toward his salvation by himself. Through this strict definition of the respective powers of liberty and grace, Augustine established a competing relationship between the two that would considerably concern theology*.

Pelagius and his disciples opposed the Augustinian concept of grace. They wanted to include what they thought to be latitudinarian tendencies by relating man to an immanent grace, already manifested in his own natural aptitudes, as well as to external forms of grace (*gratia externa*)—the Law*, Jesus Christ, the Scriptures, and the Church*. Because God does not demand

anything that man cannot accomplish, it is fundamentally possible for man to live without sin after his baptism, and he must endeavor to do so. And it is precisely this possibility that Augustine, in an in-depth analysis of the vicious circle of sin, excludes. Beyond instructions and external models, man needs grace like he needs an internal force (*gratia interna*), the initiative of which radically and fully determines the salvific process.

In 418, against Pelagianism*, the regional Council of Carthage, influenced by Augustine—though not agreeing with him on every point—declared that man absolutely needs the specific help of grace (*DS* 225–30). In response to Augustine, John Cassian (c. 360–435) and the monastic theologians of Provence championed a theology that left more room to the liberty of man. Named “semi-Pelagianism” sometime after, this theology was to be rejected in 529 at the Council of Orange (*DS* 370–97).

2. The Middle Ages

a) The Scholastic Development. The Augustinian problematics (grace as a particular force through which God determines man from the inside, and the relationship between grace and liberty) thrived until medieval times. In accordance with the anthropological perspective that led the West to favor the practical and ethical aspect of faith, grace was then often integrated into the doctrine of virtues*. Peter Lombard (c. 1095–c. 1160), like any Augustinian, resolved the question of the relationship between grace and liberty in terms of the precedence of the former. Grace precedes the movement of the free will: it is an “infused” quality (*habitus infusus*) and not “acquired.”

The essential elements of Thomas* Aquinas's conception of grace were developed in the *Summa Theologica* Ia, IIae, q. 109–14. According to Thomas, man, from the beginning, is destined to communion with God, which he would never be able to accomplish without grace (in any case and even independently from sin he could not accomplish it—even though, in fact, his sin makes grace a necessity). Grace being thus situated relatively to the external principles of action, it seems that man does not possess grace on his own, but receives it from God as sanctifying grace (*gratia sanctificans*), in such a way, however, that it becomes truly internal (habitual grace, or *gratia habitualis*). The distinction between uncreated grace (*gratia increata*), which is nothing else than God himself in his love for man, and created grace (*gratia creata*), which is the effect of the act of divine grace in man, corresponds to this double aspect of grace.

b) Later Scholasticism. This internal connection between the divine aspect and the human aspect of grace

waned in later Scholasticism*, which explains how, for example, champions of nominalism* could have wondered if the adoption of man by God depended on the internalization of grace. To preserve the liberty of God, it was thought that there was only a necessity of fact, which did not prevent a very optimistic view of man's natural capacity to prepare himself for grace through his own merits. The Reformers would object first and foremost.

3. Modern Era

a) The Reformation. It was first as an act of justification* of man that Luther* understood divine grace. The sinner, who seeks in vain to justify himself by his works* against the accusation of the Law, cannot find grace in God's eyes outside of the justification brought by Jesus Christ and which he only receives in faith. The union with Christ produces a real justice* that regenerates man from the inside. It cannot be, however, attributed to him by merit; it does not require any ontological roots—no created grace residing in man—but rather appears as the fruit of a new relationship with God, which gives man the liberating certainty of being saved. In the Lutheran tradition, the interest in grace as the bearer of salvation (sanctifying grace) was developed by Melancthon (1497–1560). Pietism* would make the connection between justification and sanctification even clearer. Calvin* saw grace more as a link between the justifying and redeeming work of Christ, on one hand, and its assimilation in the life of Christians as influenced by the Holy Spirit, on the other. The federal theology stemming from Zwingli* saw grace from a theocentric point of view, highlighting God's global covenant with his creatures.

b) The Council of Trent. The Council of Trent* rejected the position of the Reformers, but answered it with key explanations: it thus stressed the necessity of grace and subordinated the doctrine of grace to that of justification, without reducing it to that (*DS* 1520–83). The grace of God, which awakens and rescues the creature (*DS* 1525), has absolute priority over all human action; however, man's liberty (*DS* 1521 and 1554–55), and the possibility he has to cooperate in a commendable way with grace (*DS* 1545–49 and 1582), are not abolished. Although the Council, in the debate that put it at odds with the Protestants, had to set itself apart from the reforming theses on faith and the certainty of Salvation (*DS* 1531f, 1562, 1533f, and 1563–66), it is the basic agreement between their respective positions that is more striking to us today. Suspecting that, for the Reformers, justification did not truly transform man, the Council specified the action

of created grace in terms of effects *in* man and *on* man: the distinction was to be referred to often. With regard to this foundation, the theology of the Counter-Reformation would mainly focus on the anthropological aspect of grace—on created grace and on the ethical consequences of justification.

c) Post-Tridentine Theology. The relationship between grace and liberty, and the idea that this involves a competition, gave rise, between 1597 and 1607, to the “grace dispute.” The Thomist theologian Domingo Báñez (1528–1604) characterized grace as infallibly efficacious (*gratia efficax*), man's liberty therefore being preserved only by the basic concept of a sufficient grace (*gratia sufficiens*) that, as a result, does not reach its goal. Conversely, the Jesuit Luis de Molina (1535–1600) stressed man's liberty, the sovereignty of God thus only being preserved by “middle knowledge” (*scientia media*), which allows him to foresee the result of human actions. In 1607 Pope Paul V forbade the defenders of these two systems of grace to condemn each other (*DS* 1997).

Behind this dispute, two divergent images of man opposed each other, and the difference came to the forefront when Baius (1513–89), Jansen (1585–1638), and Quesnel (1634–1719) adopted Augustine's thought on the real corruption of nature by sin in order to apply it to the abstract concept of nature (to nature in its essence). Thus nature remains incomplete in man without grace and is destroyed in the fall. Grace is needed to complete the essential aspect of nature, but it is, by this fact, naturalized—that is, understood as an integral part of nature. This notion was to be officially condemned (*DS* 1901–80 [1567], 2001–07 [1653], 2301–32 [1690], and 2400–2502 [1713]).

It then became necessary to specify that the theological concept of nature did not include grace, and this terminological clarification gave rise to Baroque Scholastic and Neoscholastic speculations on “pure nature” (*natura pura*), a closed-in nature, geared toward its own end, to which an extrinsic grace is added, like a supplementary stage. It is against this background that the optimism of the Enlightenment (and the overestimation of nature's powers) developed, as did the processes of secularization* (concerned with ridding the secular world of a grace stripped of significance for the natural existence of man). It was to these tendencies, which sought to separate grace and nature, that apologetic thought on immanence (Blondel*) attempted to respond.

4. Contemporary Theology

In Protestant theology, which was more receptive to Enlightenment thought, it was Karl Barth* (1886–1968)

who protested more than anyone against reducing grace to a simple ethical force, and did so in the name of the immeasurable character of grace. In the Catholic camp, theological historians were charged with unearthing the patristic concepts of the history of Salvation and opening the way for the true intentions of Scholastic thought. Furthermore, dialogical personalism played a strong role in reviving the perception of a reality that had almost ended up being reduced to its ontic and natural dimension (E. Brunner and R. Guardini). Some theologians developed theories on the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit in man (Matthias Joseph Scheeben*) or the initial act of communication of God's self (Karl Rahner*). Thus, the unilateral interest in created grace waned, and it was henceforth more clearly connected to the initiative of a God of grace. In this way, they were given the means to avoid seeing the relationship between nature and grace in terms of juxtaposition and superposition—recognizing that the former came metaphysically after the latter (Eschweiler and Schmaus) and crediting man as having a natural desire for supernatural communion with God (Maréchal).

Contemporary theology is no longer based on an abstract nature with its own end, but on real man. It is man, in his historical and concrete being, who, from the moment he is created, calls to grace (“new theology”—Lubac*). He immediately moves, in fact, in the horizon of the act of grace through which God wanted to communicate with him and which determines him in an existential manner (Rahner's “supernatural existential man”). Moreover, this in no way diminishes the unmotivated character of grace, as emphasized in the encyclical *Humani Generis* (1950). The idea that God freely introduced the supernatural end of human nature, prior to all work, is, on the contrary, the most certain guarantee. From these theoretical specifications, the theology of grace finally evolved into a larger field than the one belonging to the Christian institution; its effects can also be extended all the way to the entire cosmic process (P. Teilhard de Chardin).

A tighter connection between nature and grace was also expressed in Vatican II (see, for example, *LG* 36 and 40). The Council fathers referred to the communion dimension of grace and focused on the signs of grace outside of the Church (*LG* 13 and 16).

The most recent works deal with the meaning of grace in the realization of the humanity of man (Schillebeeckx, Küng), the intelligence of grace as the advent of liberty (Rahner, Greshake, Pröpper), its communion and ecclesial dimension (Greshake), the worldly character of its experience, and its extension into ethical and political action (political* theology and liberation* theology).

III. Systematic Theology

1. *The History of Salvation Perspective*

Above all, grace is God himself, the triune and gracious God who offers his love. In his universal wish for salvation, he destined man from the beginning to be in communion with him, not so as to offer him *something*, but to share *himself* and his divine life. Even though this participation is meant to lead to a dialogical relationship, the eternal wish for salvation does not only have to be considered as an immaterial horizon; on the contrary, it materializes in history* and is there to be chosen freely by man. Sin, through which man hides from the call of grace, introduces a new accent in this divine act. Grace is now seen as signifying the forgiving pardon and the redeeming act through which the sinner finds himself justified, as well as the help that allows him to return to and continue down the path of God.

The history of the Covenant, through which God, for the first time, showed favor to the Israelites, culminated in the Incarnation of the Logos, which extended the Covenant to all of humanity. Jesus Christ is not only the outside mediator of God's grace; he is grace itself, which has been incarnated into human life to bear its responsibility and to deify it irrevocably. The life of Jesus materializes God's proximity and love* for the sinner. By acting as man in suffering and dying on the cross, he assumes sin, through which man closes himself off from God and grace, and in this very act, he establishes a new relationship between God and man and becomes, in his own being, the place of their reconciliation. Ascended to heaven, he sends the Holy Spirit, who is God's gift of himself, occupying man's heart (*see* soul*-heart-body). It is the Holy Spirit, which, for the Church as for the individual, transforms the external figure of Jesus into an internal reality through which they both participate in the life of God. The goal of the act of divine grace is the perfect communion of God's kingdom.

2. *(Free) Grace and Nature*

God, in his act of grace, is entirely free and sovereign. He is interested in man only out of pure choice of grace. Grace is therefore not primarily a reaction to man or his merits, but an original love that alone gives rise to the qualities of man, making him worthy of love. Therefore, the sinner is justified outside of all his prior merit, through a pure act of grace. His conversion* and his faith presuppose that God turned toward him with prevenience (*gratia praeveniens*). The priority of grace as God's free initiative does not, however, relate to the fact that it is offered, without reason, to man living fully in sin. It already appears in the Creation itself, through

which God made man into a being looking outside himself. In this respect, it is not nature that asks to be carried out by grace, but grace that gives itself a nature that is able to receive grace, able to find its fulfillment in it.

Tradition* strove to define this relationship by acknowledging that man had either passive anchorage (obeiential potency or *potentia oboedientialis*) or an active desire to commune with God (natural desire for the Beatific Vision*, or *desiderium naturale visionis beatificae*). The axiom that says, “grace does not destroy but supports and completes nature,” falls in line with the theme of unity as a result of grace and nature. Grace presupposes nature and leads it to its fulfillment. It therefore does not establish a “supernature,” but rather introduces a complementary, and nevertheless new, dimension of grace in natural reality. However, nature and grace exist as distinct realities. Here, nature represents a basic concept (pure nature or *natura pura*), in which is expressed the fact that the relationship of grace between God and man is neither deducible from human essence, nor divine essence. It rather stems from a behavior that God freely chooses to adopt with regard to man. Paradoxically, grace—exactly inasmuch as it is free, unmotivated, and asks to be freely accepted—constitutes the gift of this love, which man needs in order to find the final fulfillment.

3. Grace and Freedom

God calls man to a personal communion with him, so that the free divine solicitude with regard to man only really takes effect if man freely agrees. This is why there is not a competitive relationship between grace and free will. Grace, does indeed work with sovereign power, but is not violent against man. Man, for his part, is not a static power before God, but a creature endowed with freedom in relation to God, a freedom that allows him to choose whether or not to respond to the call of grace, and so commit himself to the dynamic that fills him.

The freedom offered by God and directed toward him as it is toward its end, is nevertheless still an open freedom; it can, therefore, just as well reject grace—but, in this case, it rejects God’s solicitude, without which it loses meaning. Before man in crisis, grace presents itself as an initiative force that starts by emancipating enchained freedom from its shackles. Man is not, as a result, able to rise to God through his own strength, but, from this, he recovers at least one freedom capable of being sought.

As a last resort, it is impossible to define the respective parts of grace and of freedom in faith. It is also impossible to say how the possibility of resistance of human free will before the sovereign efficaciousness of grace is reconciled with the power that the latter has

to conquer human resistance. There is a double mystery* here, in which the paradigm of predestination* takes root.

In the interactive play between grace and free will, God and man, therefore, do not represent two competing causalities. On the contrary, grace confronts the human will and sets it free (operating or prevenient grace or *gratia operans* or *praeveniens*) in order to act in conjunction with it (cooperating or concomitant grace—*gratia cooperans* or *concomitans*). It is in this cooperation between divine grace and human free will that each finds—in accordance with the Council of Chalcedon*’s christological model—its whole and specific efficaciousness without, all the while, canceling that of the opposite pole. Grace is revealed as the force that initiates, makes possible, and supports man’s attempts to reach God, and free will is revealed as the force that God wants to engage in these attempts.

4. Uncreated and Created Grace

Because grace seeks to establish a relationship, the concept does not only designate God himself (uncreated grace), but also the different ways in which God transforms worldly reality and man himself (created grace). The incarnation of grace, God made man in Jesus Christ, moves through the Church and is mediated in several ways, notably through the Word* and the Sacraments*. Grace specifically deals with man as an individual, in his plural and corporeal reality, in the different stages of his life. It must, therefore, adapt itself both to situations and to the being* of man himself, bringing about a new form and a new idea of meaning (*habitus, gratia habitualis*). These two things do not result from any kind of human learning, but are, rather, integrally assimilated by man. For the movement of grace aims to establish a dialogical relationship, and, for this reason, sustains man in a state in which he becomes capable of responding to love from his own reality. Therefore, even though the relationship between God and man is a goal of created grace, a person cannot, without losing its essential substance, consider it an experience that can be separated from the act of grace. The gifts of the Holy Spirit, in particular, are there to remind us that man cannot assimilate grace that is offered to him if he is not supported again by divine efficaciousness.

5. The Communion Character of Grace

The dynamic of Salvation granted to a being-in-communion, God’s triune grace does not only establish a new communion with God, it also heals and transforms the relationship between men. This is why, by sharing himself, Jesus Christ founds the Church as his body. In order to establish this communion and to fulfill the

Church's mission, grace is given in the charisma (*gratia gratis data*) that include man in the movement of love of God. Among the obligations that grace makes known to man, there is commitment, with the force that it fills him with, to the work to eradicate sin.

6. The Experience of Grace

Inasmuch as grace allies itself with nature and articulates itself on the categoric level, it is also part of the concrete existence of man. Yet, we must not forget that in experience we only grasp the mediated forms of grace, while their original form, that is to say God himself, escape all experience. Also, the experience of grace is essentially ambivalent and grace itself remains hidden: it can only be seized as grace through faith, and can just as well be concealed in hardship and the cross—that is, in its opposite, *sub contrario*.

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See also Anthropology; Augustinianism; Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Covenant; Jansenism; Nature; Pelagianism; Sin, Original; Supernatural

Gratian (Francisco Gratiaziano)

c. 1090–1159

Francisco Gratiaziano, known as Gratian, was a Camaldulensian monk who drew up what became the single most influential codification of the legal decisions that together came to constitute canon* law. His great compilation, usually known as the *Decretum*, although more properly entitled the *Concordia discordantium canonum*, attempted to resolve the discrepancies and contradictions in the legal promulgations and decisions emanating from the supreme source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The compilation was made from the papalist point of view, emphasizing papal authority in the investiture

controversy of 1076 between Pope Gregory VII and the Emperor Henry IV, in which the conflicting claims of sacred and secular sovereignties confronted one another. Gratian's compilation implicitly defended papal claims to the right of investing prelates with their sees against the emperor's desire to retain a lucrative feudal suzerainty over ecclesiastical benefices, which in fact thrived on concubinage and simony. Its principal importance was to serve as a handbook of legal principles and decisions, and consequently to become almost a constitutional handbook for the jurisdictional and other papalist claims of the Roman church.

However, it was also important on account of the quotations from the Fathers* that it contained, and that played a disproportionate part in subsequent medieval theological debate. It was often the only, and even more frequently the most easily available source for the views of the Fathers. It also attracted a very large number of glosses, and became a principal source for the development of doctrine in the later Middle Ages, a counterpart to Peter Lombard's four books of *Sententiae*, also of the mid-12th century. Both north and south of the Alps, faculties of canon law were quickly established in the universities. Alongside theology*, medicine, and civil law, canon law, anchored in Gratian's *Decretum*, became one of the four graduate faculties when the universities north of the Alps came to be founded around 1200.

Ancient Roman legislative constitutions had been gathered together on the orders of Justinian into what was intended to be a definitive *codex*, in which form it was promulgated in A.D. 529. It later needed substantial modification and expansion, and was then re-promulgated in 534, lapsing in Europe under barbarian rule and a weakening papacy in the tenth century. It lingered on in Constantinople's fluctuating sphere of influence; and also, in part, in Spain, where the early-seventh century *Collectio canonum Isidoriana* was attributed to Isidore of Seville (570–636), as was an enlarged ninth-century version, now known as the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*. Most local* churches had their own legislative codes, collecting, organizing, and unifying imported legal norms. Scales of penances for sins began to circulate from the sixth century.

The revival of interest in Roman law started in the late 11th century in Bologna, where Irnerius (1055–c. 1125) was the most important master teaching in the law school. He systematically collated and compared the texts of Lombard and Roman law, and himself wrote glosses, summaries, treatises, and interpretations. By the end of the 12th century, Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040–1116), relying on a compendium compiled by Burchard of Worms († c. 1023), was able to produce his *Tripartita*, with 655 fragments of decretals, 789 conciliar canons or patristic texts, and 861 fragments of his own *Decretum*, altogether a compilation of 3,760 ordered, brief, and concise chapters in 17 parts, which constituted a compendium of canon law.

Inspired by Ivo and Irnerius, and relying on Isidore, Gratian undertook his huge task, codifying some 4,000 earlier legal enactments according to the categories of Roman law, without regard either to the dates of the decretals he included or to the clashes of legal principle between them, and only occasionally offering his own view of disputed matters. His collection of decrees and decisions formed the first section of the

Corpus iuris canonici when it was eventually printed privately under that title (1499–1502), and later, under the same title, with its text authenticated by Gregory XIII, in the official Roman edition of 1580. That was the only authoritative compilation of the whole of canon law until the *Codex* of 1917. Gratian is also the chief source influencing the acceptance by the Middle Ages of the privileged status of the decrees of the councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, which he regarded as normative and as containing all the essentials of Christian belief. (Dict. Grat. before Pars 1a, dist. 5).

Gratian was concerned to reconcile the traditions and categories of Roman law with the Frankish codes of the barbarian tribes, which had obtained over most of Europe during the early Middle Ages, and to this purpose could draw on the work of other 11th and early-12th century predecessors, including Bernold of Constance, Ivo of Chartres, and Alger of Liège, all of whom had sought to distinguish particular cases from general principles in their works on church law. Gratian was also influenced by Abelard*'s attempt to show the contradiction between different Christian beliefs in his book of theological contradictions, *Sic et non* of about 1115.

Gratian followed the usual practice of prefacing the consideration of canonical practice with a theoretical section on the nature of law*. Since Europe's later secular legal systems, whether claiming to be based on customary law, on common law, on statutory law, or on Roman law, all derived more or less directly from ecclesiastical legal practice and the semi-theological jurisprudence set out by Gratian and his commentators, it is important to notice the ambiguities in Gratian's view. He makes natural law not only identical with the revealed provisions of divine law—which makes canon law a theological discipline—but he also makes it identical with the law ordained by human reason, which puts it in the realm we know as philosophy*.

Gratian follows Isidore in holding that natural law is that which is contained “in the law and the gospel” (Dist 1a, dict. Grat. *See also* Pars 1a, dist.v, dict. Grat.), and makes natural law identical with divine law, “everything which is legitimate is ascribed to divine and natural law” (Pars 1a, dist.1, c.i, dict. Post. *See* dist. 9, c.xi, dict. Post). But he also makes natural law the pure product of human reason, originating from the constitution of rational creatures, not varying in time, but remaining immutable (Dict. Grat. Before Pars 1a, dist.5). Both sides in the great theological debate of the later Middle Ages—whether holding on the one hand that divine law was the product of the divine reason*, of which human reason was a derivative reflection or, on the other, that divine law was decreed by God* without

reference to human intellectual powers—could therefore claim inspiration from Gratian himself.

Gratian's compendium was adopted in the schools and by the Roman curia, even though it was not endorsed by the Church* as such until 1580. In the mid-12th century, supplements, commentaries, and glosses started to appear almost immediately, raising questions that the popes were asked to resolve. A further systematic collection of decretals or legal decisions from 1127 to 1170 was compiled by Bernard of Pavia in about 1179, who himself produced a collection of 900 decretals from 1140 to 1191, arranged in five books, which also became the subject of a dozen commentaries.

This was the first of five *Compilationes antiquae*, the most important decretal collections between Gratian's *Decretum* and 1234. It chiefly contained decretals subsequent to Gratian's *Decretum*, including those of the Third Lateran* Council in 1179. The second compilation of the five was so numbered because it contained decretals from the immediately subsequent quinquennium, but earlier than those of the third compilation, which included the decretals from the first twelve years, 1198–1210, of the reign of Innocent III, and was the first legal compilation to be officially promulgated to the whole Church.

The fourth of the *Compilationes antiquae* contained the later decretals of Innocent's reign, which ended in 1216, including the canons of the Fourth Lateran* Council in 1215. It may have been promulgated, as the fifth of the *compilationes* certainly was, by Honorius III in 1226, containing as it did the decretals of his pontificate. Glosses were written on all five of the books, and taken into account when the *Decretals* of Gregory IX were compiled following the general plan of the *Compilatio prima*, and incorporating 1,771 chapters of the 1,971 contained in the complete set of *Compilationes antiquae*. The most important of the glosses was the 1216 *glossa ordinaria* of Johannes Teutonicus, particularly important for its view that popes lost their jurisdiction *ipso facto* if they fell into heresy. It followed from this view that the ultimate criterion of orthodoxy* could not simply be the pope*'s view, but only the *sensus fidelium*, normally apparent only through a council of the universal Church.

The *Decretals* of Gregory IX, drawn up by Raymond of Pennafort, was the first authentic general collection of legal principles and decisions to be issued. Known also as the *Liber extravagantium*, it was promulgated in 1234, and unleashed a new wave of glosses and commentaries. The Teutonicus *glossa ordinaria* was brought into line with it between 1240 and 1245, leaving a single-volume compendium of canon law, which made possible the promotion of a centralized and unified ecclesiastical society. Supplements with later decisions and further glosses and commentaries continued to be drawn up until 1317, when John XXII promulgated the *Constitutiones Clementinae*, the final document in the *Corpus iuris canonici*, which consisted of Gratian's *Decretum*, the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, and four further books, the *Liber sextus*, the *Clementinae*, the *Extravagantes Joannis XXII*, and the *Extravagantes communes*. By 1338 the whole flood of glosses and commentaries had been reduced to coherence, and there was a recognized canon law that, although it continued to grow, governed, at least in principle and in outline, the constitution and procedures of the Church.

It is to the principles of canon law, themselves often transmitting the more ancient principles of Greek and Roman law, that European legal systems ultimately owe the foundations of international law and the notion of a public law flowing from the exercise of sovereignty*. Modern concepts of personal property, the concepts of equity and good faith*, and the regulation of matrimonial relations were developed from ecclesiastical law, and until very recently the English concept of "contempt of court" remained a clear secularization of the canonical procedures governing excommunication. In many of its most important principles, medieval canon law was also adopted in the reformed communions of the 16th century. Modern US law owes to canon law many of the principles underpinning matrimonial law, criminal law, the laws of succession, property, human rights, and the principles of proof and evidence.

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ANTHONY LEVI

See also Canon Law

Gregory of Nazianzus

c. 330–390

a) Life. In Eastern Orthodox Tradition, Gregory of Nazianzus is known as “the theologian.” A doctor, like Athanasius*, of the Eastern Church, Gregory of Nazianzus stands together with his intimates Basil* of Caesarea and Gregory* of Nyssa among the Cappadocian Fathers. (The fourth century would come to be considered the “golden age” of patristics.) Born the son of the bishop of Nazianzen, a small town in Cappadocia, Gregory supplemented his Christian education with studies in rhetoric and philosophy, first in Constantinople and then in Athens. These studies were undertaken at the same time as Basil. His desire to reconcile Greek culture and Christian faith* provoked his great virulence against the religious policies of Emperor Julian, who in 362 had banned Christians from the teaching profession (*Discourses* 4 and 5, no doubt composed after Julian’s death). Ordained a priest, then appointed a bishop (apparently much against his will, since he himself had chosen the monastic life), Gregory was to play an important role in the Church of Constantinople, where, after Archbishop Meletius’s death, he was to preside over the Council of 381 (the Council of Constantinople* I), before resigning from his position to be replaced by Nectarius. His autobiographical work (*Carmina de se ipso*, PG 37), together with his correspondence, reveals the anxieties and the mystical aspirations of a Christian poet. Contrary to a tradition accepted until the 16th century, strong doubts exist today as to his authorship of the *Christus patiens* (SC 149), a pastiche of lines from Euripides, which form a Christian tragedy, probably dating from the Byzantine era.

b) Theological Contributions. As a preacher and theologian, along with Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus contributed at Constantinople to the victory of Nicaean orthodoxy over the supporters of Arianism* (*Discourse* 27, “Against the Eunomians”). His *Theological Discourses* 27 to 31, speeches delivered in 380 (which are the chief source of Gregory’s influence and posthumous fame) present his trinitarian theology* in a style that combines dogmatic rigor and lyricism. At the same time, he underlines the theologian’s task: the theologian is one of those who “walked in the recesses of the deep” (Jb 38:16; *Dis-*

course 28:12) and in the theologian’s works an apophatic language should counterbalance the elaboration of theological concepts. Gregory himself conforms to this prescription.

It was the idea of relationship (*skhèsis*) that made it possible for Gregory to define the differences between the three persons* encompassed in the Trinity*: “The Father* is neither the name of a substance nor the name of an action; it is the name of a relationship, a name showing the Father’s position with regard to the Son or the Son’s with regard to the Father” (*Disc.* 29:16). As for Gregory’s theology of the Holy* Spirit, it daringly develops the themes of Basil’s *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, and it would be a deciding factor at the Council of 381. Against the Pneumatomachians, whom he accused of ditheism (*Discourse* 31:13), Gregory insisted that the scriptural argument gave legitimate grounds for asserting the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Neither did he hesitate to apply to the Holy Spirit the term *homoousios*, a point on which the Council of 381 would not follow him. Gregory deserves the credit of having coined the term “ekporeisis” (*ekporeusis*, “procession,” *Discourse* 31:8), which allowed him to distinguish the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Father from the generation of the Son (*Filioque**). Pointing out that each of the persons of the Trinity had been the object of a gradual revelation*, Gregory concluded his speech devoted to the Holy Spirit by showing that the Spirit’s divinity had not been clearly manifest until after the coming of Christ* (*Discourse* 31:26).

Gregory’s Christology* preceded the answers that the councils of Ephesus* and Chalcedon* would give to the Nestorians, and it affirmed the unity of the person of Christ. All the same, his presentation of the Son’s humanity stumbles over the dilemma of Christ’s will and of his ignorance. Maximus* the Confessor, in his *Ambiguorum liber*, was therefore to come up against several points in Gregory’s Christology that he was obliged to develop before he could assert their complete orthodoxy (see A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, in C. Moreschini 1992).

c) Posthumous Fame. The acuity of Gregory’s trinitarian theology, and his role in the first Council of Con-

stantinople, assured his fame. His joint composition with Basil of the *Philocalia*, drawn from Origen's works, which was widely circulated and has preserved for us fragments of other works lost today, attests to Gregory's loyalty to Alexandrian exegesis*. Evagrius Ponticus, the propagator of Origenism in the era of early monasticism*, acknowledged Gregory as his master, a master whom he had served as a deacon in Constantinople. Until the Middle Ages, Gregory's dogmatic works, especially the *Theological Discourses*, translated into Latin by Rufinus of Aquileia as early as the beginning of the fourth century, inspired many commentaries in both East and West.

• PG 35–38

Discourses, SC 247, 250, 270, 284, 309, 318, 358

Letters, Ed. and translated into French by P. Gallay, 2 vol, CUFr, 1964–67, Paris; *Lettres théologiques*, SC 208.

(1997), *Le Dit de sa vie*, text and French trans., Geneva.

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FRANÇOISE VINEL

See also Constantinople I; Hellenization of Christianity; Negative Theology; Spiritual Theology

Gregory of Nyssa

c. 331–394

1. Life and Works

a) Life. Gregory of Nyssa and his brother Basil* of Caesarea were children of an aristocratic family from Cappadocia. Born about 331 in Pontus, Gregory belonged to the third generation of Christians in his family. He seems to have turned toward a rhetorical and philosophical education after having held the office of lector in the church. A married man, he was called to the episcopacy and appointed to the see of Nyssa, near Caesarea, c. 372. He would assert himself as the representative of the Nicæan faith, especially after Basil's death. A victim of Arian opponents, Gregory was deposed as bishop, probably in 375–76, and forced into exile until the end of 377, when Emperor Valens abolished sentences of exile. Gregory was then restored to the see of Nyssa (see Basil, *Ep*, 225). In an attempt to bring to an end the doctrinal divisions linked to the Arian crisis (see *Ep*. 2, 3, 5), he traveled as far as Jerusalem*, visiting several episcopal sees in Asia Minor. He made a strong impression during the first council of Constantinople* in 381.

Under Basil's influence, monasticism* enjoyed considerable success in Cappadocia. Gregory too supported this movement and encouraged the development of the small monastery founded on the family property of his sister Macrina and their mother (*De virginitate; Vita Macrinae*).

b) Works. The chronology of Gregory's works is uncertain. Just like the more prolific correspondences of Basil and of Gregory* of Nazianzus, his *Letters* give us some insight into the way in which he performed his duties as bishop during troubled times. The three parts of *Contra Eunomium*, the short trinitarian treatises (*Adversus Arium et Sabellium de Patre et Filio, De deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti, De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos*), as well as the *Catechetical Oration*, revealed the broad lines of his theology*. Gregory presents himself explicitly as the continuator of Basil's work and also gives a role to his sister Macrina: thus, in a setting reminiscent of the *Phaedo*, or as Diotima inspiring Socrates, Macrina answers Gregory's anxieties about death* and the beyond (*De Anima et Resur-*

rectione). Lastly, the scriptural commentaries—and chiefly the *Homilies on Christ* and the *Life of Moses*, written in the last years of his life—showed how much the different senses of Scripture* render exegesis*, theology, and mysticism* inseparable. Gregory of Nyssa's hermeneutics* owes a great deal to Origen*, and therefore to Alexandrian exegesis, which was initially derived from Philo. Moreover, Gregory acknowledged his “close and fervent reading” of Origen (Hom. I On Christ). The idea of *akolouthia*, of the logical “linking” of the verses of Scripture, served to show revelation* at work in the biblical text, and so all the more enabled Gregory to bring human reason into harmony with the logic of the divine plan.

2. Doctrine and Spirituality

a) *Theology of Creation and Anthropology.* Like Basil, Gregory commented on the *Hexameron*, which he extended with a treatise on the Creation* of man (*De hominis opificio*). Gregory borrowed, not without a certain eclecticism, the concepts of Greek ontology (see Stead 1985). But in his case, by a decisive evolution, he placed little stress on the distinction between the sensory and the intelligible in order to accentuate the differences between the created and the uncreated. The concepts of limit and moderation therefore defined the *diastèma* (spacing out, temporal interval) of the Creation. Gregory made a close connection between cosmology and anthropology* in his meditation on nature* (*phusis*). He linked together ethics* and “physics”—*Qo*, on which Gregory wrote a commentary (*In Ecclesiasten Homiliae*) is, in patristic tradition*, the book of “physics,” of knowledge of the created universe and of its limits—thanks to the idea of moderation. Man himself stands on the boundaries (*methorios*), on the borderline between the sensory and the intelligible; and in conformity with an anthropocentric viewpoint, man is the apex of creation (see *De hominis opificio*, chap. 2–4). The concept of the *pleroma* (see *Ep. I*, 23)—applied just as readily to the cosmos* as to the qualities shared by all humanity, and by the Church in search of its unity*—means in Gregory's work an accomplishment to which all creation aspires.

The verse from Genesis 1:26: “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness,” is a key reference for Nyssean anthropology. The affinity (*suggeneia*) of nature that links man to the divine is shown, according to Gregory, by the existence of his fundamental liberty*, of a capacity for wanting and doing good, which is in fact its definition. The finality of human life is an “assimilation with God*,” a Platonic expression (*Theaetetus* 176 b) adopted by Gregory. Taking the path of

righteousness (see *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, on Psalm 1) “results from freedom of choice [*prohairesis*] and we are thus, in a sense, our own parents” (*Life of Moses* II, 3)—an audacious statement, often repeated by Gregory. Since they are created by God, realities can only be good; consequently, evil* is nothing more than “what is not” (*to mè on*), and it only occurs as a result of using freedom* badly.

In Gregory's works the definition of man as the image of God takes clear precedence over the Stoic thesis of man as microcosm, which he also borrowed; but he expressed this idea in dualistic terms. Gregory thus made a distinction between the soul* and the body that owed a great deal to Platonism, and he located sin* in the realm of sensual and irrational urges, which mar the “resemblance” to God without however totally erasing the seal of “the image.” Sexual differentiation (see Gn 1:27) was neither the cause nor the result of sin, and it was through a stroke of divine foresight (*De hominis opificio* 16–17) that it assured the continuity of the created in its finiteness. To define the soul and its “localization,” Gregory was first inclined to refute the theory (defended by Origen in particular) of the pre-existence of souls and, through this very opposition, to reject the idea of metempsychosis (*De hominis opificio* 28–29; *De Anima et Resurrectione* 88s). Quite the contrary, the creation of both the soul and the body were concomitant—and Gregory's interest in the medical conceptions of his time gave him a concrete approach to man's constitution (*De hominis opificio* 30). It was the intellectual part of the soul that, in the case of man, authorized the free choice of his actions. Conversely, “thoughtlessness” (*aboulia*) is what led to sin. To describe man's fallen nature (Daniélou 1944; *Hom. on Christ*), Gregory spoke of the “garments of skins” (see Gn 3:21), and interpreted them in a metaphorical sense. Finally, Gregory devoted the last part of his treatise *De Anima et Resurrectione* to the doctrine of the Resurrection*: this was a “restoration of our nature to its original state” (*apokatastasis*, see *apocatastasis**), everything that caused this original nature's dissolution—passions*, sin, death*—being annihilated, in the end, by divine omnipotence*.

b) *Christological and Trinitarian Doctrine.* In his *Contra Eunomium*, which is much more developed than Basil's work on the same subject, Gregory answered the logical arguments of his adversary by stressing first of all the limits of the knowledge man can have of God—and therefore the limits of human language as applied to God (see Canévet 1983). In various ways the divine names* showed the energies of an unknowable divinity (*theotès*), offered only for contemplation* (*thea*; a word play on the two

terms in *To Ablabius*: that there are not three Gods, GNO III, 1, 44). The treatise provided a classification of these names, of the scriptural terms that refer to God by means of the most material realities to the very names of Father*, Son, and Spirit. Gregory stressed their analogical status: the essence of the divinity was “above every name” (Phil 2:9). The three persons* worked together within the Trinity* and manifested themselves in an order that revealed the differences between the names. To make a clear distinction between *ousia* and hypostasis, Gregory resorted to analogy*, based on the distinction common to nature and the individual. Refuting thus the accusation of tritheism*, he confessed “a single God in three persons [*prosôpa*] or hypostases” (Epistle to the Greeks, based on commonly held ideas, GNO III, 1, 33)—*prosôpon* and hypostasis therefore both referred to the person, which statement notably clarified the trinitarian debate.

The Incarnation*, in the Nyssean view of divine economy, was first of all an answer to the great swarm of evil, to its maximal unfolding in the world (*Disc. cat.* 29, 4). Opposed to Apollinarianism*, Gregory was preoccupied with reconciling the twofold affirmation of divine impassibility and the complete humanity of Christ. Through incarnation, the Son shared in the “nature common” to all men, which included growth and “passions,” *pathê* (that is, the ability to change from birth to death, *Orat. cat.*, 16, 6): this “yet without sin” (Heb 4:15). In order to connote the union of both natures in Christ, Gregory continually gave priority to a vocabulary signifying mixture, and he could affirm that the double union of the divinity with both the soul and the body of Jesus* subsisted until death (*Ep.* 3, 22; *De tridui spatio*, GNO IX, 273–306, *The Pascal Christ*, hom. 2, p. 45–71), as a guarantee of the total resurrection of the human composite. It was also because this human composite was a mixture of the immaterial soul and of the body, even after death, that a resurrection of the flesh was possible; and every soul also possessed the ability to recognize the body to which it was joined (*De Anima et Resurrectione*, 97; see Le Boulluec 1995). Finally, Gregory’s *Catechetical Oration* stresses the cosmic dimension of the cross on which Christ “binds the universe tightly into a union and adjusts it to himself, by bringing the diverse natures of the world into one accord and one harmony” (32, 6).

c) *Mystical Theology*. “For from the greatness and beauty of created things comes a corresponding perception of their creator” (Wis 13:5). On several occasions Gregory relied on this verse (*CE* 2, 13.154; in *Eccl.* 1 and 8; *De hom. op.* 2) to define simultaneously and paradoxically man’s ability to know and name God,

and the limits of his knowledge faced with divine infinity*. Gregory made of Moses the model of our access to the inaccessible; and, in order to recount this spiritual experience, favored the metaphors of darkness and the luminous cloud (*Life of Moses*, *Hom. on Christ*).

Although his treatise, *De Anima et Resurrectione* did not go beyond a conception of desire as a passion destined to disappear, the *Life of Moses* and the *Homily on Christ* provided the doctrine of another desire, the “epektasis” (see Phil 3:13 “Forgetting what lies behind and straining forward [*epekteinomenos*] to what lies ahead”; see Daniélou 1944); and in the logic of that desire, the man who turned towards God was led into an endless ascent. Moses (*Life of Moses* II, 224s) and the bride of Christ provided Gregory with the models of this never-ending ascent: “He who ascends never stops, rising from one beginning to another, and the beginning of the ever-increasing good has no end” (*Hom. VIII the Christ*). The concept of epektasis also gave a full range of meanings to a dynamic view of the eschaton; and in the image of the mystery* of the union of the two natures in Christ, the movement that led the created “from one degree of glory* to another” (2 Cor 3:18) in no way affected the permanence of the divinity: “The soul...never stops growing, but the good in which it shares remains the same, always revealing itself as just as transcendent to the soul which shares ever more in it” (*Hom. VII on Christ*).

3. Legacy

The first sign of Gregory’s enduring influence was the circulation of his work, particularly of the treatise *De hominis opificio* and the *Homily on Christ*, of which translations existed in the various Eastern churches. A second sign was the extracts from his commentaries to be found in the works on the Scriptures composed from the start of the sixth century and in the anthologies of patristic texts. Latin translations gave his commentary on Christ, and also the one on Origen, a wide circulation in medieval monastic circles.

Cappadocian theology contributed to bringing the Arian crisis to an end by assuring a balance between the Christologies of Antiochian inspiration and those of Alexandrian inspiration. Through his philosophical range, Gregory assimilated and metamorphosed fundamental traits of Platonism* and of Neoplatonism*, which were integrated into the common expression of the faith* (see Ivánka 1964). His mystical theology, propagated particularly by Maximus* the Confessor and Pseudo-Dionysius*, has had a wide inspirational influence on Eastern Christian spirituality.

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FRANÇOISE VINEL

See also **Alexandria, School of; Apollinarianism; Arianism; Platonism, Christian; Stoicism, Christian**

Gregory of Rimini. *See* Nominalism

Gregory Palamas

1296–1359

The theology of Gregory Palamas is a major phenomenon of late-medieval Byzantine culture. A part of doctrine in the Eastern Orthodox Church, as well as a polemical crux between the Christian East and West,

this theology* constitutes a dogmatic statement of Hesychastic* spirituality and represents one of the stakes in the ecumenical dialogue, as much by the soteriology that it encourages as by the closely connected

notions that it implies regarding tradition*, pneumatology, and eschatology*.

a) Historic Landmarks. A monk of Mount Athos, archbishop of Thessalonica, and canonized in 1368, Gregory Palamas is commemorated as “Doctor of grace*.” His teaching, expounded in the *Hagioritic Tome* or “The Book of Holiness” of 1340, then approved by the synods* of Constantinople of June and August 1341, was solemnly confirmed by the Council of Blachernissa in 1351. He also features in the *Synodikon*, the dogmatic anthology proclaimed liturgically on the Sunday called “On the Victory of Orthodoxy.” His most systematic accounts can be found in the *Triad* or “Apology for the Holy Hesychasts” (1341) and the *CL Chapters* (1349).

“Palamitism” arose from a dispute over the relativism preached about the Filioque* by the philosopher Barlaam during the negotiations with Rome*. Barlaam’s virulent attacks against Hesychastic circles spread the controversy. Complicated by the civil war of 1341–47, this dispute irremediably divided Byzantine intellectuals. This quasi-gnosticological controversy, hinging on such recurrent themes as the quality of prayer practices, the value of profane wisdom*, or the authority* of patristic sources, bore essentially on the nature of mystical experience as a way of attaining a knowledge* of God. The opposition to Gregory Palamas brought together two currents of anti-monastic humanism that had been regularly marginalized from the time of the iconoclastic period in the eighth and ninth centuries. The first movement, largely of Neoplatonic inspiration (Barlaam, Gregoras), aimed at the emancipation of philosophy*. The second, of conservative (Akyndinos) or pre-Scholastic slant (Kypariossitès), took up a position in favor of a rational theology, and would end by acknowledging itself as Thomist* (P. and D. Kydonès). Animated by the same preoccupation with a return to Hellenism and by a common interest in the new thinking coming from the West (among which was Scotism), the thinkers of both the above movements rejected the Palamite theses, holding them to be heretical. They themselves were anathematized for “atheism*.” A century later, the representatives of the first movement (Bessarion, Plethon), as well as those of the second (Kalekas, Chrysobergès), would become the promoters of the Union of Florence, while the strict Palamites (Marcus of Ephesus), or the moderate ones (G. Scolarios), would reject it.

From that time onwards, the “Palamite error” would become a *leitmotiv* of the Catholic polemicists, a polemic sustained in the 16th century by the Latinized Greeks (Allatius, Arcadius, etc.); taken up again in the 17th century by the Jesuit “missionaries” (F. Richard)

and the Dominicans (Le Quien), as well as by the systematicians (Petau); and lastly, perpetuated by the Greco-Catholics until the beginning of the 20th century. In the period between the two world wars, Gregory Palamas was still represented as an obscurantist pietist, the author of irrational dogmatics*, with neither precedents nor posterity (Jugie 1936). At the same time, the Neopatristic school, the chief expression of the theological renewal of modern Orthodoxy*, confirmed Palamitism as a doctrinal reference and a synthetic axis of the whole eastern tradition. Heralded by the methodical restructuring of V. L. Lossky and G. Florovsky, as well as by the work of B. Krivoshein, D. Staniloae, and C. Kern, J. Meyendorff’s thesis (1959) revived research. Since that time, Palamitism’s irreducibility to an ideological consequence of imperial Romanism (Meyendorff), its formative role in the neo-Hesychastic proselytism of the 14th and 15th centuries (Obolensky 1971), and its permanence and its dogmatic function in modern Orthodoxy (Podskalsky 1988) have been established. The debate is therefore no longer about the historic validity of Palamitism but its theoretical coherence.

b) Doctrinal Aspects. Gregory Palamas’s first aims, the normativity of the context of his thought, and the topicality of certain major points of his spirituality, has also all been demonstrated. An organic whole thus emerges, centered on a concept of true participation in God which implies a realization in the present of the eschatological mystery, a whole that includes both the conceptual schemas of Greek patristics and those of Byzantine thought (Gregory of Cyprus), the asceticomystical postulations of early Hesychasm (Evagrius, Macarius) and those of later Hesychasm (Symeon the New Theologian, Gregory the Sinaite). From the polemical essay of the *Triad* to their summary exposition in the *CL Chapters*, several synthetic axes thus emerge, which are classics of Orthodox thought. There is a christological conception of the history of salvation* (*Tr.* III, 1, 16) in which, from the Creation* to the Parousia, the Incarnation* determines a cosmic dynamic of transfiguration (*Ch.* 2); a theocentric and monist definition of anthropology*, in which the ideas of continuous prayer*, of spiritual meaning, of the joint illumination of both the intellect and the heart (*see* soul*-heart-body; *Tr.* II, 2, 12–13) enter a theory of corporeal existence that aims to prove the superiority of human beings over the angels* (*Ch.* 39); and a charismatic ecclesiology in which the primacy of contemplation* has as corollary the prophetic ministry* of monasticism* (*Tr.* II, 1, 36), without its being, however, disassociated from the sacramental order (*Ch.* 57).

Once this whole was agreed upon (Kern, Meyendorff,

Mantzarides, etc.), the cardinal sign of Palamitism still remains its dogmatics. How can transcendence and communion* be reconciled? While the anti-Palamites insisted on interpreting it as “ditheism,” the simultaneous distinction and unity of the *ousia* and the *energeia* in God helped Gregory Palamas to found a theory of deification. The final aim of the Christian experience*, the vision of God (“immediate, supra-intellectual, transfiguring”), implies that “grace*, which comes from the eternal Father*,” is “uncreated” (*T. Hag.*, PG 150, 1225 s). The distinction between essence and energy corresponds to this implication. In fact it describes how, “without abandoning its non-manifestation,” essence manifests itself as an energy—Gregory Palamas also speaks of the “energies,” using a plural which does not connote any division—which is inseparable from it, “radiance,” divine glory*, and splendor, which reveals and imparts trinitarian life through the power of the Holy* Spirit (*see* omnipotence*; *T. de 1341*, PG 150, 680 B). Palamitism thus portrays itself as a development of the ecumenical councils: there must be added to the communion *kat’ousian* of the Trinity* (one nature, three hypostases) and to the communion *kath’hupostasias* of the Word* incarnate (one hypostasis, two natures), the communion *kat’energeias*, which makes it possible for “myriads” of human hypostases to become participants, through grace, in the unique divinity (*T. de 1351*, PG 151, 448B). The distinction, therefore, uncovers a mystery* that its antinomic structure reveals as such; it does not depend on our intellectual grasp of this mystery but is “real” (Vl. Lossky).

c) *Theological Views.* In outline, the construction is opposed to the Latin and Scholastic* theory of the Beatific Vision* of the divine essence, which is based on divine simplicity and on a mediate, deliberate conception of participation. Its contradictory canonization by Orthodoxy* and Catholicism* explains the contemporary debate. For J. Meyendorff, Gregory Palamas has perfected the patristic and conciliar heritage, against the secularizing tide that heralds the Renaissance and the Reformation, by correcting its Platonizing excesses along biblical and personalist lines. Palamitism, which is impossible to compress into a system, is then viewed as the apophatic expression of a mystical existentialism. Accepted by the Orthodox world (with the exception of Romanides), this thesis justifies the Palamite character of contemporary research devoted to ontotheological criticism (Yannaras), to the metaphysics of the person* (Clément), and to the phenomenology of ecclesiality (Zizioulas) or of the Holy Spirit (Bobrinskoy). It has received a mixed reception in the Catholic world. There have been, on the one hand, widespread refutations: it was the opposite of his intention that

Palamitism, which arose from a purely Byzantine dispute (Beck), should crystallize a mistaken reading of Greek tradition to the point of freeing from it its latent Neoplatonism, with the result of diluting its christological gain in knowledge into an essentialism that leaves place only for a degraded participation to divinity (Ivánka 1964). In this case it therefore becomes necessary to differentiate genuine Palamitism from Neopalamitism, the latter representing a disguised return to Maximus* the Confessor, nonetheless cut off at its roots from its evolution toward Thomist intentionality (Le Guillou 1974). Elsewhere one meets attempts at reconciliation: recognition of the interpretive legitimacy of Gregory Palamas would make possible the acceptance of a “theological pluriformity at the center of a unity of faith* and beyond all dogmatic exclusivism,” and Palamitism could contribute to the solution of certain problems within the Latin Tradition (de Halleux 1973). In fact, the debate on sources—“Palamitism before Gregory Palamas”—seems to have run its course, and the most impartial commentators agree that there can be identified in the structure of thought and the conceptual elaborations of the Cappadocian Fathers (de Halleux 1975), of Pseudo-Dionysius* (Kühlmann), and of Maximus (Thunberg), prefigurations or models inherent in the Palamite distinction. Another fact: the reform of the Augustino-Thomist inheritance proposed by K. Rahner*, and at its heart the revision of the debate on nature* and grace, seems to be in harmony with Palamite preoccupations and feelings. A more realistic and optimistic understanding of salvation would imply the notion of uncreated grace. Is that sufficient to permit the passing over of the fundamental opposition of both the eastern and western hermeneutic circles?

From this viewpoint, the Palamite pneumatology of *Eros* (Lison 1994) seems essential. How is the eternal existence of the Holy Spirit with the manifestation of its gifts articulated within the divine plan? For Gregory Palamas, divinization is the coming of the Kingdom*, already received here below by adoption. Now, the Church is not the Kingdom but its icon: the personal dimension of sainthood (*see* cult* of saints) thus remains irreducible. Thus there would be, according to a theory sketched by Vl. Lossky but subsequently neglected by Orthodox theology, a “double divine plan,” one but distinct, for the Son and the Spirit. There, it seems, lies the key to future research.

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JEAN-FRANÇOIS COLOSIMO

See also Ecumenicism; Fathers of the Church; Hesychasm; Spiritual Theology; Thomism; Vision, Beatific

Gregory the Great

c. 540–604

1. Life

Gregory I was born into the senatorial class and was Prefect of Rome in 573. He became a monk in 574, and the pope’s legate (*apocrisarius*) in Constantinople around 578. On his return to Rome, around 585, he became an abbot, and then pope* in 590. He concentrated as pope both upon the pastoral duties of his mission and upon the development of a theology of episcopal ministry*.

(a) Gregory was a significant figure in the process by which the Bishop of Rome came to claim and establish a hegemony among the ancient patriarchates*. By Gregory’s time, the papacy, which had always been more autonomous, had largely taken over the running of Rome*; this gave it a temporal authority that was to be important to its subsequent development in the long-running struggle between church* and state during the Middle Ages.

(b) As an abbot, Gregory seems to have preached on the First Book of Kings, the Prophets, Proverbs, and the Song of Songs. In around 591, he completed the *Moralia in Job*, probably the most widely read of his works in the Middle Ages. In the same period, he

worked on the *Regula Pastoralis*. In 591, ill and unable to preach, he composed sermons on the Gospels*. While the Lombards were besieging Rome, he gave his *Homilies on Ezekiel*, which he later published in two books (601). Some have doubted the authenticity of his *Dialogues* (593–94), which contain, most notably, a life of St. Benedict and accounts of miracles*, and they seem rather to represent Gregory’s attempt at a different literary genre, akin to the lives of the desert fathers. A substantial body of letters survives.

2. Theology

Gregory was not an original thinker. His achievement was to present much of the body of Augustine*’s thought for a popular audience and to integrate something of the spirituality of the eastern tradition in a balanced presentation of Christian life. He worked for the most part through the exposition of scripture, tracing imagery and drawing out meanings whose vividness gave them wide currency throughout the Middle Ages.

(a) For Gregory, preaching* was the means by which a bishop* properly fulfills his function of guardianship and maintenance of the faith*. He was largely responsible for the model of the four senses of scripture* that

scholars used in the West until the 16th century: a literal or historical sense, an allegorical sense, an anagogic sense (prophesying eternal life*), and a tropological or moral sense.

(b) Gregory saw the Eucharist* as a manifestation of a harmony in the universe. It is a mediation between the human and the divine, a healing of all divisions. In the Eucharist, the saints are already united with God in this life. Christ* is offered as victim (*hostia*) and sacrifice* (a thesis stressed by Gregory, and an important contribution) in a humility and obedience that is the pattern for all Christians. The Eucharist's effectiveness depends upon participation in Christ's body, which means that Christians must not only practice contemplation*, but also seek to serve their neighbors. Finally, the Eucharist is able to benefit souls after death*.

Gregory himself constantly felt the existence of a tension between contemplation and action, and linked it to the bipolarity of the "inward" (the spiritual) and the "outward" (the bodily). Outwardly, all is distress, change, and decay. Inwardly, there is peace and tranquility, the foretaste of a Heaven that Platonists as well as Christians could long for. The late antique preoccupation with the dichotomy of body and soul* is developed by Gregory with a new richness of imagery. His emphasis on illumination is also typically Platonist in style, but for Gregory it is the divine light of grace* that shows us what we could not otherwise see in our sinful blindness.

(c) Gregory's use of biblical imagery in speaking of Christ has exerted a major influence on Christian language. Christ, the Church's Bridegroom, is the model for the intimacy that ought to exist between Christ and the soul. Christ is the gateway by which Christians come into the presence of God. Preachers imitate Christ in this. The church itself is the gateway between this world and the next. Christ's headship of the church is a paradigm for the bishop's authority*. Christ is also the Judge who weighs men's merits with both justice* and loving kindness.

3. Posterity

The *Regula Pastoralis* was to influence the medieval conception of the role of a bishop. Bernard* of Clairvaux used it in writing the *De Consideratione* for Eugenius III, and it thus affected theories of papal supremacy in the later Middle Ages.

The *Dialogues* were important in the success of Benedictine monasticism*, which provided the Rule by which western monks were to live at least until the 12th century. Gregory also advised Augustine of Canterbury, whom he had sent as his missionary to Great Britain, to make a sensible selection from all the existing rites so as to construct an appropriate rite for the new Christians of the island. A number of practices in the liturgy of the West, for example the use of the Lord's Prayer at the end of the Eucharistic prayer, seem to be indebted to Gregory's guidance. The *Gregorian Sacramentary* that was sent by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne around 790, and was thereafter circulated widely in the Frankish empire, goes back to Gregory's pontificate.

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GILLIAN R. EVANS

See also **Holiness; Mass, Sacrifice of the; Platonism**

Groote, Gerard. See *Devotio Moderna*

H

Hadewijch of Antwerp. *See Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism*

Happiness. *See Beatitude; Supernatural*

Hardening

a) Old Testament and Judaism. The terminology is very rich: hardness, rigidity (*châzaq, qâshâh*; Gr. *sklêrunô, sklêros*; *pôroô, pôrôsis*, sometimes synonymous with “blindness”); heaviness (*kâbéd*, Gr. *barunô, bareô*); stoutness, impermeability (*shâmén*, Gr. *pachunô*); deafness, blindness (often paired: Dt 29:3; Is 6:10, 42:18ff.; Jer 5:21); giddiness (Dt 28:28), vertigo (Is 19:14); torpor (Is 29:10); drunkenness (Ps 60:5); delirium (Dt 28:28; Zec 12:4); and so on. The eyes and ears are affected, but above all the heart, in the Semitic sense, as the center of conscious life. It is the most serious consequence to which sin* can lead: a spiritual condition in which an individual not only does not want to convert himself or herself, but is no

longer able to do so (Jer 13:23). The good*, the path of salvation*, the voice of God* is not merely refused: it is no longer perceived.

The agent of this hardening is occasionally specified. Sometimes it is man himself, as in the case of Pharaoh (Ex 7:13, 14, 8:15, 9:35; Dt 29:18; Ps 95:8; Jer 7:24, 9:13, 11:8; Zec 7:11f.). However, the originator is often YHWH, who may bring it about for the purpose of punishment (1 Sm 2:25; 1 Kgs 12:15), but also of salvation (Ex 4:1, 7:3, 22, 9:12, 10:1, 20, 27; 14:4, 8, 17).

In later writings there appears a tendency on the one hand to eliminate this mode of expression (for example, the modifications of the Septuagint in Is 6:9f.) and,

on the other hand, to accentuate it by coming close to a dualist and predestinarian vocabulary. What is involved, however, is more than an imperfection of thought and language, a sensibility less attuned to distinguishing between consequence and finality, between “permitting” and “wishing,” or between the “first cause” and the “second cause.” Beyond all these psychological or linguistic considerations, necessary as they may be, remains a more strictly theological content, indispensable and linked to the deepest core of the faith* of Israel*, to the biblical understanding of God and humanity.

By underlining the seriousness of the situation brought about by sin and the impossibility of curing or remedying it by human agency, the concept of hardening opened the way to a deeper understanding of salvation as grace*, as a gift of God (Ps 51:12; Is 63:17; Jer 31:18) and an eschatological event. One day, the incurable obstinacy of the human heart will be vanquished, in Israel as in the nations (Jer 3:17): God will remove the heart of stone and provide a new heart (Ez 11:19, 36:26f., 39:29; Jer 24:7, 31:33, 32:39; Dt 30:6), and eyes and ears capable of hearing (Is 32:3; Bar 2:31).

b) New Testament. More than to pagans or to unbelievers and sinners in general (Eph 4:18; 2 Cor 4:3f.; Heb 3:8, 15; 4:7), the theme of hardening is applied to Israel’s unbelief. By linking it above all with Isaiah 6:9ff., this most mysterious and shocking fact is explained, at least in part. We are faced both with an apologetic argument (even in the fact of being rejected, Jesus* fulfilled the Scriptures*!) and, perhaps more important, with a theological interpretation. The situation in question had already been permitted by God himself in the past. If it comes to pass both now in the

face of Christian preaching* (Rom 9:18, 11:7; 2 Cor 3:14f.; Acts 28:26f.), and already in Jesus’ time in response to his own person (Mk 4:11f.; Jn 12:40), then it heightens God’s mystery*.

Blindness, however, is in no way equivalent to a curse or a definitive rejection. Far from expressing an “anti-Judaic” attitude, this theological theme presupposes Israel’s irreversible choice* as an actual race* and the certainty of its full participation in eschatological salvation (Rom 11:25–32; also 2 Cor 3:14ff.; and probably also Mk 4:21–25; Mt 23:39; Lk 13:35; 21:24).

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VITTORIO FUSCO

See also **Conversion; Heart of Christ; Mercy; Wrath of God**

Harnack, Adolf von. *See* **Hellenization of Christianity; Liberalism**

Healing

The Hebrew *râfâ* (“to heal”) is linked to *rôfê* (“doctor”). The Greek *Rhaphaël*, in Tobit, directly transcribes the Hebrew: “God* heals.” To heal is also very simply “to live” or “make live” (Gn 20:7 and 2 Kgs 8:8). The Greek books use *therapeuô* or *iaomai* for “to heal,” and only *iatros* for doctor. The neuter *iama* (1 Cor 12) is reserved for the charisma of healing.

Healing, in literal sense, designates deliverance from physical evil*; in the figurative sense, it means deliverance from moral evil, relief from pain. While a contemporary Westerner is used to making the distinction between the two, the Scriptures* tell stories in which the literal and figurative senses intertwine. Sickness and sin* intersect, for the human body can be adequately treated only at the crossing of the two planes. The concept of healing cannot be separated from the notion of salvation*, nor from the notion of purification. The request for salvation from a patient can just as well be a request for organic remedies as a call for the words of the therapist.

The Old Testament records healings obtained through a man of God’s prayer* or by his actions. To be noted are (1) the talking presence of an intermediary; (2) the sick person’s effort to revisit in words his or her suffering (Ps; Is 38:10—“I said”); and (3) the insertion within the symbols of communal living. In the New Testament, healing becomes a privileged place in which the figure of Jesus is revealed as Christ* and Savior. The narratives of healing and discourses of teaching are so closely related that teaching-healing can be considered a key pair in interpreting them.

1. Doctors, Remedies, the Sick

a) Medicine. Job links doctors and charlatans (Jb 13:4). Tobit says that the physicians could not help his blindness (Tb 2:10), but that the angel would recommend a remedy. As opposed to the major literary works of ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia, the Old Testament attaches little importance to medicine. Ben Sirach judges it with moderation (Sir 38:1–14). A few remedies are mentioned (Is 1:6): the gall of the fish for Tobit’s eyes (Tb 6:4f., 11:8, 11:12), a cake of figs for boils (2 Kgs 20:7), the leech, the use of healing herbs (Sir 38:4 and Wis 7:20). Wisdom of Solomon knows and uses the medical notions from the Greek world.

The New Testament mentions wine and oil (Lk 10:34), and Jesus uses his spit (Mk 7:33, 8:23; Jn 9:6) and touch (Mt 8:15; Lk 22:51). Most often, healing occurs during a verbal exchange with patients.

b) Places to Be Healed. Sickness, often contagious or considered as such, is considered a social plague, such as leprosy. It leads to exclusion, therefore healing requires control: the sick person presumed to be healed has to go and be examined by competent authorities—priests and Levites. The descriptions of procedures and prescriptions play an important role in the Torah (Lv 13f.). In the Gospels*, when Jesus heals the lepers, he subjects his patients to this law and sends them to priests (Lk 17:14).

c) Healers. Healing comes from God alone. The prophets* obtain it from him. Thus Elijah (1 Kgs 17:17–24), Elisha (2 Kgs 5), and—a typical case—Isaiah (2 Kgs 20:1–11; Is 38). The narratives focus on what the sick person and the one from whom he requests help have in common: there is no healing without true words. Jesus places healing within the creative work that gathered all people in a single, unique humanity. Upon YHWH’s order (Gn 20:7), the pagan king Abimelech receives Abraham’s intercession (he is then called “prophet”) and is healed.

This request for the fulfillment of the creative work is carried out in prayer (mediators: Ps 35:13f.). The psalms*, in which most hardships are expressed through repercussions in the body, address the complaints of the suffering to God, who saves the innocent and sinners alike. The wounded man who exposed himself before God discovers cultural and social proximity in praise*.

2. Christological Dimension of Healing

In the desert, the people were healed from snake bites (punishment for revolt) by looking at a bronze snake that Moses placed on a pole (Nm 21:6–9). The typology of John 3:14f. sees Jesus’ cross in the episode. Healing is henceforth perceived in unique connection to Jesus’ body. The journey includes the presentation of the Lord as “I am the Lord, your healer” (Ex 15:26); it includes the vision of the Savior as both “lifted up” (Is 52:13; Jn 8:8, 12:40) and “healing” (53:6) blind eyes (Is 6:10 and Mt 13:15). The sick are healed by Je-

sus through his body and toward his body. They enter the world of the living, of the talking and seeing. After Pentecost, the lame man at the Beautiful Gate (Acts 3:1–16), after being taken “by the right hand” by Peter*, “clung to Peter and John.” The place given in this story to the “name*” of Jesus (Acts 3:6, 16) suggests that we should understand healing as transplants onto the body of those named by Jesus Christ.

From the perspective of the healing stories, the body seems to be the manifestation of the intangible and problematic encounter between word and flesh*, thus suggesting the work to be done and the risks to overcome when it involves taking care of what is and continues to be the suffering in every man.

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CÉCILE TURIOT

See also Anthropology; Faith; Flesh; Jesus, Historical; Miracle; Name; Psalms; Purity/Impurity; Sacrament; Salvation; Sin; Soul-Heart-Body

Heart. *See* Soul-Heart-Body

Heart of Christ

The heart was long considered the origin or seat of the feelings, in particular, of love*, before it became its permanent symbol. This metonymy and later this metaphor, which have exploited a great number of phrases from Scripture, have been used in extremely variable ways, which range from the most dolorous sentimentalism to the most decided voluntarism*, and from the most rhetorical piety to the most precise conceptuality. The ancient veneration of the wound in Christ's side (Jn 19:34) was very quickly reinterpreted as a prehistory of the devotion to the heart of Christ* or the heart of Jesus* via medieval meditation on the Song of Songs and on John 13:23–25 (John leaning

against the bosom and the breast of Jesus) and John 19:37 (the piercing by the lance exhibits the “inner” Jesus, his “bowels of mercy*,” according to Bernard* of Clairvaux), and the veneration of the crucifix in the *devotio* moderna*. In the 17th century, the devotion to the five wounds of Christ (Father Joseph de la Tremblaye, 1577–1638) and the devotion to his heart took separate paths. The common reference to the heart acquired a mass of voluntarist and affective meanings, being used first to refer to Mary* and then also to Jesus; these meanings communicated a renewed piety, in which the classical theology* of redemption was mixed with the idea of a duty of reparation. From that

time onward, the devotion to the Sacred Heart, the carnal heart of Jesus wounded for our sins*, would consist in giving special honor to the love of Jesus Christ for mankind.

a) *Heart and the States of Jesus.* For the most part we owe the theology of the heart of Jesus to John Eudes (1601–80), an Oratorian (1623–43) very close to Father de Condren and later a founder of the Congregation of Jesus and Mary (the Eudists). In his *Le Cœur admirable de la très sainte Mère de Dieu* of 1681, John Eudes recognized eight principal meanings in the “heart”: 1) the “corporeal and material heart,” which 2) symbolizes memory or 3) “means the understanding by which holy meditation occurs”; 4) in the soul*, free will, and particularly 5) “the point in the spirit where contemplation* occurs”; 6) “the whole inner part of man”; 7) the Holy Spirit, “which is the heart of the Father* and of the Son”; and 8) the Son of God*, “called the heart of the eternal Father,” but also “the soul of our soul, the heart of our heart.” John Eudes does not suggest choosing between these meanings but rather their organization into a sequence that continually proceeds to an ever greater interiority, toward “the interior of Jesus.” H. Bremond saw in this taxonomy an oscillation between the heart-as-person*—inherited from Bérulle*, and which would be found again in Pascal*—and the heart-as-love, preached by Bernardine of Siena, and which would reveal itself to Margaret Mary Alacoque. However, the two meanings merge in the connotation of a hypostasized love. In the Man-God himself there are three hearts: the divine one, the spiritual one, and the corporeal one. The first is the indissoluble expression of the Son’s love for the Father, of the Word’s love for humankind. The second is Christ’s will to love what is lovable, to hate what is hateful (the identification of the heart and the will is characteristic of 17th-century voluntarism). The third is that “muscle” that the Jansenists (Jansenism*) scoffed at as the center of a spirituality. In fact, the whole of the Eudist typology is governed by his re-adoption of one of Bérulle’s theories: that of the “states” (feelings or states of mind of Jesus) as it appears in the 1623 treatise *De l’état et des grandeurs de Jésus*, in which the proper role of the Word is always referred back to the Father (whence its theocentrism). The heart, synonym of the *interior* in John Eudes as in Jean-Jacques Olier (1608–57; *Catéchisme chrétien pour la vie intérieure* [1656]), transposes Bérulle’s “state” into a less metaphysical piety, but one where we can still find all of Bérulle’s most characteristic theses, such as that of the incarnate Word’s fatherhood toward Christians—Jesus “father of hearts,” or again, “a supplement for our duties” (Olier)—ideas that make it

possible to conceptualize Christ’s mediating function (*La vie et le royaume de Jésus dans les âmes chrétiennes*, Caen, 1637). That is why the mysteries* of the faith*, in particular those that Bérulle examined—the Incarnation* and the Redemption, but also and above all the Trinity*—can be meditated on through the heart of Jesus. In this way, while creating an original work, John Eudes provided solid doctrinal foundations for devotion to the heart of Jesus.

b) *Cult of the Sacred Heart and Its Doctrinal Acknowledgment.* With Margaret Mary Alacoque (1648–90) the Trinitarian meditation dissipated to make way for a meditation on Jesus’ love of humankind. Especially associated with this was the idea of a misunderstanding of, or contempt for, Jesus’ love, which no longer required from the faithful a supportive solidarity, but an act of reparatory love—theocentrism thus became a preoccupation with reciprocity. In June 1675, this Visitationist sister from Paray-le-Monial received a vision of Jesus, who, “uncovering his heart” to her (that Jesus should *show* himself is an essential component of this spirituality), said: “Here is this heart which has loved mankind so much that it spared itself nothing, Even to the point of exhausting itself and pining away in order to show them this love, and by way of gratitude in return I receive from most of them only ingratitude.”

Supported by her confessor, the Jesuit priest Claude de la Colombière, Margaret Mary circulated images abroad, asking for holy hours of reparation, and that people dedicate themselves to the heart of Jesus.

There is, however, an undeniable doctrinal continuity between the Feast of Jesus instituted by Bérulle in the Oratory in 1625 (or that of the “*Vie intérieure de Notre-Seigneur*” instituted at Saint-Sulpice by M. Olier) and that of the Sacred Heart inaugurated at Caen in 1678 by John Eudes (after the first celebration of the liturgy* of the heart of Mary in Autun in 1648); and still later, with that of the hearts of Jesus and Mary (John Eudes spoke “of the heart of Jesus and Mary,” in this way re-instituting for Mary the Pauline ideal of life in Christ), which was authorized by a certain number of bishops* from 1672 onward; and with the Mass and Office of the heart of Jesus (in the litanies of which are found the multiplicity of meanings of “heart” and its Trinitarian core), which were conceded by the Congregation of Rites in 1765 after some reticence, refusals, and all kinds of pressure. Particular mention must be made here of the 18th-century Jansenists’ opposition to this cult* of the “muscle,” subscribed to by the “*Cordicolae*” (Scipion de Ricci, 1741–1809), an opposition that contrasted with the opinion of their elders at Port-Royal. And so the cult became public. The pastoral importance in the 19th century of a devotion to the heart of Jesus in which the as-

pect of redress or of reparation continued to grow should not be underestimated. Its voluntarist affectivity was a corrective to sentimentalism.

On 25 May 1899, Leo XIII's encyclical, *Annum sacrum*, dedicated the human race to the heart of Jesus, in this way inviting the unbaptized to baptism*, that is, to a recognition of what the heart of Jesus had won for them. By the bull *Miserentissimus Redemptor* (8 May 1928) Pius XI emphasized the obligation of adding man's subjective reparation to Christ to Christ's objective reparation of humanity. Finally, in *Haurietis aquas* (15 May 1956) Pius XII gave a specific definition of the nature of the cult: the heart of Jesus, pierced by the transfixion of the side, "so that through the visible wound we may behold the invisible wound of love" (a phrase attributed to Bonaventure*), is the "natural sign and symbol of his boundless love for the human race." Moreover, this encyclical settled a disputed question—can uncreated love form part of the proper objective of the heart of Jesus?—by specifying that this cult can elevate us to "the adoration of the *divine* love of the Word incarnate." The encyclical also uses the expression "eucharistic heart." Among the rare contemporary attempts that have been made to plumb the mystery of the heart of Jesus must be mentioned that of H. U. von Balthasar*, who gives it a cosmological dimension in *Das Herz der Welt* (Zürich, 1945).

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VINCENT CARRAUD

See also Bérulle, Pierre de; Love; Mercy; Passion; Penance; Quietism; Soul-Heart-Body; Voluntarism

Heaven. *See Kingdom of God; Life, Eternal; Vision, Beatific*

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich

1770–1831

a) Life and Work. George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born in Stuttgart on 27 August 1770. After studying philosophy* and theology* at the Stift in Tübingen (1788–93), where his friends included F. Hölderlin (1770–1843) and Schelling*, he became interested, among other things, in Kant* and the ideals of the French Revolution. He gave up his intention of becoming a pastor and became a tutor in Bern and Frankfurt (1793–1800). At the time he wrote a number of minor works on religious problems. While he was a teacher in Jena (1801–07) he published *The Difference between the Systems of Fichte and Schelling* (1801) and also collaborated with Schelling on the *Critical Journal of Philosophy*, but broke with him at the time of publication of the *Phenomenology of Mind* (1807). While he was director of the gymnasium at Nuremberg, he published *The Science of Logic* (1812–16). After a short stay in Heidelberg (1816–18), where he refined his philosophical system (*Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, 1817), he finally became a professor at the University of Berlin. In 1821 *The Principles of the Philosophy of the Law* was published, and in 1822 he wrote a preface for a book on religion and science by H.F. Hinrichs. The book opposed Schleiermacher*. He died on 14 November 1831. His courses on the philosophy of religion*, on the philosophy of history*, on aesthetics and the history of philosophy would be the subject of a posthumous publication (Rosenkranz 1844).

b) Early Theological Writings. In his early work notes, Hegel envisaged the idea of a subjective, not positive, religion, which would reply to the demands of practical reason* yet would nourish sensibility (GW 1, 75–164), and to him it seemed essential for humanity to transform “fetish-faith” in order to bring it closer to rational religion. Rational religion opposed itself to an objective religion that was expressed more through a theological knowledge than through moral action. Hegel then asked himself about the possibility of creating a people’s religion that, through its art and its festivals, would encourage the spontaneous display of fine moral sentiments and privilege the spirit over the letter. Indeed, the French Revolution already represented for him the victory of the living spirit of a people over

its dead institutions (Legros 1980). *The Life of Jesus*, written in Bern and inspired by Kant, saw in Jesus* only the preacher of a religion that was purely moral and that issued entirely from practical reason (GW 1, 205–78). This book understood the birth of Christianity as resulting from a re-Judaization of the Gospel (Peperzak 1969). As for the *Positivity of the Christian Religion* (GW 1, 281–378), the text saw in Jesus’ own religion a tendency, accentuated by the sectarian spirit of the apostles*, toward a religion of external authority* (Legros 1987).

After the so-called Bern period, with its exegesis* strongly inspired by Kant, there followed a more “mystical” perspective (Bourgeois 1970) during Hegel’s stay in Frankfurt. And so we find *The Spirit of Christianity and Its Fate* dominated by notions of life and of love* (Nohl 1907). Life, as an originary unity, tears itself apart and grows hostile toward itself, but it overcomes this split through a reconciliation with itself. Love is then conceived as the feeling of life being rediscovered; destiny is reconciled (Haering 1929). Faith in Jesus, who reconciled everything in love, presupposes a unity of spirit, that is, a presence of the divine in the believers themselves (Nohl; Leonard 1970). But such a presence remained imperfect in the first disciples. They clung to the Risen One rather than recognizing the Spirit that was calling them from within (Nohl). An understanding of this type of Christian religion in terms of life and spirit prefigured the notion of dialectics as a unity that embraces all splits by suppressing them (Marsch 1965; Brito 1983).

c) Writings from Jena. In *Faith and Knowledge* (1802), Hegel considers the phrase “God is dead” to be the expression of the culture of his era, as “the feeling on which the religion of the new era is based” (GW 4, 315–414; Link 1974). Hegel’s point is not to justify atheism* but to go beyond it by conceiving this death* as the event of God*’s self-negation: God does not want to remain “in himself,” or abandon the world* to its finitude (Brunkhorst and Hasenclever 1976; Brito 1986).

The Phenomenology of Spirit is a treatise on the progress of consciousness from its first immediate opposition between it and the object to absolute knowl-

edge. The seemingly chaotic wealth of phenomena of the spirit was laid out here according to a necessary order. In this order, imperfect phenomena dissolve progressively and turn into superior phenomena that constitute their closest truth* (Heinrich 1974). They eventually find their closest truth in religion (GW 9, 363–421) and finally in the knowledge of the absolute, which is the result of full comprehension of all these phenomena. Until consciousness arrives at an adequation with the system of “essences” it does not correspond exactly to its concept, and it is precisely this discrepancy between what it is in itself and what it is for itself that drives it forward. At the end of this process, religion reveals the absolute concept, but only in its relation to consciousness, that is, as a phenomenon.

Three stages scan this phenomenological development. In natural religion, the spirit perceives itself in an immediate manner (GW 9, 369–75); in the Greek religion of art, it knows itself in the figure of suppressed naturality or of the self (GW 9, 376–99); while in the context of a Christianity perceived as a revealed religion, the spirit takes the form of the unity of consciousness with self-awareness (GW 9, 400–421). The subjective for-itself of the unhappy consciousness and the substantial in-itself of faith are united and accomplished in a double Christian alienation-projection (*Entäusserung*). Substance, or God, removes itself from its abstraction by taking incarnation in the consciousness of a self, while the consciousness of self externalizes itself in a universal essence (GW 9, 403). *Phenomenology* articulates the stages of Christian spiritual content: the pure Trinitarian essence, the evolution of essence (creation*, fall, reconciliation), and community (Guibal 1975).

d) *Encyclopedic System*. The *Encyclopedia* laid out Hegel’s system in its definitive structure: logic, philosophy of nature, philosophy of spirit. Taking up again the essential points of logic, the first stage establishes an identity between the laws of thought and those of being*, in the sense where the movement of being leads to the realization of the concept. Dialectics takes a ternary course here: being (immediacy), essence (reflection), concept (liberty*). Following a certain neo-Platonic and Christian tradition, Hegel compares the Idea-Logos (Word*) with the eternal essence of God before the creation of nature and of a finite mind (Bruaire 1965; Lakebrink 1968). But logic already contains the seeds of the two other stages of philosophy. Indeed, since it is identical to itself, thought is a return to itself from a being other than oneself. It is the negation of its own differentiation. The distance from self to self implied by this identification *with* oneself constitutes the idea as nature, and in this way founds

the philosophy of nature as a science of the idea in its particularity (GW 20, 235–375). As for the act of identification with oneself, it constitutes the idea as spirit and founds the philosophy of spirit as a science of the idea in its singularity (GW 20, 379–572).

The different moments of the subjective spirit (soul*, consciousness, consciousness of self, and reason, theoretical and practical spirit) are like a series of way stations along the path through which the spirit rids itself of the contradiction of its natural immediacy and manages to become aware of its own concept, freedom. In the second stage of its liberation, that of the objective spirit (law, morality, family*, society*, state, history), spirit appears bearing the features of a world it produces as such. Liberated from any dependency with regard to the nature from which it emerged as a subjective spirit and of which it was a part as an objective spirit, the concept of the spirit finally has, as an absolute spirit, its reality in the Spirit. Art, religion, and philosophy represent the moments when the identity of absolute spirit with its concept is affirmed. As philosophy progressively frees itself from the formal unilaterality of art and religion, it raises them to the absolute form of the thinking idea. Since it is for itself a relation of self to self, absolute spirit is, globally, religion (Theunissen 1970), but its perfect form does not appear until the end, in philosophy. Philosophy, placing itself above the figure of faith, thus dominates religion understood in a restricted sense (GW 20, 555–69).

e) *Philosophy of Religion*. The *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion* (GW 17) have justly been considered Hegel’s “theological *summum*” (Küng 1970). It is true that they do take up the principal points of Christian dogmatics*; focusing on the intelligence of faith, they concur with theological perspectives and are able to connect with a conception of theology as a science subordinate to the knowledge* of God by God. However, far from limiting itself to considering God as essence, Hegel’s philosophy of religion knows only the God-Spirit that is only for the spirit and thus distinguishes itself from traditional natural* theology.

Hegel articulates the concept of religion, and thus the structure of his *Lectures*, in three stages: objective determination, the subjective dimension of consciousness, and the reconciliation of these two aspects in the Christian cult* (GW 17, 33ff.). Thus the givens of representation are closely akin to the speculative definition of religion as a knowledge of self peculiar to absolute spirit (Jaeschke 1986). Hegel points out that the content of religion and that of philosophy are “the same,” that is, “God and his explanation.” But the absolute content that religion seeks to represent must be elevated by philosophy to the form of thought by seizing its ideality.

In the first of its three parts this work details “the concept of religion,” the logical germ that virtually exhausts the religious possibilities of humanity. Going on in the second part to describe the different stages of religion (being, essence, concept) in its objective being, Hegel follows the development of “determined” or finite religion, a religion that has not yet attained the fullness of the idea (religions of nature, of spiritual individuality, of finality). Finally, he presents absolute religion (Christianity) in which the concept of religion, completely objectified for itself, is revealed as spirit.

Expounding on each of these religions according to the same rhythm (metaphysical concept, concrete representation, cult), Hegel sees the concept of absolute religion in the God who gives himself objectivity and who is thus the absolute idea. The Christian God can thus determine himself metaphysically by means of the ontological proof that, although inadequate in language, leads from the concept of God to his being (proofs of the existence* of God; Ogiermann 1948). The concrete representation of the Christian religion is deployed in three spheres. The first, in the element of thought, considers the Trinitarian God in his eternal essence within himself, in the form of universality. The second, in the element of representation in the strict sense of the term, considers creation, the conservation of the finite world, and the natural particularity as a phenomenon of the Idea. The third, in the element of intuitive effectivity, presents the Christian history of salvation* (original sin*, the Incarnation*, and the Redemption) as the accomplished objectivity of the divine history of the spirit in its absolute singularity. The transition to the Christian cult indicates not only the passage from the one to the many, but also that of the objective representation of God in a human form to the region of the subjective immanence of the spiritual community. After the general determination (the Spirit of Christ*) and the objective reality of the community (faith and worship, the Eucharist*) the *Lectures* describe its spiritual disappearance: the church* finds its fulfillment beyond itself, in the eternal presence of philosophy (Fackenheim 1967; Schlitt 1990).

f) Structure of Theology. According to Hegel one can only conceptualize Christian revelation* by making use of the plurality of intentionalities of religious consciousness: to the varying dimensions of religious conscience correspond different levels of theological language* (Bodamer 1969).

- 1) To the level of representative consciousness corresponds the point of view of “dogmatics” from the *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*. This dogmatics begins with the logical concept of the

Christian God, then goes on to discuss the naturally objectifying representation of the history of salvation, and concludes with the passage to the spiritual realm (Kingdom* of God) of the community and of the cult. This “positive* theology” is articulated according to a successive order of traditional representation and grants a large place to the language of historical effectivity.

- 2) The level of consciousness of self determines the theological perspective peculiar to the *Phenomenology*. In accordance with the global movement by means of which the phenomenological procedure detaches itself from immediate consciousness in order to arrive in the logical element, this “ascetic theology” (asceticism*) discerns, in the representation of the consciousness of self, the spiritual location where revealed religion relinquishes naturality and accedes to the rationality of absolute knowledge.
- 3) Reason finds itself within its own mode in the theology of the *Encyclopedia*. The universality of the truth appears there neither in an archeology of the concept of the Christian religion (*see* the *Lectures*), nor as a finalizing eschatology* of science (*Phenomenology*), but as the very element of the discourse (Chapelle 1971). Revealed truth is then seen to be the absolute mediation of the Spirit, which, by assuming the natural objectivity of historical representation and by reflecting the subjective demands of consciousness, systematically articulates therein its eternal life* (GW 20, 549ff.).

g) Dogmatic Content of Hegel's Thought. Hegel does not reduce divine attributes* to representations of abstract reflection, and he refutes all agnosticism* that thrusts the infinite* into a beyond that cannot be approached by speech (Brito 1991). Instead of dissociating metaphysical predication from concrete truth, as nominalism* does, Hegel conceives of the doctrine of divine names* as the speculative apprehension of the free deployment of the historical revelation of God. The Trinity*, the Creation, and biblical history are thus understood as correlative moments of the same process of revelation.

Hegel means to speak of the Trinity itself (Splett 1965), in its pure eternity*, but he thinks of it dialectically, that is, in terms of its historical involvement in the missions of the Son and of the Spirit. Hegel's Trinitarian speculation was elaborated as the deployment of lack with which the primary penury of the abstract universal and the native poverty of determined difference efface each other, in the final assent of the Spirit to its necessary division and its free reconciliation (Chapelle 1967).

As for the representation of the *ex nihilo*, it is not, according to Hegel, indispensable to Christian theology: the absolute Idea in fact posits everything on the basis of itself (Brito 1987). While acknowledging the originary unity of the creative Idea and created nature, Hegel absolutely distinguishes the eternal Son from the temporal world. Creation is the work of liberty, for it is the display of the Spirit; but this liberty excludes free will and implies that the Creator has exhausted his creative possibilities. Hegel also upholds the difference between possible and finite reality, but he challenges the possibility of another reality and therefore the contingency of the creative choice. In this way, pure contingency and the only possible possible [sic] are posited by creative freedom only to be denied.

Hegel reduces the representation of the Fall to the concept of natural man, torn by the contradiction between his natural immediacy and his spiritual potentiality (Ringleben 1977; Pottier 1990). In the wake of the Lutheran version of the communication of idioms* the Hegelian concept of the Incarnation dialectically articulates virtual unity and the effective union of divine and human natures. Far from preserving its own properties, each nature must deny itself in its other. Hegel does not deny that the Logos became flesh in the singularity of *one* man. But, if divinity must place itself outside of itself in renounced individual finitude, humanity reveals itself definitively absorbed in the divinity of the Logos (Brito 1983). Hegel consequently appears as a thinker of the cross: he places it at the center of his system, where all negativity and all contradictions are concentrated (Schultz 1964).

The scission of the Idea can be apprehended in the death of Christ. There, God achieves the transposition of his Trinitarian being in the effectivity of human history, in such a way that the appearance of the Kingdom in effective reality makes history the place of all reconciliations. With the "death of the death" of Christ, the immediate individual presence disappears and the intimacy of the infinite spirit bursts forth as the negative of the negative (Tilliette 1992). In such a scenario the Resurrection* is no more than the return already contained within death. As the ascent to the Father is speculatively excluded, Hegel knows no other exaltation than the elevation on the cross, which leaves the disciples in infinite sorrow. And so it is that in the renunciation of everything visible, the community discovers the life that is immanent to it. With unequalled power, Hegel envisions the Calvary of the Absolute, though without excluding from his speculative discourse the positive fullness of Easter (Brito 1983; Stähler 1928).

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EMILIO BRITO

See also Hegelianism; Kant, Immanuel; Kenosis; Kierkegaard, Soren Aabye; Marx, Karl; Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm; Passion; Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von; Sin, Original

Hegelianism

a) Division of Hegelian School. The split of the Hegelian school into a "right" of "old Hegelians" and a "left" of "young Hegelians" was produced by differences that were more political and religious than philosophical (Moog 1930; Gebhardt 1963; Serreau 1971). The distinction, which is still employed today, was first made by D.F. Strauss and then by K.L. Michelet. Among the old Hegelians (the term designated at the outset the school founded by Hegel* himself) were H.F. Hinrichs, K.F. Göschel, G.A. Gabler, and K. Daub, as well as most of those involved in the publication of Hegel's works (von Henning, Hotho, Förster, Marheineke). Also known as old Hegelians were those who, after the revolutionary period, were the true preservers of Hegelian philosophy* (Rosenkranz, Haym, Erdmann, and Fischer). K.L. Michelet occupied an intermediate position between young and old Hegelians; his long life (1801–93) made it possible for him to establish connections between original Hegelianism and the beginnings of modern neo-Hegelianism (Löwith 1941).

At first the expression "young Hegelians" merely designated the younger generation of Hegel's students. It later took on the meaning of "left Hegelians" (Löwith 1962) and encompassed the handful of revolutionary thinkers claiming inspiration from Hegel: L. Feuerbach, A. Ruge, M. Hess, M. Stirner, B. Bauer, and Marx*. For these philosophers, attracted as they were by the Hegelian principle of dialectical negation, the argument of the *Philosophy of Law* that the real is rational (interpreted in a conservative sense by the right) turned into its opposite: the rational is real.

The left Hegelians directed their efforts toward a methodical reversal of Hegel's philosophy, desiring, as it were, to liberate their teacher from himself. These efforts dealt first with his philosophical theology. D.F. Strauss (1808–74), for example, attributed to Hegel the idea of a critique of evangelical history*, a critique already contained in Hegel's philosophy insofar as it assimilated historical events to forms of representation. But the methods were different: Hegel transposed religious representation into concepts, whereas Strauss related it to myth* (Brito 1979). And this mythical interpretation led to the conclusion that humanity was the true and absolute content of Christology* (Strauss 1835–36).

Independently of "theist" objections (deism*/theism) relating to the personality of God* (see Weiß and Fichte), Hegel's philosophical theology was historically subjected to three critiques. Focusing on the problems of the immortality of the soul* and the humanity of God, all these critiques—those of L. Feuerbach, B. Bauer, and K. Marx—reduced the essence of religion to man. Beginning like Strauss from Protestant theology, Feuerbach (1804–72) set the theme of personal immortality in a Hegelian perspective: individual subjectivity, destined to surpass itself in the objectivity of reason*, implied death* (Feuerbach 1830). Indeed, this theme occupied a preponderant place in the debate over the religious content of Hegel's philosophy. For example, in the wake of Feuerbach, F. Richter stressed that personal immortality was incompatible with the Hegelian concept of absolute reason

(Richter 1833; Cornehl 1971); whereas right-wing Hegelians would attempt to demonstrate the opposite. Feuerbach himself saw Hegel's philosophy as the last refuge of theology: refusing to transform "images" into "thoughts," as Hegel had done, he wished to strip from religion its "theological essence" in order to bring it back to its anthropological truth* (anthropology*) (Feuerbach 1841). He thereby returned to the "feeling" that had been scoffed at by Hegel. By considering God as a reflection of man, Feuerbach reversed the Hegelian identification of God and man: for Hegel, in fact, the argument that the absolute was the essence of man did not mean the divinization of man, but on the contrary his relativization.

In his religious critique, A. Ruge (1802–80), for his part, started from the Hegelian "spiritualization" of Christian representations and adopted an attitude close to that of Feuerbach: at the conclusion of religious evolution, humanism was to replace Christianity. B. Bauer simulated an orthodox pietism* in order to unmask the atheism* that he claimed Hegel concealed under the exterior of a philosophical rehabilitation of dogma* (Bauer 1841). In the final analysis, according to Bauer, Hegel had set self-consciousness in the place of God.

Finally, seeing in religion nothing but the "inverted world*" engendered by real poverty, Marx recognized in the process of objectification only the absolute negativity of mind acceding to itself. Consequently, he made no distinction between *Entäusserung* (alienation) and *Entfremdung* (estrangement) of consciousness.

b) Hegelianism and Protestant Theology. K. Daub and Ph. Marheineke are typical representatives of a speculative dogmatics* of a Hegelian persuasion. Influenced first by Kant* and later by Schelling*, Daub (1765–1836), beginning in 1818, rethought his entire theology in the spirit of Hegel's philosophy. Based less on biblical evidence and confessions of faith* than on a speculative understanding of the idea of God, and centered around the Trinitarian doctrine that Daub sought to elevate from faith to knowledge by deducing its necessity, his dogmatics was unable to resist the Hegelian subordination of history to the concept (Daub 1833).

At least in its second edition, the *Dogmatik* of Marheineke is the work of an orthodox Hegelian and was recognized as such by Hegel himself. Despite its strong points (the importance it grants to the concept of revelation* and to the Trinitarian pattern), because of the identity that it posits between thought and being* it tends to abolish the difference between the divine Spirit and the human spirit. Marheineke paid more attention to Luther* than Daub, and the affinity

of his theology with Lutheran Christology has frequently been noted, particularly by Barth* (1969).

Hegel's system led F.C. Baur (1792–1860)—the founder of the new Protestant school of Tübingen—to comprehend history as the manifestation of the self-movement of the idea. Resistant to any mixture of the human and the divine, the exegete and systematizer W. Vatke (1806–82) tended to go back from Hegel to Kant. Concerned with ascending from representation to speculative concept, the *Dogmatik* of his disciple A.E. Biedermann (1819–85), however, shows Hegel's persistent influence: Biedermann, for example, does set himself apart from Hegel by denying that the infinite spirit can have a personal existence. Not wishing to restrict himself to speculation on either the objective or the subjective, the dogmatist I.A. Dorner (1809–84) attempted to associate Hegel and Schleiermacher* and thereby distinguished himself from both (Barth 1969).

c) Neo-Hegelianism. Against all expectations, Hegelianism seemed to revive in the early 20th century, particularly through the works of W. Dilthey (1833–1911) on the young Hegel (Dilthey 1925) and the publication of the early theological writings by H. Nohl (1907). In 1905 Pastor G. Lasson undertook a critical edition of Hegel's complete works. In his famous lecture of 1910, W. Windelband officially proclaimed the "renewal of Hegelianism." Hegel was first considered from the point of view of orthodox Hegelianism, even that of an affirmation of Prussian-Protestant superiority (Kroner, Glockner, Haering), then along Marxist or *marxisant* lines (Lukács, Bloch, the Frankfurt School, Marcuse).

In France, J. Hyppolite (translation of *The Phenomenology of Mind*, 1941) and A. Kojève had a strong influence on the existentialists and brought about a revival of Hegel studies (Kojève 1947). The Jesuit G. Fessard (1897–1978) was one of the groups of thinkers who participated in Kojève's famous seminar from 1934 to 1939. A philosopher of liberty* and of history, Fessard drew theologically fruitful inspiration from Hegel's dialectic. But far from advocating a "Hegelian Christianity," he demonstrated its limits, particularly by criticizing the Hegelian primacy of sign over symbol (Fessard 1990). Following Fessard, and engaging first in a debate with Hegel's logic—whose dialectical challenges and syllogistic forms he accepted—the work of the Catholic thinker C. Bruaire (1932–87) showed with increasing clarity that the Hegelian enterprise had failed to grasp the theme of superabundance, the foundation of Christian pneumatology (Bruaire 1980).

Among the theologies of the death of God that flourished in the 1960s, that of Th. Altizer (b. 1928) used

Hegel to interpret the self-negation by which God becomes Emmanuel. The attempt by J. Moltmann (b. 1926) to transcend by means of dialectics the theist concept of an impassive God would appear more relevant if it did not, in an almost Hegelian way, link the Trinity* to the history of earthly passion*.

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EMILIO BRITO

See also Kierkegaard, Søren Aabye; Lutheranism; Religion, Philosophy of; Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von; Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst; Tübingen, Schools of

Heidegger, Martin

1889–1976

Heidegger's relationship to Christianity and its theology* is in the first place biographical. A brief attempt at joining the Society of Jesus, two years of theological studies at Freiburg (also interrupted for health reasons), the rapid acquisition of a reputation as the great philosophical hope of German Catholicism*, the recognition of his debts to Neoscholasticism, and his lectures on Paul and Augustine* constituted a first period. A second was marked by his refusal to have his first son baptized into the Catholic Church, his declared sympathy for Lutheran theology, his association with theologians at Marburg (in particular Bultmann*) during his years as a lecturer at the university there, and his insistence on philosophy*'s right to a methodological atheism. After his return to Freiburg, a third period was characterized by a cautious but undeniable

anti-Christian polemic, on the basis that the Christian faith* denied the believer any philosophical experience. The fourth and longest period began with the *Kehre*, the “turnaround” in which he aimed to consider being* on its own terms and no longer on those of mankind: the “divine” and the gods made an appearance in his work, he developed a true phenomenology of the pagan experience (starting with the *Beiträge* of 1936, and then in “The Thing”), reopened a dialogue with theologians, and acknowledged theological “origins” that might retain some future importance (“Herkunft aber bleibt stets Zukunft,” in *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, GA 12, 92). Heidegger's funeral took place in the Catholic church in his village of Messkirch, but did not follow the Catholic rite. The philosopher B. Welte (himself a Catholic priest) gave

a short address. The burial followed the Catholic rite. However, Heidegger's tomb bears no Christian symbol.

a) *Theology and Existence: Reception of Being and Time.* In a letter of 19 August 1921 to his pupil K. Löwith, Heidegger still defined himself as a "Christian theologian." By 1927, on the other hand, he presented *Being and Time* as a philosophical treatise entirely free from theology. It speaks of man—*Dasein*—as having "fallen" into the world*, but this "fall" makes no reference to a protology or to a lost *status pristinus*. The experience of transgression is presented, but culpability is linked neither to a lost innocence nor to a pardon received or hoped for. *Dasein* exists incontestably in the world in the absence of God*: it can attain what is most proper to it there—an "authentic" existence—without needing to invoke an Absolute. Though it may seem surprising that such a work received a theological reception, this surprise soon fades. The atheism of *Dasein* does not in fact tax God with nonexistence. It announces the reality of a structure of experience (being-in-the-world) in which no place is left to know God or to speak of him. Heidegger's world consequently lends itself to an interpretation that sees it as equivalent to the Pauline *kosmos* in which, precisely, man lives atheistically without God (Eph 2:12). So the basis of a possible theological reading appears. Man has no right to God's proximity by simple birthright. A hermeneutics* of "facticity," of the simple fact of being in the world, must therefore speak of man's wretchedness. God is he who appears; and to conceive of his arrival demands agreement too on mankind's distress after the fall. In other words, the sinner's condition is understood to be what reduces mankind to an existence on the model of *Dasein*. In this light, it can be understood how easily Hans Jonas could exploit Heideggerian concepts in an interpretation of the Gnostic experience (*Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* I, Göttingen, 1934) as an exacerbation of certain fundamental Christian experiences. There was another possible theological interpretation of the book, more readily adopted moreover, which took the form of reading *Being and Time* by way of a focus provided by the hermeneutic theory of comprehension. What was at issue—being and its meaning—was what *Dasein* had in any case already understood in advance. A shift in meaning was then possible: according to Bultmann, who incidentally coined the term "precomprehension," *Vorverständnis*, comprehension also involved God himself. To exist on the model of comprehension was in fact to ponder God; theological discourse was thus essentially one of response, and its first task was to take as its theme the theological questions implicit in the logic of existence. Then, on the as-

sumption that the man to whom the Christian kerygma was addressed was indeed the one to whom the Heideggerian analytics of *Dasein* referred, a final step became possible in which the approach to faith could be interpreted as an exemplary passage from "inauthenticity" to "authenticity."

Notwithstanding these conflicting readings, the work's theological significance remains incontestable. In the conference "Phenomenology and Theology" (1927–28), Heidegger stated axiomatically that "theology is a positive science and, for this reason, is absolutely distinct from philosophy" (Frankfurt, 1970), and specified further that "theology, as a positive science, is fundamentally closer to chemistry and mathematics than to philosophy" (ibid.). This was undoubtedly a verdict some theologies could strongly relate to: Barth* had recourse to an equally strict separation between the theological and the philosophical in order to deny all validity to Bultmann's program. But this verdict too could doubtless be contested by way of the resources that *Being and Time* offers to any consideration of the intended beneficiary of theology and the "revelation*" that it proposes.

b) *Theology and Ontology: God and Being.* Regarding the relationship between ontology and theology, Heidegger expressed himself in the most forthright way possible on the occasion of a meeting with students from Zürich: "Being and God are not identical, and I would never attempt to consider the essence of God in terms of being If I was again obliged to set down a theology in writing—something to which I sometimes feel myself prompted—the term *being* would in no circumstances have any part in it. Faith has no need of the 'thought' of being. When it has recourse to it, it is no longer faith" (in *Poetry* 13, 60–61). The theological implications are clear: these sentences confirm the death of the God of the philosophers; and, by denying the existence of a "point of connection," *Anknüpfungspunkt*, between the discourse of philosophy and that of theology, they call for a theologically pure reconstruction of theology. Whether in picturing a God "uncontaminated by being" (E. Levinas), or in considering "God without being" (J.-L. Marion) as a love* that had no need of being in order to love and to give, the lesson was learned. Heidegger intensified his warnings, moreover. By bringing God into philosophy and obliging him to serve as the pinnacle of the edifice of "metaphysics," of an "onto-theological" structure, the way was in fact being prepared for the death of God. Those who introduced God into conceptual systems were forgetting that man's relationship with him was primarily one of worship and liturgy, and that God had less need of being considered than of being worshipped. The task of theology, then,

was twofold: on the one hand it must free itself of all involvement with metaphysics, and on the other hand it must dissociate its destiny from that “school of thought” that, after metaphysics, seeks to welcome the truth of being. Of course, the mere fact of being assigned a task does not provide the means of accomplishing it. But if Heidegger’s view of the question of being is correct, then theology must either face up to this task or strip God of his divinity.

c) *Speech, Event, Hermeneutics.* No part of Heidegger’s oeuvre lent itself better to theological interpretation than the texts devoted to language. From 1934, commentary on poetic texts—Hölderlin, Trakl, Rilke, George—and consideration of the essence of utterance were among Heidegger’s main preoccupations. These preoccupations were strictly ontological: speech was considered as the abode of being, so what was in question was merely the advent of the sense of being and its associated meanings (the diction of the sacred, of earth and heaven, etc.). But by refusing to link his investigation of speech to an investigation of the speaker, by denying that the production of utterances was the paramount and essential task of speech, and by considering speech on its own basis (“speech speaks”; *die Sprache spricht*), Heidegger replicated in the secular sphere the discourse that theology maintains concerning another speech—the speech of God. The themes of speech as event and as expression did not have to be unduly stretched for them to give rise, even before the publication of *Approaches to Speech*, to attempts at an interpretation that would allow the Word to speak in the very act in which it was produced—in the theological hermeneutics of E. Fuchs (*Hermeneutik*, 1954) and G. Ebeling (“Hermeneutik,” *RGK* 3, 1959, 243–63; “Wort Gottes und Hermeneutik,” *Wort und Glaube* I, 1960, 319–48) and in the whole movement known as “new hermeneutics.” The concepts of “speech event,” *Sprachereignis* and *Wortgeschehen*, do not imply that Heidegger attributed to the words of the poet or the philosopher a vital force that belongs by right to God’s word alone—but they do at least show that not every philosophy of language can be placed in the service of a theology of the Word, and they suggest that there can be no theology of the Word that is not based on a philosophy of language. Heidegger’s influence was also to be felt, in a mediated form, through that of H.-G. Gadamer.

d) *Sacred and Divine Beings: Reverse of the Theological.* God might be “dead” as a result of entering into the constitution of metaphysics, while perhaps remaining theologically conceivable to anyone who freed him from any relationship with being; nonetheless it re-

mained possible for Heidegger to speak philosophically of the divine, and even of God. The *Letter on Humanism* (1947) stipulated precisely the conditions for this possibility: “It is only on the basis of the truth of being that the essence of the sacred can be conceived. It is only on the basis of the essence of the sacred that the essence of divinity is to be conceived. It is only in the light of the essence of divinity that we can conceive and utter that which the word ‘God’ must designate” (GA 9, 351). This divine subordinated to being takes its place, in Heidegger’s late works, within the structure of the “Quadrupartite,” the *Geviert*, in which “earth” and “heaven,” “mortals” and “divine beings” answer and correspond to one another. God’s transcendence therefore gives way to the transcendence of being and to its direction; and the theology that is thereby established from the time of the *Beiträge* is in consequence supremely atheological. Is Heidegger’s “theological” secret, then, the search for a substitute for the Christian experience and the Christian formulation of the conceivable? Characteristics such as the central role he accords to “serenity” (*Gelassenheit*) in the absence of any hope*, the subordination of God to a faceless sense of the sacred, and an account of the history of philosophy from which all reference to Christianity has been erased, among others, should enable us to conclude that theology has nothing to learn here, except that which it is absolutely not—which is, however, a most useful lesson.

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See also Being; Experience; God; Hermeneutics; Philosophy

Hell

A. Biblical Theology

"I have set before you life and death" (Dt 30:19): by the time of Jesus*, a considerable section of Judaism* had already come to understand this ancient choice in the sense of an eternal bliss contrasted with utter destruction or even eternal woe. But it had not always been so.

a) Old Testament. Until the Hellenistic period, when the apocalyptic* genre of literature appeared, *sheol** was merely the abode of shadows. The sinner's punishment remained a miserable life, then death. It was extremely rare for the hand of God to strike an individual sinner (Nm 16:30–34: the earth opens up; see 2 Kgs 1:9–12). Concerning the hereafter, Isaiah (66:24) ("their worm shall not die" and "their fire shall not be quenched"—the conclusion of the whole book!) undoubtedly develops on Jeremiah 19:2–15: unburied corpses beside the ruins of Jerusalem*, in the valley (*gély*) of Ben-Hinnôm, which would become "Gehenna," from *geenna* (New Testament Gr.) < Aram. *gehinnam* < Heb. *gély hinnom*. Daniel 12:2 offers few words ("everlasting contempt") whose meaning is clear if one understands the eschatology* of the period (c. 160 B.C.) (see 1 Hen 10:7–16, 27:2f., 63:6). Jubilees 36:7–11 even declares that whoever harms his brother is liable for the eternal fire. Wisdom of Solomon, dating from the beginning of the Roman period, offers in veiled terms an eschatological transposition of the Exodus: the destruction of the sinner by his

own sin* (Wis 11:16, 12:23, 17:21), and the intervention of the cosmos* (5:20, 16:17; see Lv 18:27f.) concerned at that sin. Wisdom 4:19 is a commentary on Daniel 12:2.

b) New Testament. According to Matthew 3:10–12, the unquenchable fire is uppermost in John the Baptist's message. Jesus puts the emphasis elsewhere, though his meaning is no less plain—indeed he is more explicit than anybody else in the Bible*. What he says of the final punishment takes on its full depth in the parables*: the chaff, the fish thrown back, the guest not wearing the nuptial robe, the unfaithful steward, the servant hoarding his talent, the wicked rich man. In view of all these, less vivid expressions such as "I will also deny before my Father who is in heaven" (Mt 10:33) or "I do not know you" (Mt 25:12) probably foretell a no better fate for the person rebuked. Jesus is the only person to speak of Gehenna (11 times). The most common image is that of fire (Mt 13:40, 13:50, 18:8 *Sq*; Lk 16:24), and the suffering is physical (Mk 9:43–47: hands, feet, eyes). Even the pain of separation is expressed in physical terms: "weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Mt 13:42, 13:50, 22:13, 24:51; Lk 13:28). "You will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 5:20, 18:3, 23:13) probably hints at an equally serious punishment. To be "outside" is also a way of expressing hell (Mt 8:12, 22:13, 25:30). What is unexpected is the contrast between the offence and this

punishment*, which is visited only on those who fail to perform simple acts of compassion (Mt 25:24–28, 25:45). This must be seen as a key for interpretation: the accounts are brushed aside and humanity is confronted with two irreconcilable options, as vital in small matters as in great ones. What is at stake in each case is made unequivocally clear.

Hades (the *sheol* of the Greeks; four times in the synoptic Gospels), like the “abyss” (Lk 8:31), is a portion of the cosmos destined to be banished to the depths (Lk 10:15), with or without torments. It is not the “eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels” (Mt 25:41). Although they mostly relate to the body, Jesus’ images remain similar to those of the apocalypses, which are mainly cosmic: “the lake of fire” (Rev 20:14f.), “the lake of fire and sulphur” (Rev 20:10, 21:8). Death destroys itself endlessly, since this is where it is thrown (20:14). Sinners are those who are in league with it.

Paul (Pauline* theology) expresses himself altogether differently. Admittedly, he does describe the final punishment in an apocalyptic manner in 2 Thessalonians 1:9: “eternal destruction [*olethros*] away from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his might.” Elsewhere, though, he confines himself to “perdition” (*apollumi*, *apolluiō*, *apoleia*: Rom 9:22; 1 Cor 1:18; 2 Cor 2:15, 4:3; Phil 3:19). To eternal life for

some he opposes “wrath* [*thumos*] and indignation” for the rest, in the context of the “day of wrath” (*orgè*: Rom 2:5–8). It is “the wrath to come” (1 Thes 1:10). It is noteworthy that *katargein* (1 Cor 2:6, 15:24ff.; 2 Thes 2:8) is closer in meaning to an annihilation of the spirits of evil* than to their punishment. Hebrews 10:26–31 does not describe an eternal hell but suggests a punishment worse than death.

John uses few images (only Jn 15:6). He leaves it to the reader to interpret the words “resurrection of judgment” (5:29: resurrection of life) or “you will die in your sin” (Jn 8:21–24), “perish” rather than having “eternal life” (Jn 3:16). There is a sin that differs from other sins in that it “leads to death” (1 Jn 5:16f.); then it is a matter of “the second death” (Rev 2:11, 20:6, 20:14, 21:8).

• J. Jeremias (1933), “*Hadès*,” *ThWNT* 1, 146–50; “*Geenna*,” *ibid.*, 655–56.

F. Lang (1959), “*Pur*,” *ThWNT* 6, 927–48.

X. Léon-Dufour (1979), *Face à la mort: Jésus et Paul*, Paris, 47–61.

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Cosmos; Demons; Eschatology; Evil; Hardening; Judgment; Limbo; Purgatory; Resurrection of the Dead; Sheol; Soul-Heart-Body; Vengeance of God; Wrath of God

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

A theologian approaching the words of Scripture* on the subject of hell must first accept the meaning that the authorized teaching of the church bestows upon them and the explanation that it offers us for them.

a) *Dogmatic Statements.* Over the centuries this teaching, without ever being elaborated, has never varied. Since the so-called faith of Damasus of the fifth century (*DS* 72), it has been declared that “at the general resurrection, eternal life* will reward the good* that is deserved and eternal torture will be applied to sins*.” The creed *Quicumque* (*DS* 76), also from the fifth century, together with the Fourth Lateran* Council at the beginning of the 13th century (*DS* 852), and the councils of Florence in the mid-15th (*DS* 1351) and Trent* in 1547 (*DS* 1575), all repeat the same doctrine. In 1992 the CEC adopted it in turn: “The teaching of the Church affirms the existence of hell, and its eternity. Immediately after death the souls of those

who die in a state of mortal sin descend into hell, where they suffer the punishment of hell’s ‘eternal fire’ ” (no. 1035). What links the church’s language to that of Scripture is that it does not prevaricate and avoids understatement. The two differ, however, insofar as Scripture generally talks in images that the church, when dealing with hell, reduces to a single image, terrible nonetheless in its uniqueness: that of an “eternal fire.” While not emphasizing the metaphorical nature of this “fire,” for fear of neutralizing the spiritual consumption that it symbolizes, the magisterium* forbids itself all the flights of imagination in which popular preaching* has long, and in vain, delighted. Nowadays historians (Delumeau 1983; Minois 1991 and 1994) readily condemn such excesses. “Infernalism,” in all its forms, has discredited the faith* more than it has shaped truly Christian hearts (heart of Christ*). It has helped bring about a cultural world devoid of God* by disfiguring his true face. Harmful as

these excesses may be, the teaching of the magisterium has never been based on them, but rather on Scripture alone and on what it reveals to us about judgment*.

b) Hell and Judgment. Among the well-known passages (including Mt 25), the Second Epistle of Peter (3:7), which echoes the text of Malachi on the day of YHWH, deserves special mention here. It speaks explicitly: “Judgment and destruction of the ungodly” (2 Pt 3:7). Malachi, meanwhile, which offers a synthesis of prophetic doctrine on the “day of YHWH,” declares frankly to the faithful that the historical success of the wicked is misleading: “Then once more you shall see the distinction between the righteous and the wicked, between one who serves God and one who does not serve him. For behold, the day is coming, burning like an oven, when all the arrogant and all evildoers will be stubble. The day that is coming shall set them ablaze, says the LORD of hosts” (Mal 3:18–4). While awaiting judgment on the conduct of mankind, Scripture is categorical: there is for God, and thus also for us, no historically or eschatologically possible confusion between good and evil*. It was this obvious fact that John Paul II took as the inspiration for his encyclical *Veritatis Splendor* (no. 35, 41, 54 with a reference to GS 16). So hell signifies first and foremost that the difference between good and evil will never be revoked. It is this difference that opens or shuts the doors of the Kingdom*, depending on whether one respects or violates it, so giving us the right and the duty to distinguish the “accursed” from the “blessed” (Mt 25:41, 34). To question the status of hell as an unequivocal sign of this distinction between good and evil would be to shake the eternal foundations of the world. There is thus no question of doing so.

It is understandable that the Gospels* were obliged to use the most violent expressions that alone would be capable of denouncing, across the whole course of history*, the error from which we must be delivered at any cost. So they speak of the day of judgment in terms of “a fire which is never extinguished,” of “Gehenna,” of the “gnawing worm,” of “outer darkness,” and of “weeping and gnashing of teeth.” The church interprets this by saying that for a free agent having the power to choose mortal sin “for ever, with no turning back” (*CEC*, no. 1861) to yield to this “possibility” is to expose oneself to “[that] state of definitive self-exclusion from communion* with God and the blessed [that] is called ‘hell’ ” (*CEC*, no. 1033). Hell represents a choice of unequaled gravity, and some have sought to soften the horror of this choice by seeing hell as an “annihilation” of the damned rather than an eternal punishment (Lassiat 1974, 1979; Schillebeeckx 1989). This position, in spite of the attempts made to justify it

by referring to second-century writers (*see* Lassiat on Irenaeus* especially), is alien to tradition*. In traditional terms, no creature can annihilate itself, even by its own sin, any more than God can think of annihilating it.

c) Unanswered Questions. Nevertheless, the way in which Augustine* (e.g., *De civitate Dei* XXI, 12), followed by Thomas* Aquinas (*ST* Ia, q. 20–25; Ia IIae, q. 87; *De malo*, q. 5), saw judgment merely as a work of justice* gives such a merciless image of God as to be unworthy of the one whose revealed essence is love* (1 Jn 4, 16). The excesses of popular preaching have found a regrettable justification in Augustine’s rationalization of hell in accordance with his own view of predestination*. It is possible, however, without in any way doing away with the distinction between good and evil, and while remaining faithful to the Gospels, to conceive of hell not as an inescapable reality for the free agent who believes or wishes himself to be devoted to evil, but as an avoidable contingency, which points us back to the innate greatness and crucial importance of a freedom that is given to itself so as to be able to respond to the love that is its foundation (Fessard 1967).

Scripture makes plain, however, that this sense of contingency does not eliminate the reality of hell, at least in one particular case: that of the “Devil” (demons*) and “his angels*” (Mt 25:41)—in other words that of the “prince of this world*,” an emblematic figure who is primarily responsible (Jn 8:44) for the evil driven out by Christ* (Jn 12:31). Once again, without denying the difference between good and evil, nor the punishment that their incompatibility justly demands (represented in Scripture by the “wrath of the Lamb*” before which no one “can stand” [Rev 6:16–17]), should not a further distinction be made between the *criterion* for the judgment, in itself unmerciful, and the act of judgment? Surely this act must involve a rigorous execution of justice, or else how could it be a judgment? But should this judgment be, indeed can it be anything other than justice, when it is the judgment reserved to the One who “saves the upright in the heart” (Ps 7:10), and that John tells us is “greater than our heart” (1 Jn 3:20)? Surely God has the power, even while dealing with sin as it deserves, not to identify the sinner with it, however culpable he may be?

When indeed we glimpse the terrifying possibility of an “upside-down eternity” (Durrwell 1994), we are forced to confront “the darkness of all darknesses” (Ratzinger 1960) and the scandal of all scandals: how can this infernal reality exist, even for a single being? Faced with an infinity of joy transformed into misfortune, “incurable and sterile” (Elluin 1994), the church

fathers* (led by Origen*) as well as other mystics and theologians did their utmost to find an emergency exit from this aberration in our freedom and from the non-meaning that it presupposes on the part of the damned person himself. There is a temptation finally to reduce God's mystery* to that of a justice that it is hard in this case not to see as purely vindictive. We are also faced with a double anomaly: on the one hand, we accord a finite being, who is rightly denied the power to save himself on his own, the power to damn himself, which is in a sense infinite; on the other hand, we establish for ever, until the end of history, an anti-God whose existence is rightly called into question from the outset. It is at this point that there arises in counterpoint a spiritually inevitable hope*, which cannot be silenced. Here, as much as or even more than elsewhere, the abyss calls for the abyss; the abyss of horror and the abyss of hope. Balthasar* (1986, 1987) (and Elluin before him) set himself up toward the end of his life as the courageous defender of such a hope, which is generally overlooked in this context, except by Orthodox theology (Evdokimov 1959). Perhaps it remains to be stated more clearly that its foundations lie deep within the Trinity.

d) Unfathomable Openness of the Trinity in Christ. Our creation* in Christ has made us, by vocation, into beings to whom the Father* is as essential as he is, by paternity, to the Son himself. But we should not forget the other face of this mystery, whereby we appear, in Christ, as eternally irreplaceable to the Father as the Son is to him. Confronted with the suicidal decision to reverse into hatred the love for which we have all been created, and which makes us, in the Father's eyes, inseparable from the person* of his Son, could God, even out of respect for our freedom, abandon forever the person who destroys himself in the self-torture of his aberration? How could he do so, this God who, in Christ, wishes to raise us by pure grace* to his likeness, and promises to share with us the life of his uncreated Son? Such in the choice is the unfathomable depth of his love for us. Henceforth there is no human rule, no safeguard of morality that can prohibit God from loving madly the madman who believes that in order to exist he must refrain from loving him who is love itself! God's remedy for madness consists then in bringing into play all the resources of his love to help the rebel overcome his insane refusal to love. For what kind of God would he be who, despite being declared all-powerful, was forever incapable of releasing from his mortal spell a freedom that was received without being requested, and that could become a snare of pain and hatred to its recipient, for all eternity?

Faced with the lights of the Kingdom of heaven in

the night (in itself hopeless) of hell, we are therefore empowered by faith to throw ourselves naked into the love of God. As worthy descendants of Abraham—"In hope he believed against hope" (Rom 4:18)—we hope that the bottomless depths of God's fatherhood, of Christ's Passion*, and of the resources of the Holy Spirit* will allow us to escape from the fiery prison that is hell. We can say nothing of how this might be; but we must trust absolutely in the reserves of love, grace, and glory*, whose only measure is God's love for the Son in the Holy Spirit, a love in which we are forever included. Moreover, since God has revealed to us in his Son that we are saved and savable by pure grace, and never by our works* (Rom 1–4), how could it be otherwise when the eschatology* of every creature is decided, at the crowning moment when the mystery of grace, in which we have been established for all time by God himself, will be fulfilled?

In this light, hell becomes, with regard to a boundless faith, the locate of choice for God's victory over the most incomprehensible rejection—victory that could be called humanly unexpected and that is for the prayer of the spiritual and for the thought of the theologian "able to be hoped for."

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See also Demons; Eschatology; Evil; Judgment; Life, Eternal; Limbo; Predestination; Purgatory; Vision, Beatific

Hellenization of Christianity

a) Judaism and Hellenism. The principality of Judaea, governed by the Ptolemies from 301 to 198 B.C., then by the Seleucidae until 63 B.C., was not exempt from the general movement of Hellenization that touched all the territories of the ancient Persian empire that had been conquered by Alexander. This movement saw the introduction of “common” Greek (*koinè*) as both an official and a vernacular language, as well as the creation of new towns and the establishing of a Hellenic style of life in the ancient cities (thus the construction in Jerusalem* of a gymnasium and a palestra). In spite of resistance, which was at times frenzied and fanatical, Hellenism penetrated deeply into the daily lives of the Judaeans, even among those groups that were most attached to the Law* (for example, the sectarians of Qumran). It was Hellenism’s religious ambitions—primarily the desire to reinterpret the cult* of YHWH and make it a local form of the cult of worshiping Zeus Ouranios—that were globally opposed, at least as early as the Maccabean revolt.

On the other hand, because of the harsh fiscal policy in effect in Palestine, the Hellenistic period saw a substantial Jewish emigration into the neighboring countries. Surrounded by a Hellenophone population, the Jewish Diaspora adopted a Hellenic lifestyle (*see* Hengel 1969) and Greek became a commonly spoken language in its midst (the “Hellenists” of the Acts 6:1 and 9:29). It was for these Hellenophone Jews that the Bible* was translated into Greek in Alexandria, in a version—the Septuagint (LXX)—permeated with the Greek genius. It was the milieu of this Judaism* that made possible the philosophical and theological activity of Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of Jesus*. His apologetic project was to rekindle traditional beliefs that had been given up in favor of Hellenic doctrines, by showing that biblical thought and these

doctrines (Platonism above all) were in fact complementary.

b) Christian Origins. The Hellenization of Christianity, therefore, was not born from the late encounter of two entities already in existence and independent from one another in their respective contexts; nor did it occur in a world where only Greek culture and civilization deserved to be described as “Hellenic.” On the contrary, what we call the “Jesus-Christ event” may descend directly from the Jewish tradition*, but it is also inscribed within this extended Hellenic framework. Moreover, it was documents written in Hellenistic Greek and characterized by Hellenistic realia that bore primary witness to the event.

The very fact that the apostle* Paul belongs to three different groups—religious (Jewish Pharisee), cultural (Greek), and political (Roman citizen)—illustrates quite well the complexity of the Jewish milieu that provided Christianity’s mission* with its starting point. Paul uses Greek literary sources (Acts 17:28): he is sufficiently familiar with popular philosophy* to be able to practice the genre of the *diatribe*, in imitation of the Stoic preachers, or to handle the skeptical paradox of the “liar” (Ti 1:12), at the service of a discourse that always finds its sources in the LXX version of the Jewish Scriptures. When he sets Jews and Greeks in opposition to each other (1 Cor 1:21f.), or Jews and pagans, this does not represent the opposition of two cultures: it is rather the clash of two spiritual destinies, both of which he understands as finding their realization in the Christian faith*.

Thus the first communities founded in the Diaspora and in pagan milieus spontaneously gave birth to a Christianity that had been explicitly Hellenized, using Greek as a liturgical language (Latin had to wait till the

fourth century to become the liturgical language of the Western Church*). This Hellenized Christianity took on a preponderant importance for the whole of the Christian world, while, on the other hand, the Jewish Christianity of Palestine and Syria disappeared between the Jewish revolt of A.D. 66 and the final excommunication of the Judeo-Christians by the Sanhedrin at Jamnia (addition of the *birkat ha-minim* to the “Eighteen blessings,” under Gamaliel II, v. 90).

c) *Patristic Age*. Rhetorically and conceptually the discourse of the Greek and Latin Fathers* was bound to be a Hellenic discourse. But even if their culture was indeed Greek, for many other Christian authors, Christianity constitutes a kind of parallel culture or counter-culture, at least up to a point. This is evidenced in the way they use the Greek of the LXX or the Latin of the *Italia* (the first Latin translation* of the Bible), or even in their use of the very first Christian texts, which were devoid of any kind of literary pretense. Since Christian apologias were intended in the early centuries for a civilization that was simultaneously pagan and Greek, a global evaluation of Hellenism was required. Three distinct positions emerged: 1) the total rejection of any Hellenic philosophical doctrine, considered to be untruthful and immoral (Tatian, *Ad Graecos*): “What is common to Athens and Jerusalem? What is common to the Academy and the Church*?” (Tertullian*, *De praesc.* 7, 9); 2) a moderate overture that bases its argumentation on a supposed dependence of the Greek philosophers on the Hebrew books and insists on the monotheistic tendencies of Greek thought: “To look upon God*, for this is the end of Plato’s philosophy” (Justin, *Dial.* 2, 6; see Athenagoras, *Pro christ.* 6); and 3) a positive evaluation that goes as far as a passionate defense of Hellenism: for example, the beneficent “showers” of truth* sown by the Logos of the Greek philosophers (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1, 7, 2), and the necessity of an extensive knowledge of Greece (Origen*, *Against Celsus*).

d) *Middle Ages*. The influence of Hellenism was preserved in Byzantine and Latin theologies. These retained the patristic heritage, and remained in debt for a long time to Platonism*, whether through the guarantee given by Augustine* to the *libri platonici* or through the reorganization of the neo-Platonic cosmos* by the Pseudo-Dionysius*. On the other hand, the Middle Ages saw a noteworthy intellectual crisis, sanctioned by the Parisian condemnations of 1277. Aristotelianism*, in its Averroistic version, had been introduced into the newly created universities of the Christian world by Arabic translators and commentators. It had not merely supplied theologians with new

conceptual instruments, but had also presided (e.g., in the cases of Siger of Brabant [1240–84] or Boethius of Dacia [?–c. 1270]) over a movement for the freeing of philosophical work and for the revival of the ideals of *vita philosophica*. These two aspects of its influence appeared to threaten Christian doctrine (for instance, that of the Creation* of the world and that of freedom*), as well as the very style of Christianity (as, e.g., when the enthusiastic use of the concept of magnanimity, the key to Aristotle’s ethics, led to a refusal to call humility a virtue). By condemning 219 theses of Aristotelian and Averroistic origin on 7 March 1277, the bishop of Paris, É. Tempier, and his theologians were, in a way, only emphasizing an old methodological rule, the necessity of a critical reception of Hellenism, and we may consider that the faculties of theology did in fact hear the reminder. However, the condemnations did not prevent the survival, in university circles (in the faculties of philosophy), of a non-Christianized Hellenism, which was present in philosophies that aimed to be free of any theological interference. Through these philosophies, Christian intellectuals were assuming the task of cultivating Greek thought devoid of any Christian inflection.

e) *Renaissance and Humanism*. The Renaissance is the age of the *De transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* by G. Budé (Paris, 1535), a text in which the problem of Christian Hellenism is raised with real urgency. It is the age during which another new censorship was imposed (by the Fifth Lateran* Council, in 1515) against Averroistic Aristotelianism (in this particular instance, that of P. Pomponazzi). It is also the age of a revival of classical antiquity, over and above what the Middle Ages had managed to retain of it, a revival that sometimes seemed intent on introducing a lifestyle that owed more to paganism* than to Christianity. It is the age when Luther* developed a “theology of the cross,” a theology that refused the Christian acceptance of external intellectual elements. On the contrary, it claimed that it could discern in the past alliances of Christianity and Hellenism a ferment that could corrupt the church. Since then, the hypothesis of a falsification of the Christian reality by the Greek spirit has always retained a sort of topicality, while any interest in Greece tended to represent more and more a kind of protest in favor of paganism (Veillard-Baron 1979).

f) *Modern Developments, Metaphysics, and the Problem of Inculturation**. Thus, when A. von Harnack (1851–1930) speaks of the Christian dogma*, in a famous definition, as if it were a “creation of the Greek mind on the gospel’s land” (*Lehrbuch*, 1909, 4th Ed.),

the historiography of dogmas appears to have been an attempt at emancipation, aimed at retrieving an essence of Christianity that had been misrepresented. The attempt was, however, bound to fail, just as any juxtaposition of a pure Hellenism and a Palestinian Judeo*-Christianity that was itself allegedly intact and free from outside influence is bound to produce misinterpretation (see Meijering, BZRG 20, 1978). And against Harnack, recent research has been able to bring into play the principles of a more refined analysis of the relations between Christianity and Hellenism: 1) To the myth that opposed a “Greek way of thinking,” substantialist and ahistorical, and a “Hebrew way of thinking,” purely descriptive and historical (e.g., Boman 1954), it has been possible to reply that the myth was supported above all by semantic and logical confusion (Barr 1961): the structures of a language do not constitute the theoretical a priori of the people who use that language. 2) To the hypothesis of a distortion of the Christian kerygma through the recourse to concepts that are Greek in origin, recent patristics has been able to respond by underscoring the inflections given by patristic theology to the Hellenic schemata it uses (e.g., Ivánka 1964). Much more than simply making concessions to Greece, theology is in fact abounding in Greek-looking concepts, all of which constitute conceptual monsters in Greek terms: connection of the *logos* and the “flesh*” in Johannine* theology, accidents deprived of their substance in the speculations on Eucharistic transubstantiation, and so forth. 3) To the idea of cultures so closed that translation of their contents into the language of other cultures is impossible, recent treatments of inculturation have countered with the idea of a Christianity that is essentially translatable and capable of using the linguistic and conceptual resources of any culture. The encounter of Hellenism and Christianity, from the time the latter came in existence, may indeed serve as a model for any evangelization that aims to transmit its good news in an intelligible form, and for any pastoral activity concerned with enriching the church with the universal values present in any cultural milieu (Neuner 1995).

The debate is not over. Recent discussion has still seen J. B. Metz and J. Habermas criticizing the fundamental concepts of a metaphysics supposedly too rigid “to be able to restore rationally, without mutilation, without any loss in the multitude of specific meanings, these experiences of redemption, of universal covenant, and of irreplaceable individuality that were expressed in Judeo-Christian terms in the history of salvation*” (Habermas 1992). And by interpreting “metaphysics,” a Greek creation, as a closed figure of thinking, governed by the unthought that determines this enclosure—and therefore as something that one would need

to escape in order to really be able to “think”—Heidegger* renewed the problematics and asked some questions to which answers (other than naive ones) remain to be found. No theological reason can oblige us to believe in the existence of a perennial reality of Hellenism as such; and neither can any theological reason oblige us to want to protect Christian discourse against “metaphysical” contamination. And if the history of metaphysics, in its Heideggerian sense, still remains to be written, the history of Christian doctrine is itself sufficiently well known to be able to appear as that of a fundamental loyalty to the words of its origin.

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See also Aristotelianism, Christian; Being, Inculturation; Judeo-Christianity; Philosophy; Platonism, Christian; Stoicism, Christian

Henoch. *See* Apocalyptic Literature

Heresy

a) Concept. The *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Protestant) recommends (t. 15, 320; *see* 325) the use of the concept of “heresy” in the traditional sense as defined in Catholic canon law* (*Code of Canon Law* 1983, c. 751): heresy is a baptized person’s obstinate denial (or doubting) of any truth* of faith*. It is to be distinguished from schism*, in which the believer refuses communion* with the pope* or other members of the Catholic Church*, and apostasy, which is total rejection of the Christian faith.

b) History of Heresy and Heresiology. In the New Testament (Acts) the religious parties of the Sadducees (5:17) and the Pharisees (15:5, 26:5) are designated as *haireseis*; Christian sects were similarly designated by Jews (24:5, 24:14, 28:22). Paul called the internal tensions and splits within the Christian communities “heresies” and “schisms” (Gal 5:20; 1 Cor 11:18f.). Pernicious teachings are clearly stigmatized as heresies in Titus 3:10 and 2 Peter 2:1. The pastoral Epistles mention present and future false doctrines (1 Tm 1:3–11, 4:1–5; 2 Tm 2:14, 4:2ff.; Ti 1:10–16, 3:9ff.). Ignatius of Antioch (†117) denounced as “heterodoxy” the heresy of Docetism* (*Magn* 8, 1), which denied the reality of the suffering and death* of the Son of God; for Ignatius, heresy meant “separation” (*Eph.* 6, 2; *Trall* 6, 1). Around 150 the philosopher and martyr Justin (†165) (who passed on to us the words of Jesus*: “There shall be schisms and heresies” [*Dialogue with Trypho* 35, 5]) wrote a *Syntagma* against all heresies. This work, which later disappeared, marked all subsequent catalogues of heresies. Justin argued that heresy is almost always a false doctrine of God; it is the work of demons*, and the arch-heresiarch is Simon Magus (*Apol. I* 20, 4; *see* Acts 8:9–24). Irenaeus* of Lyon († c. 202) is the author of an *Adversus haereses* against the Gnostics, which remains our major source of information on a heresy that posed a mortal threat to

second-century Christianity. According to the jurist Tertullian* († c. 220), the Gnostics disqualified themselves from the start by their disagreement with the tradition* of the faith. *Heresiology* reached a—strictly quantitative—height with the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamine (†402), a “universal history” that established an uncritical inventory of the 80 heresies dating from before and after Christ*. The fight against Arianism*, which was triumphant for some time, continued throughout the fourth century. In the following century, Augustine*, in his relentless battle against Manichaeism*, Pelagianism*, and Anabaptist Donatism*, finally had to call in the civil authorities. In 385—undoubtedly for the first time—a “heretic,” the Spanish Priscillian, was executed in Trier. In the 12th and 13th centuries the Cathars* (from the Greek *katharos* meaning pure) were accused of heresy, as were the Waldensians*, a sect that still exists today, and the Albigenses; later, Hus* and Wycliff were denounced as heretics. The 16th-century Reformers were accused of heresy by the Catholics, who were themselves labeled “papists” by the Reformers; but both of these great churches agreed in condemning the anti-Trinitarians (Socinians) and “fanatics” (Anabaptists*, etc.) as heretics. Under the influence of humanism, pietism*, and the Enlightenment, judgments were sometimes reversed: Sebastian Franck (1499–1542) stigmatized all established orthodoxy as heresy, whereas Gottfried Arnold, in *An Impartial History of the Church and All Heresies*, reserved his sympathy for the latter.

c) “There must be heresies among you.” It is said in 1 Corinthians 11:19 that factions are necessary to put Christians to the test. Christian revelation* establishes “the radicality of an altogether particular ethics* of the truth*” (Rahner 1962) on which the eternal salvation* of humanity depends. Paul declares that (Gal 1:8f.)

even if an angel from heaven announced something different, “let him be accursed!” We might assume that the attempt to develop a theological system on the basis of a single idea inevitably entails a tendency to produce heretics. In fact the great synods* of the early church drew christological and Trinitarian dogmas* from the opposition between different heresies (e.g., monophysitism* and Nestorianism*, modalism* and tritheism*). Even today, error and contradiction can help the church to progress in knowledge and truth (just as they must bring Israel* out of its blindness; see Rom 9–11) to the extent that some essential features of Christianity, that the church possesses virtually, have not yet been fully realized (see K. Rahner, *LThK2* 5, 8–10).

d) *Where Does Heresy Lie Today?* The Second Vatican* Council does not use the term “heresy.” Since the council does not exclude from salvation any person of goodwill (*Nostra Aetate* 2; *Lumen Gentium* 16; *Gaudium et Spes* 22) and designates non-Catholic Christians as “separated brethren” (*Unitatis Redintegratio* passim), the question is posed for Catholics

themselves. Their heretical tendencies seem to be primarily expressed within the church (see Rahner 1970), and perhaps this contributes to preserving them from the “obstinacy” that distinguishes “formal” heresy from simple material heresy.

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See also Authority; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Jurisdiction; Notes, Theological; Schism

Hermas. See **Apostolic Fathers**

Hermeneutics

An art or science of interpretation, hermeneutics is a product of the cultural or chronological distances that interfere with the understanding of texts. Confronted with the problem posed by meaningful objects whose meaning escapes us, or about which we believe that they hold a deep meaning to which we do not or no longer have access, hermeneutics proposes to determine what those objects really intend to say and to test whether what they say is relevant here and now. Theology* attains to its “thing”—God* and all realities subject to

consideration *sub ratione Dei*—only through the mediation of textual objects stamped by a culture and by a “world” that no one any longer inhabits as a birthright. It is therefore necessary that theology include a hermeneutic moment. The Latin term *hermeneutica* appeared in the 17th century as a designation for the *ars interpretandi*, at a time when this was becoming an independent discipline, an auxiliary to theology (*hermeneutica sacra*), philosophy*, philology (*hermeneutica profana*), and law* (*hermeneutica juris*).

1. Prehistory

a) *Classical Antiquity.* Without sacred texts, it was in reading the classics, more precisely the Homeric corpus, that the Greeks felt the need to postulate the existence of a deep meaning hidden behind the letter of the text (Pépin 1988). In its earliest stages hermeneutics came into existence in the form of allegoresis, as a way of making readable once again a language that had become shocking, either because it attributed to gods behavior unworthy of their divinity or because of the philosophical demand placed on myth* that it justify its existence by disclosing its rational content. Appearing cautiously in Plato, allegoresis was to be used more systematically in Stoicism. Philo of Alexandria was an heir of this philosophical tradition and put it to use in a broad allegorical reading of the Jewish Bible*. This had a decisive effect on patristic allegoresis, from Clement of Alexandria to Ambrose*.

b) *Patristic and Medieval Theology.* In Christianity the need to interpret arose from one of the first doctrinal decisions taken by the early church*, the decision to give canonical status to the Jewish Scriptures*. If the God of Jesus Christ was the God of Israel*, and if it was therefore necessary to reject the “anti-Semitic” tendencies of Gnosticism* and Marcionism*, then it was necessary to think of the relationship between Jewish and Christian experience* in terms of fulfillment. The problem was thus to provide a Christian reading of what thereby became the “Old Testament.” The questions raised were many: Did Jewish legal texts still have meaning for a community that claimed to be authorized to no longer observe the commandments of the Torah? Did the warlike and violent history of the people of Israel still carry lessons for a community that intended to live in anticipation of eschatological peace* and harmony? Patristic exegesis* responded to such challenges by a proliferation of meaning; a spontaneous practice of *typology* and of *allegory* made it possible to theorize the plural meanings of the Scripture. The hermeneutics that was thereby established, and that governed the Christian reading of the Bible until the Reformation, was a “regional” hermeneutics, created to fit a text that faith* declared to be unparalleled and that it asked to determine everything: what had happened (the letter, *littera gesta docet*); what must be believed (allegory, *quid credas allegoria*); what must be done (tropology, *moralis quid agas*); and what must be hoped for (anagogy, *quo tendas anagogia*). But in dealing with a text, hermeneutics encountered the problems of interpretation raised by any text recognized to have authority*.

c) *From the Reformation to the Enlightenment.* Two rejections and an affirmation made up the core of Lutheran hermeneutics. On the one hand, the theory of the fourfold meanings of Scripture was discarded in favor of the literal meaning alone, which was deemed sufficient for the word* of God as expressed through the Scriptures. On the other hand, church statements outside the Scriptures were no longer valid as the norm for a proper reading of the Scriptures. Finally, Scripture was the Word insofar as it spoke of Christ*, the center and the heart of divine revelation*. And if we agree with Luther* that the literal meaning of the Scriptures is generally clear, then the problem of interpretation does not arise. If obscurity exists, a better knowledge of the language and reliance on parallel passages are enough to dissipate it (Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Clavis scripturae sacrae*, 1567). The real need for hermeneutics arose less from the century of the Reformation and humanism—a time that in fact held the total readability of ancient texts as one of its articles of faith—than from the later appearance of a consciousness of history*.

The development of historiography and the appearance of the philosophy of history, together with the birth of modern science and of an epistemology organized around the concept of “fact,” and the challenge to the processes of tradition*, these were all factors that led to the Christian Scriptures seeming to become partially obscure. In a world without miracles*, did miracle stories still have meaning (Hume, Lessing)? In a world that wondered about the true “aim” of Jesus* and his disciples (Reimarus), what veracity* could be attributed to the New Testament interpretation of what had in fact happened? More general questions were raised concerning the status of any work containing signification. In a world whose frontiers had expanded beyond those of the Western *oikoumenè*, cultural distances were objects of intense scrutiny; opacity was something that the monuments of primitive Christianity shared with those of China. In a world moving toward secularization*, any religious text began to take on the strangeness that I. T. Ramsey recognized as essential to religious language. In a world in which reality began to be identified with the observable, what knowability could be attributed to the past? What value should be given to a past process of meaning? To respond to these challenges, neither philology nor biblical exegesis could be of much help.

2. History

a) *Schleiermacher.* We owe to Friedrich Schleiermacher* (1768–1834) the first project for a general hermeneutics that might be capable of interpreting any

object carrying meaning. A theologian and philologist, Schleiermacher was enough of an heir of the Enlightenment to know the value of criticism. Thus, the first task of hermeneutics was “grammatical” (or “objective,” or “negative”): only someone who knew the culture in which a writer lived and the language that he spoke could, in a second stage, perceive the contributions to meaning that the writer made in an original manner. But Schleiermacher was also a romantic thinker, and the second task of hermeneutics (called “technical,” or “psychological”) consisted—in order “to understand a writer as well as, and even better than, he had understood himself” (*Herm.*, Ed. Kimmerle)—of carrying out a sympathetic introspection close to divination. Taking from romantic philosophy “its deepest conviction, that the spirit is the creative unconscious at work in individuals of genius” (Ricoeur 1975, 82), Schleiermacher thus based the possibility of interpretation on an idea, “connaturalism.” Through the mediation of the work, spirit spoke to spirit.

b) Dilthey. Between Schleiermacher and W. Dilthey (1833–1911) a century elapsed that saw the science of history reach its peak. Writing after Ranke and Droysen, and in an intellectual climate in which the dominant influence was neo-Kantianism, Dilthey had a single project, that of constructing a critique of historical reason. And because Dilthey also lived in a period that witnessed a certain triumph of positivism (the reign of objectivity considered as the measure of all reality), his ambition was to establish a kind of knowledge as valid as scientific knowledge, but served by entirely different cognitive instruments. The proper task of the objective sciences was to “explain” (*erklären*), while that of the sciences of the mind (*Geisteswissenschaften*) was to “understand” (*verstehen*). And since what was to be understood was the *life* of others, as that was expressed in structured and meaningful forms, Dilthey was led to adopt the psychological hermeneutics of Schleiermacher. With Dilthey, too, hermeneutics had a philological component; and here also, the interpreter was able to grasp meaning by transporting himself into others. It is of the author of the work that we ask for the revelation of the work’s secrets, and we presuppose that the question can receive a satisfactory response.

c) Heidegger. While Dilthey is concerned with interpreting “life” as it takes on objective form, Heidegger* gives a new meaning to hermeneutics. At the core of *Being and Time* lies a reversal. Hermeneutics presupposed that one interpreted with the aim of understanding. But according to Heidegger, it is in fact the understanding that provides the object of interpreta-

tion. Understanding is what man—the *Dasein*—has always already done. When we raise the question of meaning (and for Heidegger this is an arch-meaning, the “meaning of being”), this is a question that we have already answered by anticipation, by the simple fact that we exist. “Existence,” by which must be understood a mode of being that belongs to us and only to us, is in any event an act of understanding. Hermeneutics is thus an interpretation of “facticity,” the interpretation of an existence located in a world, the interpretation of a finitude that is experienced in the dual mode of *Befindlichkeit* (“affection,” “the meaning of the situation”) and *Verstehen*. The theoretical reorganization is complete in several steps: recognition of the circular structure of hermeneutics (the “hermeneutic circle”); substitution of an ontological problem for the epistemological problem that troubled Schleiermacher and Dilthey; abandonment of a theory of understanding by means of sympathetic introspection in favor of a relationship between the self and the world; and the generalization of hermeneutic concerns that bear on the totality of the knowable and not merely on the products of human speech and art.

d) Gadamer. It fell to one of Heidegger’s students, H.G. Gadamer (1900–), who heard the lectures on hermeneutics given before the publication of *Being and Time*, to resume a dialogue with the sciences of the mind, or human sciences, for which the fundamental ontology of his teacher left no room. Gadamer retains from Heidegger the idea of an anticipatory structure of knowing, which allows him to challenge the “prejudice against prejudice.” It is an essential mark of human finitude, on the contrary, that we know only within traditions that provide us with a stock of preinterpretations. It is essential to the work of art, moreover, to have a “history of its effects” (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), the influence of which affects every consciousness that confronts the work (and that is thus defined as *wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtsein*). The task of hermeneutics, consequently, does not require the adoption of a scientific “method,” something that Gadamer suspects of establishing an alienating distance (*Verfremdung*) between “subject” and “object.” Rather, it requires the existence of a relationship of belonging (*Zugehörigkeit*) within which the perspectives inherent in the work may blend with those specific to the reader. The “fusion of perspectives” (*Horizontverschmelzung*) thus makes it possible for the relationship between the reader and the work to bear fruit in a dialogue. This dialogue will never produce the last word in interpretation, nor indeed a better interpretation. It will produce *another* interpretation, in which the text will speak directly to the reader and to the world he inhabits.

e) *Ricœur*. Between Gadamer and P. Ricœur (1913–) came an event that marked the latter’s hermeneutics, the growth of the “sciences of the text” derived from linguistic structuralism and structural semantics. In response to the appearance of analytical and objectifying disciplines that he generally found fruitful, Ricœur’s ambition was to do away with Dilthey’s distinction between “explaining” and “understanding” in order to make explanation the necessary basis for understanding. Objectifying distancing no longer functions as an obstacle to interpretation, and the fascination exercised by critique and method probably comes together with the older influence of Husserl’s phenomenology so that we may establish as a principle that the primary effort of hermeneutics is to allow the text to be itself, so that it must be *read* before it can be interpreted. Thereafter, phenomenology also provides material for understanding and a concept capable of articulating it. Around a text that is well read, says Ricœur, a “world” unfolds, which is offered for the reader to inhabit. That the “world of the text” can become “my world” proves both the classic character of the text and the exactness of the interpretation. And when I understand a classic text, I am in fact invited to understand myself through its mediation: “We understand ourselves only through the great detour of the signs of humanity deposited in the works of culture” (1975). We also need to note that in Ricœur’s hermeneutics, as in the “sciences of the text” with which it is concerned, the author of the work has disappeared; the aim of interpretation is not the “pathetic search for buried subjectivities” (*ibid.*) but the search for a meaning of the work available in the work.

3. Theological Receptions

a) *From Bultmann to the “New Hermeneutics.”* Incomplete and published posthumously, Schleiermacher’s *Hermeneutics* became a point of reference only in the 20th century, and it was in fact the influence of Heidegger on Bultmann*, his colleague in Marburg, that determined the hermeneutic interests of recent theology. From Heidegger, Bultmann had learned that understanding is always preceded by “preunderstandings” (*Vorverständnisse*), the function of which is “to make possible an orientation for thought, not to dictate what must be thought” (Greisch 1985). From his own critical practice of exegesis, on the other hand, he had additionally learned that the biblical text is perhaps the most difficult of all texts. Finally, he had retained from the Enlightenment the very vivid sense of a modernity that had rendered obsolete the vision of the world accepted in biblical texts (*see* Thistleton 1980). Two tasks then seemed necessary: to identify the human

questions to which the text offers a response; and to deliver the text from all the (“mythic”) elements that are unable to contribute to the creation of a theological understanding of the self. The historical character of existence and the anticipatory structure of understanding are borrowed from a *general* hermeneutics that takes an interest in anything interpretable, and for which, besides, everything must be interpreted. Demythologization and the establishment of a relationship between the true “thing” (*Sache*) of the text and the ultimate human questions are, on the other hand, procedures of a specifically theological hermeneutics. It is the goal of this particular hermeneutics to make it possible for the text to speak in the name of God.

The specifically theological contributions of Bultmann, together with a renewal of Lutheran studies, explain why the *word* was the center of the hermeneutic concerns of two of Bultmann’s principle disciples, E. Fuchs (1903–83) and G. Ebeling (1912–). Reference to Luther, especially in Ebeling, makes it possible to name precisely the (strictly theological) problem of hermeneutics: through a text, interpretation should make it possible for the word of God to be heard. This theological necessity, reinforced by Heideggerian influences, led to the attribution of the status of key hermeneutic concepts to what Fuchs and Ebeling called “speech process” (*Wortgeschehen*) or “speech event” (*Sprachereignis*). The critical-exegetical process is not disavowed, but it is marginalized. Hermeneutic circularity is still presupposed, but the urgent hermeneutic work is to allow the Word to speak its own language (for Fuchs, the language of love*) and to prevail over any other language by virtue of its eschatological dimension. In the final analysis it is in preaching* that the Word comes in exemplary fashion. The desire to construct a theology that can be preached thus makes it possible for the “new hermeneutics” to coincide with a central concern of the young Barth*.

b) *Theological Reception of Gadamer.* The philosophical discussion of the arguments proposed in *Truth and Method* has been constant since the publication of the book. Objections are not lacking. For Popperian “critical rationalism,” represented in Germany by H. Albert (1971), Gadamer’s hermeneutics has as its principal characteristic the rejection of the Enlightenment’s legacy of rationality. To this critique, Habermas (1970) added that the rehabilitation of “prejudice” makes impossible any critique of ideologies, and hence any social praxis. For Betti (1967), a defense and illustration of “method,” as well as the use of objective canons of interpretation stand in opposition to Gadamer. But in the end the most radical objections have come out of the critique of the word developed

since 1962 by J. Derrida: for a thought that asserts the priority of writing (“grammatology”), understood as “trace,” as principle of “difference” and “dissemination,” hermeneutics obviously falls victim to all the condemnations of “metaphysics,” “logocentrism,” “white mythology,” and the like.

For obvious reasons, Gadamer’s rehabilitation of prejudice was received with the greatest attention first of all in Catholic theology. What was in fact found in it, at first sight, was the controlling idea of a fundamental* theology of tradition. However, it soon became clear (see Hilberath 1978; Stobbe 1981) that while theology certainly conceives its work as that of an interpretive reading of the founding testimonies of faith within the very community that established those founding testimonies, it also understands interpretation as a critical procedure (e.g., Schillebeeckx 1971; Geffré 1983). It is then the principle of an open multiplicity of readings, all different and none definitive, that is learned from Gadamer. Although not resting on a choice between one or the other, what is involved here is the respective weight given to general hermeneutics and the (special) hermeneutics of the theologians. A theological hermeneutics can be developed on the basis of Gadamer’s arguments, and can have as its aim the bringing to light of a principle of continuity, and of the existence of a place—the church—in which the “fusion of perspectives” and the dwelling in the “world of the Scriptures” come about without friction. We thus see extremist theories know the ecclesiastical conditions of interpretive success so well that they can rely on a paradigm supplied by Eucharistic ecclesiology* (the bishop* concentrating in himself all theological competence when he comments on the Scriptures in the liturgy) to quickly resolve any hermeneutic question (e.g., Marion 1982). The debate is, however, dominated by more prudent voices, united by the rejection of any theological discourse that claims to hold an absolute point of view, and united in the recognition of a fruitful tension between tradition and critique; but carrying diverse emphases, according to whether they agree with Ricœur that the “thing” of the biblical text, “the new being” that it unfolds, has the reality of an inhabitable “world” (see also Tracy 1981), or whether they share with Bultmann the fear of past worlds believed to have been abolished by history. (e.g., Jeanrond 1991)

c) Perspectives. The finitude of existence and the finitude of knowledge: these two axioms of philosophical hermeneutics have been accepted by almost all recent theologies. Pannenberg (1967), for instance, has managed to recognize the truth of the hermeneutic problem, and to reformulate it in the framework of historical reference that he takes largely from Hegel*. The establish-

ment of a general hermeneutics authorized to impose its problems on theology and in part to dictate solutions to theology has also been widely accepted. There is, however, room for dissension based on the uniqueness that faith recognizes in the biblical text. For example, on the basis of structural semiotics, it has been argued that the Bible “is not a text” (Costantini 1976). Others have relied on the work of H. de Lubac* (*Exégèse médiévale*, Paris 1959–64; see van Esbrook 1968) to propose an alliance between contemporary hermeneutics and the older theory of spiritual meaning, or else (Chapelle 1973) to sketch out a systematic organization of theological language*. The questions that occupied the prehistory of hermeneutics are still genuine and live ones, and they make it impossible to believe too quickly in the existence of a general hermeneutics that one need merely apply to Christian texts: whether it is a question of seeing the Old Testament fulfilled in the New (see Beauchamp 1977 and 1990) or of reading the Scriptures in the communion of a tradition that lays claim to the right to provide a normative interpretation of those Scriptures. The theory of dogma* (e.g., Rahner* 1960), the theology of magisterial discourse, the theory of theology, the theory of *loci* theologici*—services are expected from hermeneutics that it has yet to render in a satisfying manner.

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See also **Exegesis; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Scripture, Senses of**

Hermeticism. See Theosophy

Hesychasm

The semantic complex formed by *hèsukhia* and its derivatives represents a key concept in the ascetico-

mystical literature of the Christian East, attested from the dawn of monasticism* to the present day. Of un-

certain etymology (*hèsthai*: to be seated?) and difficult to translate (tranquility, vacuity?), it has undergone a variety of historical developments. It may denote a state of soul* (consisting of withdrawal, peace*, and silence), a way of life (the eremitical state), a method of prayer* (known as *monologistos* or “Jesus* prayer”), a theory of contemplation* (linked to the soteriology of the Greek Fathers*), a theological system (developed by Gregory* Palamas in the 14th century), or a cultural referent shared by different religious movements (including, from the 18th century, that of the *Philocalia*). Taken as a whole, these layers and meanings constitute for the Orthodox Church a methodical spirituality, organized according to dogmatic* theology.

a) Primitive Hesychasm. From the fourth century onward, *hèsukhia* summarized the two fundamental obligations of monastic life: outward anchoritism (seclusion from the outer world) and inward asceticism*. The writings attributed to Anthony (†356) and his disciples, the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, and the narratives of the chroniclers of the church (from Palladius’s *Lausiac History* [c. 420] to the *Spiritual Meadow* [c. 610] by John Moschus), all restrict the title of hesychast to hermits alone. There is no *hèsukhia* without *monôsis*, solitude, or at the very least isolation. However, the organization into *lavrae*, the apostolic dimension of spiritual* direction (recognized in Ammonas’s first *Letter on hèsukhia*), the equally contemplative vocation of cenobitism (intrinsic to the *Rule* of Pachomius, †346), and the model of reclusion in a community (promoted by Barsanuphius of Gaza, †540), underline the rapid rise to dominance of the inward sense of the term. As well as being a way of life, *hèsukhia* was also “an art and a grace” (Evagrius Ponticus [†399], *Treatise*, PG 40, 1260–62 a). It required *apatheia*, mastery of the passions*; *amerimnia*, absolute indifference to worry; *katharsis*, the discernment and eradication of thoughts (*logismoi*); and *nèpsis*, vigilance over the intellect and heart. The means and the end of these states was the *mnèmè tou theou*, the suppression of the world of the senses, imagination, and intellect, a suppression that made possible the recollection of God*—or more precisely of Jesus—in prayer. Based on a typological exegesis* of mystical preeminence (with the figures of Moses, Elijah, Mary of Bethany, and John the “beloved disciple”) and a literal interpretation of the New Testament commandment to pray continually (Lk 18:1; Eph 6:18; 1 Thes 5:17), *meletè* or meditative prayer consisted of the oral repetition or mental contemplation of a formula of contrition, usually taken from the Psalms (Ps 6:3, 25:16, 51:3, etc.) or the Gospels* (the tax collector, the

blind man, the Canaanite woman). A method of constant epiclesis* (which according to Cassian [†432] constituted the “original secret” of the desert tradition [Conferences, X, 10]), *hèsukhia* opened the way to the anticipation of the Kingdom* and the vision of God (Pseudo-Macarius, 5th century, *Hom.* I, 12).

b) Prayer of Jesus and the Sinaitic School. The doctrinal formulation of hesychasm was faced from the outset with two major accounts of monastic life, each of which incurred a suspicion of heterodoxy. On the one hand, there was the Evagrian corpus. Rooted in an extreme intellectualism* inspired by the school of Origen, and notable as much for its psychological as for its lexical architecture, this body of work was later disseminated pseudonymously. On the other hand, there was the pseudepigraphical corpus of the *Macarian Homilies*, with its powerful biblical realism characterized by the concepts of experience*, of the heart, and of felt grace*, but open to question as to its possible Messalianism*. In the *Gnostic Chapters*, Diadochus of Photike (fifth century) achieved a christocentric and sacramental synthesis of these two currents that would be given its classic form by the Sinaitic school. The practice known as “prayer to/of Jesus” probably became associated with it by a process of gradual evolution, in the context of a continuous transmission. John Climacus (†649), who defined *hèsukhia* as “an uninterrupted service of God,” stipulated that “the recollection of Jesus should be as one with breathing” (*Ladder* 27). Hesychius of Batos (eighth century) insisted on perpetual prayer and frequently employed the theme of respiration (*Centuries* I, 5, PG 93, 1481 d). Thus numerous parallels link the name* of Jesus and/or the activity of breathing with monological prayer. Their precise value and meaning (e.g., Nilus of Ancyra [ODCC calls him Nilus the Ascetic] [† c. 430] *Letters* III, 33, PG 79, 392 b), or their exact dating (e.g., Philémon, seventh century?, *Very Useful Discourse*, *Philocalia* II, 241–52), remain subjects of debate. Nevertheless, after the eighth century all metaphorical interpretation was ruled out, and the invocation assumed the now-familiar form: “Lord Jesus Christ*, Son of God, Saviour, have pity upon me, a sinner.”

c) Method of Prayer. The hesychastic renaissance that occurred at Mount Athos between the 13th and 15th centuries coincided with the revelation of a psychosomatic technique—no doubt of earlier date and originating from within the tradition—that complemented the prayer of Jesus. Its classic statements are *The Method of Holy Prayer* by Pseudo-Symeon (perhaps attributable to Nicephorus [† c. 1280], himself the author of a short work, *Nèpsis and the Care of the*

Heart), as well as two treatises by Gregory the Sinaite (†1346) titled *Of the Modes of Prayer* and *Precepts for Hesychasts*. The method, stated simply, consisted of withdrawing into a dark cell, sitting down with the head bent, controlling one's breathing, looking into "the place of the heart," and rhythmically repeating the prayer. Although some physiological explanations and descriptions of its effects appear to cast doubt on the purely instrumental character of the method, its only goal remained receptiveness to grace (*Of the Modes*, PG 150, 1329 b–1332 a). Theoleptus of Philadelphia (†1326), a disciple of Nicephorus, does not mention it (*On Secret Activity*, PG 143, 388 ab), and Gregory Palamas (†1359), associated with Gregory the Sinaite, plays down its importance in order to exclude any mechanical conception of *hēsukhia* (*Tr.* I, 2, 3–9). For all that, it became the pretext for the "hesychastic controversy" and shed light on far more decisive theological issues.

d) *Byzantine Neo-Hesychasm*. "To contain the incorporeal in a corporeal dwelling" (Climacus, *Ladder* 27): a doctrine as much as a form of spirituality, hesychasm contained something of the Greek Fathers' gnosiology. It verified it experimentally and gave it concrete expression by confirming the reality of divinization: full personal communion* with God realized the eschatological promise here on earth; participation in the mystery* was real and in no way diminished it. In parallel with the establishment of christological dogma*, the main current of patristic thought, from the Cappadocian Fathers (fourth century) to John Damascene (†749), incorporated the vocabulary of *hēsukhia*, its use of apophysis (negative formulations) and antinomy (contradictory constructions), and its discursive reduction to soteriological principles alone. The theory of divine indwelling adopted the anthropology* of the desert and its principal expressions—the transfiguration of the body, the spiritual senses, the heart as a projection of the *noûs* (the intellect or "transcendent I") and of the human totality. Hesychasm likewise helped to form a representation of deification (by way of the themes of light, glory*, and gifts) while at the same time prohibiting its conceptualization: the passage—the Passover—which made "man God by grace" implemented a radical disjunction with the whole of creation (Maximus* the Confessor [†662], *Theol. and Ec. Chap.* I, 51–60, PG 90, 1101–05). From the ninth century onward, Byzantine theology* would formalize this dialectic of divine incommunicability and communication by applying it to pneumatology. Symeon the New Theologian (†1022), a defender of the charismatic nature of the church, placed the vision of God in the perspective of a baptism* experienced consciously

(*Cat.* XIV, 68–164). According to Gregory the Sinaite, an analysis of the intellect and its manifestations tended to affirm an absolute transcendence of pure prayer, under the sole influence of the Holy Spirit* (*On hēsukhia*, PG 150, 1303–12): beyond the minor phenomenon of ecstasy, the state of divinization was seen to be both stable and dynamic. Finally, Gregory Palamas, reacting against the violent attacks of the philosophers and humanists of his time, endowed hesychasm with a dogmatic expression by defining the unity and distinctness of the essence and the uncreated energies. Sustained by a desire for liturgical reform, a return to the sources of iconography, and an intense activity of translation, and supported by the patriarchate of Constantinople, which had been won over to Palamism, neo-hesychasm spread across the whole Byzantine world. It was disseminated by Theodosius of Tarnovo (†1363) in Bulgaria, Romil of Vidin (†1375) in Serbia, Nicodemus of Tismana (†1409) in Wallachia, and Sergius of Radonezh (†1392) and Metropolitan Cyprian († c. 1420) in Russia. This inheritance was to play a decisive part in the development of modern Orthodoxy*.

e) *Revival of the Philocalia*. Hesychasm continued to fulfill the function of a theological benchmark in the general crisis that affected the Orthodox Church from the 16th to the 18th century: although marginalized, the "nonpossessors"—whose *Rule*, promulgated by Nil Sorsky (†1508), advocated this method of prayer—brought to completion its reception in Russia. And limited as they were, the efforts at publishing that accompanied the internal mission undertaken by the patriarchate of Jerusalem* under the pontificates of Nectarius, Dositeus, and Chrysantus (1661–1743) resulted in better access to the texts. As a result of the importance accorded to the monasteries, and to the institution of spiritual father (the *gerôn* or *starets*) in the preservation of the faith*, the Jesus prayer was taught to a wide circle of the laity*. It was, however, with the publication of the *Philocalia* in 1782 that the theoretical resurgence came to completion. This anthology of texts from the fourth to the 15th century, compiled by Macarius of Corinth (†1805) and Nicodemus the Hagiorite (†1809), was expressly intended to confront Enlightenment rationalism* with an encyclopedia of hesychasm, Palamite in its ambitions and linking dogma with spirituality. This revival was initially apparent in Greek- and Arabic-speaking circles. Thanks to the *Dobrotolubije*, a Slavonic version of the Greek text published in Moldavia by Paisy Velichkovsky (†1794) and simultaneously in Moscow in 1793, it then spread to central Europe, the Balkans, and Russia. The latter saw a flourishing of the Philocalian spirit

during the 19th century. The translation of the original collection (St. Petersburg, 1857) by Bishop Ignatius Brianchaninov (†1867) was followed by a new, more extensive compilation by Theophan the Recluse (†1894), which, however, betrayed a pietistic bias in its cuts and additions (Moscow, 1877). Made famous by major figures of sanctity such as Seraphim of Sarov (†1833) or the *startsi* of Optino (especially Ambrose [†1891]), popularized by the anonymous work *The Sincere Narratives of a Pilgrim to His Spiritual Father* (Kazan, c. 1870), hallowed by art and literature (Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* being but one example), hesychasm regained all its cultural value. In 1912–13, however, the condemnation of the “onomatolaters” (“name-worshippers”), Russian monks of Athos who worshipped the divinity of the name of Jesus itself, revealed the difficulties inherent in this expansion.

f) Prospects. In the 20th century the monumental Romanian *Philocalia* of Dumitru Staniloae (†1994) significantly accorded pride of place to theoretical writings and in particular to Maximus the Confessor and Gregory Palamas. In contemporary Orthodox theology the neopatristic school regards hesychasm as a summary mapping of the Christian experience*, and indispensable as a prism through which to interpret that experience. At the same time, a movement toward the revival of monasticism has laid claim to its entire heritage; and as the writings of Joseph the Hesychast (†1954) and Paissios of Cappadocia (†1995) make clear, Mount Athos is still its epicenter. This air of completion and unchangingness are entirely characteristic. Hesychasm cannot be reduced to a matter of sub-religious technique, and comparisons with *prânâyama yoga*, the Indian *Japa*, or the *nembûtsû* of Zen Buddhism (with the exception of the Sufi *dhikr*, which may have a related ancestry) fall within the province of fundamental anthropology or syncretistic sociology. Neither can it be classed as an Eastern variant of ejaculatory prayer, such as the Benedictine *quies* or the Ignatian *Exercises*, since the superficial similarities are canceled out by the difference in systematic and historical scope. In the consciousness of Orthodoxy, *hêsukhia* holds together spirituality and theology, prophecy* and tradition, truth and the Holy Spirit. The closest equivalent one might suggest would be “the logic of grace”—provided that it is understood as an experience incapable of being conveyed in words.

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See also **Experience; Gregory of Palamas; Knowledge, Divine; Monasticism; Negative Theology**

Hexapla. *See* **Translations of the Bible, Ancient**

Hierarchy

In canon law* the word “hierarchy” (from the Greek *hieros*, “sacred,” and *arkhè*, “origin,” “domination”) designates a religious structure characterized and determined by a power of transcendent origin. This kind of structure comes about only in a context in which essential theological decisions are constantly needing to be made. In a religion of the Law* or of the Book*, for example, where the principal concern is to interpret established principles, there can be no hierarchy. This is why hierarchy is a typically Christian phenomenon.

a) Development of Hierarchy in Christianity. The concept of hierarchy is not found in the New Testament, although it does present distinctions of rank among the associates of Jesus* (the primacy of “the Twelve,” the special role of Peter*) and among the post-Easter communities (the authority of Paul, the gradation of ministries [1 Cor 12:28], emphasis on the role of the *episkopos*). It was out of these distinctions that there arose in the second century the ministerial triad (bishop*-presbyter*-deacon*). Pseudo-Dionysius* was

probably the first to apply the term “hierarchy” to church structures*, by establishing an analogy between the threefold heavenly order and the ternary organization of the church* on earth. In this instance, hierarchy was a speculative category making it possible to interpret the order of salvation* (*see Cael. Hier.* 3. 1). With the development of canonical ecclesiology* in the 12th century, the church was characterized as a society* (*societas perfecta*) comparable to a political community, made up of unequal classes—clergy and laity*—the various functions of which determined in turn further differences in rank. For this reason, and also because of the importance of the clergy for the church as a whole, hierarchy became a central canonical concept. However, it presupposes a sacramental order (ministry*), so that it is encountered (in theory and in practice) only in Christian confessions that have such an order (the Catholic Church, the Orthodox churches, the Anglican Communion). While the churches that came out of the Reformation do also ordain their ministers, because of their doctrine of uni-

versal priesthood* the ministry has only a functional role.

b) Catholic Position up to the Second Vatican Council. Early on, bishops (as true holders of the ministry) received upon ordination* full power (*potestas sacra*) over a particular local* church (relative ordination). In the 12th century the idea emerged that ecclesial power contains two elements, one resulting from ordination (*potestas ordinis*) and the other from jurisdiction* over a particular church (*potestas iurisdictionis*). The power of ordination is gradually conferred by the sacrament* of ordination (deacon, priest*, bishop) and determines the hierarchy of the clerical order. The power of jurisdiction is attached to the ministries of the pope* and the bishop, falling to the former by the acceptance of his position and to the latter by his appointment. All other responsibilities are derived from one of these two hierarchical degrees. The pope thereby possesses primacy in matters of jurisdiction, but not in matters of ordination. Strictly speaking, the two elements should be linked in such a way that only an ordained minister would also have the power of jurisdiction. But in practice this principle is not respected at the present time (*CIC* of 1983, can. 129, following which the *potestas regiminis* falls to ordained ministers, while the laity* have the right to participate in the *exercitum potestatis*). Even today the fundamental solidarity of these two elements is evident in the fact that the hierarchical order is attributed to “divine right” (can. 330–31, 375, 1008). But because the church understands itself essentially on the basis of the idea that the community of believers makes up the people* of God, and also because relative ordination still defines hierarchy in relation to a particular community, hierarchical absolutism has never taken root. This is clearly highlighted in the doctrine of the *sensus* fidei* and the *sensus fidelium*, in the place of scientific theology*, and in reflections on reception*.

c) Vatican II and Current Law of the Catholic Church. Vatican* II attempted to combine the medieval model

of the church as “society” with the concept of *communio* developed in the early church. This led to a reevaluation of the functions of the bishop, the local churches, and the laity. The concept of *communio hierarchica* made it possible to link the two approaches (*LG* 21). Particular emphasis was placed on the absolute bond between the church and the Pope (*LG* 22; *nota praevia* 3). The distinction between sacramental ordination and canonical mission was maintained by emphasizing the latter. In the *CIC* (*Codex Iuris Canonici*) the hierarchical structure is presented in the following manner: The pope holds supreme power—plenary, direct, regular, and universal power, that he may exercise freely at any time—in the legislative, executive, judicial, and doctrinal domains; and doctrinally he possesses infallibility when he speaks *ex cathedra*. The *episcopal college*, led by the pope, shares this full and supreme power in the official acts of its members, whether they are scattered around the world or meeting in an ecumenical council*. In addition there are certain organs common to the church as a whole: the synod* of bishops, the college of cardinals, the Roman curia, papal legates, and apostolic nuncios. The *CIC* of 1983 does not contain the noun *hierarchia*, but only the adjective *hierarchicus*, associated with the terms “structure,” “constitution,” “community,” “recourse,” and “superiors.”

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See also Authority; Church and State; Communion; Government, Church; Indefectibility of the Church; Infallibility

Hilary of Poitiers

?—died c. 366–368

Between the years 350 and 360, Hilary, Bishop* of Poitiers, was one of the most skilled spokesmen for the pro-Nicaean West. Except for his relations with Martin of Tours, whose monastic plans he favored, our knowledge of his life, based on the documentation at our disposal today, is contained in his works, almost all of which were inspired by his stance in favor of the Nicaean Creed. Although Hilary did not have the gift for speculative virtuosity of his exact contemporary Marius Victorinus, nonetheless, his works established him as an exegetist of absolutely first-rate abilities, well qualified to develop a biblical* theology of rare scope.

a) Brilliant Exegetist. The earliest of Hilary's works to have come down to us, a commentary on Matthew, already shows signs of his great hermeneutic agility in allegorical interpretation of the Gospels*. Because the allegorical method was rare in Western Christendom, Hilary's use of it proves the independent circulation of Origen's principles of exegesis*—apart from Hilary's personal knowledge of that master of Alexandria's treatises. Hilary's scrupulous regard for method, his careful implementation of the most coherent system possible for deciphering the Scriptures, was allied to his very uncommon purpose at this time, to propound a unitarian reading of the texts of the Gospels.

By means of a very Irenaean grasp of the whole plan of the history of salvation*, Hilary was intent on interpreting all the deeds and sayings concerning the life of Christ*, while preserving throughout their literal meaning, as forecasts of their later consequences—such as the incredulity of the Jews, the communication of the Good News to the Gentiles, and the growth of the church*. The annotations of doctrinal character that punctuate his work clearly reveal Hilary's debt to Tertullian* and Novatian—and, whenever the commentary touches on ecclesiology*, to Cyprian*, too. The first hints of an anti-Arian polemic can also be discerned in this work.

b) A Nicaean Astride East and West. A victim of the policy of bringing the Western episcopacy into line, a policy directed by Constantius II (an emperor con-

cerned with safeguarding the empire's religious unity, founded on an expression of faith* hostile to the Nicaean Creed), and a policy enforced in the Gauls by Saturninus, Bishop of Arles, Hilary was exiled to Asia Minor in 356. His four-year-long stay in the East not only enabled him to discover the wealth of Eastern spiritual and theological exegetical tradition*—his works, *Tractatus super Psalms* and a *Tractatus Mysteriorum*, no doubt composed when he returned from exile, show Origen*'s renewed influence on him. But his exile also allowed him to get to know at first hand the main documents in the Arian controversy, such as the *Epistle from Arius to Alexander of Alexandria* and certain confessions of faith from the anti-Nicaean synods, while he admitted to having discovered the Nicaean Creed only a short time before his banishment (*De synodis* 91).

More than any other Westerner, Hilary concerned himself with evaluating the complexity of the Eastern theologico-political field at a point in time when this domain, with the explosion of the anti-Nicaean front, was undergoing profound evolutions and reconstructions. Through this interest, he made close contacts with the chief representatives of the Homoiousian Movement. Members of this movement balked at the concept of *homoousios* (consubstantiation*) and claimed that the Son was not of the same substance as the Father, but merely of a similar substance (*homoiousios*). At the same time, these homoiousians remained just as vigorously opposed to both the radical Arianism of an Aetius or an Eudoxus as to the homoiousianism promoted by Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum at the Council of Sirmium in 357.

In this context, Hilary saw the necessity of considerably modifying the schematic and oversimplistic view, largely derived from that of Athanasius of Alexandria, that the badly informed Westerners held of the Arian crisis and the theological positions of its various protagonists. In Hilary's eyes, all the adversaries of *homoousios* were not necessarily Arians, and the Nicaeans ought to try to seek agreement with these anti-Nicaean anti-Arians at a crucial moment in the Arian crisis (the meetings of the two Councils* of Rimini and of Seleucia had just been announced). He thus pro-

posed himself as a sort of mediator (*De synodis* 7) between the two circles of influence, and it was to this purpose that at the end of 358 or the beginning of 359 he addressed to the bishops of Gaul and of Brittany, some of whom had consulted him, a treatise-epistle, the *De synodis*, in which he tried to demonstrate the significant conformity concealed beneath the terminological disagreement between the *Homoiousian* and *Homoousian* theses.

In the first part (*De synodis* §1–65), Hilary stressed the Homoiousian rejection of the “Blasphemy of Sirmium” of 357 (a commentary on the anathemas of the Synod that Basil of Ancyra had convened in 358 for this purpose) in order to bring about an examination of the confessions of faith to which this group subscribed: Antioch—351, Sardis—343, Sirmium—351. No doubt Hilary had already begun to apply such a method for the collation of a dossier of historico-dogmatic *testimonia* in a work of which only fragments are extant today, published under the title *Collectanea antariana parisina*, whose stages of composition are obscure. He deliberately exploited the lack of mention or imprecision with regard to the key points of the controversy, which these different creeds contained, as well as their repeated condemnations of radical Arianism, and he claimed to extract from them a Trinitary theology* in conformity with the Nicæan canons. Hilary’s acuity deserves a passing mention: he was one of the first of only a few Westerners to perceive (*De synodis* §32) that the Latin term *substantia* can be translated just as well by *ousia* as by *hupostasis*, the Greek terms understood respectively as the unity of substance and the distinction of the Persons*.

In a second section (*De synodis* §66–92), he compared *homoousios* and *homoiousios* in order to show the equivalence of the two terms. Although he was under no illusions about the difficulties of the enterprise and the resistance it aroused in both parties to the dispute—the work included an address to the Homoiousian bishops—he attempted nonetheless to provide an Homoousian exegesis of *homoiousios*, in the framework of a homology between *similitudo* (similarity) and *aequalitas* (equivalence).

In the short run, Hilary’s efforts were fruitless, or almost so. The Homoiousian positions were victorious finally at the Councils of Rimini and Seleucia (359). Moreover, Hilary’s negotiations with Constantius II, thanks to his coming to Constantinople in 360, ended in failure, as seen in *Ad Constantium* and *In Constantium*. Lucifer of Cagliari and other radical Nicæans accused Hilary of betrayal. As for Athanasius, in the *Peri sunodôn*, which he composed between 359 and 361, he cast the confessions of faith dear to the Homoiousians into the abyss of Arianism. Although

Athanasius might have borrowed the title of his work from Hilary, he never mentioned him in any of his writings. Hilary’s success was therefore confined to Gaul above all. His influence on the synodal decree of the Council of Paris of 360–61, addressed to some Eastern bishops, is patent.

In 364–65, together with Eusebius of Vercell, Hilary failed in an attempt to oust the Homoiousian Auxentius from the See of Milan (*see Contra Auxentium*). Deeply conscious of his duties as a pastor*, Hilary was one of the first in the West to compose anti-Arian hymns, of which only fragments survive. His most lasting contribution is a great work, probably elaborated in its entirety in the East, the *De Trinitate*, to borrow the title given to this work since the sixth century, which demonstrates clearly the fruits of his Eastern exile.

c) *Doctrinal Modifications and a New Style of Nicæan Theology.* *De Trinitate*, an imposing treatise in 12 books written in an often difficult language, is not a general survey of theology drawn up according to a prearranged plan from its beginnings (*see* M. Simonetti’s *Note sul commento a Matteo de Ilario di Poitiers*, 1964). It is a work of exceptional scope for the Nicæan West, and it leads progressively to the refutation of the Arianizing theses and their defenses, not without recapitulations, digressions, or anticipations, and it presents a very specific defense and demonstration of the Nicæan position. The rejection of technical argumentation, which was largely indebted to the philosophical field, in favor of a lavish biblical theology is coupled to very meaningful lexical choices. The Nicæan term *homoousios* is hardly mentioned, consistent with the reticence that is clearly evident in his other work of this period, *De synodis*. Contrary to Athanasius, Marius Victorinus, and Gregory of Elvira, Hilary thought that without a gloss, this term, just like *homoiousios*, was open to a “heretical” as well as an “orthodox” interpretation (*De synodis* 70–71). That is because his contact with the Homoiousians had given him a “strong anti-Sabellian outlook” (Simonetti) that made him condemn not only Photinus but also Marcel of Ancyra (*De Trinitate* VII:3).

Henceforth, Hilary constantly avoided all traditional analogies* that sought to explain the relations of the Father* and the Son, such as root/plant, source/stream, or fire/flame (*De Trinitate* IX:37). Moreover, he was keenly aware of the inadequacy of human language when speaking of God* (*De Trinitate* IV:14 and X:67), and his arguments spring above all from exegesis, especially of the Johannine writings. All the same, he did not abandon the theological tradition inaugurated by Tertullian and Novation. Rather, he used this tradition copiously to demonstrate, at one and the same time,

the unity and the plurality of God (*natura/persona*), as well as the copresence of two centers of distinct characteristics in Jesus Christ*. However, he was not its slave; he abandoned the Tertullian doctrine of the corporeity of the soul*; he also developed an original doctrine (but one not exempt from Docetic traits) of the celestial body of Christ (*De Trinitate* X:14f.).

Despite the title under which his work is known, Hilary gave very limited space to the Holy* Spirit, which he considered to be a gift and which he never described as a *persona*. His whole effort was bent on showing, in the Father and the Son, that total copenetration of being, of action, and of will that their origin clearly distinguished, since the Father had engendered and the Son was engendered.

Augustine* would later recall this first attempt, which was created as a global confrontation of the most profound doctrinal issues of the Arian crisis, an attempt of which his commentary on Psalm 138 gives a synthesis.

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See also Arianism; Athanasius of Alexandria; Trinity

Hirscher, Johann Baptist von. *See* Tübingen, Schools of

History

Two things are to be understood by history: a scientific discipline (the “investigation,” Greek *historia* [references in Winkelmann 1991] of mankind’s past) and the overall object of this discipline (“that which has taken place,” “that which has happened,” insofar as it has involved people). The quality of being “historical” is consequently attributed both to texts—to “history books”—and to facts or events—“historical events”: a double meaning that inevitably gives rise to ambiguities

and calls for lexical clarifications. It might be added that the proper object of historical research (*see* A below) is the past, but that the philosophy and theology of history (*see* B below) generally permit themselves to consider history as a totality encompassing past, present, and future. Lastly, for the historical method and its employment in the interpretation of the New Testament corpus, *see* in the first instance Hengel 1979.

A. Historical Knowledge

Although prefigured elsewhere in the form of *annals* or *chronicles*, history originated in Greece, where it acquired the dual vocation of literary work (there could be no historian without the art of writing) and strict cognitive process. It was nonetheless in the modern period that it assumed its canonical form; and once the 16th century had made possible the advent of modern science and endowed it with statutes (Bacon), it took the greatest possible share of those enviable statutes. The subject matter of history, whether “fact” or “event,” certainly has the capacity to perplex the historian (and especially the philosopher!). It is evident, simply by definition, that the past no longer exists, that it no longer has being other than in the traces, monuments, archives, and memories that it has left. The significance of a paradox advanced by Wittgenstein* may be understood in this light: all our archives and all our memories together do not prove that the world, and we ourselves, have existed for more than a day or two, since a perverse creator could well have made everything two days ago, including in his creation* everything that we take as proof that there has been a past. How then are we to speak of the past, when any interaction with it is forbidden, when experience (in the scientific sense) is only ever possible in the element of the present, when we always require a kind of “core of belief,” in the Husserlian sense, in order to ascribe to a text, building, and so forth the status of a vestige or monument? The answer, which enables

us to offer a solution to Wittgenstein’s paradox and at the same time to specify the method that should be used in history, consists of an appeal to the idea of *witness*. Just as “exact” science, according to Bacon, is a matter of “making nature* talk” in the same way that in the process of law a suspect is made to talk, so texts and archives, insofar as they are accorded the status of witnesses (and common sense leads us to acknowledge that among all the objects of the present there are some that are the remains of the past), may be forced to tell the truth*. This insistence has a name: criticism. The aim of criticism is to understand the evidence (to speak the language that the witness speaks, to know what literary genre he or she is employing, and first of all to establish the exact text of the evidence, etc.) and to assign it a truth value without naïveté. Only facts or events that the historian acknowledges to be knowable to him through the mediation of trustworthy witnesses can have the status of “historical.”

There remains one problem, however, that appears with growing insistence throughout the development of the historico-critical project: a witness is only trustworthy (a necessary though not a sufficient condition) if he or she gives evidence of a historical object that is accepted *a priori* to be possible. The existence of tales of miracles, as Hume remarked and Lessing reiterated, does not prove the existence of miracles. The critical standard for the past is revealed to the historian by the present—for where else could one be found? What is

real at the present time reveals to him what may have been. The axiom upon which history is founded, as formulated by Troeltsch (1913), thus has every appearance of being indisputable: only things that could equally well happen today can aspire to the status of historical reality (event, speech, etc.). The past (and the future too, by the by) is expected to maintain a relationship of *analogy* with the present—a relationship in which similarity outweighs any dissimilarity. If, however, the question is asked what the present contains, man's modern, "scientific" ambitions lead necessarily (and tritely) to the conclusion that it contains *facts*, which we can try to deal with just as the "hard" sciences deal with the physical realities that fall within their domain. History does not claim to lay down the law on the level of existence proper to social, economic, or religious "facts," for example, but is content merely to record their existence. In so doing, however, it defines and establishes its subject matter: it is not the reality of the past, but that of the present, that dictates the meaning of "historical."

The consequences of such a problem need give no cause for alarm, provided that one is prepared to confront them head on. It is straightforwardly true, after all, that Troeltsch's axiom provides the starting point for any coherent ontology of the past, that "that which is" provides the most reliable criterion we have to interpret "that which is no longer." It is besides quite obvious that as far as what is concerned, the historian's starting point, because "scientific," is *secularized*. That which is—that which is in the factual order—includes neither the miracles, nor the wonders, nor the battles with giants, which are often the favorite ingredients of precritical ("premodern") narrative. That which is is defined as such in the context of a "vision of the world," our own, and within this framework some things exist and others do not. There are fairy stories; but a critical history of fairies would be no more than the history of a belief or superstition—it being understood that beliefs are historical objects just like any other.

One or two initial truths can thus be recognized: 1) The rules of what constitutes historical objects, to begin with, since they belong to science, to a "new science" (Vico) that appeared in the wake of the natural sciences*, are rules just as strictly atheistic as those of physics or chemistry, and displaying an atheism* just as strictly *methodological*. There is thus no unjust accusation to be leveled at what the critical historian has to say: he will never vouch for the reality of a miracle (whether worked by Jesus or by the spurious miracle worker Alexander of Abonuteichos, and whether recounted by the evangelist Mark or by Lucian of Samosata), for the good reason that his heuristic and

hermeneutic principles deny that there can have been one; but the rationality of these principles prevents them from setting themselves up as absolutely right to the exclusion of any other correct statement. The critical historian can no more regard his statements as absolute than the physicist can make his theories absolute. Both would in fact jeopardize the scientific nature of their projects were they to lose sight of the axiomatic decisions that define their territory and their way of occupying that territory. 2) While history is competent only concerning historical matters, we should not be tempted to see it as devoted to a rather banal kind of positivism. Even that most spectacularly positivist of philosophers, Carnap (the architect of "logical positivism"), concluded his resolution of all philosophical *problems* by admitting the existence of *enigmas* (death*, evil*, etc.), which do not correspond to any scientific *question*, and which therefore do not call for a scientific *response*, but which must all the same be recognized to exist. The same goes for the historian. If he is naive, he will believe that nothing has existed that is not, ipso facto, a historical object—that "being historical" and "having been" are interchangeable. If he is less naive, he will say that the historical is merely historical, that "contingent historical truths" cannot be "proofs of the Spirit and strength" (Lessing, then Kierkegaard*; also Fichte, followed by Bultmann*, etc.), and that the important things—spiritual life, faith—begin by way of the leap that gives access to another territory. But why leap at all, if not because the past, even glimpsed within the limits of historicity pure and simple, also possesses a genuine and mysterious force—if not because the historical may also conceal more meaning, or more being, than its critical constitution assigns it a priori?

Epistemological common sense leads us here to a lexical distinction that has marked all the debates that have focused on the "historical Jesus*" and the "Christ* of faith," from M. Kähler (1896) to the *New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (Robinson 1959) and beyond: that between (in German) the *historisches* and the *geschichtliches*—one might say between the *historical* (as it has been defined on the basis of the historico-critical practice that constitutes it) and the *historial* (which may be defined, as generally as possible, as the flux of that which passes, that which has passed, and that which will pass, insofar as this flux is an object of human experience). Understood in terms of its more or less obvious meaning, the distinction expresses a refusal to authorize critical history to have the last word as to what has taken place. Taken positively, furthermore, it expresses a fruitful resolve to subject critical history to criticism. Such criticism, of course, must not end by stretching the links between the historical and the

historical in such a way that the historical, in the eyes of the believer (and the theologian), ceases to appear as anything but a “factuality” immaterial to the logic of belief (Bultmann). Neither God* nor the miracles of Jesus nor his resurrection* are potential historical objects. Once it has done its round of the facts, history remains history; and if it encounters, for example, the mystery of an empty tomb, it cannot legitimately draw theological conclusions from it. Nevertheless, this distinction between the historical and the historical does not aim to support a gnosiological dualism, but rather to point out that the reality of the past goes beyond what history, as a science, can consider as absolutely certain. Because theology consists in the first instance of an act of *memory*, historical knowledge and theological knowledge are two ways of apprehending and interpreting the *same* reality. And while it is clear, in historical terms, that the past is accessible to whomever has eyes to see (and intelligence enough to assess the credibility* of the evidence), it is also clear, in theological terms, that the “eyes of faith” (Rousselot) see their object—the “image” or “face” of revelation* (Balthasar*)—only by being *passionate* for it (Kierkegaard) in a way that is either not truly “scientific” or else represents a scientific nature entirely of its own kind (e.g., T. F. Torrance).

Three codicils may be added. 1) History (*Historie*) itself has its history (*Geschichte*), within which objects have at times lost their historical status, but within which the nonhistorical may also become historical. The extreme theoretical illustration of this is to be found in the fundamental* theology of Pannenberg, according to whom any historical reality and any theological object are candidates for inclusion in the class of historical realities. 2) A scrupulous definition of critical work, moreover, would also demand that one consider the use, within the writing of history, of a well-known epistemological prin-

ciple, the “principle of charity” (in which any evidence is assumed to be innocent as long as its guilt has not been proved), and the tacit use of an opposite principle that could be called the “principle of suspicion” (any evidence is assumed to be guilty as long as its innocence has not been proved). 3) Finally, however much critical history is motivated by a desire for neutrality, the narratives it presents are still only theories, correct or incorrect, which reveal the theorist’s viewpoint—his “tendencies”—as much and sometimes more than they reveal their subject. Some viewpoints are better than others; but in history just as in theology and indeed everywhere else, there is no “divine viewpoint” (H. Putnam).

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B. Theology of History

a) *Biblical Theology*. The theology* of history begins with the experience* of Israel*. It is the experience of a past perceived as the gift of order and finality: man lives in a creation*, within which a logic of choice* and salvation* governs the destiny of the people. It is the experience of a present structured by divine law* and the Covenant*, and in which the liturgy* serves as a perpetual reminder of God*’s great deeds (*ma’asey elohim*). Finally, it is an experience di-

rected toward an absolute future: the Covenant is sustained by divine promises* compelling a hope* of which prophecy*, messianism*, and apocalyptic* literature serve as reminders. Onto a cyclical experience of time*, marked out in religious terms by agrarian rituals, a linear temporality is superimposed whose divine origin ensures its intelligibility and continuity. A transcendent scheme of definitive peace* and salvation remain at work within the violent contingencies of hu-

man action, or simply in the succession of the generations (*toldoth*).

In the New Testament, a language of fulfillment—of imminent fulfillment, moreover—takes the place of the language of promise. Not only does Jesus* preaching* announce the extreme proximity of the Kingdom of God (Mt 3:17, etc.), not only is Jesus presented as him in whom Israel's expectations and Scriptures* are fulfilled (Mt 1:22, Mk 14:49, Lk 4:21, Jn 12:38, etc.), but his recognition as the Messiah* obliges us to accord his mission a strictly eschatological sense. Israel's history has reached its conclusion; and since this history is biblically inseparable from the history of all nations, the "fullness of time" (Gal 4:4) may be regarded as the end of history itself. Primitive Christianity was aware that it had arisen from a history, and that a new era was beginning with it; and it neither knew nor believed itself to be charged with any other mission than to call people to conversion* while awaiting the imminent return (the Parousia*) of the risen Messiah. The idea that the church* could have a history was not absent from the primitive Christian consciousness, whether the sense of this history resided in the mission* to the pagans (Paul, Luke) or was based on the "patience" of God, who allowed an extended time for this conversion (2 Pt 3:8f.). The first church appears furthermore to have been a structured community, not an enthusiastic sect incapable of surviving a delay in the Parousia. At any event, there was one key feature: the reality of this continuing history was only temporary. Whether the history of the world would continue after the world's salvation had been accomplished undoubtedly represented a major theological problem. At the end of the apostolic age, the problem was resolved in practical terms. But the New Testament clearly offers no more than the first rudiments of a theology of history for the use of believers for whom the future is no longer charged with any promise of salvation or revelation*.

b) History of the Church and the City of God. A radical refusal of the world and of history is one of the essential characteristics of gnosis*, and the Christian refusal of gnosticism reveals among other things an alliance between Christianity and history—retrospectively in Israel's experience, and prospectively in that of the church, history is subject to the benevolent government of divine providence*. There is admittedly an "eschatological impatience" (which would recur periodically) to be seen in numerous patristic texts. The deadline allotted to history was a short one—Lactantius still expected the world to end in 500. Millenarianism*, moreover, expressed dissatisfaction with the present conditions of historical existence by hoping for

a history to come (a "millennium") in which Christ* would reign visibly in the world. The future belonged to other lines of thought, however. For Irenaeus* (despite his millenarian sympathies) a theology of tradition* and eschatological recapitulation (*anakephalaiôsis*) made it possible to ensure the conditions both of the church's perpetual fidelity to its mission and of a fruitful historical development. Eusebius of Caesarea, for his part, considered the new position the church occupied in the Roman world after the conversion of Constantine. The Christianization of the empire, in this earliest of all Christian political* theologies, appears as the fulfillment of history. The triumph of the imperial monarchy and the triumph of monotheism* are two events linked by providence; and the concept of "evangelical preparation" makes possible a broad account of universal history in which everything culminates in the dual, and unique, offer to mankind of the *pax romana* and the *pax christiana*.

Byzantine theology would retain Eusebius's overall scheme, and it reappeared without fail in Latin theology every time a secular power claimed to be the church's providential protector. The most confusing theological critique, however, arose as early as the fifth century. In 410, the sack of Rome* by Alaric marked the end of the *pax romana*. For Orosius, a disciple of Augustine*, this conclusion played out without any great drama marked a transition: the empire's civilizing mission was now inherited by the church. For Augustine, who wrote his *City of God* between 412 and 426, the death of the western empire was the occasion for an all-encompassing interpretation of history, which recognized that civilizations were mortal, and drew the appropriate lessons from this. History, in fact, was twofold: the history of the "City* of God," beginning with Abel, and the history of the "earthly city" beginning with Cain. Since Christ's coming, humanity had been living out the world's last age (the sixth), whose duration was unimportant. During this age, as during the previous ones, the City of God existed in the world in the form of the "pilgrimage*" (*peregrinatio*), without undergoing any progress, always endowed with the same love* of God, visible in the church without being identified with the visible church, the two cities never ceasing all the while to be "interlinked" and "intimately mingled" (*Civ. Dei* I, 35). The details of universal history therefore ceased to be important. History was no longer any more than the arena in which "the two loves who have built the two cities" confronted one another. The theological significance of universal history was merely to accommodate that confrontation, which therefore manifested itself in every locus of experience. Providence could place a civilization at the service of the City of God—but civ-

ilizations themselves, and their histories, were mere secular realities.

While still accorded lip service, Augustine's theology of history was gradually overshadowed during the Middle Ages as attention came to be seized by the church's visible successes: so Otto of Freising concluded his *Historia de duabus civitatibus* (1147) with the observation that the two cities now formed just one, which was the church. The Middle Ages, moreover, witnessed the rise of the unprecedented theories (Lubac* 1978) of Joachim* of Fiore: the idea of an imminent Age of the Spirit, which would follow the Age of the Father* (the Old Testament) and the age of the Son; the idea of a monastic and ascetic church taking over from a church of the clergy (from the *ordo clericorum*); and the idea of an "eternal Gospel" of which the present time was still unaware—later taken up by the "Spiritual Franciscans" and destined to have a considerable following. Joachim was refuted by Thomas* Aquinas, and his historical preoccupations (and those of the Spiritual Franciscans) received an even more trenchant response from Bonaventure*. Leaving aside this major debate, however, the interest of the Middle Ages in history was slight, and their interest in a theological theory of history almost nonexistent. Authors such as Gehroh of Reichersberg, Honorius "of Autun" (c. 1080–c. 1156), Hugh of Saint-Victor (†1141), Rupert of Deutz (c. 1070–1129), Anselm of Havelberg (†1158), or Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) produced a symbolist and typological interpretation of history (both biblical and universal) that deserves attention—but Scholasticism* would follow other paths.

Augustinian nuances were to return with insistence in the theological polemics of the Reformation, whether it was a matter of rejecting the visible church's pretensions actually to be the Kingdom* of God or of maintaining, as in the radical theology of S. Franck (1499–1542), that the true church had never existed except as an "invisible diaspora." From Augustine to Luther*, or Catholicism*'s apologies against the Reformation (e.g., in the writings of C. Baronius [1538–1607]), one fact in any event remains constant: when history does appear, it appears first and foremost as a theological object; secular history only deserves mention by virtue of the theological services it renders or does not render to the church.

c) *History, Secularism, Philosophy.* It may be said that one and the same period, the 16th century, witnessed the birth of a scientific history of the church and saw history lose its status as a uniquely theological subject. Modernity arose, crucially, by secularizing history. According to J. Bodin (1529–96) the *historia divina* coexisted in principle with a *historia naturalis*

and a *historia humana*, but it was the latter, stripped of any theological impulse, that would henceforth attract all the attention. Christological and soteriological meanings were not denied; nonetheless the emphasis passed to a future, which they did not really determine, and which, it was accepted, had been committed into man's hands. Conversely, I. de la Peyrère's (1594–1676) speculations concerning the "Preadamites" extended history to encompass a prebiblical past. In 1681 Bossuet was still able to propose a biblical interpretation of history as governed by providence and leading to the triumph of the church. But the view expressed by Lord Bolingbroke (1678–1751) when he stated "man is the subject of all history" would come to dominate.

In 1735 G. B. Vico (1668–1744) published the first edition of his *Scienza nuova*; in 1765 Voltaire coined the expression "philosophy of history." Vico was a Christian and Voltaire a deist; nonetheless their affinities are stronger than their dissimilarities. Seeking an unshakable foundation on which to base his "new science," Vico had in effect concluded that truth and fact (what man does) were interchangeable; and while he spoke of a divine providence that had given mankind history, and controlled it in a purely immanent manner, in practice nothing distinguished this immanent government from the merely initial responsibility exercised over humanity by Voltaire's God. In the ascents and descents (*corsi e ricorsi*) that according to Vico constituted the original rhythm of history, biblical events did not enjoy any privileged position—and from here it is easy to progress to Voltaire's idea of a history of civilizations in which biblical experience, compared, for example, to the wisdom of the Chinese, is seen as no more than a case of sheer barbarism.

During the Enlightenment theological motifs did not altogether disappear from the newly constituted philosophy of history. G. E. Lessing (1729–81) established a positive connection between reason* and revelation in the "education of the human race"; J. G. Herder (1744–1803) spoke of man producing history because he had received the "divine gift of reason." These motifs tended nonetheless to fade into the background in a process in which the idea of progress secularized the concepts of providence and salvation. Rousseau (who was not a proponent of progress) was certainly the first to offer an entirely secular interpretation of history. The Voltairean undertones, meanwhile, became more pronounced in the progressive visions of Turgot (1727–81) and Condorcet (1743–94): "The triumph of Christianity," wrote the latter, "was the signal for the complete decay both of the sciences and of philosophy" (*Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, Paris, 1795). And while

Lessing played an important part in the history of theology, this was largely because he believed and stated that eternal beatitude* could not be based on “contingent historical truths.”

The theology of history was however to be revived within philosophy itself. In 1799 Novalis (1722–1801), in the context of a romantic rehabilitation of the Middle Ages, declared that “all history is Gospel”—an approach continued by F. Schlegel (1772–1829). As early as 1800, Schelling* put forward the concept of a history impelled by the manifestation of the Absolute: Hegel*, too, was to view history in these terms. Catholic traditionalism* and the Catholic school of Tübingen* echoed these reassessments, each in its own way. According to J. S. von Drey (1777–1853), at the root of universal history there was an innate revelation, which ensured its theological coherence; history appeared less as a human artifact than as a place of disclosure, and the condition by which that disclosure could reach all people. Schleiermacher*, though he employed a quite different theological axiomatics, also pondered the theological meaning of history, and saw the Spirit as “the ultimate force which constructs the world”; this appeal to the Spirit recurs in the work of J. T. Beck (1804–78) and F. A. G. Tholuck (1799–1877). Finally, the theologians of the school of Erlangen (G. C. A. von Harleß [1806–79], J. C. K. von Hofmann [1810–77], and F. H. R. von Frank [1827–94]), with their concept of the “history of salvation,” *Heilsgeschichte*, provided the rallying-cry for all future theology of history.

The developments of historical criticism and its application to the sources of theology soon proved, however, that dogmatic assertions, even supported by the best philosophies of the time, were inadequate as a response to secularizing currents of thought. And while it is true that the Hegelian right was unquestionably more faithful to Hegel’s intentions, the 19th century nevertheless saw the victory of left-wing followers (most notably D. F. Strauss) whose historiography undermined the foundations of all theology of history. Marx* consolidated this victory by proposing a radical secularization* of history, along with an equally secularized eschatology*. Henceforth only the earthly city existed; and at the end of history (at its conclusion and at its goal) the only conceivable salvation was offered by the intervention of a messianic class, the proletariat, anointed not by God but by dialectical laws inherent in the world. It is ironic that atheism* thus seized control of theology’s most distinctive possessions at a time that also witnessed the appearance, under the guise of liberal Protestantism* (“cultural” Protestantism), of a theology notable for being purged of any eschatological reference.

d) History of Salvation and Eschatological Meaning of the Christian Experience. The most substantial critic of Christianity was not Marx, however, but Nietzsche*. The difficulty of atheistic historicism resides in the production of theodicies without God (Löwith 1949; Marquard 1973); Nietzsche’s assertion of the “eternal return of the same” leads the negation of the Christian God to its only totally coherent conclusion: if this God is dead, then history too must be dead. Perhaps it was no coincidence, then, that the period of most radical negation coincided theologically, more or less, with the reopening of a subject that had long been closed, but whose reexamination made possible a theological reconceptualization of history—biblical eschatology. The reconsideration of this topic, at the turn of the 20th century, led to a new awareness of the real theological problem of historical time. In 1892 and 1893, J. Weiss (1863–1914) and R. Kabisch (1868–1914) put Jesus’ preaching back in the apocalyptic* context of an expectation of the end. In 1906 A. Schweitzer (1875–1965) maintained that the idea of a history that would survive Jesus was alien to Jesus’ own “thoroughgoing” eschatology. In opposition to thoroughgoing [see above] eschatology, Heidegger*’s influence led Bultmann* to develop an “existential” eschatology, in which the “authentic” existence that faith* attained was ipso facto the end of history. In parallel to Bultmann (though without much systematic interest), C. H. Dodd (1884–1973) suggested an interpretation of Johannine* theology under the banner of “realized eschatology.” These interpretations were counterbalanced by O. Cullmann’s work on the proper theological basis of church time. The scientific conflict between these interpretations of eschatology ultimately led, moreover, to the observation that the New Testament does not offer a unified theology of the last days and of church time, but rather a multiplicity of tendencies (Conzelmann, Kümmel, Käsemann, etc.). Leaving aside a debate that cannot be regarded as finished, and leaving aside the denominational choices that often underlie it, it may at least be suggested that the main benefit of this debate is the fact that it draws attention incontestably to one fact: for a theology that is faithful to its *logos*, eschatology always comes first, and the historical is always meaningful by virtue of its relationship with it.

The restoration of eschatological meanings and the collapse of systematic philosophies of history have together led recent theology to structure itself basically as a new Augustinianism*. The original outline of the problem has certainly not disappeared. J. Moltmann’s (1926–) theology of hope, for example, is presented as a revival of Joachimism provoked by a confrontation with Marx and the utopian Marxism of E. Bloch, in

which the future ends by offering “a new paradigm of transcendence.” Hegel’s theological impact, within both Protestant (Pannenberg, 1928–) and Catholic (Fessard) theology, led to a conception of history as hardly more than the arena for the “peregrinations” of the City of God. However, the choice between a theology of “existence” that was ignorant of history and a theology of history, which obliged Christianity to await a City of God embodied in the earthly city, would be misleading. The Christian experience has its place, which is the church; and while no Christian denomination—Catholicism included—is (or could be) tempted any longer to write a history of the world culminating explicitly in the church’s present successes, nevertheless the church’s *missionary* relationship with the world imposes a conception of history (e.g., Danielou 1953) just as much as does its *ecumenical* relationship with itself in the context of a divided Christianity. While moreover contemporary Catholic theology likes to speak of the church as a “sacrament* of salvation” among the nations (e.g., Vatican* II, *LG* 48), these terms do not betray a religious introversion, but rather signal a revival of Irenaeus’s theology of recapitulation—for example, in the work of Balthasar*—in what may be seen as a process of christological deduction and reduction of history.

e) An Extraordinary Work. Twentieth-century Catholicism owes to G. Fessard S.J. (1897–1978) a powerful and original contribution to the philosophy and theology of history. From 1934 to 1939 Fessard took part in the seminars on Hegel’s *Phenomenology of the Spirit* conducted by A. Kojève at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, whose other participants included G. Bataille, J. Lacan, M. Merleau-Ponty, and R. Aron. He was one of the greatest French thinkers of his period to devote himself to political philosophy, which he did not separate from active political resistance to Nazi and Marxist totalitarianism. In his theoretical works, Fessard establishes a philosophy of history in which he distinguishes three levels—natural, human, and supernatural. In his analysis of historical processes, he accords preeminence to dialectics such as those between man and woman*, between Jew and pagan, and between master and servant (see *De l’actualité historique*, vol. 1, Paris, 1960). The existence of these dialectics does not deny Paul’s assertion that in Christ “you, brothers, like Isaac, are children of promise” (Gal 3:28): rather it reveals that we are living at present in history and not in a fulfilled eschatology. The *eschaton* can thus be considered as an abolition of these dialectics, although it remains possible to use them in a Christian (pre-eschatological) way that attempts to free each one from its potential content of vi-

olence*. One of Fessard’s original touches is the choice of a commentary on the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius de Loyola (3 vols., Paris, 1956, 1966, Paris and Namur, 1984) as a framework for his greatest systematic work: by pointing out how all reality is structured around the spiritual choice, and by showing to what extent Ignatius’s choice is modern, he offers a genealogy of the whole of modernity in outline. Fessard’s followers included important thinkers such as A. Chapelle S.J. and C. Bruaire, and his influence was felt throughout a whole school of Hegelian studies (Leonard, Brito S.J.)—see the bibliography in G. Fessard, *Hegel, le christianisme et l’histoire*, Paris, 1990; see also *Le mystère de la société, recherches sur le sens de l’histoire*, Ed. M. Sales, Brussels, 1997.

f) Outlook. The *eschaton*, then, is *not* realized whenever man grasps that which defines him in theological terms: on the one hand because Christian hope is not primarily concerned with the absolute future of the individual, but with that of a people (e.g., Lubac 1938), and on the other hand because the believer is a sinner and a mortal, and because the present of his experience is always a *judged* present, lived out in the certainty of a pardon but never restored to complete innocence. Nonetheless the *eschaton* is not history’s abstract hereafter, but its present theological secret. The *eschaton* is not only that to which history cannot give rise, it is not only the critical authority of history—it has a hold upon it already. And it is impossible to speak of that hold without appealing to practical reason.

History, taken in its most neutral modern sense, is the indefinite arena of human action. Theology may define this arena, assign it limits and a teleology—but only on condition that it no longer interprets history naively as a clear and distinct manifestation of divine benevolence (on condition that it refuses the possibility of a theodicy conceived in Leibniz*’s terms), but instead searches it for “signs” offered by a hidden God. Man, Luther said, is “God’s disguise” (WA 15, 373). The spectacle of the world would nonetheless be a theologically unwholesome game if man were to forget that his primary role in history is that of an agent. The precise locus of the Christian experience is in the interval that separates the “world*” from the “Kingdom.” Within this interval, the words of Barth are completely true: “God’s judgment is the end of history; one drop of eternity* has more weight than the whole sea of things subject to time” (*Römerbrief*, 1922). But nobody can give himself over to the contemplation of this if he does not also refuse to leave the “earthly city” as the sole mistress of history. The eschatological meaning of the Christian experience would lose itself in an eschatological dream if the theology of history

did not link Christianity's oldest requests ("Thy kingdom come," "May thy grace come, and the world pass"—*Didachè* X, 6) to the concrete demands of theological ethics* and political* theology.

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See also **Eschatology; History of the Church; Time**

History of the Church

For Christian theology*, the history* of the church* forms the focal point for ecclesiological questions, about the nature of the church; dogmatic questions, about the theology of the Incarnation*; and a discourse, often couched as a narrative and with an apologetic dimension, whereby its credibility in relation to the culture in which it is immersed is put at stake.

1. Chronological Landmarks

a) Antiquity. The expression "history of the church" acquires its meaning from the attempts of members of the Christian church to interpret their own religious destiny in the light of historical events. The Acts of the Apostles may be taken to be the first such attempt, al-

though other New Testament texts are also marked by reflection on the meaning of human history and the impact of Christ's advent upon it.

In his *Historia ecclesiastica*, Eusebius of Caesarea (265–340) ranges from the birth of Jesus* to the year 323, presenting both a cosmological explanation—the church's struggle against the world* reproduces the struggle led by God* against Satan—and an apologetic justification: the church remains faithful despite persecutions and heresies. This vision of history became a model, which was adapted and expanded by Socrates the Scholastic (c. 380–c. 450), Sozomen (c. 400–43), and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (393–c. 460) in support of orthodoxy, while Philostorgius (368–c. 425) upheld the Arian point of view. Theodore the Lector (c.

525–?) and Evagrius Scholasticus (536–600) adopted the same perspective. In the 14th century, Nicephorus Callistus (†1350) wrote an ecclesiastical history that takes the narrative up to the early 10th century.

Within the Roman Church, Rufinus of Aquileia (c. 340–410) made an abridged translation of Eusebius's history, taking it up to the late fourth century. In his *Chronicle*, Jerome (c. 347–420) repeats the work of Eusebius and Rufinus; his book on the great men of the church was expanded by Gennadius (?–495) and Isidore of Seville (c. 570–636). In his *Historia sacra* (Sacred History), the Gallic priest Sulpicius Severus (c. 360–c. 420) reprises the history of the world from the Creation* and takes the history of the church up to the late fourth century. Cassiodorus (c. 480–c. 575) used the works of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret as sources when composing his *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, which became a standard reference, alongside Eusebius's history, throughout the Middle Ages.

b) Middle Ages. These large-scale syntheses then gave way to local and national histories, which were often written by monks: for example, the *Historia Francorum*, in which Gregory of Tours (c. 538–c. 594) gives the principal dates in the history of the world, followed by the ecclesiastical history of the Gauls; or the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (731) by Bede “The Venerable” (637–735), which begins with the conquest of Britain by Julius Caesar.

c) Humanism and the Reformation. The 16th century witnessed an extensive revival of Christian consciousness of history. On the one hand, humanism* promoted an awareness of the age of the documents on which historians worked, as demonstrated by Lorenzo Valla (1407–57) in relation to the forged “Donation of Constantine.” On the other hand, the Reformation reopened the question of heresy*, and both Protestants and Catholics used the history of the church to establish their doctrinal legitimacy.

The approach adopted in the *Centuriators of Magdeburg*, published in Basel from 1559 to 1574 under the editorship of the Lutheran Flacius Illyricus (1520–75), resembles the apologetics of the historians of antiquity, but the struggle between the church and the world is presented differently: Satan has introduced himself into the church, engendering superstition and error, and the papacy is presented as the work of the Antichrist. Drawing on the papal archives, Cardinal Baronius (1538–1607) opposed the *Centuriators* with his *Annales ecclesiastici*, published in Rome* from 1588 to 1607. In both these cases, the history of the church was used as a weapon in confessional controversy.

Catholic authors followed the example set by Florimond de Raemon (†1602) and assimilated Protestantism* to the heresies of the past. Bossuet (1627–1704) and others claimed the dogmatic heritage of the Fathers* and the councils*, drawing a contrast between them and the variety of doctrines among Protestants. In the Protestant camp, authors such as Flacius or S. Goulart (1543–1628) sought to establish that authentic Christianity had always been professed by a minority that had been opposed to Rome ever since the time of the apostles. Other Protestants, such as J. Daillé (1594–1670), sought to prove that Protestant doctrine was in accordance with the teachings of the church fathers. In opposition to the Catholic affirmation of the unchanging persistence of the faith*, Protestants undertook critical interpretations of the origins of medieval Christianity.

d) From the 17th Century to the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, during the 17th century the history of the church was not entirely held captive by controversy, as witness the labors of the Maurists, who edited patristic texts, J. Hardouin (1646–1729), who edited the documents of the councils, and the Bollandists, who researched the lives of the saints; as well as the birth of diplomatics (Jean Mabillon [1632–1707]), and the emergence of a critical historical consciousness (Pierre Bayle [1647–1706]). The increase in the number of historiographic tools, which continued in the 18th century (S. Le Nain de Tillemont [1637–1698], J.-D. Mansi [1692–1769]), and the development of rigorous methodologies gradually led to the appearance of a history of dogmas*. The defense of orthodoxy was also called into question. Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714) devalued the importance of dogmatic disputes and displayed sympathy for heretics. J.L. von Mosheim (1694–1755) sought to analyze the church as if it was the same as any other society*, with a maximum degree of objectivity. Johann Salomo Semler (1725–91) placed a clear distance between himself and any dogmatic or confessional presuppositions, asserting that dogma, far from being immutable, is impermanent and fluid. This idea that the truth of dogmas is relative, depending on the epoch, was taken up again by A. Loisy (1857–1940) and within modernism*.

2. History of the Church and Theology Today

a) History as the Church's Understanding of Itself. The history of the church is conceived and practiced in terms of a tension—which sometimes becomes a contradiction—between the requirements of historical method and the expectations of theology. From the theological point of view, the history of the church is

generally conceived as a part of Christian thought, a “theological locus” (Congar), an activity of ecclesiastical consciousness. Thus, the possessive form in the expression “history of the church” is not only objective but also subjective, since it is conceived as an effort at “self-understanding [*Selbstverständnis*] by the church” (H. Jedin), an effort that is legitimate and indispensable within a systematic framework fundamentally structured around the advent of God himself within human history.

However, this traditional conception creates certain problems. First, the history of the church also turns out to be its *lack* of self-understanding, given that any form of self-awareness can be illusory or misleading (É. Poulat). Second, to the extent that Christianity is characterized by conflicts over interpretation, whether they are exegetical, ecclesiological, dogmatic, or historiographic, it is preferable to speak of a *plurality* of forms of self-understanding. Finally, the scientific nature of historical inquiry depends, at least in part, on the capacity of historians to detach themselves from the object that they are studying.

b) History and Theology of History. The history of the church appears, therefore, to be epistemologically ambiguous. On the one hand, it is heir to the discipline of theology, whose task is to conceive ecclesiology* as an expression of God’s revelation* within history. On the other hand, however, it tends to be aligned with general methodologies of history, that is, with the view that it should be practiced independently of any presuppositions of belief. We may, of course, make a typological distinction between a history of the church, developed within the church, and forming part of its reflection on its identity and its role in the world, and a “history of Christianity,” which addresses the question of the phenomenon of Christianity in history from an external position. Such a distinction is pertinent to the extent that it underlines the specific position of those church historians whose discourse, from the beginning of their research to the end, is related to theological reflection. It hardly affects the question of methodology, however, for in both cases history is constructed through the elaboration of hypotheses, and the ordering, handling, and cross-referencing of sources whose language historians refrain from reproducing (e.g., by repeating anathemas against heretics).

Moreover, the history of the church is no longer limited to the gathering of conciliar texts, heresiological or hagiographic catalogs, or dogmatic syntheses. It has been profoundly influenced by the renewal of approaches, methods, and topics within the discipline of history as a whole. It now seeks to diversify its domains of investigation and its sources; and it also seeks to integrate the domain of theological ideas and religious mentalities within the larger domain of a history of representations and practices. In addition, the history of the church is conceived rather as a history of *churches*. The impossible goal of synthesizing and honoring the epistemological assumptions of both history and theology has been abandoned, and there is a tendency to leave reflection on the findings of historians to systematic theologians, working within a “theology of history.”

On any hypothesis, the church, as an institution and as a population of believers, remains a crux of religious history that cannot be ignored. Moreover, the history of the church in particular and history in general are still obligatory ports of call for theological reflection. On the one hand, theology accounts for the history of a world in which God wished Jesus Christ to dwell. On the other hand, the community of faith finds in its own history one of the criteria by which it can measure its loyalty to the Gospel that it has a duty to preach.

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See also **Apologists; Catholicism**

Holiness

A. Biblical Theology

Holiness belongs to God* alone. The term refers to the radiance of his power, the perfection of his being. He alone has the capacity to make those whom he calls to live in his presence participate in his holiness.

a) Vocabulary of the Sacred and the Holy. The root form *qadash*, used within the religious register, covers the notions of both the sacred and the holy. In ancient religions, it expressed the majesty and activating power of the divinity. Used in Semitic languages with the meaning of “consecration and purification,” it has a primary positive sense of consecration and belonging, and a secondary sense of separation: thus, the statal verb *qadosh* may be translated as “to be holy,” “to be consecrated,” “to be set apart.” In the intensive (76 times), it has the sense of “to consecrate,” “to set apart,” “to consider as holy.” In the causative (45 times), it means “to consecrate,” “to declare holy.” Other forms of the verb indicate that God “manifests his holiness” and “is recognized as holy,” or again, that human beings “are sanctified” for the purposes of a ritual act. The adjective *qadosh* (116 times) is used of God himself (Is 6:3), but also describes those persons and things that have a relation with him. The abstract noun *qodesh*, which is by far the most common form of this root (469 times), refers to holiness and what it affects. It can also have the meaning of “sanctuary,” and in this sense comes close to another derivative, *miqdash*.

The “sacred” circumscribes the domain of divinity and of all that is related to it, whether persons, objects, times, or places. It is contrasted with the “profane” (*chol*), which derives from *pro fanum*, “in front of the temple*,” a term applied to whatever was located outside the temple. The couplet “sacred” and “profane” has parallels with the couplet “purity*”/“impurity” (Lv 10:10; Ez 44:23). This refers primarily, and in most cases, to a ritual purity that defines one’s capacity to take part in worship; rituals of purification are required if one is impure. Another Hebrew root, *nazar*, also expresses the idea of consecration to the divinity.

In the Septuagint, in the vast majority of cases, *qadash* is translated as *hagios* or one of its derivatives, all related to a verb, *hazomai*, that means “to feel a respectful fear,” often with a religious nuance. These

terms facilitated the transition from the notion of the sacred to that of moral holiness; *hagios* was preferred to *hieros*, which is oriented more toward the sacred. In the Septuagint, *hieron* is restricted to the temple.

b) The Sacred and the Holy in the Old Testament. The majority of the 842 examples of the root *qadash* are to be found in the priestly texts of the Pentateuch (Ex 102 times; Lv 152 times; Nm 80 times); in the book of the prophet and priest Ezekiel (105 times); and in the Levitical and priestly redactions of the Chronicles (120 times). Its usage remains fairly frequent in Isaiah (73 times) and the Psalms* (65 times), but is little documented in the wisdom* literature.

Moses experiences the place where the Lord presents himself as holy ground (Ex 3:5; see Jos 5:15). In Exodus, God, the liberator of his people, reveals himself “majestic in holiness” (Ex 15:11). The people* must be sanctified in order to go to their encounter on Mount Sinai (Ex 19:10). Deuteronomy, and the texts compiled under its influence, emphasize that Israel is a “holy nation” (Ex 19:6), a people consecrated to the Lord their God, chosen to become his personal portion among all the peoples on the surface of the Earth (Dt 7:6). The paragraphs of the Law* of Holiness (Lv 17–26) proclaim the affirmation both that the Lord is holy and that it is he who sanctifies. He calls his people to holiness—“You shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy” (Lv 19:2)—a holiness that, over and above rituals, demands a moral comportment that extends to loving one’s neighbor as oneself (Lv 19:18). The priestly code contains an elevated notion of the holiness of a God whom one does not approach without impunity unless one has met the required conditions, which are particularly demanding for the priests consecrated to the service of the holiness of the people of God. The priestly texts tend to give greater weight to separation from the profane (Ex 19:12f., 19:20–25). The construction of the sanctuary and the installation of priests both draw attention to the degrees of participation in the holiness of God.

Ezekiel denounces the moral failings and disloyalties of the people and their rulers. Drawing on both liturgical and legal traditions, he envisages a new temple at the center of a purified land in which the people,

sanctified and renewed by the Spirit, live in the presence of their God. Isaiah encounters the thrice-holy God in the temple at Jerusalem* (Is 6:3); he and his successors celebrate the greatness of the God of Israel (Is 57:15), and announce that Jerusalem will be called the “the Zion of the Holy One of Israel” (Is 60:14). The people are condemned, but the stock that survives will be “the holy seed” (Is 6:13). The prayer* of Israel echoes these statements of Isaiah’s: the Lord is great in Zion, he is holy (Ps 99:2f.).

God is a holy and transcendent deity whom it is possible to approach. The prophets developed an understanding of holiness in a more moral sense: to consecrate oneself to God requires a faithful and resolute commitment, and an awareness of the necessary ruptures.

c) Holiness in the New Testament. In the New Testament, following the usage adopted in the Septuagint, the root *qadash* is translated as *hagios* or one of its derivatives: *hagiazō*, “to sanctify,” “to consecrate” (28 times); *hagiasmos*, “sanctification,” “consecration” (10 times); *hagiotēs*, “holiness” (two times); or *hagiosune*, also “holiness” (three times). These last three terms are found only in the Gospels. Ninety of the 230 examples of *hagios* in the New Testament refer to the Holy Spirit*. *Hieron* refers to the temple, yet the adjective *hieros* appears only three times.

Jesus* addresses his prayer to the “Holy Father” (Jn 17:11) and calls his disciples to pray so that the name* of the Father* will be sanctified (Mt 6:9; Lk 11:2). Jesus is the one whom the Father has consecrated and sent into the world* (Jn 10:36); he is the “Holy One of God” (Mk 1:24), the “holy servant” of God (Acts 4:27). The Holy Spirit has been at work since his conception (Lk 1:35). Invested by the Holy Spirit at his baptism* (Lk 3:22), Jesus walks in the fullness of the Spirit (Lk 4:1). Jesus offers participation in the holi-

ness of God to all believers: he who sanctifies and they who are sanctified have the same origin (Heb 2:11). Through a unique sacrifice, Jesus leads those whom he sanctifies to perfection (Heb 10:14). From this time forward, the church* is the holy nation, the people that God has redeemed (1 Pt 2:9; see Ex 19:5f.). Saints—holy ones—by vocation (Rom 1:7), Christians may receive this title now, even if their lives are not yet perfect. God’s will is that they be sanctified; and this implies ruptures (1 Thes 4:3–8). The Holy Spirit has been active in the church since the Pentecost (Acts 2:1–13), and the way of holiness consists in allowing oneself to be guided by the Spirit, who dwells in each person and intercedes for the saints (Rom 8:1–17).

The sense of the greatness and holiness of God, and the assurance that he wants his people to participate in his holiness, form part of the heritage that Christians have received from Israel. By giving his life, Jesus has offered participation in the holiness of God to all, without any distinction, going beyond the cleavages and separations in the old covenant.

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See also Cult; Expiation; Glory of God; Holy Spirit; Justice; Name; Priesthood; Purity/Impurity; Sabbath; Sacrifice; Temple

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

Only God* is holy. For created human beings, holiness consists in sharing God’s life. On this subject, John says: “we shall be like him because we shall see him as he is” (1 Jn 3:2). The two halves of this statement have given rise to the two traditions* of divinization in the East (*theosis* or *theopoiesis*; see Maximus* the Confessor, PG 90, 1193 D) and the vision of God in the West (beatific vision*; see Augustine*, PL 35, 1656

and 1895). The fact that these two traditions spring from the same text emphasizes that they belong together, as complementary accounts of holiness.

1. Eucharist and Church

Holiness is not an abstract concept. Concretely, holiness will consist in membership of the eschatological community in “the holy city, the new Jerusalem” (Rev

21:2), where, according to another typical Johannine vision, the assembly will wear radiant robes washed white in the blood of the Lamb* (7:14) and gaze upon God (7:9f.). In the heavenly Jerusalem, “the dwelling place of God is with man” (21:3), and human beings are *persons**, in the image of the God in three persons, in everlasting communion* with Christ*, as the Son and the Spirit* are in eternal communion with the Father*. Holiness is identical with being a person, and it is essentially in the celebration of the Eucharist*, where we are one with the church* on high (see Heb 12:22ff.), that we are made holy, consecrated, as persons in anticipation. In the eucharistic setting of the Last Supper in John’s gospel*, Jesus* prays to the Father: “for their sake I consecrate myself, so that they also may be sanctified in truth” (Jn 17:19).

2. Augustine and the West

In his *Confessions*, Augustine describes the call to holiness, the call to belong no longer to himself but to God, that he heard before his baptism*. He saw with the soul’s eye the immutable, transcendent light of God, and trembled as he felt a mixture of love*, awe, and a feeling of “dissimilarity” (see PL 32, 813)—the characteristic combination of attraction and rejection, familiarity and strangeness, that an encounter with the holy engenders (Otto 1917). The Word* of God spoke to him, saying: “I am the food of the fully grown; grow and you will feed upon me. And you will not change me into you, as food for your flesh; but you will be changed into me” (*Conf.* VII, 10, PL 32, 742). Henri Sonier de Lubac* interprets this as an anticipation of eucharistic participation in the communion of the church. Those who heard these words of Christ, he says, understood “that through the reception of the Eucharist they would be more deeply incorporated into the church” (1938, 7th Ed. 1983). Augustine emphasizes that holiness is ecclesial by likening the process of making the eucharistic bread to that of initiation into the church. Commenting on Paul’s doctrine of “one bread... one body” (1 Cor 10:17), he urges: “Therefore be that which you see, and receive that which you are” (PL 38, 1247–48). To receive Christ is, in fact, to be received by him into the church: “He is himself the body of which those who eat it become the nourishment” (Lubac 1944, 2nd Ed. 1949).

At the start of the *Confessions*, Augustine diagnoses the condition of every human being: “You have made us, Lord, for yourself, and our heart is restless until it rests in you” (PL 32, 661). Each heart has a natural *élan* toward God, which is the vocation to holiness. This diagnosis echoes that of Irenaeus* and foreshadows the teaching of Thomas* Aquinas. According to Irenaeus, “the glory of God is man who lives; and the

life of man is the vision of God” (*Adv. Haer.* IV, 20, 7). God and man are here set in a dynamic relationship, with the vision of God clearly identified as the end for which man was made. Over a thousand years later, Aquinas voiced the same coherent Western tradition when he taught that there is a natural desire for the (supernatural*) vision of God: “the end of a reasonable creature is to attain to beatitude,” which is “the vision of God” (*CG* 4, 50, 5). More precisely, “every intellect naturally desires the vision of the divine substance” (3, 57, 3).

3. Gregory Palamas and the East

a) *Hesychasm.* According to hesychasm*, the Eastern tradition of inner prayer* that goes back to the earliest centuries and was defended by Gregory* Palamas, the object of the beatific vision is not God’s *essence*, as in the West, but the uncreated *energies* of God. The divine energies constitute the light that shone from Christ at the moment of his Transfiguration, a light that can be seen, according to this teaching, by the purified eyes of the holy while praying in this life. Using a specific posture to channel the mind into “the prayer of the heart,” the monks believed that this method could yield direct experience* of God.

When Barlaam claimed that this practice violated the apophatic sense of God’s unknowability (negative* theology), Palamas defended the reality of communion with God. Relying fundamentally on the distinction between the essence and the energies of God (PG 150, 1169 C), his doctrine preserves both the real transcendence of God and the real divinization of man, but although it is only in God’s energies that we participate, these energies are uncreated and truly divine.

b) *Complementarity of West and East.* Barlaam alleged that the distinction of essence and energy in God undermines the divine simplicity* (Jugie 1932; Williams 1977). By contrast, Meyendorff, a neo-Palamite theologian, alleges that the *human* simplicity, so to speak, of Byzantine anthropology* is undermined by the static, Western scholastic categories of nature* and grace*. In fact, both West and East can be seen to have adopted different, and incompatible, strategies in pursuit of the same goal that deeply unites them, namely that of preserving the crucial distinction between the creator and creation. The simplicity either of God or of man must be apparently disrupted in order to provide a “buffer” between God and man, preventing them from being thought of as equal partners, with man literally becoming God or God sharing all of his being* with man. The creator is essentially holy, and the creature is only called to be holy.

It was the foundational insight of Athanasius* that “the Son of God made himself man in order to make us God” (PG 25, 192 B; see Irenaeus, PG 7, 1109 A); but Aquinas likewise said that “the only Son of God... assumed our nature in order that he, being made man, might make men God” (*Opusc.* 57, *Office of Corpus Christi*, see *ST Ia IIae*, q. 3, a. 1, ad 1). These two affirmations are rightly found together in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (§460). The *Catechism* readily invokes the Eastern Fathers* to emphasize the mystery* of divinization (see §1589, 1988), which Catholic and Orthodox have affirmed together in describing the destiny of man as “his deification through victory over death” (Catholic-Orthodox Commission 1987, n. 31; see 1982, I, 4 a and 4 b). It is simply aspects of the one mystery of the call to holiness that East and West vary in explaining, with varying degrees of success.

c) Deification. If the West is concerned with sin* and the fall from grace, the anthropological “simplicity” of the East focuses upon its stark consequence, death. Athanasius, for example, teaches that “man is mortal by nature, since he has issued from nothingness” (PG 25, 104 C). Sin cuts us off from God and renews the menace of death. The soul* is not intrinsically immortal, but equally threatened by the return to nothingness, for it too is created. The Western tendency to distinguish mortal body and immortal soul is thus overcome: it is body and soul, “both together,” that have been created in the image of God (PG 150, 1361 C).

The image tends toward likeness, which is deification: “the image predestines man to *theosis*” (Evdokimov 1979). Gregory* of Nazianzus echoes Basil’s words, that man is a creature who has “received the order to become a god” (PG 36, 560 A), although the distinction of essence and energies is found more clearly in Basil (PG 32, 869 A–B) than in Gregory (PG 36, 317 B–C). The Eucharist particularly accomplishes this deification (PG 35, 1200 B). Gregory* of Nyssa corrects the impression that the journey into God has an end in a static “vision” when he teaches that, even in the world to come, we shall ascend “from beginning to beginning, through a series of beginnings that never ends” (PG 44, 941 C). He adds that “Christianity is the imitation of the divine nature” (PG 46, 244 C), thereby clarifying that growth in likeness to God (for which free cooperation, *synergy*, with his grace is needed) is growth toward being a person who embodies the fullness of human nature, just as, in God, each person bears the totality of the divine nature.

Thus, deification consists in acquiring, not the divine nature, which is impossible, but the divine *way of being*, as persons in communion. Because God’s way of being has been introduced into humanity by Jesus

Christ, deification is found by sacramental union with him, reinforced by the Jesus Prayer in hesychasm. Zizioulas (1975) thinks that, because of the priority it traditionally gives to nature over person in its Trinitarian theology, the West has never really accepted *theosis*, because man can never acquire God’s nature. However, restoring priority to the person enables the concept to be embraced fully.

4. Nature and Person

a) Protestant Reaction. Western reluctance regarding the notion of deification is particularly found in the Reformed tradition. Barth* rejects it firmly, actually in reaction to the Lutheran doctrine (Lutheranism*) that “the Son of God communicated his divine majesty to his assumed flesh” (*Formula of Concord*). It is notable that Barth’s argument is conducted in terms of natures rather than persons (*KD IV/2*). The *Formula* explains the divinization of Christ’s humanity by the interpretation of his divine nature, which Barth rejects as compromising both the true divinity and the true humanity of Jesus Christ. Moreover, since Christ’s humanity is that of all men, its deification implies that all are able to be deified, or perhaps even have been deified, by his coming, and can therefore abandon him as the one hope for salvation* and look to their own potential. The doctrine destroys Christology*.

However, this implication only follows when the discussion is purely of impersonal natures rather than of living persons. Christ’s humanity is divinized by being assumed by the person of the Son, and human beings are divinized by entering into personal relationship with Christ. Pannenberg (1966) thinks that the dispute between Lutherans and Reformed arises because both start from the Incarnation*, and understand Christ to be fully God and fully man already at his birth, instead of examining the utterly unique course of his life and concluding that he is the incarnate Son. The latter approach, we may note, is focused dynamically upon Christ’s person rather than statically upon his natures, and allows for growth. Gregory of Nyssa believed that the divinization of Christ’s human nature was a process accomplished only at the Resurrection* (PG 45, 1261 C–1265 B).

b) Sanctifying Grace. The Council of Trent* likewise taught that Christians grow in the life of grace (*DS 1535*). With Luther*, it affirmed that grace is necessary for all stages of justification*, but against him it taught that the human will must cooperate, and that justification brings not only forgiveness but also sanctification (*DS 1521–29*). The grace of charity inheres in the just; they do not simply have Christ’s justice*

imputed to them (*DS* 1530, 1561). These texts ground the Catholic doctrine of sanctifying grace, the transformation wrought in the just by the gift of the Holy Spirit (Rom 5:5). Because the transformation occurs in a creature, it is called “created grace”—hence the distinction of nature and grace disliked by the Orthodox (*see* above and, e.g., Zizioulas 1984), as well as by the Reformed—but the gift itself is “uncreated grace.”

However, created grace is not a commodity separable from God. “It is not at all a question of conceiving a sort of entity separated from its source, a sort of cooled lava, that man appropriates to himself” (Lubac 1980). Lubac thinks that justification brings Christ to dwell in the faithful and that the mystical life begins with the welcome that he is given (1984). Created grace can then be seen as the Christian’s bond with the Christ who indwells, and, since Christ is now actually enthroned with the Father, the effect of created grace is in fact to draw us out of ourselves, to live in the heavenly church that shares his glory (Col 3:1–4). “The fruit of the sacramental life is that the Spirit by adoption deifies the faithful, uniting them in life with the only Son, the Savior” (*Catechism of the Catholic Church* §1129). Barth’s misgivings about the apparently excessive inwardness of mysticism (*KD* I/2, 839–40) and the apparent independence of created grace as “product” (*KD* IV/1, 89) can thus be overcome in personal terms.

5. Vatican II

It is strictly in relation to the church that Vatican* II defines holiness as “perfect union with Christ” (*LG* 50). Significantly treating “the call to holiness” within its Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Ch. 5), the Council first acknowledges that it is only the Trinity* that is truly holy. From this source, holiness is communicated to the church by Christ, who gave himself up to it precisely to make it holy (Eph 5:25f.). All Christians are called to holiness by their very membership in the church. It is by participating in her holiness that they will find holiness, and, in turn, will sanctify others (*LG* 39). It follows that, although “the forms and tasks of life are many,” nevertheless “holiness is one” (*LG* 41), always being prompted by the same Spirit (*LG* 39).

Moreover, since the Spirit is “the guarantee of our inheritance” (Eph 1:14), holiness is not only ecclesial but also eschatological. Like the church in which it is acquired, holiness “will attain its full perfection only in the glory of heaven” (*LG* 48). Meanwhile, the call to holiness involves participation in the tension between the present and the future that marks the life of the church itself. Our communion with the saints, who already contemplate “in full light, God himself triune and one, exactly as he is” (*DS* 1305), inspires us.

We “cleave together” with them in Christ, and they “establish the whole church more firmly in holiness” (*LG* 49).

6. Canonization of Saints

During the early Christian centuries, the saints inserted into the “canon” of those to be venerated in the liturgy were martyrs. Antony (†356) and Martin of Tours (†397) were among the first “confessors,” martyrs *in voto* (“in desire”), heroic in spiritual struggle (*see* PG 26, 909 C–912 B; PL 20, 179). The saints were proclaimed either by public acclamation or by episcopal decree, and canonization, the inauguration of an official cult*, consisted in the “translation” of the saint’s body into a tomb with an altar, which became the center of the cult. The spread of such cults brought papal intervention, and the first canonization by a pope* occurred in the late 10th century. Gregory IX restricted all canonization to the papacy (1234) and Sixtus V established the Sacred Congregation of Rites to deal with the scrutiny of candidates (1588). In 1969, the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints took over this rigorous task, and the process of canonization was most recently revised by John Paul II in the Apostolic Constitution *Divinus perfectionis magister* (1983). Evidence of the heroic virtues and local cult of a candidate is required, together with a miracle* for beatification and a further miracle for canonization. Proclamations of a new “Blessed” or “Saint” are made by the pope in the context of the Eucharist.

In the Orthodox churches, canonizations are usually made by the synod* of bishops* of an autocephalous church and are then proclaimed by the patriarch (patriarchate*). The traditional term is not “canonization” but “glorification.” God is glorified when the disciples of Christ do his work and bear fruit (Jn 15–17), and the saints are those whom the faithful have found to be great intercessors with God. By officially recognizing their status, the church glorifies God and glorifies the saint. A formal, evening, noneucharistic ceremony marks the new saint’s transition from being someone prayed *for* to being someone prayed *to*: a final service of commemoration for the departed person is immediately followed by the first service of prayer to them. Next morning, the liturgy* is celebrated, with the new saint honored eucharistically for the first time.

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See also Asceticism; Beatitude; Cult of Saints; Faith; Hope; Imitation of Christ; Person; Sin; Spiritual Theology

Holy Oils

Oil, an unctuous liquid that has soothing absorptive qualities, has always been a preferred substance in religious rituals. In the Old Testament it is used for the anointing of kings (1 Sm 10:1), and after the subsequent exile of the high priest (Ex 29:7). However, the anointing of prophets* was metaphorical (Is 61:1). According to the New Testament, Christ*, whose title means "the Anointed One," "the one anointed with oil," receives the prophetic anointing at his baptism* (Acts 10:38; see Lk 4:18–21). Hebrew 1:9 also grants Christ the royal anointing of Psalm 44:7f. The imagery of anointing (2 Cor 1:21ff., 2:15f.; 1 Jn 2:20, 2:27) is also employed in speaking of his disciples.

As early as antiquity oils were commonly used in ritual celebrations of the Christian sacraments*. In the *Apostolic Tradition* (Rome, v. 215) the bishop* blesses

an oil that will be used to comfort the sick (# 5). During baptism the bishop blesses an oil of exorcism* (oil of the catechumen) and an oil of thanksgiving with which the priest*, and then the bishop, will perform the postbaptismal anointings (# 21). In the West this perfumed oil received the name "holy chrism," and in the East the name *muron*.

After the fifth century, Maundy Thursday would become the day, in the West, for blessing the oils to be used during the baptisms at the Easter vigil. The 1955 reforms of Holy Week revived the Mass of Chrism, to be celebrated on Maundy Thursday (or on one of the days close to Easter). In the *Rituel* of 1970 the bishop, surrounded by his priests, blesses the "the sacred chrism" (see a recipe in Ex 30:22–25) that is to be used in baptism and confirmation*, as well as in the ordina-

tion* of priests and bishops. He can also bless the oil of catechumen and the oil for the sick, but in the *Rite* (# 7) the former can be blessed by the priest when it involves adults (*Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults* 131). The same is true, when necessary, for the oil used in the anointing* of the sick (70).

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See also **Anointing of the Sick; Baptism; Confirmation; Initiation, Christian; Ordination/Order**

Holy Saturday. *See* Balthasar, Hans Urs von; Descent into Hell

Holy Scripture

1. Origin of the Term

In 2 Chronicles 30:5, it is recorded that under Hezekiah the Mosaic prescriptions concerning the celebration of the Passover* had not been observed "as prescribed" (*kakkâtôûb*), a phrase translated in the Septuagint as *kata tèn graphèn*, "according to the Scripture." Furthermore, the books* of the Old Testament were sometimes known as "the (holy) books" (Dn 9:2; 1 Macc 12:9; 2 Macc 8:23; 2 *Clement* 14, 2; perhaps 2 Tm 4:13; Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, *Proem.*). No doubt under the influence of the expressions "for it is written" and "as it is written," the books of the Old Testament came to be referred to in the New Testament as "the Scriptures" (Mt 21:42; Lk 24:45; Rom 15:4; 2 Pt 3:16) or "the holy Scriptures" (Rom 1:2). Their unity was emphasized by the singular "Scripture" (Jn 10:35). These Scriptures were referred to as holy inasmuch as they were inspired by God* and transmitted wisdom* promoting salvation* in Jesus* Christ (2 Tm 3:15ff.). Certainly from the second century, if not earlier (*see* 1 Tm 5:18, which cites as Scripture a sentence from Lk 10:7 alongside Dt 25:4), the books of the New Testament were also considered an

integral part of the Holy Scriptures. The expression "the holy books" may have tended to denote the books themselves as material objects, with the term "the Scriptures" referring more to their content.

2. Respective Positions of Tradition and Scripture within Their Common Relationship to the Word of God

By focusing attention on Scripture and its authors, the question of inspiration may encourage an unduly absolute and exclusive identification between Scripture and the word* of God. In fact tradition* has played an important part in the gradual development of the Scriptures.

a) *In the Old Testament.* Revelation* occurs by means of an experience undergone by the people* of God and interpreted in an utterance. These two linked elements were initially preserved and transmitted not in written form but in the continuity of community observances, such as the Passover celebration, which involved the recollection of divine acts (Ex 12: 25ff.). It was gradually, and much later, that the events and

words of the past were put into writing. It may consequently be said that, on the one hand, the living tradition developed the potentialities of the message and adapted it to new circumstances; and, on the other, progressive recording in written form allowed the message to escape the vagaries of oral and observational transmission.

b) In the New Testament. The mission of introducing the gospel to the world was entrusted to the group of apostles*. The apostolic tradition, the fundamental and permanent basis of the faith* and practice of the churches*, consists of the memory of the acts and words of Jesus, recollected and understood profoundly in the light of his Resurrection* and of his entire mystery*. The apostolic churches would gradually set down a diverse and many-sided apostolic tradition, developed in response to the various needs of ecclesial life. This written recording was neither systematic nor complete. While the New Testament is an authentic representation of the apostolic tradition, it does not explicitly convey its full riches. It is for this reason that the Catholic faith refuses the Lutheran principle of the *Scriptura sola*, which is seen as giving a truncated picture of the apostolic tradition. Incidentally, some modern Protestant theologians (E. Käsemann, G. Ebeling, P. Gisel), while remaining true to this principle, emphasize the extent to which the Scriptures do not merely present a uniform word of God offered for our reinterpretation, but represent in themselves acts of interpretation that have their own history* and bear witness to the word of God.

3. Inspiration of Scriptures

In what is a continuation of the Jewish tradition, all Christian denominations make special reference to a collection of texts (canon*) that are regarded as establishing conventions for the faith and life of the community, since they are assumed to be inspired by God or the word of God. This profession of faith is linked to the conviction that God and his plan for humanity have been revealed through the covenant* with Israel* and the New Covenant in Jesus Christ. Faith in the divine inspiration of the Scriptures is thus an expression of faith in the privileged status of the Jewish and Christian traditions as regards divine revelation.

A number of indications of this faith are already to be found in the Bible* itself. God speaks through the voices of the prophets (Is 1:2, 6:6–9; Jer 1:9; Ez 3:10f.; Heb 1:1f.); he writes the Law* (Ex 24:12; Dt 4:13, 10:4) or dictates it to Moses (Ex 24:4; Dt 31:9); he commands that his divine acts be recorded in writing so that their memory should not be lost (Ex 17:14; Nm 33:2). In the same way, primitive Christianity accepted

the Jewish Scriptures of the Old Testament as the word of God (Mt 15:6). Quoting Jeremiah 31:33ff., the author of Hebrews introduces it with the words “And the Holy Spirit also bears witness to us” (Heb 10:15ff.); and in Acts 28:25 the quotation of Isaiah 6:9f. begins with these words of Paul: “The Holy Spirit was right in saying to your fathers” (Acts 28:25). Even more clearly, 2 Tm 3:15 talks of the “sacred writings” (2 Tm 3:15f.) and refers to all Scripture as “breathed out by God” (*theopneustos*; 2 Tm 3:16). Finally, regarding scriptural prophecies, 2 Peter 1:21 states that “No prophecy was ever produced by the will of man, but men spoke from God as they were carried along by the Holy Spirit.” This last quotation shows well the insistence characteristic of biblical tradition. The personal contribution of the prophets or writers is not emphasized. Since it is not immediately evident, however, there is an insistence on the fact that in this Scripture God’s word and intentions are expressed. The theandric process, that is to say the connection and cooperation between the divine author and the human author, is not considered important in this context and receives no explanation.

The same convictions and the same lack of theoretical development on the theandric process are found in the patristic period. The church fathers*, who scarcely distinguished between the theology of inspiration and the theology of revelation, made a twofold contribution. Firstly, since Jesus had fulfilled the Scriptures, they regarded as equally inspired the texts about him that originated in apostolic circles. For the Fathers, God was the author of both Testaments, each of which was to be preserved in its entirety (against Marcionism* and Manicheism*). Secondly, in talking of inspiration, they had recourse to a variety of images.

They spoke readily of “Scripture dictated by the Holy Spirit” (Eusebius, *HE* 5, 28, 18; PG 20, 517; SC 41, 78), or even of “the Holy Spirit who dictated these things through the Apostle” (Jerome, *Letter* 120; PL 22, 997; CSEL 55, 500). In the same tradition, if more subtly, Augustine* writes: “Through the human nature which he assumed, Christ is the head of all the disciples, who are as the limbs of his body. For this reason, when these disciples wrote what Christ had shown and said, it may be said that it was Christ himself who wrote, since the limbs expressed what they knew under dictation from the head” (*De consensu evangelistarum* 1, 35; PL 34, 1070; CSEL 43, 60).

The other image employed, that of the musical instrument, allows for a subtler exposition. According to Athenagoras, “the spirit of God moves the mouths of the prophets like instruments. . . . The Spirit used them like a flute-player blowing on his flute” (*Petition concerning the Christians* 7, 9; PG 6, 904, 908). In the *Co-*

hortatio ad Graecos (PG 6, 256 Sq; a pseudo-Justinian work of the second or third century) it is also said that, in order to receive divine revelation, “it was enough for them to offer themselves sincerely to the action of the Holy Spirit, for that divine plectrum to come down from heaven, using men just like musical instruments, and to reveal to us celestial and divine realities.”

Within the field of inspiration, it was above all prophetic inspiration that interested medieval theologians. The inspiration of all Scripture was taken for granted, and barely figured in teaching, to the extent that no mention of it is to be found, for example, in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Scholastic theologians, for their part, attempted to develop a theory of inspiration with the help of philosophical categories. To express the respective roles of God and the human author, Albert* the Great talks of the “primary efficient cause” and the “next efficient cause” (*Institutiones biblicae* 20); while Thomas* Aquinas calls the Holy Spirit the “principal author” and man the “instrumental author” (*Quodlibet* 7, art. 14, ad 5); and Henry of Ghent refers to the former as the “principal author and one true author” and to the latter as the “secondary author, acting as minister,” or alternatively as the “true author, albeit of the second degree” (*Summa Theologica*, a. 9, q. 2).

Luther*’s Reformation gave especial prominence to the authority* of Holy Scripture, considered as the unique source and sole norm for Christian faith and preaching* (*Scriptura sola*). Thereafter considerable efforts were made to develop a real knowledge of the Bible. The individual relationship of every Christian to Scripture was deemed essential, even if, in practice, it was through worship and catechetical* teaching that knowledge of the Bible was disseminated. The Catholic Counter-Reformation (Bellarmine*) responded by highlighting the Christian’s relationship to the church, and maintained that access to Scripture was legitimate only through the intermediary of the latter. In order to protect the authority of Scripture, later Protestant theology was based on a strict teaching of the verbal inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. This conception, widely shared by Catholics at the time, led to a partial or complete questioning of inspiration following the development of biblical criticism from the 17th century onward (R. Simon). The customary, sometimes maximalist representations of the divine origins of Scripture, particularly when conceived in terms of an almost word-for-word dictation, were in fact badly shaken by the rediscovery of the role of human authors and of the culturally dated nature of their vision of the world. While the Eastern church remains focused on patristic exegesis* and seems hardly to have been touched by such debates, in the Western churches con-

frontation with the natural sciences and the human sciences, especially in a historical context, sparked a particularly serious crisis in the 19th century with the development of historico-critical exegesis.

On the Protestant side, the advent of liberal criticism tended to bring about the disappearance from theology of the doctrine of Scriptural inspiration, in favor of a more general doctrine of revelation. Nevertheless, Schleiermacher*, for example, accepted the personal inspiration of the apostles. He did not however believe that the books of the Bible called for a hermeneutical* and critical treatment that was distinct from usual procedures and would be based on divine inspiration. More recently, dialectical theology (Barth*) has brought the affirmation of a qualified Scriptural inspiration strongly back into favor, while strict verbal inspiration is still defended by fundamentalism*.

On the Catholic side, various reductive views of inspiration have been offered with the aim of resolving the crisis. These theories have been judged inadequate to convey steadfast faith in the divine origin of the whole of the Scriptures.

J. Jahn (1802) proposed a theory by which inspiration consisted of a negative divine assistance allowing the writer to avoid errors, while according to D.F. Haneberg (1850) it was a text’s subsequent approval by the church that made it sacred (theories rejected by the constitution *Dei Filius* of Vatican* I; see EB 77). Then again, A. Rohling (1872) proposed that inspiration be materially restricted to those passages that constituted the essential basis of a dogmatic* or moral proposition (a theory rejected by Leo XIII’s encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* in 1893) (see Burtchaell 1969).

Returning to the Thomist synthesis, M.-J. Lagrange presented scriptural inspiration as a special instance of the collaboration between Creator and creature: God causes the activity of the hagiographer and at the same time makes it truly free. God is the principal cause and the writer is the instrumental cause, although free. Inspiration is a charism by which God enters into, and makes his own, the free human activity of the sacred author, in such a way that the latter may be called an instrument of God. Pius XII’s encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943) speaks of a “living instrument endowed with reason*...who, acting under divine impetus, employs his faculties and talents in such a way that everyone may easily discern, from the work that has left his pen, ‘his own personality and the marks and characteristics which distinguish him.’ ”

The constitution *Dei verbum* of Vatican* II is even more explicit on this point: “In order to compose these sacred books, God chose men to whom he had recourse in the full employment of their faculties and

abilities, so that, as he worked in them and through them, they might put into writing, as true authors, everything which accorded with his desire, and that alone" (*DV* §11). Starting from these assumptions, later theology significantly rescues scriptural inspiration from the isolation in which it had been confined, by developing analogies of inspiration (P. Benoit). Divine inspiration is split into three types: dramatic or pastoral inspiration, which animated the shepherds of the chosen race and thereby sacred history; oratorical inspiration, which accompanied and complemented the pastoral inspiration; and scriptural inspiration, which brought about the setting down in writing of the things done and said. This division makes it possible to reconcile with a theory of scriptural inspiration the fact that the biblical text is the outcome of a long and sometimes turbulent history*, animated in its totality by the Holy Spirit. The writer's charism is but one of the charisms associated with the Word of God—the one that allows this word to become Scripture.

Moreover, the analogy between the mysteries of inspiration and the Incarnation*, highlighted by *DV* §13, is readily explained: "The words of God, passing by way of human tongues, assumed the character of human language, in the same way that, once, the Word* of the eternal Father*, having assumed the weakness of our flesh*, became like men." It is along these lines that theology nowadays attempts to conceive the collaboration between God the true author and the real human authors (*DV* §11), taking care not to formulate it on the model of competition which has proved so harmful in the past, as was also the case in Christology*. The Bible is the work of both man and God because it is the result of their meeting and communion, the perfect example of which is Jesus Christ, the incarnate Word.

4. Truth of Scriptures

The Fathers developed no theory on this subject. The truth* of Scripture as regards salvation was acknowledged and formed a background to theological thinking. At most, in response to the objections of Jewish or pagan opponents such as Celsus, Porphyry, or Julian the Apostate, a few simple explanations were developed for the supposed contradictions between the two Testaments or the four Gospels*.

It was above all the progress of science that, from the Renaissance onward, caused the truth of the Bible to be called into question. The natural sciences were the first to arouse conflict, as illustrated by the affair of Galileo (1564–1642). In the field of astronomy, Galileo professed the heliocentric system proposed by Copernicus (1473–1543). This questioning of the geocentric system ended in Galileo's being tried for

heresy* by the Inquisition and forced to recant. His new system did not, indeed, correspond to the biblical authors' representation of the world, and contradicted passages such as Joshua 10:12f., in which Joshua stops the sun. The questions had barely begun, however, and were to multiply. They ran from the smallest (it is incorrect to class the hare among the ruminants, as do Lv 11:6 and Dt 14:7) to the greatest: what remains of the truth of the stories of the Creation and original sin when they are put face to face with the theories of evolution* and polygenism. The church's first reactions were of two kinds: either it concluded that science must bend before the truth of Scripture (the affair of Galileo), or it sought to demonstrate at all costs the marvelous concord between the Bible's scientific teachings and those of contemporary science. However, both these approaches would soon end in deadlock. Concordism misunderstood the nature of science and was too ready to take as definitively proven matters that scientists considered as mere hypotheses within a given system of interpretation. Moreover, both approaches misunderstood the nature of the Bible and the teaching it offers.

On this subject, it was prudent to go back to the great principle already set out by Augustine*: "The Holy Spirit, which spoke through them [the sacred writers] did not wish to teach men things which were of no use for salvation [*ista...nulli salutis profutura*]" (*De Genesi ad litteram* 2, 9, 20; PL 34, 270). This was the principle that Leo XIII took up in the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, specifying the things that are of no use for salvation with the words: "in other words, the intimate composition of perceptible things." Augustine also wrote: "We do not read in the gospel that the Lord said 'I will send you a Paraclete to teach you the courses of the sun and moon'; he wished to make Christians, not mathematicians" (*Contra Felicem* 1, 10; CSEL 25, 812). Galileo's friend Cardinal Baronius was inspired by this to remark: "The Holy Spirit does not aim to teach us how the heavens work, but how to get there."

The conflict was revived in the 19th century with the development of a positivist historical science modeled on the natural sciences* and a fastidious quest for perfect objectivity. On this basis the documentary value of the books of the Bible was soon contested. This was one of the hotly contested issues of the Modernist crisis. The deadlock lasted as long as traditional apologetics questioned the value of historical research for the Christian faith instead of criticizing the assumptions of a rationalist view of history. Indeed it was only ended by criticizing these assumptions, and by reaching a deeper and at the same time more flexible understanding of history.

Faced with these objections, the first attempts at a solution at the end of the 19th century were not very successful. The theories of the material limitation of inspiration or of inerrancy (absence of error) were explicitly rejected by the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. Otherwise, while this encyclical already offered an important principle for the resolution of the relationship between the Bible and the natural sciences, it was only in 1943 with the encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* that the Catholic Church fully opened the way for literary and historical criticism of the Bible. Pius XII recommended the application “to the related sciences, in particular to history” of the Augustinian principle that Leo XIII had applied to the natural sciences. Furthermore he makes it the duty of Catholic exegetes to research “what literary genres the writers of those distant times sought to employ and did in fact employ.”

Indeed, “in the sacred writers as in all the ancients, we encounter certain methods of exposition and narration, certain idioms, particular especially to the Semitic languages, and known as approximations, and certain hyperbolic or sometimes even paradoxical expressions, which impress the thought more strongly upon the intellect. None of these ways of speaking which were habitually employed in human language among the ancients, especially the Eastern peoples, is excluded from the Holy Books, always provided that the language used does not in any way offend against God’s sanctity or his veracity*.”

The constitution *Dei Verbum*, the most controversial of Vatican II, confirms these essential points. The narrow apologetic vocabulary of “inerrancy” is decisively abandoned in favor of the positive vocabulary of “truth,” in the singular. The intellectual conception of revelation is left behind—the need is no longer to defend truths or religious doctrines, but to promote the search for the truth that leads to salvation and that is revealed by words and actions in Scripture. There is no longer any question of materially limiting the truth of the Scriptures, but it is made clear that the Bible expresses its truth from the particular formal standpoint of the order of salvation: “The books of Scripture teach firmly, faithfully, and without error the truth which God, for the sake of our salvation [*veritatem quam Deus nostrae salutis causa*], wished to see recorded in holy Letters” (no. 11). This fundamental theological principle met with a great deal of opposition at the Council before finally being adopted, even though it was entirely traditional. Not only had Augustine already expressed it, but 2 Timothy 3:15 stated that “the sacred writings . . . are able to make you wise for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus”; and Thomas Aquinas, quoting John 16:13, added two words to the

original: “When the Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you into all the truth necessary for salvation [*saluti necessariam*]” (*De veritate*, q. 12, a. 2).

Among the elements that helped to overcome the deadlock of traditional apologetics, without calling rationalist assumptions into question, was the rediscovery of the biblical understanding of truth.

The Greek concept of truth (*a-lètheia*) was linked to the idea of a revealing of reality or of an illumination of what was previously hidden. In these terms, truth was the true nature of things, the reality finally unveiled by intelligence. In this view the intellect is dominant. For the Bible, knowledge of the truth (*‘èmet*) is knowledge of the plan to which God remains faithful through his covenant (Old Testament), a plan that is fully revealed and fulfilled by and in Christ (New Testament). Consequently, truth is revealed first and foremost not through teaching but through people and actions expressing a fundamental faithfulness. God’s truth denotes in the first place his loyalty (the root *‘mn*) to his promise* concerning humanity’s salvation. One can speak of dynamic truth in the sense of making the truth live in human beings, which also implies saving them.

By using the concept of truth as employed in the Bible itself, many spurious difficulties arising from a misconception of the type of truth that it offers can be avoided. This rediscovery opens the way to a calm and productive dialogue with the other orders of truth, once the salvation-centered truth of the Bible is no longer seen as being in competition with them. Biblical truth is a matter of the confession of faith, of trust in a God who is faithful to his promises. Far from being confused with the truth of experimental science, it should be appreciated in terms of its poetic dimension, in the sense in which Ricœur developed the concept of poetic truth.

What is more, exegetical research is emphasizing ever more clearly the plurality and diversity that exist within the Bible, which is understood as a library whose composition was spread over a number of centuries and associated with many quite different historical and geographical situations. Truth, of course, carries within it the desire for unity. There has been no lack of temptation through Christian history to wish to bring about this unity at all costs, even by force. Modern theology is conscious of the need for “eschatological caution”: the unity of truth will never be fully achieved except through eschatology. The dynamic truth of Scripture—the word of many ages and many voices—can be grasped only by taking account of the whole, without singling out one part or another in order to create the illusion of a complete and simple truth. However, readers of Scripture tend to view this

multiplicity hierarchically, the better to discern the word of God that is given and hidden behind the words of the Scriptures. In their search for truth, Jews find the unifying principle of the Bible in the Law, while Christians find it in a New Testament that refers to the person* of Christ. Even more precisely, Protestant theologians locate it in the Pauline epistles (Romans and Galatians according to Luther), while Catholics look more to the Gospels.

5. Authority and Role of Holy Scriptures in Christian Communities

In order for its sanctifying power to come into play, it is not enough for Scripture to be inspired. It must also be inspiring, and must therefore be received by the communities of the faithful, “read and interpreted by the light of the same Spirit which caused it to be written” (DV §12). Listened to, enacted, invoked, and shaped in the communities of Israel and the early churches, the word of God has been transmitted in inspired Scriptures that in turn inspire the life, prayer*, and activity of present-day communities. Never changing, yet always in need of translation, the Bible challenges each age and generation for whom it is the source of faith and life. Its authority is not tyrannical: it is at the service of the liberty* of the children of God. While Scripture is sacred as a witness to God’s otherness, to his transcendence and his promise of love* for his people, it is also sanctifying inasmuch as reading it sustains the life of a people in covenant with God. It might therefore be expected that all Christians would be encouraged to study Scripture assiduously, since it is the source of life and faith for the people of God. But this has not always been the case.

a) *In Catholic Church.* *Lectio divina* has of course been promoted since antiquity. This protracted and patient reading, developed through meditation, contemplation*, and prayer, and especially cultivated in the monastic life (*Rule of Saint Benedict*, c. 48), was recommended to all clerics* by Pope* Pius XII in 1950 (*De scriptura sacra*; *EnchB* 592). As far as Christian people were concerned, however, contact with the Bible, at least in the Catholic Church, was provided indirectly by means of the liturgy*. The same church long displayed an explicit reluctance for the Bible to be read directly by nonclerics.

So, the famous fourth rule of the *Index of Trent** (1564) “made the reading of Scripture in the vernacular subject to written permission granted by the bishop* on the advice of the parish priest or confessor” (Savart 1985, 22). It was not until long after it was abandoned in practical terms that this rule was tacitly abolished, when Leo XIII did not reiterate it in his con-

stitution *Officiorum ac munerum* (1897), whose wording nonetheless remains negative: “All versions in indigenous languages, even those published by Catholics, are absolutely forbidden unless they have been approved by the Apostolic See, or edited under the supervision of the bishops with annotations drawn from the church fathers* and from learned Catholic writers.”

The approach adopted in the Catholic Church appears in a better light with *Dei Verbum*’s recognition of the need “for access to the Holy Scripture to be widely available to Christians” and its envisaging the possibility of translations that “would be the fruit of a collaboration with our separated brethren” so that they may be “used by all Christians” (DV §22).

Certainly it is the clerics* who are the first to be called on to read the Scriptures assiduously and study them in depth, but the faithful are also exhorted to this. For, as the council says, taking up a sentence of Jerome, “ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ” (DV §25). The bishops have a responsibility not to teach the content of the book while exempting their flock from the necessity of reading it, but “to teach the faithful in their charge, in a suitable manner, to make the correct use of the divine Books” (ibid.). Finally, there is a recommendation judiciously to disseminate the Holy Scriptures “even for the use of non-Christians” (ibid.). On this basis it seems legitimate to suggest “that a proposal of biblical reading made according to the unfolding of God’s mystery must be addressed, not exclusively to the man who acknowledges the Christian faith in himself, but to whomever might open his whole being to another truth besides the one he may already have mastered” (Beauchamp 1987).

Another important change introduced by Vatican II concerns the use of Scripture in the liturgy. The employment of vernacular languages in the liturgy has diminished the sacred distance that was maintained before the holy texts, and has developed their role of communicating meaning, a tendency further accentuated by an insistence on the homily (a sermon based on the text). Moreover, until Vatican II, the Roman liturgy drew only sparingly on scriptural sources. Thus the regular Sunday and feastday worshipper heard scarcely any Old Testament text, and only 4 percent of Maccabees or 2 percent of Revelation, the most frequently used book being Matthew (32 percent); and the same texts were repeated every year (Savart 1985). Following the council’s recommendation to “read to the people over a set number of years a more significant proportion of the Holy Scriptures” (*De sacra liturgia* II, 51), liturgical reform has allowed the continuous reading, on a three-year cycle, of the Gospels and the Pauline epistles, and substantial portions of the

Old Testament retained on account of their thematic coherence with the Gospel.

On another level, returning to ancient tradition, *DV* §24 recommends that the study of Holy Scripture should be the very soul of theology and expresses the hope that it will give rise to a ceaseless rejuvenation of theology. By way of these efforts the council looks forward to a growth in the life of the church resulting from the reading of the Scriptures: "Just as the Church receives an increase in its life through regular participation in the mystery of the Eucharist, so it may be hoped that a renewal of spiritual* life will flow from a growing veneration for the word of God" (*DV* §26).

It remains to be said that for the Catholic Church it is not Scripture alone that brings knowledge* of God and salvation. "Somebody has read Scripture before us, and offers us a key to it, declaring this key to be fully in accordance with Scripture. If you accept this key, you will be entering the Book on his word: this process corresponds to what we mean by tradition" (Beauchamp 1987). The magisterium* ensures this transmission of evangelical truth within the church, while being subject to the word of God, which it is responsible for protecting and interpreting. And while there is a plurality of legitimate interpretations, as indeed the Pontifical Biblical Commission's recent document on "The interpretation of the Bible in the Church" (1993) made clear, "in the last resort it is the Magisterium which has the responsibility of ensuring the authenticity of interpretation, and of indicating when necessary that a particular interpretation is incompatible with the authentic gospel." This responsibility is presented as a service of the communion of the body of Christ (III, B, 3). The multiplicity of interpretations presented in a favorable light by the Biblical Commission is in itself an indication of the contemporary interest in the Bible and the many ways in which the Christian people approaches its sacred Scriptures.

b) In Protestant Churches. The authority of Scripture and the general recommendation to read it individually and collectively are fundamental characteristics of these churches. In order to facilitate general access to this reading, the need to translate the Bible into the vernacular was emphasized from very early on. Its dissemination, moreover, was taken in hand by numerous highly effective Bible societies. Following in this tradition, the Universal Bible Alliance, founded in 1946, set itself the task of translating the Bible into the greatest possible number of world languages and dialects (2,092 complete or partial translations by 1995) and of distributing it in cheap editions. In this way it has enabled a majority of the world's people to read the Bible privately.

In addition, the purely moralistic interpretation and use of the Bible by Kant* exerted a strong influence in Protestant intellectual circles in the 19th century. Catechetical teaching reacted by attempting to oppose what was perceived as a drift, in order to give more prominence to the dialogue between the Trinitarian God and the reader. Henceforth, far from neutrally imparting Biblical knowledge, the teacher had the task of announcing the word of God and conveying it in terms of the language and prior understanding of its readers.

In the second half of the 20th century, interest in the Bible and the role accorded to it underwent a considerable development due to the importance attached to the hermeneutic dimension. On the one hand, the debate over the interpretation of Scripture was boldly revived by E. Käsemann, according to whom the New Testament canon was not the basis of church unity*. Suddenly there arose the question of a canon within the canon, or indeed of deciding whether and in what way an interpretive canon was inevitable in the reading of a diverse Scripture. On the other hand, as early as the Second World War, Bonhoeffer* was emphasizing the extent to which the Bible does not by itself offer an answer to all our questions. While previously the Bible had enjoyed an almost indisputable authority in all areas of life, from the mid-1960s onward it was subjected to critical questioning by an ever-growing number of Christians. The solutions to many personal and collective problems were less and less sought directly in Scripture, but rather in scientific and ethical knowledge. This led to a partial loss of motivation with regard to reading the Bible and undertaking Bible study, but also to a refocusing on its essential role of calling, questioning, and offering a critical authority regarding the meaning of life.

Even though the 20th-century biblical renewal initially overshadowed to some extent a similar development among Catholics, it is nonetheless very real among them too. Among Christian people as a whole, the elements of prior understanding associated with a secularized mode of thought transcend denominational differences. Moreover, the approach to the Scriptures is undergoing a more or less parallel development in both Western traditions. This is undoubtedly due in part to the joint work of exegetes of various denominations, not forgetting the willingness of pastors to embrace ecumenism. The *Traduction œcuménique de la Bible* (TOB) completed in 1972 (New Testament) and 1975 (Old Testament) marked an important step in this progress.

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See also **Bible; Biblical Theology; Book; Canon of Scriptures; Ecumenism; Exegesis; Hermeneutics; History; Liturgy; Magisterium; Modernism; Protestantism; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Scripture, Senses of; Theology; Tradition; Truth; Veracity; Word of God**

Holy Spirit

A. Biblical Theology

I. Old Testament

1. Terminology

In a little more than half of its occurrences in the Old Testament, the word *roûach* (fem., 378 times) is used in the physical sense of wind or breath. It also designates (approximately 80 times) the human spirit in the psychological sense of the term. The divine connection of the Spirit is noted in expressions such as "Spirit of YHWH," "Spirit of God," and, in context, "my Spirit" (13 times), "his Spirit" (10 times), "your Spirit" (eight times). In Genesis 1:2b "the *roûach* of God" circulates on the water. "Holy Spirit" is rare: Isaiah 63:10f.; Psalms 51:13; Wisdom 9:17.

2. Actions of the Spirit

The theme and its theological content appear in three main areas: 1) Archaic traditions related to the sudden

intervention of an individual seized by the Spirit—saviors in the period of Judges, King Saul, Elijah, and Elisha. In these cases the Spirit is "on" or comes "over" someone. It may be "evil" (1 Sm 16:23) and yet come from God (Jgs 9:23; 1 Sm: four occurrences; 1 Kgs 22:2f.). 2) In Hosea 9:7 the prophet* is called "Man of *roûach*." In Numbers 11:16f., 11:24–30, and Joel 3:1, the exercise of prophecy is called a gift of the Spirit (*see* Nm 11: 25, 24:2; Neh 9:30; and, by contrast, 1 Kgs 22:24). 3) The Spirit can pass from one inspired person to a successor (case of Moses: Dt 34:9, laying on of hands, and Elijah, 2 Kgs 2:15) or even to a people (Is 59:21).

3. Properties of the Spirit

The immaterial, personal nature of *roûach* makes it appropriate to signify circulation, intimacy, and communication of intimacy. The Spirit spreads out (Is 32:15,

44:3), fills, and vivifies (Ez 37). Holy, it sanctifies. It approaches wisdom* when it becomes a permanent presence attached to a chosen one or to the people (Is 11:1f.; Prv 1:23; Ps 51:8, 51:13; Wis 1:6, 7:7, 7:22ff.; 9:17).

4. Promised Spirit

In the late writings of the Old Testament the concept of Spirit is associated with eschatological times (Jl 3:3f.; see Is 63:19: the “separator of the heavens” carried over in Mk 1:10) and the promise*. Insofar as it is inscribed within a new understanding of the covenant* (Is 59:21; Ez 11:19f.; 36:25ff. after Jer 31:33), it is seen as the principal object of the promise (see Lk 24:49). The concept of creation* is conceived by way of this novelty (Ps 51:12f.).

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II. New Testament

1. Terminology

The Greek substantive *pneuma* (379 times) has four meanings in the New Testament: 1) the literal sense of breath or wind (three times); 2) the anthropological (approximately 47 times) sense of “Spirit” as breath, the spirit of life (Mt 27:50 etc.), but also of the human person in his or her totality or inwardness; 3) the demonological sense that goes back to impure or evil spirits (especially in the Gospels* and Acts (approximately 38 times); and 4) the theological sense, which is dominant (the transcendent Spirit of God or Christ* (approximately 275 times). The Spirit in the theological sense is used 149 times in the absolute sense; 93 times as Holy Spirit or holiness* (*pneuma hagion* or *hagiosunēs*), 18 times as Spirit of God, once as Spirit of the Father, five times qualified christologically. It should be noted that with the exception of the Lucan corpus, the expression “Holy Spirit” is not dominant in the New Testament.

2. Pre-Pauline Usage

a) *Historical Jesus*. All the earthly Jesus*’ *logia* on the Holy Spirit are probably post-paschal (see, e.g., Mk 3:29 parallel passage, 13:11 parallel passage; Mt 12:28, 28:19; Lk 4:18, 11:13). However, it would seem that the historical Jesus presented himself as invested with the Spirit (prophetic). The authority* he claims in his preaching* and actions is the demonstration of it—his proclamation of the imminent coming of the Kingdom* of God, his sovereign interpretation of the Law* (Mt 5:21ff.), his sending of the disciples on mission*, (Mk 6:7 par.), and his eschatological interpretation of exorcisms (Lk 11:20).

b) *Easter*. The oldest pre-Pauline formulas discern in Jesus’ Resurrection* an act of God, sometimes described as the expression of the activity of the Spirit of God (Rom 1:3f., 8:11, etc.).

c) *Hellenists and Hellenistic Communities*. The Hellenists (see Acts 6–7) would seem to be the first group that claimed possession of the eschatological Spirit. In support of this thesis should be noted their characteristic thaumaturgic activity and their critiques of the Temple* and the Law. This vivid awareness of their possession of the Spirit was probably the profound reason for the rupture with the primitive community of Jerusalem*. It was subsequently perpetuated in the Hellenistic community of Antioch and was at the origin of the mission to the pagans (paganism*) (see the example of Paul, heir to Antiochian theology and apostle* to the Gentiles). However, it cannot be affirmed with certainty that Palestinian Judeo*-Christianity (especially the community of Jerusalem) shared this pneumatological consciousness.

3. Paul

To grasp the Pauline notion of the Holy Spirit we must be attentive to the circumstantial quality of his letters and the theological development of his thought (from the rudimentary affirmations in 1 Thessalonians, to the Corinthian controversy on pneumatic phenomena, concluding with the fully developed pneumatology of Romans 8). The dynamics of Christian existence is the privileged site where Paul’s understanding of the Spirit appears in all its clarity.

a) *Foundation and Fulfillment of Christian Existence according to the Spirit*.

1) **CHRISTOLOGY***. The proclamation of the gospel of Christ* is the work of the Spirit (1 Thes 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4; Kgs 15:18f.). The Spirit inspires faith* (1 Cor 12:3). Only the Spirit makes it possible to confess Jesus as Lord.

2) **SOTERIOLOGY**. The Spirit creates life. By the Spirit, man is torn away from the power of sin* and death* and placed in the space of life and liberty* inaugurated by Christ (see Rom 8; Gal 5; 2 Cor 3:17). Baptism* is the sacramental sign of this change of allegiance.

3) **ECCLESIOLOGY***. The Spirit unites people in the visible communion* of the body of Christ (see 1 Cor 12). In the controversy with the Corinthian enthusiasm (1 Cor 12–14), Paul uses the notion of body to support his argument that all manifestations of the Spirit must be subordinated to the edification of the community.

The greatest charism is love* (1 Cor 13), which thus becomes the critical standard of all gifts of the Spirit. The theological perspective that supports this notion is the theology* of the cross.

4) **ETHICS***. The Spirit is the agent of all action corresponding to the will of God (*see* the metaphor of the “fruit of the Spirit” in Gal 5:22), which can only be an action accomplished with love. The concrete expression of Christian freedom is love.

b) Eschatology. The Spirit’s action is central to the fulfillment of the Christian existence. Though Paul, true to the tradition*, understands the Spirit as an eschatological gift, he makes a clear distinction between the Spirit and the eschaton; the gift of the Spirit is but the premise of the glory to come (1 Cor 1:22, 5:5; Rom 8:23). In this respect, it is the foundation of hope* (Rom 8).

4. Work of Luke

a) History of Salvation. This history is determinant for the notion of the Spirit in Luke. The promise of the Spirit dominates the Old Testament period. During Jesus’ lifetime the activity of the Spirit is almost exclusively concentrated on his person, making him an almost exclusive depository. His birth manifests the creative activity of the Spirit of God (Lk 1:35) and his baptism makes him its messianic bearer (3:22). The narrative of the temptation* shows that Satan must retreat in the face of the bearer of the Spirit (the time of Jesus is a time when Satan is absent, until the Passion* (4:13, 22:3). The inaugural preaching in Nazareth connects the gift of the Spirit and the proclamation of the gospel (4:18f.). Only after he was raised to the Father*’s side did Jesus transmit the Spirit to believers (Lk 24:29; Acts 1:8, 2:33). The time of the church* is the time of the gift of the Spirit to all believers; Pentecost (Acts 2) is the act of foundation of the first Christian Church and the beginning of the time of the church. In becoming a constituent part of the third period of the history of salvation*, the Spirit no longer has eschatological grandeur, strictly speaking; it is an element of the penultimate time.

b) Reception of the Spirit during Time of the Church. Baptism and reception of the Spirit are also closely connected in Luke, but their articulation may take different forms. For one, baptism in the name* of Jesus is none other than the expression of the conversion* of a person to God and to Jesus; in view of this, it precedes the gift of the Spirit (*see* Acts 2:38). Prayer* also can prepare for reception of the gift of the Spirit (Acts

4:31). Second, reception of the Spirit may also precede baptism (*see* Acts 10:45–48). In this respect, the role played by the laying* on of hands should be noted (Acts 8:14–17, 19:2–6).

c) Functions and Effects of the Spirit. During the time of the church, four functions are enumerated: 1) The Spirit is given to all members of the church, and this gift is lasting. 2) The Spirit can manifest itself in a perceptible way: extraordinary physical and psychic phenomena are irrefutable exterior signs of the presence of the Spirit (Acts 2:3f., 4:8, 4:31, 10:45, 19:6). 3) The Spirit’s most important function is prophetic-kerygmatic. The Spirit makes it possible to decipher the future (Acts 11:28, 20:23) and discern the hidden will of God (Acts 8:29, 10:19f.); above all it constitutes the foundation of the church’s preaching (Acts 1:8, 4:8, 4:31, 6:10, 18:25, etc.). However, neither miraculous acts nor faith, prayer, and love are explicitly presented as fruits of the Spirit. 4) Luke’s concentration on the ecclesiological dimension of the history of salvation should be noted. The Spirit determines the church’s path in the world and guides it. Thus it ensures the continuity of the last phase of the history of salvation.

5. John

a) Points in Common. Aside from the farewell discourses (Jn 13–17), and despite noteworthy differences in emphasis, John’s conception of the Spirit is close to that of classical primitive Christianity (especially Paul and Luke). The Spirit is conceived as a divine and transcendent grandeur (Jn 3:6, 6:63). It is the eschatological gift par excellence, proper to post-paschal times (7:38f., 20:22). Communicated at the moment of baptism (3:35), it is a vivifying force (6:63). Only the Spirit leads one into authentic prayer (4:23f.) and obtains the forgiveness of sins (2:22f.).

b) Farewell Discourses. This is where the specifically Johannine reflection on the Spirit appears, with the introduction of the “Paraclete,” a new concept closely related to that of the Holy Spirit (14:26) or the Spirit of truth* (14:17, 15:26, 16:13). The five passages on the Paraclete are found in John 14:16f., 14:26, 15:26, 16:7–11, and 16:13ff.: 1) It is almost impossible to give a good translation of the concept of the Paraclete; each of the classical translations (helper, comforter, advocate, etc.) gives only one aspect. 2) The Paraclete and the Johannine Christ are related by an identity of function; what the earthly Jesus said and accomplished not long ago, the Paraclete says and accomplishes today in the church. In this sense the

Paraclete is none other than the authentic representative of the earthly Jesus during the post-paschal period. 3) As a consequence of this subordination of pneumatology to Christology the central function of the Paraclete is bound to the message. Essentially, the Paraclete is the post-paschal agent of Jesus' eschatological preaching (this concentration of the Spirit on the word is unique within budding Christianity). 4) The first role of the Paraclete is that of *bringing to mind* the words of Jesus (Jn 14:26). He enables a retrospective understanding of the person and history of Jesus. This makes him the central agent of the new interpretation of the story of Jesus, of which the Fourth Gospel is the figure. Subsequent reflection on the Paraclete, initiated in John 16, shows that he not only actualizes the past of the revelation* but interprets post-paschal time in its present and future dimension (judicial function: 16:8–11; hermeneutic: 16:13). 5) In agreement with the whole of budding Christianity, John sees the Paraclete as *a gift of the last times*. But he radicalizes this notion; the Paraclete is not a transitional figure between the time of the Incarnation* and the time of the final fulfillment. In the coming of the Paraclete it is the

coming of the risen Christ that is fulfilled—Easter, Pentecost, and Parousia* become one and the same event. The Parousia always happens anew in the coming of the Paraclete.

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See also Church; Communion; Eschatology; Flesh; Holiness; Johannine Theology; Love; Pauline Theology; Promise; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Trinity; Word of God

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

The Holy Spirit is the third Person* of the Trinity*. It is unique, equal to the Father* (Paraclete) and the Son, of the same substance and the same nature (Toledo synod XI, 675, *DS* 527). The Spirit is distinguished from the Father and the Son as a "Person" but is not of the same caliber with them as "God*" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1992, §253–56). The Holy Spirit is distinguished from the two other persons by a relation of origin, which is understood differently in the Catholic and the Orthodox traditions (tradition*). The Father sends the Son and, through the Son, the Holy Spirit for a history of salvation* that begins in the Old Testament (interventions of the Spirit in prophecy) and culminates in the New Testament with the Incarnation* of the Son (gift of the filial Spirit), but is still actualized in time by the Spirit. In this context the Spirit is given many different names (name*): Paraclete, Gift, Sanctification, Energy, Image of the Son, Unction and Seal, Love*, and Charity. Still other names are mentioned in the *CEC* (§691–702).

1. The Holy Spirit in the Tradition up to Council of Florence (1439–1445)

The theology of the Holy Spirit is elaborated between two extremes. The first, the *illuminist* tendency, already mentioned by Paul (the enthusiasts of 1 Cor 6:12–19), dreams of living a universal Pentecost and a palpable experience of the Spirit. This tendency includes Montanism* (second century), Messalianism* (fourth century), Macarius-Symeon (†430?), Joachim of Fiore (†1202) (millenarianism*), medieval mendicant orders, and post-Reformation pietist movements. At the other extreme, a rationalizing movement (Arianism*) made the Holy Spirit a superior vital principle in man, which is not God but an intermediary between God and man. A theology that gave value to the divinity of the Spirit and its personal existence gradually developed between these two extremes.

a) *Beginnings*. Primitive Christianity is characterized by the fundamental experience* of the presence of

God in human beings through the Spirit (*TRE* 12, 194), which is the overflowing onto them of Christ's Resurrection* (Acts 2; J1 3:1–5; Eph 1:18ff.), bringing them peace*, joy, inner freedom, freedom before God (*par-rèsia*), fraternal love for each other, and filial love for God. The paschal mystery inaugurates a new era, and the Spirit is its guarantor.

Faith* in the Holy Spirit is rooted in the paschal kerygma (Acts 2:7, 2:32f.), the baptismal formula (Mt 28:19), and the Eucharistic celebration (Justin, *Apologies* I, 65 and 67; *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 14, 2–3). The Spirit inspires the bishop* (Ignatius, *To the Philip-pians* 7, 1–2) and the “prophets*.” The prophetic spirit abandoned the Jewish people and was concentrated in Christ; from Christ it is given to all believers (Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*; Origen, *De principiis*). Montanus presented himself (c.155–60) in Phrygia (Asia Minor) as the prophet who is the embodiment of the Holy Spirit–Paraclete (Jn 14:26) chosen to inaugurate, on the fringes of the church*, the time of the Spirit. After 200 Montanism reached the West, where it was adopted by Tertullian, who gave it his own style. The individuality of the Spirit was not always gainsaid (e.g., Athenagoras). Certain texts where the Holy Spirit is not mentioned are sometimes considered binitarian (Tertullien non montaniste, Hermas, *Le Pasteur* 59: see R. Joly, *SC* 53, p.32).

Irenaeus* of Lyons was the first to give an extensive description of the work of the Spirit (*Adversus haereses*. III, 1; *Epidexis tou apostolikou kerygmatos* 5–7). He clearly distinguished the Son and the Spirit, which are like the two hands of the Father (*Haer.* V, 20, 1; II, 7, 5). The activity of the Spirit is in the service of the Son who is himself subject to the Father (*Epid.* 6–7). His argument for the connection between the Holy Spirit and the church countered the Montanists, (*Haer.* III, 1, 1; 4, 1–2; 24, 1), while his emphasis on the economy of salvation (*Haer.* IV, 20, 6–7) was an answer to the Gnostics.

Tertullian*, in his reaction to the monarchianism of Praxeas, who denied the individuality proper to the Spirit, took the Montanist binitarian images and added a third term, the Spirit: “They are three. Third is in fact the Spirit out of God and the Son, just as third out from the root is the fruit that comes from the branch, and third coming out from the spring the brook that goes out of the river, and third coming out of the sun the point that comes from the ray” (*Against Praxeas* 8). The relationship of origin is envisaged but kept in the background; the perspective is primarily economic. “The Spirit of God” designates the Holy Spirit as it designates the Son or the being* (*substantia*) of God the Father who unfolds in the Son and the Holy Spirit.

The last is a “portion” of the total substance of the Father. It is numbered with him from the beginning (meaning forever) because it is “in the Son” who is numbered with the Father (Moingt). The Son is born of the Father and returns to him (Novatian, *De Trinitate* 31). Zeno of Verona makes the point that the Spirit comes from him, exultation of the one in the other (*Tractatus* II, 3; see I, 2, 9; II, 5, 1: *Patrologia Latina* 11). His unifying role in the church flows from the Trinitarian unity (Cyprian*, *On the Unity of the Catholic Church*; *Letter* 74, 4). Marius Victorinus (v. 360: *Hymns*, *SC* 68, 620 and 650), and even more so Augustine, believe that the Spirit is the connection (*copula, complexio*) between the Father and the Son. Ambrose* focuses on the unity of name and substance in God, to the point that what is proper to the Spirit in the common activity is blurred (*De Spir.* I, 13; *De sacram.* VI, 2, 5: *Patrologia Latina* 16 and *SC* 25 *bis*). It is not always possible to see what distinguishes the Spirit within the Trinity (Rufinus, *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum*).

Origen*, on the basis of baptism*, associates the Spirit with the Father and the Son (*De principiis* I, 3, 2 and 5) and wonders about its origin, which is not mentioned in Scripture (*ibid.*, Pref. 1; I, 3, 1). Arguing against the monarchians, he applies to the Spirit these words from John 1:3: “All things came to be [*egeneto*] through him [the Son]” giving *egeneto* the broad sense of a simple derivation in being. Thus the Spirit receives “from the Son,” and that is why it is distinguished from him (*Comm. John* II, §75–76). In the following century the derivation of the Spirit with regard to the Son is evident for the Arians and the Macedonians concerned by the First Council of Constantinople* (381). Origen argues that the Spirit that receives from the Son “provides so to speak the matter of the charismas/gifts of God [*hulled tôn kharismatôn*] which, produced out of the Father by the Son subsist according to the Spirit” (*Comm. John* II, §77: see *De principiis* II, 7). The gifts subsist in him insofar as he actualizes them in us (*On Prayer* II, 6; *Commentary on John* VI, §225; *Fr. 8 on Ephesians* 1, 13; *Ser. Commentary on Matthew* 134). This theme is developed in *De principiis* I, 3, 5–8 and II, 7.

b) Fourth Century. Absent at Nicaea (325), the question of the Spirit did not come up for discussion until 359–60. Christians in Lower Egypt who accepted the equality of the Son with the Father made the Holy Spirit a “serving spirit,” different only in degree from the angels* (Athanasius*, *To Serapion* I, 1: *SC* 15). In 374 the “Macedonians” (named after Macedonius, patriarch of Constantinople, deposed in 360) took a posi-

tion close to that of Nicaea (*Homeousians*), but they too refused to confess the Holy Spirit as God, though never claiming he was a creature (Socrates, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* II, 45; Ps.-Dionysus, *Of Trinity* II, 7, 3, and II, 8; Ps.-Athanasius, *Dial. Maced.* I, 4; I, 15). An anonymous Macedonian provided the key to their attitude: “‘No one can say that Jesus* is Lord except by the Holy Spirit’ (1 Corinthians 12:3). Therefore, the introduction to God must necessarily be made by another—the Holy Spirit. It follows that if I adore the Holy Spirit, by whom and in whom will I have access to him [the Holy Spirit] to adore [him]?” (*Dial. Maced.* I, 4; *Patriologia Graeca* 28, 1293 CD).

Since the Son is not there any more to make an imaginary bridge between God and man, the Holy Spirit does it in his place. This is what Athanasius and Basil* of Caesarea refused to admit. If the Holy Spirit makes divine, then its nature can no doubt be that of God (Athanasius, *To Serapion* I, 23; I, 25). It works by coming into man as a transforming power (*energeia*) and donation (*dôrea*) (ibid., I, 20; see Basil, *Of the Holy Spirit* 16, 47: SC 17 bis). But in the Spirit that comes there is the Son who gives it, and in the Son the Father (*To Serapion* I, 30).

The Cappadocian Fathers* (Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus) defended the divinity of the Holy Spirit against the Arian Eunomius. For the latter, the being (*ousia*) of God can be known because it was revealed, but it cannot be communicated, not even to the Son. Gregory* of Nyssa affirms conversely that the being of God is absolutely unknowable to the creature but is communicated to the Son in eternal generation, and may be participated in by creatures by virtue of “energies” (*energeiai*) that God distributes to them, and which are identified with the Holy Spirit insofar as the latter gives himself to believers. Basil insists on the fact that the Spirit reveals the Son without any intermediary, “in himself” (*in heautô*: *Of the Holy Spirit* 16, 47). Basil also defends the liturgical expression attacked by the Homeousians: “The Father is glorified with [meta] the Son and with [sun] the Spirit.” Reserving the title of God for the Father, he thus expresses the divinity of the Holy Spirit by giving value to its *homotimie* (equality of honor) with the Father and the Son. Elsewhere, specifying what is proper to each of the Three in the Triad, he advances the properties of *paternity*, *filiation**, and *sanctification* (*Letter* 236, 6; see *Letter* 214, 4). Gregory of Nazianzus substitutes for *sanctification* the word *procession* (*ekporeusis*: *Discourse* 31, 8). The connection with the creature, still felt in the word *sanctification* (Basil), disappears with the use of the word *procession*, which takes a fully intra-Trinitarian sense (Gregory). This emphasizes the perfect independence of God with re-

gard to the creature, but may lead to forgetting the bond that God freely made with the creature, and which is testified in Scripture.

c) *Augustine*. It is with Augustine* that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as love or charity comes to impose itself in the West (*De Quant. animae* 34; *De fide et symbolo* 9, 19–20; *Trin.* VI, 5, 7; XV, 19, 37). The Spirit is the love of the Father and the Son “hypostasized” in a third “Person,” but also the love of God spread in our hearts (Rom 5:5 cited more than 200 times by Augustine). This theme of the Spirit-as-love is one of the themes that structures Augustine’s thought (Congar, *Bibliothèque augustinienne*).

In the anagogical context of the neoplatonic emanatist scheme, the Spirit constitutes, at the term of the *exitus-reditus*, the stabilization (*monè*) in love that unifies and brings happiness (*Soliloquies* I, 1, 3; *De ver. rel.* 55, 113). The psychological analogy* puts it parallel to human will and love. The link between Holy Spirit and love finds one of its justifications here (O. du Roy, *L’intel. de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin*, 1966).

Augustine’s distinction between absolute and relative divine names (Trinity*) raised a problem because in the “relative” double name Holy Spirit the two words are equally appropriate for the Father and the Son, but this is proper to “absolute” names. Augustine sees this as an indication that the Holy Spirit belongs to both of them (*Filioque**). The name Gift of God (Acts 8:20) does have a “relative” character, but *ad extra*. So Augustine calls on two other names, *donabile* and *donatum*. The Holy Spirit is in all eternity susceptible of being given (*donabile*) and this is why, within time, he is effectively given (*donatum*). The work of salvation thus finds a certain foundation in God himself.

d) *Middle Ages*. Augustine did not dare to apply the triad “lover, loved, love” to God (*Trin.* VIII, 10, 14). It can be found in operation in Richard of Saint-Victor (†1141; *Of the Trinity* III, 2; III, 18). Love implies openness and alterity (*condilectio, consocialis amor*) and thus “Trinity,” a theme taken up by Bonaventure* (*I Sent.*, d. 13, q. 1). It survived in its Augustinian form, as illustrated notably by Anselm* of Canterbury (†1109), who underscores the extraordinary coincidence of intra-Trinitarian love (*Monologion* 53) with its overflow *ad extra* (*De la procession du Saint Esprit*, 9, Ed. M. Corbin, 1990, *Œuvres*).

Like Augustine, Paschasius Radbert (†860), William of Saint Thierry († c. 1149), and Peter Lombard (†1160) identify the Spirit and love (*caritas*), the Spirit being one with grace*, the Giver identified with the

gift (*I Sent.*, d. 14 and 17; III, d. 22, q. 13 and d. 23, q. 30). Alexander of Hales (†1245) unites created grace (in man) and uncreated grace (the Holy Spirit present) on the basis of the hypostatic* union. The whole body communes in the grace of the head (*Summa Theologica* III, inquis. I, tract. I, q. 2, no. 609 resp.; tract. III, q. 1, no. 99 resp. and no. 112 resp.). Contrary to this, Thomas of Aquinas distinguishes grace—created gift—and the person of the Spirit—uncreated gift—truly given (*Summa Theologica* Ia IIae, q. 110; *Of Truth*, q. 27, a. 2; *Summa Theologica* IIa IIae, q. 23, a. 2 resp. where Thomas argues against *I Sent.*, d. 17 by Paraclete Lombard).

Thomas* Aquinas systematized the ideas of Augustine; the procession of the Spirit is made by way of will. It proceeds from the Father and the Son “as from a single principle” by a unique *spiration* (Trinity). In *Commentary on the Sentences* by Peter Lombard, Thomas presents the Trinitarian mystery* as the site where a theology of grace is rooted. An entire spiritual edifice is founded on the gift of the Spirit, personal intra-Trinitarian love, which makes itself temporal gift, principle of the gifts granted to human beings so that they might be adopted and made divine in the Son. The *Summa Theologica* carries over these ideas, but blurs the link between the Trinity and the *deification* of man. The Trinity is envisaged in itself and the divine Persons as such are isolated from the work of salvation. This can be seen as a “retreat” of the master under the hold of an Augustinianism* that dissociates the Trinity from its works (Bouyer 1980). In line with the *inseparabiliter operari* (Augustine, *Trinity* I, 5, 8), he treats filial adoption on the same footing as the Creation*, as a work *ad extra*. Consequently, in the rigor of terms we are not the sons of the Father but of the Trinity (*Summa Theologica* IIIa, q. 23, a. 2 resp. and ad 2; see Gregory* Palamas, *Patrologia Graeca* 110, 1213 AC). This trend of overly speculative theology gave rise finally to a reaction of opposition in medieval spiritual movements and, at the dawn of the modern era, Luther’s Reformation.

e) *The Spirit and the Mystics.* Meister Eckhart (†1327), heir to Thomas and Augustine but also to Origen, takes up the theme of the believer endlessly engendered by the Father “in the Holy Spirit” (*Deutsche Werke* I; see *Livre consol. divine*, éd. Libera, 1993; see M. Vannini, “La justice et la génération du Logos,” in *Voici Maître Eckhart*, 1994). John of the Cross declares that the soul* loves God as much as it is loved by him, “because it loves him with the will of God himself, in the same love with which he loves it, which is the Holy Spirit” (*Cant. Sp.* 38, 2). The Spirit informs it “so that it will aspire to God with the same aspiration

of love that the Paraclete aspires for the Son and the Son for the Paraclete, which is the Holy Spirit itself.” (*ibid.*, 39, 3).

2. Conciliar Definitions

A major reference for the Christian creed, the Nicaea Council (325) mentions the Holy Spirit in a brief but significant formula at the end of its “Symbol,” referring to it as a trace of the rite of baptism in the creed: “And [I believe] in the Holy Spirit” (*DS* 125). Constantinople I (381) mentions the Spirit in two places: “We believe . . . in Jesus Christ, made flesh of [ek] the Holy Spirit and [of] the Virgin Mary*.” And, further on: “And we believe in the Holy Spirit, Lord and vivifier, who proceeds [to *ekporeuomenon*] from the Father [ek *tou patros*], who with the father receives like adoration and like glory, who spoke through the prophets” (*DS* 150). This second development defends the divinity of the Spirit against the Macedonians. The substitution of *ek* for the *para* of John 15:26 must refer to the Nicaean *ek*, which has the strong sense of the origin “coming from the substance” (of the Father). But the technical vocabulary of Nicaea was not carried over. The origin from the Father is the principal sign testifying to the “divinity” of the Spirit, equally suggested by the divine title of Lord (*to kurion*) and the divine action of vivifying (*kai zôopoion*). The adoration and glorification of the Spirit with the father and with the Son signifies that it has the same rank (*connumeration*: Basil, *Of the Holy Spirit* 17, 42–3), but also that it is a divine “Person,” receiving as and with them the same worship. By its liturgical and soteriological reference the symbol recovers the “economic” perspective of Scripture. Other councils mentioned the Holy Spirit. Toledo (several synods: *DS* 188, 470, 485, 490, 527); Lyons* II (1274), where it was specified that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son “not as from two principles, but as from a single principle . . . , by a unique *spiration*” (*DS* 850); and Florence (1439–45), where the question of the *Filioque* was answered at length (*Enchiridion Symbolorum* 1300–1302) and it was recalled that “in God all is one where an opposition of relation is no obstacle” (*DS* 1330).

3. Turning Point of the Reformation

a) Luther* broke with the traditional reading of Scripture and excluded the church’s mediation in interpretation of the sacred text, leaving all the room for the Holy Spirit. His notion of justification* further increased the importance of the Spirit: human beings are justified insofar as, by the presence of the Spirit, Christ

with his justice* covers the injustice of the sinner (WA 56, 280). The gift of grace must be received on a base of a sin* that endures. This is why the Holy Spirit is both the Illuminator who elucidates by “inner testimony” the word* of God and the Comforter who rescues from despair. The church remains the place where the gospel is announced. Salvation is accomplished within it but does not come from it. It directly reaches individuals, who constitute the invisible church, whose unity* is ensured by the Spirit (J.L. Witte, *DSp* 4, 1961, 1318–33; F. Refoulé, *RSPTh* 1964, 428–70).

Calvin* adopted and organized Luther’s thought. He emphasized the bond between the Spirit and the visible church. The presumption plays in favor of the church when it comes to interpreting Scripture, but in the last resort the decision is up to the believer who receives the immediate testimony of the Spirit (*De Inst.* IV, 9, 12; see *DSp* 4).

On the fringes of traditional Protestantism*, the pietist movements (pietism*) also emphasized the personal action of the Spirit, in a way that could make the “external testimony” of the church unintelligible. They could not surmount the 18th-century wave of rationalism, which dissociated the activity of Christ from that of the Spirit. Christ becomes a simple moral example and the Spirit a “divine force” identified with human intelligence. Nineteenth-century idealism, notably with Hegel*, developed a notion of the Spirit (*Allgeist*) in which it is very difficult to find the third Person of the Trinity. Schleiermacher*’s (1768–1834) attempt to reconcile Christian discourse with the exigencies of the new rationality worked to the detriment of the divine personality of the Spirit. A. Ritschl (1822–89) abandoned, in the name of reason*, the doctrine of the Trinity as dogma* of the faith. A. von Harnack in Germany and A. Sabatier in France reduced the dogmatic formulations to simple transitory expressions of Christian thought that can be explained by the historical conditions of their elaboration, consequently void of any constraining value in the present day. In the early 20th century Barth opposed the tendencies of what was known as “liberal” theology with his “dialectical theology.”

b) Karl Barth* developed at an early stage a pneumatology based on the lordship of the Holy Spirit (see “The Lord, is that Spirit” [2 Cor 3:17]). This lordship is exercised over the destiny of man, who must recognize himself as radically a sinner, placed under the judgment* of God so that a new man will be born in him by the work of the Spirit. This is presented as the “subjective revelation*” of God coming to man by the Son. The Incarnation of the Son does not make the Spirit’s mission useless; it postulates it. For man is in

fact incapable all alone of opening himself to the Son as God and to the Father. The opening of man to God, on the one hand, and the freedom of God to come into man, on the other hand, are identified with the given Holy Spirit. The Spirit actualizes *in us* that which is revealed, that is, our redemption. This thought shares the perspective of the church fathers, especially the Greek Fathers rediscovered in the 19th century.

4. Current Questions

a) *Indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Human Person.* At the end of the 19th century, Scheeben* and Th. de Régnon (†1893), using D. Petau’s (†1652) works on the church fathers, sought to give restored value to the personal role of the Holy Spirit in the work of salvation. A brief on the question was assembled by P. Galtier (*Le Saint-Esprit en nous d’après les Pères grecs*, Rome, 1946). His critique of Régnon is limited to the refutation of a thesis that supposedly makes the Holy Spirit’s activity so personal (“hypostatic”) that it would exclude the roles of the other two Persons. But this argument deforms Régnon’s thesis and fails to consider the patristic texts and the true weight of the “becoming-son” that places man within and not outside the Trinity. “Those are not... pure relations with the outside, because just as well grace makes us really penetrate *ad intra Deū*” (G. Philips, *EThL*, 1948, 134). More recently, Bouyer (1980), Rahner* (*Theological Writings* 1, 110–11; 3, 65–69), and Congar (1979, vol. 2; see *Chrétiens en dial.*, 1964) have demonstrated that the patristic approach is in accord with Scripture.

b) *Discernment of Spirits.* In the primitive perspective, man is surrounded by various spirits, some of them working for the good spirit and others for the evil one. He must recognize what comes from which one, it being understood that the evil spirit tries to fool him by trying to pass for the good one (see Gn 3). This theme is already found in the second-century works of Hermas (*Le Pasteur*, 33–49: SC 53). It reaches a peak with Origen, who had a lasting influence on Eastern and then Western monasticism* (*DSp*). A significant resurgence (ibid.) is found in the teaching and practice of Ignatius of Loyola (†1556) (Ignatian spirituality).

c) *The Holy Spirit and the Church.* Russian Orthodox theology (modern and contemporary Orthodoxy*) was stimulated in the late 19th century by the thinking of Khomiakov, who claimed that the church is not first a visible institution but an invisible reality animated by the Spirit. What constitutes it “is neither the numerical figures of believers nor their visible assembly; it is the very bond that unites them. The church is the revela-

tion of the Holy Spirit to the mutual love of Christians, and the very love that leads them to the Father by his incarnate Word" (*L'Église latine et le protestantisme, Lausanne, 1872*).

This pneumatological ecclesiology* was balanced by contributions of other Orthodox authors (Soloviyov*, Boulgakov, Florovsky, Afanassieff, and recently J. Zizioulas). But the restoration of the Spirit's value remains an accepted fact. It is also found in Germany (J. A. Moehler, 1796–1838) and England (Newman*).

In the Catholic Church some importance was given to the theme of the Spirit as soul of the church. It was rare in the earliest centuries. With Origen this role is played by the Word (*Contra Celsum* VI, 48). Augustine refers to it twice (*Sermons* 267, 4 and 268, 2; beginnings in *Commentary on John* XXVI, 6, 13 and XXVII, 6, 6). Thomas Aquinas takes it up and refines it (*De veritate* 29, 4 c). It is found in Leo XIII and Pius XII (*Mystici Corporis*, 1943; *Tromp, Litt. encycl.*, 3rd Ed., 1958). The comparison is not useful unless the difference from hypostatic union is noted. The Spirit in the church intervenes only on the level of freedoms (Vl. Lossky, *Essay on the Mystic Theology of the Eastern Church*, 1944, and already Origen, *De principiis* 3, 5: the Spirit acts only on the saints, who adhere freely to Christ). It is from the heart of believers that it establishes with Christ—and through them—a particular type of unity.

Mühlen (1964), going on the ancient notion of persona (Tertullian; Augustine and the only "persona" of "the complete Christ," both Head and Body of the church), takes from Thomas Aquinas the expression "mystical person" to say that the Holy Spirit is "a person in multiple persons." "Person" designates here the Spirit as engaged in a complex play of relations within the church, the "body of Christ" in the sense of *collective body*, in line with the Old Testament *basar* (flesh), but transposed to designate a "corporate personality" (J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body*, London, 1952; J. de Fraine, *Adam et son lignage*, Paris, 1959; R. H. Gundry, *Sôma*, Cambridge, 1976). This "body" of Christ, the new community of believers, is constituted in relation with the risen Christ. Christ unfolds in a "grand ego" (Mühlen) that is not the prolongation of the Incarnation but a distinct reality, constituted under the influence of the Spirit: "Just as the Logos really made itself man in the unique human nature [see Jn 1:14], so the Spirit of Jesus really 'made' itself Church in the social organism of the Church" (ibid.).

Y. Congar also noted the importance of the Holy Spirit in theology after Vatican* II, in counterbalancing a legitimate but sometimes overly unilateral emphasis on Christology*. The role of Christ is not

limited to putting visible structures in place. Within the framework of a "pneumatological Christology," his role must be understood in relation to the action of the Spirit, which is necessarily invisible. But the Spirit in turn cannot be isolated from Christ. The church is the (mystical) body of Christ, not of the Holy Spirit (Congar 1979; see id., *Mélanges G. Philips*, Gembloux, 1970).

d) *From Sects to Charismatic Movements.* The sects (taken in the sociological meaning of the term) give great importance to the Spirit, which is generally accepted as the third Person of the Trinity, even if the mystery is often obscured. Its function is to realize "the inner illumination" in believers that unites them with the Spirit itself or with God. The emphasis is placed on the felt experience of a personal intervention of the Spirit in the individual, with particular attention to certain charismas (special gifts: 1 Cor 12), connected to the event of Pentecost. The "charismatic movements" or "movements of renewal" are a special case, distinguished from the sects, because they are officially recognized by the Catholic hierarchy* and have recently come to play a significant role in the life of the churches (Congar 1979; see Pentecostalism*).

e) *The "Theology/Economy" Relation and the Filioque.* Orthodox theology, insofar as it maintains a radical monopatrism (the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone), not as a *theologoumenon* but as a dogma of faith, cannot accept transposition from the level of economy, where the Son intervenes in the gift of the Spirit, to the level of theology, where he does not intervene (see the declaration of S. Verkhovsky at the Colloquia of Saulchoir [1950], *Russia and Christianity*). However, for Catholic theology, the correspondence from one level to another is evident (ibid.). Everything that the Old Testament reveals of God is done in an economic context. Rahner advances the axiom according to which "the Trinity manifest in the economy of salvation is the immanent Trinity and, reciprocally" (*Theological Writings*, 1967, *MySal* II/1, 328). In the economy God is revealed as he is in himself because his plan is to make us participate in his intra-Trinitarian life such as it is in itself, by making us "sons in the Son" by the gift of the Spirit.

Equally for Barth (1932), there is no other reality behind that of the revelation that would be God: "It is because of the intra-divine reciprocal communion* of the Holy Spirit that proceeds from the Father and the Son that there is, in the revelation, a communion of God and man, in which God is not only there for man but—and that is the *donum Spiritus sancti*—where man is also really there for God." The inconceivable

possibility of communion with God already exists in the Trinity: it is the Holy Spirit, eternal foundation in God of what is given to humanity within time.

f) Among other subjects that could still be envisaged one might mention: 1) the question of the *eucharistic epiclesis** (does the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in the eucharistic consecration depend on the words pronounced by the priest in the name of Christ, or on the invocation of the Holy Spirit?), with the more general question of the role of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy*; and 2) the question of the Spirit in the ecumenical movement. Another subject has hardly been studied though clearly suggested in Scripture (Acts 2; Rom 1:4)—the connection between the Holy Spirit and the paschal mystery. This is the theme of a resurrection that has already begun (2 Tm 2:18; Phil 3:1), of that resurrection as the overflow upon all humanity of the Resurrection of Christ. It is a theme that runs through the whole of patristic literature, but as evidence that one does not seek to demonstrate. It is concealed within a vocabulary where the Holy Spirit has an important place, but the word “resurrection” does not appear. Seeking deeper into this theme in Scripture and the church fathers might provide the occasion for developing a theology that interrogates the mystery of God through the extraordinary gift he made of himself to himself through man... in the Spirit.

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See also Christ and Christology; Filioque; God, Father; Trinity; Word

Hope

a) *Biblical Theology*. “The undoubted expectation of beatitude to come” (Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* IIa IIae, q. 18, a. 4) linked in Pauline* theology to faith* and to charity (1 Cor 13:13), hope is only theologically intelligible in a framework of biblical references in which the category of promise* plays a special role. The experience of Israel* does indeed replace the cyclical notion of time* that predominated in paganism* with the linear notion of a time arranged into a history*. In

this history God* manifests himself as the master of the future, and destines human beings to a future—the very name* of YHWH, as it is revealed in Exodus 3:14, is perhaps already the guarantee of a future. Open by promises, the hope of Israel itself had to know a history. After the promise of a land there followed the promises made to the monarchy of David (2 Sm 7:12–17) or the prophetic announcement of eschatological salvation* (e.g., Ez 8:23b–9:6). The

Deuteronomist tradition* retains the hope of renewal and a universalization of the covenant* (Ez 34:25, 37:26), of a revivification of man (Ez 11:19f., 18:31, 36:26) and a new presence of YHWH amidst his people* (Ez 40–47). In the Psalms*, hope is expressed as trust in God in the midst of suffering (13:6, 22:5, etc.), or else it is a source of praise* (33:18–22). The various messianic representations orient history toward the people's absolute future; and in the face of death*, apocalyptic theology looks to the absolute future of the individual (Is 26; Dn 12:1ff.), while trust in the closeness of God is encountered even at the very heart of death (Ps 73:26ff.).

To an experience placed under the sign of unfulfillment, the New Testament first of all opposes an experience of fulfillment, such that hope cannot play a primary role and that, paradoxically, the fullness of theological realities is first offered to an act of memory. The event on which the Christian understanding of man and God is based—the “Jesus Christ event”—happened when “the time had fully come” (Gal 4:4); in Jesus* of Nazareth, it is equally the “fullness of God” that lived among men (Col 1:19, 2:9); and again, on Good Friday, it is a word of accomplishment that the Gospel* of John puts in the mouth of the Crucified (Jn 19:30). After the imprecise wait for the messiah that characterizes the time of the pre-paschal ministry*, there comes the time of the messianic confession; and if Jesus is indeed the Messiah* of Israel and the savior of nations, it must be said that, in him, the time of promise has come to an end. The first word of Jesus' preaching announces the proximity of the Kingdom* (Mk 3:2; Mt 10:7; Lk 10:9) and gives rise to an expectation—on Easter Day, it does seem that the time of waiting has passed.

The new classification of future promises is nevertheless essential to the Christian experience, even if it only happens subsequently. Since the founding events remembered in the liturgy*, the permanent—the *eschaton*—has its hold on the temporary—history—and the canon* of the New Testament refracts this hold in a plurality of eschatological notions that in different ways link the eschatological and the christological. Beyond this irreducible plurality (in Matthew, the eschatology* of the fulfillment of promises made to Israel; in John, a theology of the glory* of God manifested in the world; in Luke, the elucidation of the meaning of the time of the church*; etc.; see Woschiz, 1979), it remains true that in Jesus new promises were made to human beings, and that, in the time of the world, they must remain unfulfilled. Understood as promise (e.g., Rom 8:29), the resurrection* of Jesus teaches hope. Even for communities who expected the imminent return of Christ, it was quite necessary to

name hope at the same time as faith and charity (1 Cor 13:13); and the symbols of faith were to express the meaning of the fundamental Christian hope in speaking of awaiting “the resurrection* of the dead” (“of flesh”) and “the life of the world to come” (“eternal life*”).

b) Patristic and Medieval Theology. For classical antiquity, the concern for the present through the future, through both hope and fear, belonged only to the logic of affects, and the Stoic ethic concluded that access to virtue—to *ataraxia*—entailed the command of all hope. Except for Zenon of Verona († c. 375), author of the first treatise *De Spe, Fide, et Caritate* (PL 11, 269–80), Thomas Aquinas, and also Ambrose* of Milan (*In Ps. 118 Sermo Tertius*, PL 15, 1223–40) and Augustine* (*Enchiridion de Fide, Spe et Caritate*, PL 40, 230–90), the theology of hope would integrate the *pathos* of waiting within the framework of a doctrine of the virtues*.

The present of Christian experience cannot, in fact, really harbor the blessed life. And even if man does experience peace*—*hèsukhia, quies*—this is never the possession of definitive goods, but rather the pleasure of their “guarantee” (see 2 Cor 1:22; Eph 1:14). The ancient vision of an uncertain future that disturbs the present is then replaced by a present concerned with a promised beatitude that is not comparable to any bliss that can be experienced in the time of the world, a beatitude that is nothing man can give to himself, and cannot be hoped for without a divine initiative (grace*) that makes of man someone who hopes. The order of hope is that of the theology: like faith and charity, hope is therefore *totaliter ab extrinseco* (Thomas, *ST Ia IIae*, q. 63, a. 1).

But, just as theological faith and charity are not the only human experiences signifying love and having faith (just as there is also a “natural” experience of believing and love*), the supernatural logic of hope can be interpreted against the background of a “natural” capacity of hoping that can itself take place in a theory of virtue. Augustine had already interpreted the basic modes of temporality as preunderstandings of the fundamental logic of the Christian experience. Thomas went further. He considered that there exists a virtuous relationship between natural man and the future, and identifies *magnanimity* as the virtue that holds its (in proper Aristotelian terms) between the two vices of presumption and despair in order to wisely welcome what is not yet.

One can therefore offer an analysis of hope that pertains to the natural element as well as the theological one (*In Sent.* III, d. 16, q. 1–5). It is hope's distinctive feature to reach out toward a *good*, toward a good that

is difficult to get to (*arduum*), to a *future* good, finally to a *possible* good. The present of all hope is therefore marked with insufficiency: just as one cannot “see” what one does not “believe,” one does not possess what one hopes, both in the natural order and in the theological order. But because nonpossession is theologically linked to a certitude, it does not engender any misery. Thomas does of course acknowledge that a certain insecurity (*anxietas, angustia*) affects the hoping conscience (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 40, a. 8). The absolute future to which theological hope is related is nevertheless promised with enough strength for hope to hope “certainly”: the reasons for hoping are rooted in the reasons for believing; thus, hope is as reasonable as it is virtuous.

c) Secularized Hope. Hope hopes for the *eschaton*, under the formality of an eschatological beatitude that the time of the world cannot harbor. Its content is therefore that of the last item of the creeds of faith, and is especially *only* this; and if historic goods can also be hoped for, it would exclusively be “spiritual or temporal possession that are valuable as means for obtaining eternal life” (Billot 1905). Henceforth, history is only history. And if this history has its theological secret, which is to shelter the “city* of God” in its temporal peregrinations, hope in no way ceases to give believers a manner of referring to definitive realities. The classical theology of hope (theology for which nothing that happens before death can be the object of a theological hope, except for that in the world that brings a person to their eternal beatitude) is not, however, the first word of theology, nor the last possible figure of a hope.

In the church’s beginnings, the millenarian temptation (that of waiting for a time before the end of time in which Christ visibly reigns amidst his people) was not that of a possible abolition of hope within a historical experience, but did lead to a new messianic dynamic of history. And although Joachim of Fiore’s new millenarianism* did not hope either that the *eschaton* would happen fully in the “age of the Spirit” that he foresaw, his hope did postulate that there were still divine promises that would be realized in a coming history (or even an imminent one). The former millenarianism was eventually considered incompatible with an orthodox Christian eschatology, and Joachimism emerged as early as the 13th century as a heterodox version of Christian hope. Nevertheless, the “spiritual posterity” (Lubac* 1979–80, already Löwith 1949) of a vision of history that greatly influenced the modern reorientations of Christian hope was more considerable than the critiques of Joachimism by Bonaventure (Ratzinger 1959) or Thomas Aquinas (Saranyana 1979). Is it possible to imagine a history

that leaves nothing to hope for? Modern thought suggests this by acting as substitute for traditional theological discourse on history. Outlining an approach to the idea of universal history, Kant* observed that “philosophy* too has its millenarianism” (Weischedel VI, 45). For Hegel*, philosophy is written at the end of history; and if this end is not an end of time, it at least opens a new aeon in which no eschatological tension seems to be able to animate human beings anymore. For Schelling*, the pneumatological wealth of the present and the mysticism* of the “Johannic” church also loses interest in hope. This immediately implies a God that no longer imposes the duty to hope on man has died, favoring immanent processes that govern the world; it also implies that man can also understand and master, in a way that he gives himself reasons to hope. There was also a theological debate during the classical age, with the quietism* controversy, in which the defense and illustration of hope had significance for the decisions of the Roman magisterium* (*DS* 2201–69, 2351–74). When they pleaded for a spiritual experience influenced by “quietude,” the quietists or semiquietists seemed to disassociate man from his absolute future: pure love is given to God for the love of God, and not out of hope that God will fulfill promises; the “children” of God “love the Father* selflessly, not out of hope or fear*” (Fénelon, *Explication des Maximes des Saints...*, Ed. Chérel, Paris, 1911). The sustained language is in fact the language of eschatological anticipation, and therefore must be sustained with caution. Fénelon was right to recall the rights of mystical experience. These rights, however, can only be defended by simultaneously recalling that no kind of anticipation gives the mystic possession of his absolute future; the most “disinterested” hope continues to be a hope and proves that the praying figure today lives in the element of provisionality; all sound logic of spiritual life* must include a logic of eschatological desire.

The modern secularization* of hope was moreover accompanied by the disappearance of the idea of beatitude. With Fichte and also Hegel, it was possible for them to sustain the language of beatitude to express a philosophical experience that questioned the Absolute. But, when it involved giving a hope to human beings that divine promise no longer expresses, philosophy will promise them a bliss experienced in the shadow of death. Atheist and secularized eschatologies can certainly call on hope (*see* Bloch 1954–55). They can use the entire system of biblical images and symbols for their messianism. They can sustain the language of *salvation* (the world as *laboratorium possibilis salutis*). They can criticize the present in the name of an “ontology of being* that is not yet,” for which the

basic formula is not about a subject receiving a predication (the sky is blue), but about the predication being not yet possible (the world is not yet man's happy home). Nevertheless, they come up against death as against what is unthinkable, which they can only silence or trivialize; and the hope to which they give rise is in fact the unhoped for.

d) Contemporary Trends. Theology responded to the secularization of eschatology by spectacularly reaffirming its own *logos* and by affirming the eschatological weight of all its discourse. However, this response is not unified, and clear tendencies emerge. 1) Confronting Heidegger*'s existential analytics on the one hand, and inheriting on the other hand a project of demythologization that goes back to the Enlightenment, Bultmann* considers the *eschaton* in the present: the existence that seizes what is most its own—that reaches its authenticity—is eschatological existence. The meaning of its present cannot only (Heidegger's lesson) unfold in this single present: eschatological existence must have its own relationship to the future. But just as traditional representations of the absolute future were rejected as mythological products, a theology in which the conceptual pairing “available” and “unavailable” (*verfügbar/unverfügbar*) replaced “natural” and “supernatural*” had nothing better to categorize, in terms of hope, than an opening to the future understood as an opening to the God who is coming. It is postulated that it dissipates fears of death (1961)—a hope that is weak enough to be manipulated by F. Buri, whose “dekerygmized” eschatology once again entrusted human beings with their own forces and offered a hope that was comparable to “new liberal Protestantism” (*Dogmatik*... III, 277–576). 2) In answer to theories for which the *eschaton* is a predicate of existence (Moltmann 1964; Metz 1968), there are theories for which the *eschaton* is the prolific instance of a historical practice. A concern for the “last things” comes first, because the first word belongs to the resurrection of Jesus. Hope, however, does not only hope for the last things. The time before the end of time—the time of the “second-to-last things”—should also be understood in light of theological hope: divine promises are not yet fulfilled. In theologies where “being itself must be considered from the future” (Pannenberg 1967), God and Christ therefore keep a “future,” and it is by being at the service of God's future (*ibid.*) that the Christian experiences hope. According to Bloch, man will, in the end, give himself a “homeland” (Bloch 1955). Theology has a twofold answer to the offer of a secularized Kingdom. It concedes, on the one hand, that the present realm of Christian experience is not the eschatological homeland, but affirms

that Christian eschatological hope nevertheless has the status of a “historical force generating creative utopias” in world history (Moltmann 1969). On the other hand, it recalls that promises that allow for hope come from beyond death, in such a way that it would not be possible to experience the fulfillment of all these promises on this side of death.

The possibility of holding together this concession, this affirmation, and this reminder is without a doubt the *articulus stantis et cadentis* of such a theology. 3) Relearning to hope in the plural is not the smallest achievement of recent theology. The place of hope is the church, and being-in-the-church is being-in-communion. The idea of hoping to the end of one's eschatological destiny, and this idea only, is then clearly inconsistent. Formulated in 1689 by the Jesuit Th. Muniessa, then rediscovered and championed by P. Charles (1889–1954) (*NRTh* 1934, 1009–21 and 1937, 1057–75), the idea of a hope of Christ contradicts the Augustinian axiom according to which one hopes only for oneself (*see Enchiridion* ... PL 40, 235). And if Christ hoped (during his life on earth) and continues to hope (until the predestined have come into possession of celestial glory), it therefore means that the object of hope is not the eternal beatitude of the one who hopes, but the beatitude of all those who are capable of it. Hope, therefore, is found in the communion* of saints. In an almost purely philosophical analysis, G. Marcel also notes: “‘I hope in you for us’; this is perhaps the most adequate and developed expression of the act that the verb to hope still translates in a confused and general way” (1944). Balthasar* (1986) would also insist that the absolute future of others is not the object of eschatological speculations, but the object of a hope that applies to all. J. Daniélou (1905–74) had said it already: “Hope concerns the salvation of all men—and it is only in so far as I am included among them that it has any relevance for me” (*Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire*, Paris, 1953). 4) Continuing in the line of the theses of Muniessa and Charles, the classic theory that sees in hope a virtuous way to live in the element of the provisional had to be contested. Balthasar's christological interpretation of hope is mirrored by a threefold interpretation: the real secret of hope is the secret of a logic of giving, surrendering, and trusting in others in which one must see an image of divine life (1984). Rahner* had a similar suggestion. Considered as “a fundamental mode of the relationship to the definitive” (1967), Rahnerian hope is not understood in the light of an eschatological “possession” that is meant to abolish it, but is incorporated into a spiritual topology of that which is called to “abide” (1 Cor 13, 13); because God cannot be “possessed” and because he will eternally be “unavailable,” *unverfügbar*, hope

belongs both to the temporary structure as it does to the definitive one. 5) Lastly, the concept of hope was not ignored by philosophers of the first half of the 20th century. In a Bergsonian perspective, E. Minkowski categorized the conversion of our “becoming” into a “future” (*Lived Time*, 1970). O.F. Bollnow (1941) sought to bring to light a hope lodged at the root of our emotional life. Pieper (1935) “gave new clothes” to a theory of “natural” hope that could be harmoniously joined to a theology of “supernatural” hope. B. Welte reflected on hope and despair as two original ways of being, and saw in it a need for and an appeal to salvation in a way that the philosophical description leads to the “threshold” of faith (1982), in any case, Lain-Entralgo’s conclusion echoes: “Man hopes, naturally, for something that transcends his nature; what is natural, in man, is to be open to the supernatural” (1956). A similar pathos also fills the writings of J. Monchanin: “Hope is consubstantial with the very movement that goes from matter to consciousness through life and ends with man going beyond himself, accepting to be polarized by the Absolute” (1949).

e) Questions. Philosophies of hope cannot, however, hide an important fact, and one that triggers a new hermeneutic situation. Do human beings hope a priori, in accordance with a transcendental determination of what they are? And does the kerygmatic work of theology consist in answering a vague hope, or in awakening hopes that are foreign to each other, by giving *reasons* to hope? This was the case, in the highly modern framework of a *conflict of hopes* in which it seemed absolutely established that man is a hopeful animal, and in which the only thing that mattered was proving that Christianity gives at least as much to hope for as secularized eschatologies and all historical progressivism (Moltmann, Metz, Lash, etc.). However, in the last years of the 20th century there emerged a questioning of all hope. After the time of the “principle of hope,” there came the time of the “principle of responsibility” (H. Jones); after the time of utopias, there came a time in which the highest human expectations were simply the expectations of successful communication (J. Habermas, K.O. Apel). Henceforth, it was only right to debate the possibility of hope *as is*: it was no longer appropriate to question *what* we could hope for (Kant), even supposing that we want to hope. Rather, it involved radically knowing *if* we are still able to hope, and who will give us reasons to do so. Theology classically sustained the language of hope by presupposing its intelligibility and was able in this way to give itself the sole task of manifesting the truth of its discourse. But as soon as precomprehensions and intuitions are lacking, a new endeavor emerges that

dictates a new program for the fundamental* theology of hope: that of proving that the language of hope is a *sensible* language. Relying on one of the most venerable of Christian concepts, classical theological interpretation, with regard to hope, retained the language of fulfillment: the promises transmitted by Christianity came to satisfy a desire—for eternity, for beatitude—that is present in all human expectations. But if the time of the “death of God” is also the time when this desire is most denied, a new practical theology of hope becomes necessary, the first job of which is precisely that of learning how to hope.

However, the reasons of Christian hope are not commensurate with our present and are only revealed through an act of memory (e.g., H. Thielicke, *Der ev. Glaube*, v. III, Tübingen, 1978). And although the world no longer offers any prenotation of a possible hope, the wisest words are words of resignation (or of serenity: Heideggerian *Gelassenheit*), and although no theism any longer really has the means of offering a corresponding hope, it is before, in the “absolute past” of the “Jesus Christ event,” that a logic of hope can be formed again. To those who live in a time that leads them to death, the words of promise pronounced and proleptically fulfilled in the story of Jesus say that it is really a question of a pre-paschal time, of a being *towards* death that is not a being *for* death. Those who remember the Risen One remain mortal. But through memory they learn that their destiny is linked to his. Their faith, in a certain way, *compels* them to hope. (Lacoste 1990).

Perhaps such a epochal situation reveals, slightly better than others, the factual condition of man called to believe and hope in the time of the world. There is prestigious support for those who suggest that hope is essentially Christian. Pagan existence is defined in Ephesians 2:12 by atheism and lack of hope. In *The Sickness unto Death*, Kierkegaard* has only one thing to say: that despair is the secret of the pagan experience, including a paganism experienced at the heart of visible Christianity. And when (as Heidegger has it) man only exists within the limits of the world, while the concrete reality of all his hopes is measured by the single eschatology that henceforth remains, death and the whole idea of absolute future is integrated again in the notion of an “authentic” present for which death, understood as a final possibility, is the only master of meaning. The idea of a human nature that is essentially open to a supernatural destiny, from which stems the idea of a certain natural ability to hope, is not thereby invalidated: it is not the supposed omnipresence of a mental fact that is called upon to prove the existence and the topics of the *desiderium naturale*. But a shift is necessary. The one who speaks of being-in-the-world

speaks of despair, or rather, unhope (G. Marcel). But the world (understood in both a New Testament and a phenomenological way) is what theological life partly allows to subvert the experience, in a subversion that returns man to the most profound determinations of his being—"authentic" existence is theological experience. The protologic a priori ("natural desire for the beatific* vision," and therefore transcendental hope) is an altered a priori that can be restored through an act of faith. The theological virtues come to man from outside himself—to awaken in him the fundamental acts of existence experienced before God and in the memory of the mystery* of Easter. In the experience of these virtues, man passes *Dasein* as he passes the "mortal."

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See also **Beatitude; Eschatology; Faith; History; Love**

Hugh of Saint-Victor. See **Saint-Victor, School of**

Humanism, Christian

According to classic historiography, an educational revolution started in western Europe during the second half of the 15th century and continued throughout the 16th century. Due, above all, to the rediscovery of ancient languages, advocated and taught by teachers of the *studia humanitatis*—the humanists—it then flourished as the movement of thought that historians have labeled “humanism.” In fact, the noun was coined in Germany during the Enlightenment, while “humanist” entered into general use during the Renaissance. However, it should not be forgotten that during this period the advocates of Christian humanism, who were not all professional teachers, although they were concerned to teach and to communicate, shared a number of convictions that formed a coherent vision, a type of theological anthropology*, and believed that they could rediscover within it the major intuitions of the Bible* and the church fathers*. Whether in terms of method or of content, the Christian humanism of the Renaissance meant a return to the sources.

Humanism was often grounded in an opposition to medieval Scholasticism*, which it displayed with varying degrees of discretion, and defined its method as a return to the sources of pagan and Christian antiquity. This meant, first of all, a return to the Bible, or, more precisely, to its original texts, which the supremacy of the Vulgate had supplanted. The point of departure for this enterprise was provided by Lorenzo Valla’s comparison of the text of Jerome’s Latin translation of the New Testament with the Greek manuscripts, and his discovery of inaccuracies in the former. In 1504, the discovery of the versions of Valla’s work led Erasmus* to translate the New Testament, annotate and paraphrase it, and make it the center of his theology. Biblical studies developed from this point on, thanks to innumerable new translations* into Latin, which were more accurate or more classical than the older ones, and then, soon after, into vernacular languages. Humanist “workshops” were set in motion, compiling multilingual Bibles, as at Alcalá and then at Anvers. At the Dominican friary of San Marco in Florence, Sante Pagnini completed translations that had an influence throughout the 16th century.

Numerous Greek scholars who fled from the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (1453) arrived in western Europe and taught their language there, making a

significant contribution to the fashion for Greek that accompanied the rediscovery, not only of the Greek Fathers, but also of the philosophers of antiquity, and of a more precise approach to texts and manuscripts. Marsilio Ficino reinterpreted Plato and the neo-Platonists; Lefèvre d’Étaples provided a pedagogic presentation of Aristotle; Johann Reuchlin rediscovered Pythagoras. This German humanist also took an interest in Hebrew, and in the texts of the Talmud and the Cabala.

This general curiosity was in danger of spreading itself too thinly, yet it was an indication of a positive attitude to learning. Christian humanists wanted to find “prefigurings of the Gospel” in the pagan authors, but in the course of comparing them, dating them, and seeking to understand the meanings intended by all these authors, whatever they might be, they also tended to adopt a more historical approach. The period of the Renaissance was the age of perspective, which had arisen within Italian painting, and which inevitably signified distancing, the involvement of the spectator, and a certain relativization of the object. From the second half of the 15th century onward, the invention of printing increasingly allowed an unprecedented diffusion of these texts and ideas. All these means, methods, and multipliers were based on a theological vision that, beginning with meditation upon the Incarnation*, recognized the dignity and liberty* of created human beings and sought to lead human beings to charity, the founding principle of authentic peace*.

a) Dignity and Liberty of Human Beings. The theme of human dignity was frequently addressed in the Italian Renaissance of the 15th century. For example, Bartolomeo Fazio (1442) and Gianozzo Manetti (1452) both exalted “the excellence of man.” However, it was Giovanni Pico della Mirandola above all who developed this theme, in his *Oratio de dignitate hominis* (1486; Oration on the Dignity of Man). Pico, who was a friend of Ficino’s, but not one of his disciples, since he preferred to be a disciple of Savonarola, asserts that dignity is not simply a quality of humanity, but is part of its very being*. Human beings have been created by God* to love and admire creation*; they are themselves microcosms of creation because of their noble intelligence. Their intellects have their origin in God,

one and triune, who has created humanity “in his image.”

Human dignity in turn forms the basis for human liberty, a liberty that in reality is an existence characterized by metamorphosis and oscillation, for human beings partake of two different worlds, and are halfway between God and the animals. In their liberty, human beings choose between becoming like animals and being transfigured. Their greatness lies precisely in the fact that, being their own masters, they choose for themselves the forms that they prefer. In this way, Pico expresses both the open-ended nature of humanity and its divine vocation.

The Christian humanists coupled their affirmation of liberty with a more technical defense of free will. Valla had already written on this subject in his *De libertate arbitrii* (On Free Will), in which he asserted that God’s foreknowledge does not impose any constraints on our will. In his polemic with Luther*, who accused him of Pelagianism*, Erasmus defended, with a seriousness that was unusual for him, the idea that the humanists regarded as the very core of Christian anthropology and the logic of creation: that God himself saves and renews the liberty of the creature that reflects his image, with a mercy* that is so generous as to make human beings collaborators in their own salvation*. Even so, contrary to what Luther thought, the cross of Christ* is not eliminated. If God indeed crowns Christ’s own merits by crowning the merits of human beings, then those merits have some substance after all. The Council of Trent* reaffirmed this conviction of the Christian humanists who had preceded it, although in more scholastic terms, by specifying the notions of merit and works*, which come together in charity (love*).

b) From Philautia to Charity. Christian humanists took a dynamic, plenary, theological view of charity, rejecting the egotism and self-love that the Renaissance, following the Greek fathers, called *philautia*. In the *Tiers Livre* (Third Book) of Rabelais’s *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Panurge embodies this bad choice: “*Philautia* and self-love deceive you” (ch. XIX). Trapped between marriage* and celibacy, in an ego-centric perplexity, Panurge is possessed by his love for himself. Like Erasmus, Rabelais recommends what seems to human beings to be folly: “Forget yourself, go outside yourself. . . . That which vulgarly is imputed to folly” (ch. XXXVII). Thus, charity is taught by the poor in spirit, in the Sermon on the Mount, the foundation of “Christ’s philosophy.” The Kingdom* of God is made for pure and charitable hearts that liberate themselves from *philautia* by fulfilling God’s will. Entry into the abbey of Thelema, whose name means “will,”

is forbidden to “hypocrites,” who had already been rejected in the Gospel. The abbey’s motto, “Do what thou wilt,” should be understood as choosing God’s will, that is, charity.

Just as Thomas More’s *Utopia* is a subtle humanist construction, intended to show the community of believers that part of the righteousness of the Kingdom that natural reason* already permits us to prefigure and to realize, so Rabelais’s utopia affirms its grounding in human nature solely in order to provide a broader vision of the Gospel ideal. Rabelais’s comedy, with its sexual and scatological jokes, should be seen as a continual reminder of the animal nature of humanity united with the spirit. For Rabelais as for Pico, humanity is truly *copula mundi*. This human comedy, which is both humanist and Christian (Screech 1979), suggests that it is only through Christian wisdom* that human beings can recall their place in creation and in God’s plan.

c) Harmony, Concord, and Utopia. Christian humanism was stamped with the seal of an optimism that one could characterize as theological, and sought harmony. Pico della Mirandola was obsessed with reconciling Plato and Aristotle, yet this young philosopher, writing to Aldus Manutius, shows that he was aware that revelation* alone provides the key to the unity of human thought: “philosophy seeks truth, theology finds it, religion possesses it.” This truth is Christ, principle of synthesis and Prince of Peace. Indeed, in Pico’s writings the quest for unity is combined with a desire for religious concord, and he places himself in the tradition that runs from Nicholas* of Cusa to Jean Bodin.

Lefèvre d’Étaples, the first person to edit Nicholas of Cusa’s writings, had a similar aim. His hermeneutic ideal (hermeneutics*) was to reconcile literal exegesis* with spiritual meaning. He raised “concordance of the scriptures” to the level of a principle of interpretation in order to combine the Old and New Testaments in a single view of Christ. In addition, Lefèvre sought to avoid opposition between faith* and works when commenting on the Epistle of James. Luther’s disciple Philipp Melancthon also tried to avoid sacrificing free will for the sake of justification* by faith.

This aspiration to reconciliation and unity, which was an aspiration to the coming of the Kingdom of God, is reflected in the architectural and social reveries of utopias, whether carved in stone or written on paper, from Pope Pius II’s (unfinished) city of Pienza to the works of More (1516) and Campanella (1602). Erasmus was a pacifist and a precursor of toleration, as was logical for one who gave primacy to charity, even though it led to accusations of relativism*.

It is a paradox that the 16th century was precisely

the age of the great religious rift in western Europe. By the end of the century, the enthusiasm that had given rise to predictions of the return of the golden age had disappeared. The age of another type of genius had arrived—the age of Montaigne, Cervantes, and Shakespeare, in whose works it is more difficult to pinpoint Christian ideas. The mystic* and pastor* François de Sales (Salesian spirituality*) retained the dynamism of early humanism with a balance that was both a maturation and a transcendence of the humanist movement. Touched by the grace of the imitation* of Christ, he taught humility and also stood witness to it. In the last months of his life, he wanted to write a sequel to his *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, an *Histoire théandrique* in four volumes, but did not have the time to achieve what would have been a summary of devout humanism, giving shape to the intuitions of nearly 200 years of Christian humanism.

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GUY BEDOUELLE

See also Aristotelianism, Christian; Erasmus, Desiderius; Platonism, Christian; Skepticism, Christian; Stoicism, Christian

Humility. *See* Bernard of Clairvaux

Hus, Jan

c. 1369–1415

The Czech theologian Jan Hus (from Husinec in Bohemia) was condemned by the Council of Constance* and burned alive. His death and that of his friend Jerome of Prague, burned in Constance a year later, were one of the causes of the Hussite rising of 1419. Hus's supporters joined forces with the advocates of Wycliffism to create a Hussite movement that broke with the papacy. This led to the organization under the Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg of a series of crusades against Bohemia. As a result Czechs consider Hus a martyr for truth*, for the national cause, and for reform.

Hus studied under the direction of Stanislav of Znojmo, the first important Wycliffite at Prague. John Wycliffe (1328–84), the English reformer, had become master of arts in 1361 and doctor of theology in 1372. Entering the service of the Crown as ambassador to Gregory XI, he opposed the policies of France and of the papacy. Against nominalism* he championed an extreme realism. Universals were of two kinds, uncreated and created: the first were identical to the divine Ideas, the second had real existence in the form of singular beings, from which they were strictly distinct.

Between the two extended the analogical being*, created instantaneously, in which resided the types of the genera and species according to which God* created singular beings.

Wycliffe argued for a return to Augustine* and to the Bible*, and in his *De benedicta incarnatione* (1370) undertook a Platonist synthesis of philosophy* and theology.* His work had strong political implications, as the titles *De dominio divino* (1375), *De civili dominio* (1376), *De officio regis* (1378), and *De potestate papae* (1379) clearly show. Wycliffe's God exercised his power directly over all earthly possessions, without the pope*'s mediation. Kings were therefore accountable only to God, and the church had no right to own property. Wycliffe's (Ghibelline) position was close to that of Marsilius of Padua. The true church was the sum of the faithful in a state of grace, the "assembly of the predestined"; and since God alone was the cause of predestination*, human beings could not hope to join the community of the elect other than by attempting to imitate Christ*. The holding of church office should be the simple consequence of a life of grace*, and so was annulled by mortal sin*. Because clerical abuses and the scandal of the Schism* were making church reform a matter of urgency, Wycliffe proposed a return to the ancient church, that of the time before the Donation of Constantine, which implied an abandonment of the hierarchical structure. Since the forgiveness of sins issued directly from God without human mediation, there was no reason for indulgences*. And since none other than God could rightly designate the pope, it would be better if he were chosen by lot. Already critical of the papacy, which he saw as an "addition" to the evangelical truths, Wycliffe's attitude developed markedly at the time of the Schism. Henceforth the pope himself, rather than the antipope, was the Antichrist.

Wycliffe seems to have acknowledged the sacraments*, on condition that the priest* be in a state of grace, without which they had a merely moral value. He confessed the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist* but criticized theories of transubstantiation. He understood the body of Christ to be really present in the nature of the bread, but present by its power (*virtualiter*) and not in substance—since by reason of its magnitude the nature of Christ was to be found only in heaven. He acknowledged the sacrament of confession, but recommended that it take place in public. He coordinated the propagation of his ideas by sending out his disciples, the "Lollards," to preach in the countryside. But their preaching* turned into social revolt (the Peasants' Revolt of 1381). Condemned by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1382, and struck by paralysis, he died in 1384. The Council of Constance (1415)

repeated the condemnation of his writings. But his teachings were spread by clandestine circles in Oxford. There his works were incessantly copied—at just the time when Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II, was drawing the Czech elite to her court in England. They were subsequently circulated in central Europe and inspired the Hussite movement.

Hus became master of arts at Prague in 1396, and was appointed dean of the faculty in 1401 and rector of the university in 1409. He was ordained priest in 1400 and studied theology, though events prevented him from attaining the level of doctor. In 1402 he was appointed rector and preacher of the Bethlehem Chapel, founded to "offer the Czech population religious instruction in its native language" (De Vooght). This activity gave rise to a series of conflicts with the clergy, exacerbated by a crisis in the church* that was then reaching its peak (the rivalry between the three popes), by the weakening of the royal power, and by divisions within the university. Hus then became the leader of the reformists, mostly followers of Wycliffe, who gathered around him in his role of professor. He broke with Archbishop Zbynek, whose most valued collaborator he had been for the previous five years. In Prague, where several reformers before him had announced the imminent arrival of the Antichrist, Hus identified Zbynek's cause with that of the Antichrist. His open opposition to the archbishop, as well as his public criticism of John XXII's pseudo-Crusade against the King of Naples and of the selling of indulgences that was intended to underwrite it, earned him three excommunications, including a major one in 1412. At this point he exiled himself from Prague. Two years later he attended the Council of Constance, where he was imprisoned, tried, condemned to death, and executed on 6 July 1415. This sequence of conflicts shows that for Hus there was always an authority* higher than the one that judged and punished him at each stage. Thus he appealed against his bishop* to the pope, and against the pope to the forthcoming general council, ending at Constance with a solemn appeal to Jesus Christ.

Hus was completely bilingual, writing in Latin and Czech and translating into the latter. His academic works comprise occasional speeches, sermons, polemical texts, and questions, a *Quodlibet* (1411) debated in the Faculty of Arts, a commentary on the *Sentences* (1407–8), and a treatise, *De ecclesia* (1413), that was censured at Prague, Paris, and Constance. Apart from the sermons his Czech works include spiritual writings and works of exegesis*. His doctrines, as much philosophical as theological, are influenced by Wycliffe, although the nature and extent of this influence are disputed.

His commentary on the *Sentences* is conventional, however. For example, he makes no mention of Wycliffe's doctrine of the two stages of the Creation (in any case of Augustinian origin), or that of a created world that cannot be annihilated by God, while accepting their philosophical consequences—the concept of analogical being (not to be confused with the analogy* of being) and the realism of the genera and species. This same prudence can be observed in Hus's reformist activities: while a formidable critic of the clergy, the practice of simony, indulgences, and excommunications (at that time numerous and improperly applied), he was also a timid traditionalist who acknowledged the priestly function and the authority of the hierarchy*.

Before and after the Council of Constance Hus's opponents criticized him for his realist conception of the universals, accusing him of considering them as eternal and uncreated beings, existing independently of God*. He is usually spoken of as displaying an "extreme realism," without going into more detail. In fact in Hus's terms, just as in Wycliffe's, genera and species exist either in the analogical being ("the first created thing," according to the *Book of Causes*), or in singular things. In the first case they are the models for the singular things; in the second they have real, but formal, existence. The formal distinction (*see* Duns* Scotus), accepted by the whole Wycliffite school, is thus of primary importance. Pierre d'Ailly attempted to draw a connection between Hus's realism and the doctrine according to which the actual substances of the bread and wine remain after the eucharistic consecration—but in fact Hus constantly and clearly rejected this view, and this despite the opinion of several Prague theologians.

Hus defined the universal Church as the totality of the predestined living in the past, present, and future. To this concept he contrasted that of the local* church, in either a geographical or a moral sense; as in, for example, a gathering of several of the predestined (*De ecclesia*, c. 1). In absolute terms the unity of the former "consists of the unity of predestination*...and the unity of beatitude*." In temporal terms, "it consists of the unity of faith* and virtues*, and of the unity of charity" (c. 2). "Gathered and united by the bond of predestination," the members of the church constituted the mystical body of which Christ alone was the head (c. 3). Analysis of the concepts of the universal Church, faith, foundation, and ecclesiastical power led Hus to rule out any identification of the Roman Catholic Church with the church of the predestined (c. 7–11).

Hus's ecclesiology* poses numerous problems of interpretation, however, and its analysis often depends

on the personal convictions of the historian. The non-Catholic tradition points to the place occupied in Hus's thought by the concept of predestination, the importance of his distinction between the state of grace and that of mortal sin* as a means of legitimizing (or not) ecclesiastical and civil power, the resemblances to Wycliffe's doctrines, the interpretation of simony as a heresy*, the possibility of an appeal to Christ, and so on. The Catholic interpretation of Hus, on the other hand, seeks to put his ecclesiology back in a traditional* context, and makes an effort to distinguish his actual assertions from the implications of his text—and from the accusations of his opponents. It attaches great importance to the precise analysis of Hus's language and of the limits of Wycliffe's influence. On occasion it even replaces historical analysis with a reference to the current state of theological knowledge. In short, the non-Catholic tradition emphasizes the factors that distance Hus from the Catholic Church, while the Catholic reading points out those that bring him close to it.

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ZÉNON KALUZA

See also Constance, Council of; Ecclesiology; Predestination; Protestantism

Hutterians. *See* Anabaptists

Hypostasis. *See* Person

Hypostatic Union

a) In Cyril of Alexandria and until Ephesus. Hypostatic union is the expression used since the Council of Ephesus* to designate the union of the divine and the human in one single entity, Christ* (DS 250). It translates in technical terms the statement of John's gospel*, "And the Word* became flesh" (1, 14), as well as the confession (creeds*) of the Council of Nicaea*, "One Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God*, the only-begotten of the Father*,...who for us men and for our salvation* came down from Heaven, became incarnate, and was made a man" (DS 125). This formula answers the question: under what condition was born of Mary, in time, the very one and the same who is begotten by the Father from all eternity? How can one and the same being be true God and true man?

The hypostatic union, as understood by Cyril* and the Council of Ephesus, implies a number of givens that are closely linked: 1) Christ was not made of two concrete coexisting beings, as if the Son of God and Christ were "one and another"; or as if the Word, instead of becoming man, had merged with one particular man. 2) The union is so intimate that it occurs at the level of the very act of subsisting, where the Word "claims temporal birth as its own," and not at the level of natures, divinity and humanity remaining intact and distinct. 3) The act of subsisting can only be that of the Word, the eternal Son, who imprints on humanity his very own act of existing. 4) The humanity of Jesus has

no existence prior to the Incarnation*, nor independently of the fact that the Word assumes it as his own. 5) The properties of the two natures communicate between themselves indirectly, through the intermediary of the subject, "the one who exists"—for example, the temporal birth of the Word is said to be of the *Word* or of *God*, not of *divinity*, as attested by Mary's title of "Mother of God" (*theotokos*) recognized by the church*.

b) Etymology of the Term "hypostasis." The notion of hypostasis had traveled a long road before Christ; it was first introduced into christology*, according to M. Richard (1945), to designate the principle of existence or reality as opposed to *phusis* or the essence of a thing. The term, borrowed from Greek natural science, was first synonymous with "precipitation," with obvious implications of solidification and manifestation. Subsequently, it meant for the Stoics the last stage of the individualization of an essence. With Origen* (*Contra Celsum* 8, 12: SC 150, 201), and then the Cappadocians, Christian theology* used the term to characterize the entities Persons of the Trinity* as against the essence (*ousia*) of divinity. The teaching of Christ, initially proposing itself perhaps rather more in a category of intuition than of definition, later constituted a decisive contribution that subsequent councils—from Chalcedon* to Constantinople* III—only revived and deepened.

c) Modern Difficulties. The hypostatic union, with the hegemony of the divine element that it entails, has seemed in our own time to endanger the authenticity of Christ's humanity or deprive it of the solidity that the personality gives it. Besides the fact that the old, purely ontological meaning of *person* does not agree with the modern psychological understanding, it has been argued that "affirming the transcendence of the divine subject to include hypostatic union is both a warrant of the independence of man and the alterity of God" (R. Virgoulay, *RSR* 28, 1980). On the other hand, the humanity that the Word assumes, far from being depersonalized, in fact endows the entity with the personality that gives it existence.

d) Recent Reformulation. Relying on the fundamental identity of being* and consciousness, and deriving from that, as the principal model of being, not the opaque thing itself but the cognizant and free subject, K. Rahner* has attempted an "ontological" transposition of the doctrine of the hypostatic union. Expressed until then in terms of an "ontic" mode, for Rahner the hypostatic union is like the union of a question with its absolute answer. The question is human nature, whose entire pursuit of knowledge* and love* is polarized and animated by the quest for God. Human nature in itself is a fundamental act of transcendence, received from God and turned toward him. The answer lies in God's self-communication to the opening that he creates, in this case, to be welcomed as an *absolute gift*.

Since the question is an intrinsic part of the answer, it is simultaneously the distinctive reality of God and a reality governed by him from the very beginning.

For Donald Baillie, who has considerably influenced the Anglo-Saxon world, the "paradox of grace*" is supremely at play in the Incarnation. While God in his grace creates in man that for which he himself is fully responsible (1 Cor 15:10), God is fully present in the particular man Jesus, who "*always* does that which is pleasing to God" (1948). But others have wondered why the *constancy* of the action would introduce anything else but a degree of difference between the condition of Christ and that of Christians (Robinson 1966).

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***See also* Anhypostasy; Christ and Christology; Constantinople II, Council of; Cyril of Alexandria; Ephesus, Council of; Trinity**

Icons. *See* **Images; Nicaea II, Council of**

Idealism. *See* **Realism**

Idioms, Communication of

This phrase explains one of the classical practices used to express the conviction that Jesus* is a single person* who is at once both fully divine and fully human: attributes predicated of him as a man are associated with titles denoting him as God* and reciprocally. Based on an understanding of Jesus's ontological status that is at the center of Christianity, it is essentially a rule of language* that allows the use of deliberately paradoxical phrases, such as referring to Mary as "Mother of God" or affirming that "one of the Trinity died on the cross."

(a) *New Testament.* The beginning of this practice can be discerned in the New Testament, where such paradoxical phrases are used to underscore the true

identity of Jesus, the crucified Messiah (messianism/Messiah*): for example, Acts 3:15 ("You asked for a murderer to be granted to you, and you killed the Author of life"), 1 Corinthians 2:8 ("They would not have crucified the Lord of glory"), and Romans 9:5, as it was usually understood by early Christianity ("From their Jewish race, according to the flesh, is the Christ who is God over all"). The presupposition behind such phrases is that Jesus has his origin in, and is identified with, the mystery* of God (*see* Lk 1: 35, Jn 1:14, Phil 2:5–11, Ti 2:13).

(b) *Patristic Usage.* The first to notice this practice explicitly, and to formulate the reason for it, was Ori-

gen* (*De principiis* II, 6, 3). To emphasize the degree to which the Son of God has become identified with the soul (soul*-heart-body) of Jesus and with “the flesh that it has taken,” one can actually say that “the Son of God has died” and that the Son* of man “will come in the glory of God the Father”; “for this reason,” says Origen, “throughout the whole of scripture* we see the divine nature spoken of in human terms, and the human nature in its turn adorned with marks that belong to the divine.”

During the age of christological controversies in the fifth century, in which the school of Antioch* opposed the school of Alexandria*, this paradoxical exchange of attributes played a major role in the intensification of the debate. The school of Antioch displayed great reluctance about the idea that God had truly taken part in human history, particularly in physical submission and suffering; against this position, Cyril* of Alexandria insisted on the importance of the description of Mary as “mother of God,” which Nestorius had called into question, and also insisted that “the flesh of the Lord gives life,” and that “the Word of God suffered in the flesh and was crucified in the flesh,” because the Word* forms only a hypostasis or concrete individual with its “flesh” or humanity (ep. 3, to Nestorius, anath. 1, 2, 11, 12). This principle was accepted, not without hesitation, by the theologians of Antioch Theodore of Mopsuestia (hom. cat. 6, 7) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*Eranistes*, dial. 3).

It was only in the sixth century that the vocabulary of Porphyry and of Neoplatonism (Christian Platonism*) began to be used to indicate the ontological basis of this phraseology, under the name of “communication of idioms.” In Neoplatonic terms, an individual (*atomon*, *hupostasis*) is defined and even constituted by the “specific traits” (*idia*, *idiomata*) that permit him to be recognized (Porphyry, *Isagoge*, CAG IV, 3, 90, 6f.). According to Leontius of Byzantium, because the unique hypostasis of Christ concretely unites divine nature with human nature “their characteristic traits *idiomata* are common to both of them,” while each nature remains unchanged in respect of its own traits (*Epil.*, PG 86, 1941 A; *Contra Nest. et Eut.*, PG 86, 1289 C6–8). For the Greek Scholasticism* of the sixth century, as for later theological tradition, to speak of mutual “communication” (*antidosis*) or “exchange” (*perikhoresis*) of “idioms” between the two natures of Christ did not mean that there was any change in these

natures, nor did it mean attributing traits that were foreign to them. It was simply a way of showing that the unique person of Christ, who could legitimately receive both human titles and divine titles, possesses in himself all the qualities of both natures.

(c) *Later Usage.* Since the sixth century, this theological principle, reaffirmed at the Second Council of Constantinople* (553), has been one of the touchstones of christological orthodoxy* for the Orthodox, Catholics, and Protestants alike. It also lies behind the paradoxes that poets and preachers have been happy to evoke in respect of Christ, above all at Christmas (e.g., Gregory* of Nazianzus, *De oratione* 38, 13; Augustine*, *Sermons* 184, 3; 187, 1; 191, 1), and it explains the practices of piety in which certain aspects of the humanity of Jesus are adored, such as the sacred heart (heart* of Jesus) or the Precious Blood.

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See also Anhypostasy; Chalcedon, Council of; Christ and Christology; Constantinople II, Council of; Ephesus, Council of; Hypostatic Union; Nestorianism

Idolatry

a) Vocabulary *Is Varied—It May Be Either Concrete or Metaphorical.* To describe an idol in material terms the MT speaks of *çèlèm*, sculpture or engraving (Nm 33:52); of *‘açabbîm*, sculptures (2 Sm 5:21); and more rarely (five times) of *sèmèl*, image (Dt 4:16); but above all of *massékâh*, cast metalwork (Ex 32:4, 8) and *pèsèl*, sculpture in stone (Is 21:9) or wood (40:20). A value judgment is implied by the terms *gilloûlîm*, filth (Lv 26:30), *‘èlîlîm*, worthless objects (Lv 19, 4), *shiqqouç*, horror (Ez 20:7s.), *to‘ebâh*, abomination (Is 44:19), *hèbèl*, vanity (Jer 10:14–15), or by the expression *ma-aséy yâdèykâ*, work of your hands (Dt 31:29; Mi 5:12; Is 2:8; Jer 25:6). People make (*‘asâh*) an idol (1 Kgs 14:9), follow it (Jer 2:5, 23, 25), prostrate themselves before it (Is 44:17), and serve it (*‘âbad*: Ez 20:39). To do so is to prostitute oneself (*zânâh*: Ez 20:30), to commit adultery (*nâ’af*: Jer 3:9), and to provoke the jealousy of YHWH (*qn’hifl*: Ps 78:58).

The Septuagint employs the classical terms *agalma*, statue (Is 21:9) and *eikon*, image (Dt 4:16) but introduces the term *eidolon* in the sense of idol (image in classical Greek). The New Testament, meanwhile, gives us the words *idolater* (seven, including Eph 5:5) and *idolatry* (four, including Col 3:5).

b) *History.* In ancient times there was some use of representations in the worship of YHWH. The golden calf (Ex 32) was not seen by Aaron as a case of religious infidelity, since the animal (animals*) symbolized the pedestal of the unrepresented deity. The same may have been true of the two golden calves erected at Bethel and Dan by Jeroboam after the schism* of 931 (1 Kgs 12:28f.). At the time of the Judges, Micah (Jgs 17–18) had at home a representation of YHWH (or of his bovine pedestal) in carved wood covered in silver. He also had an *‘éfôd* and some *terâfîm* (Jgs 17:3ff.): the *l’‘éfôd* (see Jgs 8:27) may have been the covering of a statue, and the *terâfîm*, mentioned as early as the time of Jacob (Rachel’s theft: Gn 31:19, 34), may have been household idols. These objects would have been used for divination (1 Sm 15:23). Tolerated initially (Hos 3:4; 1 Sm 19:13–16; 21:10), in time they were proscribed (1 Sm 15:23; 2 Kgs 23:24). The same went for the bronze serpent destroyed by Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:4). On the other hand, the cherubim (Ex 25:18; Ez 10:18) placed on the ark of the covenant*, and later in-

terpreted as angels*, were accepted. The disappearance of any other representation from the worship of YHWH is a result of their prohibition by the Ten Commandments (Decalogue*) (Ex 20:4; Dt 5:8, of disputed date). In any case the prophets (prophet and prophecy*) of the eighth century attacked such representations (Hos 8:5; 10:5f., 13:2; Am 8:14). They were derisively regarded as idols for which the glory* of YHWH had been bartered (Hos 4:7; Jer 2:11; Ps 106:20; see Rom 1:23).

The Hebrews’ neighbors, and the peoples whose territories they conquered, did make representations of their own gods, most often in human form: the statue of Dagon (1 Sm 5:1–4) is one of the earliest examples. Throughout the whole royal period a religious struggle was waged against pagan cults. The Canaanite influence, with Baal, Astarte, and Asherah, remained strong for a long time, and latterly (Am 5:26, quoted in Acts 7:43) Assyrian deities were introduced. Elijah fought against the cult of Baal in defense of the one religion* of YHWH, but it was apparently only after his time, in the eighth century, that attempts were made to stamp out idols. The kings had introduced these idolatrous practices: Solomon (1 Kgs 11:5–8; 2 Kgs 23:13), Athaliah (idol of Baal: 2 Kgs 11:18), Ahaz (idol of Baal: 2 Chr 28:2), and Manasseh (idol of Asherah: 2 Kgs 21:7) were those principally accused. Asa (late 10th century: 1 Kgs 15:12f.) was supposed to have reacted against idolatry, but it was Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:5, 16) and Josiah (2 Kgs 23:13) who, influenced by the prophets, reacted strongly with their Deuteronomistic reforms. Idolatry became one of the most serious accusations made by the prophets, who foretold the punishment of the guilty (Am 5:26; Jer 16:18) and the destruction of idols (Mi 1:7; Is 2:18; Jer 10:11, 15; Ez 7:20; Zec 13:2). They foretold the exile as one of the punishments for this infidelity (Jer 13:24–27, 16:16f.; 25:6f.; Ez 22:3ff.), and the conversion of the people was also prophesied (Is 30:22; Ez 11:18, 20:39–44). Even the pagans’ idols would disappear (Is 21:9; Jer 51:18, 52; Ez 30:13; Na 1:14). During the period of exile deuterio-Isaiah marked an important stage in the clarification of the worthlessness of idols.

After the exile the Canaanite temptation disappeared, but in the second century, in the face of Hellenistic influence, the fight against pagan idols

resumed. The oppressiveness of the Seleucids, in particular of Antiochus IV, ignited the Maccabean revolt (1 Macc 1:43; 2 Macc 12:40; Dn 3). The satirizing of idolatry became more widespread (Dn 14:1–22; Lt-Jr). At the dawn of the Christian era Songs 13–15 developed this current of thought, taking up the usual themes of anti-idolatrous criticism and adding that of the mysteries and the cult of rulers.

Among the Jewish community addressed by Jesus, idolatry no longer had a place—or at least there appears to be no allusion to it among his words. On the other hand, Christianity's contact with the Hellenistic world inevitably led to a revival of the subject.

It is Paul above all who finds himself confronted with idols (at Athens, Acts 17:16, 29; at Ephesus, Acts 19:26). He appeals to the pagans to renounce them and turn to the living creator God (Acts 14:15), as the Thessalonians (1 Thes 1:9) and Corinthians (1 Cor 12:2) had done. While Acts of the Apostles 15:20, 29 forbids the eating of idolothytes (food offered to idols), Paul imposes conditions on their consumption (1 Cor 8, 10:14–30). In any event he calls for idolatry to be abandoned (1 Cor 10:14). In his view the immorality of paganism derives from idolatry (Rom 1:23; *see* Sg 14:11–31). It is included among catalogues of vices (1 Cor 5:10, 6:9). In Ephesians 5:5 and Colossians 3:5 cupidity is itself considered as idolatry (*see* Mt 6:24). 1 Corinthians 10:20 and Revelation 9:20 follow Deuteronomy 32:17 in classing idols as demons*. Finally, Revelation 14:9ff. proclaims the punishment for worshippers of the idol of the beast. It is in the metaphorical sense of the erroneous doctrines of false prophets that 1 John 5:21, like the Qumranians (1QH4, 15f.), urges its readers to beware of idols.

c) Biblical Discussion. At Horeb-Sinai YHWH had not revealed himself: only his voice was heard. This, according to Deuteronomy 4:12 (a Deuteronomistic text), justifies the refusal of any representation of YHWH. Idolatry is first and foremost an act of infidelity to YHWH, as suggested by the Ten Commandments and maintained by the prophets (Hos 14:4; Is 57:11; Jer 2:26–29) and Deuteronomistic history (2 Kgs 17:7–17,

21:22). Idols are worthless (1 Sm 12:21), “vanity” (Ps 97:7: hbl, emptiness), and their followers too are reduced to vanity (Hos 9:10; Jer 2:5; Ps 115:8). In contrast with YHWH the creator (Jer 10:8ff.) they cannot bring salvation (Hos 14:4; Jer 2:28), since, being the work of human hands (Is 2:8), they are mute (Hb 2:18s.) and incapable of movement (Jer 10:5; Ps 115:4–7). Their manufacture is a butt of irony (Jer 10:3ff., 9). Deutero-Isaiah deepens the criticism with its insistence on Yahwist monotheism*: YHWH is the one God, the pagan deities do not exist, and so idols are nothing. The prophet enacts trials that oppose YHWH to the pagan deities and their idols (41:1ff., 21ff., 43:9ff.; 44:6ff.): the one creator, the one master of history, the one foreteller of the future, YHWH is the one and only God. It is he who has made Israel* and will set her free, while the nations make powerless deities (40:19f., 41:6f., 44:9–20, 46, 6s.). Following the examples of the Ten Commandments (Ex 20:3ff.–Dt 5:7ff.) and of biblical tradition (Dt 4:16–19; Jer 7:1–8, 3; Ez 8; Dn gr. 14)—also followed by Philo (Decalogue, 52–81) and the Letter of Aristaeas (134–139)—Wisdom 13–15 places its criticism of idolatry in a wider context, attacking as well the pagans' other erroneous forms of worship. Idolatry is nonsense: made by God in his image, man makes for himself an idol that resembles him but is lifeless. This inversion of roles (Wis 15:11, 15:16f.) is sterile. Furthermore, as a repudiation of the true God idolatry leads to immorality (14, 11–31; *see* Hos 4:1), a theme that Paul (Rom 1:18–32) will develop in turn, showing also the extent to which paganism* stands in need of redemption (3:21ff.).

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See also Decalogue; Images; Monotheism; Paganism; Sabbath; Work

Ignatius of Antioch. *See Apostolic Fathers*

Ignatius of Loyola. *See Spirituality, Ignatian*

Illative Sense. *See Newman, John Henry*

Image of God. *See Anthropology; Trace (Vestige)*

Images

1. Definition and Preliminary Remarks

a) “Image” is a notion whose semantic richness leads to ambiguity. We will examine here the theological reflection on the history of the Christian usage (abstention, refusal, destruction; fabrication, possession, exhibition, veneration, devotion, and piety) of the plastic image. We understand this as a fragment of matter, in two or three dimensions, defined as such (by its edges, its frame, or its surface) and composed according to a certain order, with greater or lesser degrees of art, sensitivity, style, science, or eloquence, to be recognizable and draw attention, and yet also lead that attention on to something further. We shall therefore leave aside the theology of the image in any sense of the term that is christological (Christ*, “image of the Father*”), anthropological (man created “in the image of God”), literary (metaphors, symbols, analogies used by the Bible* and then spirituality, and, to a lesser degree, theology and preaching), or psycho-sociocultural (for example, the “image” of the father, or of woman,

or of God*, as reconstructed by the history of religious mentalities). While a connection between these issues and the notion of image is conceivable, it could only be tenuous.

b) In Latin (*icon* or *vera icon*, *imago*, *simulacrum*, *idola*, *statua*, *effigies*, etc.), in Hebrew (*çèlèm*, *pèsèl*, *massékât*, etc.), and especially in Greek (*agalma*, *eidôlon*, *eikôn*, etc.), the terms that serve to designate images of worship were far more numerous than they are in living European languages, which is further proof of the wealth of religious uses of the image in antiquity. *Imago* and *eikôn* are the most general terms for designating these two realms, which overlap significantly.

c) More than a mere vocabulary, emerging Christianity inherited a context and a problematic linked to the proscription in the Ten Commandments (Decalogue*): “You shall not make for yourself a carved image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or

that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. You shall not bow down to them or serve them" (Ex 20:4–5), together with its initial interpretation, which was literal and restrictive during the entire era of persecutions. Aimed at preventing all forms of idolatry*, the commandment did not stop the Jews from decorating some of their synagogues with frescoes, such as that of the Doura Europos, which was decisive in the birth of Christian art (middle of the third century; Weitzmann-Kessler 1990); and very early on it was confronted with other arguments by Christians, in apparent contradiction, on the existence of images from the first covenant (the bronze serpent, Nm 21:9; the cherubs of the ark, Ex 25:18–22; the decor of Solomon's temple*, 1 Kgs 6:18, 35, 7:23–26).

2. Historical Overview

a) Jesus seems to have been unfamiliar with the problem of religious art. He did not have recourse to plastic images in preaching the Kingdom and revealing the Father. He did not encourage his disciples to make images of himself or of his mother, and still less, images of his Father in heaven. Nor is there any trace of a preoccupation with images in the preaching of the apostles (apostle*). And yet sculpted images, both small and large, abounded in towns around the Mediterranean. Thus the proclamation of the gospel took place without images, and there is every reason to believe that it still can. Orthodox Christians do of course remain very attached to the traditional belief according to which the preaching of the gospel was achieved from the beginning as much through the image as through the word (Ouspensky, 1980). Historical evidence does not, however, support the historicity of the *acheiropoietes* images (the legends of Abgar, Mandylion, or Veronica, Saint-Suaire: Celier 1992) or "apostolic" images (the image of the Virgin supposedly painted by Saint Luke), not to mention the statues of Christ alleged to be sculpted on the orders of the haemorrhoids (according to Eusebius of Caesarea) and Nicodemus (Belting 1990).

b) During the first three centuries, to dissociate themselves from the pagans, who used images extensively, and also because of the persecutions that deprived them of the means to produce and exhibit images, the early Christians created or copied very few images (for example, those of orants, sinners, the Good Shepherd; see Prigent 1995), and only did so on small objects (seals, chalices) and in their catacombs (from the second century on). They were inclined, rather, to mistrust images and were opposed to their use for worship (Council* of Elvira; Minucius Felix,

Octavius). The advent of Constantine (313), to whose sister Eusebius of Caesarea wrote (between 313 and 324) that Christ could not be represented (Dumeige 1978), was not a turning point in favor of images: instead, the turning point would come when, under Theodosius in 386, Christianity was recognized as a religion of the empire. It was then that a specifically Christian art was developed (reliefs on sarcophagi, the sculpted door of St. Sabinus in Rome, mosaics, the use of gold, etc.; sculpture in the round remained rare or even forbidden). This Christian art marked the initial overcoming of theological hesitation regarding the interpretation of the second commandment [AuQ8] (Decalogue*), a hesitation that would be finally overcome only by the Council of Nicaea II.

c) From Nicaea I* (325) to Nicaea II* (787), in the light of the christological elaboration itself and through periods of crisis, a theological justification for the use of images slowly emerged, concerning itself first of all with images of Christ. Those who were opposed to the making of such images ("iconophobes," from Eusebius to Constantine V) claimed that they were unlawful because they represented a paradox: it is impossible to portray the God in Jesus Christ, and to portray the man in him is to deny one's faith (Council of Hieria, 754). The only tolerable "icons," if the leaders of the "iconophobic" party (such as Constantine V) were to be believed, were the cross and the Eucharist*. All the efforts of iconodulist ("image-worshipping") theology (John Damascene, Nicephorus of Constantinople) would consist in moving beyond this aporia by explaining that the icon of Christ represents neither human nature, nor divine nature, but the union of both of them, "without mixture or confusion" (see Chalcedon*) in a "theandric hypostasis" (the human-divine person) of Jesus Christ (Schönborn 1976). Crowning the christological work of the first six ecumenical councils, this doctrine would triumph at Nicaea II, after Byzantium had experienced "the quarrel of [the] images" (Dumeige 1978). It held iconodulism to be a consequence of christocentric nature of revelation. Regarding the icon as a tradition handed down from the apostles, and not an innovation, it declared that the image had a justification insofar as it confirmed, in its own particular way, what the kerygma announced: "the real, and not illusory, incarnation* of the Word of God." Henceforth, the icon (and after it religious images in general, though with certain reservations) could be perceived as a second voice supporting but not replacing the first voice of the kerygma, that of the witness in body proper prepared to become a martyr (martyrdom*) (Bœspflug 1993). The conciliar decree enumerated four subjects of the

icon: Christ, the Virgin, angels, and saints (the Trinity* and God the Father were passed over in silence, the silence of deliberate exclusion, not omission). The decree recommended producing and exhibiting images everywhere, in such a way that Christ's belonging to the *oekoumenè* would be confirmed. Moreover, by applying Basil* the Great's christological affirmation (*Treatise of the Holy Spirit*) the council emphasized that although *adoration* was for God alone, the image-icon, like the sign of the cross, was an object for legitimate *veneration* (prostration, kisses, lighted candles, etc.) insofar as the honor that was paid to it did not stop with the image's material nature but "goes as far as the prototype" (doctrine of *transitus*, that is, of the holy person that it represents).

In the East, after its reaffirmation at the Fourth Council of Constantinople in 870, the conciliar decree would remain until our own time an effective reference point and a source of inspiration, providing an ongoing and uninterrupted proof, if not of the artistic fertility of religious art (icons were often repetitive), then at least of its own regulating influence over the icon, the art of the Church*. In fact churches in the East hardly knew of any other art than that that was a call to veneration. There was no purely ornamental art, nor was there any purely didactic art, even in the private sphere.

In the West, on the other hand, in spite of pontifical declarations that, at the height of past and present debates, from Gregory II (PL 89,511) to John Paul II (apostolic letter *Duodecimum saeculum* in 1987), marked their unremitting iconophilic position and their sympathy with the decree of Nicaea II (see Lanne in Bœspflug-Lossky 1987), the reception of this conciliar decree by the Holy See did not always have an effect in religious art. In the last centuries of the first millennium the West did indeed have a perception of the image that was already influenced by the strictly didactic point of view formulated around the year 600 by Pope* Gregory the Great, on the occasion of a bout of iconoclastic fever in Marseilles. According to Gregory, images were not to be adored, but they had established themselves as a kind of alternative to the Bible for those who were unable to read. Soon convinced, on the basis of a faulty translation of the decree and quite contrary to its genuine content, that the Eastern Fathers were encouraging the adoration of icons, the Carolingian theologians took it upon themselves to dispute Nicaea II on this point (*Livres carolins*, Council of Frankfurt), believing that they must remind people that "God cannot be painted." As for the rest, the theological question of images did not precipitate in the West the same passionate confrontations as in the East. A. Chastel had no fear of sustaining his view that, strictly

speaking, the West had never had a theology of the image. But that lack did not preclude Latin religious art from producing, notably from the 12th century on, all kinds of figurative art of an indisputably theological density, such as the *Majestas Domini* and the Madonna and Child.

d) West and the Icon. From the Middle Ages until the present day the theoretical position stated by the West on the subject of the veneration of images has sought to be identical, or in accordance with, that of Nicaea II: witness Thomas* Aquinas, in his ST IIIa, q. 25, on the subject of the veneration due the images of Christ. Against the Reformation and its sometimes violent questioning of the veneration of religious images (Zwingli* and Calvin* would encourage waves of iconoclasm), the Council of Trent, in its turn, referred to the decree of Nicaea II during the 25th session (1563), something that the principal Treatises of Holy Images written by Catholics (Molanus, 1570 and 1594; cardinal Paleotti, 1594, see Prodi 1962) also did. In the same manner Vatican II referred to it on two occasions (see Bouchet in Bœspflug-Lossky 1987). The fact remains that this common reference to the seventh ecumenical council led, in both the East and the West, to the development of two forms of art whose differences—not only in style and iconography but also in status—would be increasingly accentuated. Furthermore, any influence of one upon the other would be generally deplored by the influenced party, even up to our own time.

It was not that the icon was ignored in the West or was on the point of losing any of its prestige. On the contrary, it was actually "imported" into the West—albeit on a more restricted basis than has sometimes been estimated—following the Crusades and the sack of Constantinople (1204). But even though a good number of themes (in particular those of the cycles of the Incarnation and Passion*: the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Baptism* of Christ; *Ecce Homo*, the descent from the cross, "images of pity") were borrowed from the icon, Western art was taking an increasingly autonomous course. Its language was being emancipated from the magisterial Church, from theologians, and, to a certain degree, from the liturgy. While hesychasm* in the East was perfecting the doctrine of uncreated light (Gregory Palamas), which would lead to the concept of the icon as an anticipation of eschatological glory and as signifying the mysterious presence of the sanctified-transfigured—the icon being, in this sense, a "window onto the absolute"—the religious image of the Western Middle Ages was becoming exploratory and exoteric, decorative and playful. It proposed itself as the visual translation of

Scripture and of doctrine and of narratives of the lives of saints, the virtuoso presentation of the cross-references between the Old and New Testaments. The medieval “typology” that blossomed in the 12th century informed scholarly stock of images as represented by, among other things, the new basilica of Saint Denis inspired by Suger, the moralized Bible, the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the *Biblia pauperum*, not to mention the frescoes, stained-glass windows, capitals, and tympanums of the Romanesque or Gothic churches. These were like so many books to be deciphered, inventing a multitude of formulations while giving voice to the feelings that arose from worship. In a way that with hindsight seems spectacular, through the intermediary of “speaking reliquaries” Western Christianity reconciled itself to statuary in the round, something that was almost totally absent throughout the first millennium in the West and remains so to this day in the East.

e) Theology’s hold over medieval art has been greatly exaggerated. During the latter half of the Middle Ages Latin artists, who until the 12th century had been closely linked to the monastic *scriptoria*, would work in increasing numbers within the context of studios belonging to urban guilds and/or for the pleasure of those who gave them commissions, such as princes and merchants. The requirements of these patrons had only the most random, or even strained, relation to the theology and liturgy of the Church. The result was a courtly art that could be moving and carefully executed but that was not always in perfect harmony with the Christian theology of revelation. The movement to found communes and universities led to the rise of a new sort of artist: lay artists, often much sought after and extremely well paid, who would set up their own autonomous workshops as masters. Giotto, Masaccio, and Piero della Francesca would open new paths and create a new pictorial space. By the end of the Middle Ages, with the reappearance of the portrait, the discovery of perspective, and the interest in anatomy and landscape, the work of religious art became above all a work of art: the period of art, *das Zeitalter der Kunst* (Belting 1990), had begun. The artist was glorified for his imagination, for his genius. This also led to a multitude of “abuses” due to the growing popularity of the religious image: deviant representations, too numerous or too luxurious; superstitious devotional practices. From time to time certain theologians (Bernard* of Clairvaux, Savonarola) would raise their voices in protest against the invasive prestige of images, against their cost, their “worldliness,” and the risk of “distracted” they represented. Protests were also heard against certain types of iconography that were consid-

ered aberrant or dangerous (Antonin de Florence, Gerson), or against superstitious uses (Erasmus*). In short, the idea that reform was necessary to control excesses in religious art was in the air well before the Reformation. The Council of Trent would attempt to find a remedy. But there was something lasting, if not irreversible, about this evolution. For a long time in Western art, and often, the religious subject would remain an opportunity, if not a pretext. The searing—but not always unjust—criticism that iconophile Christians (of East or West) voiced with regard to this art could be condensed into a few grievances: naturalism, sensualism, worldliness, or religiosity. The links between this art and the veneration of the mystery were loosening: a semblance of restraint and ecclesiastical regulation, of a theologically informed distance able to use symbolism, was being lost. Thus by the dawn of the 18th century, as Hegel* would point out, the image reputed to be holy no longer caused one to genuflect.

3. A Touchstone: The Question of “Images of God”

Proof of this evolution is provided by the rise (between the ninth and the 12th century) and dissemination (from the 13th century onward) of the figure of God the Father as an old man and, by way of consequence, of an entire collection of anthropomorphic representations of the Trinity that departed definitively from the outline traced by Nicaea II, a departure that would never take hold in the East (Boespflug-Zaluska 1994). One could take the measure of the theological rift that had opened between the two art forms by comparing two works—Rublev’s *Trinity* and that of Masaccio at the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence—that differ in every aspect except their subject and their era (c. 1420–30). The former illustrates the Hospitality of Abraham (Gn 18), interpreted as prefiguring the Trinity. The latter makes use of a specifically Western iconographic type (the throne of grace) that could not claim to belong to any scriptural theophany. Furthermore, it presupposes an assemblage of motifs, portrays God the Father as a Jovian graybeard—anticipating Michelangelo’s depiction of him as Creator in the Sistine Chapel—and takes the opportunity to demonstrate for the first time Brunelleschi’s discoveries in linear perspective. Over two centuries later the Grand Council of Moscow (1666) once again condemned the figurative depiction of God the Father, while in the West on the other hand, in 1690, Pope Alexander VIII sided against the Jansenists and their opposition to images (Boespflug 1984). The status of these Western images of God and of the Trinity remained problematic. The Council of Trent declared them to be “symbolic,” that is, having no resemblance to the “prototype,” which was equivalent to excluding them from the list of ob-

jects to be venerated. But it is doubtful whether this distinction between representative images and symbolic images was clear to the faithful.

The Catholic Church continued to teach that religious images were to be venerated; and yet those images, when they were recent, and whatever their other merits, were hardly venerable any more and hardly sought to be venerable. The images of God the Father as an old man with a crown (like a king, an emperor, or a pope) or as a Christianized Jupiter (Michelangelo) no longer succeeded in conveying his mystery in a credible fashion: the humanization of God was taken to its summit, like the confusion between the “economic Trinity” and the “immanent Trinity.” And although these subjects have rarely been portrayed by artists for over a century, a critical summing-up should be made of this era of figurative representation. We might indeed suspect this figure of a “human, too human” God of having something to do with the rise in religious indifference and even of atheism. But theological reflection on what is at stake in this remarkable evolution has only just begun.

4. A Few Theological Tasks

The theological questions raised by the Christian images of the past or present cannot be dissociated from a reinterpretation of the decree of Nicaea II.

a) Images and Truth. In a world where images abound, and where their relation to reality is increasingly tenuous, one might wonder whether the theory of the *transitus* can be maintained without ambiguity. The religious image is indeed in danger at present of being stripped of the purpose assigned it by the Fathers of Nicaea II: to bear witness to a historical and “not illusory” reality of the Incarnation. The daily accumulation of images that are glimpsed but not contemplated shunts those images toward fiction and strips them of reality. How can they continue, after that, to bear witness to a historical truth? The answer requires a new Christian practice where the image is concerned, one that will be frugal, attentive, and selective. This practice would in turn imply some form of Christian instruction in the use of the religious image and a critical reappropriation of the traditional heritage.

b) Images and Style. Dissociated, or at least dissociable, from a theoretical approach to art, beauty, or language, Christian theology has as yet paid little attention to what, in an image, actually constitutes the image. It is difficult, however, to accept that an image might be reduced to lines and color, that the transmission of the gospel through the image is equally compatible with all styles, and that its “message,” or its

“presence,” is independent of its specific language. Although the principle of acculturation reiterated by Vatican II (“The Church has considered no artistic style as its own [...], but has accepted the styles of each era”: SC VII, 122–23) remains the best guarantor of the freedom of local churches (church*) and their artists, its reaffirmation must not evade the problem of the image’s legibility, its theological content, and its ecclesial function.

c) Images and Ecumenism. The controversial nature of the Christian use of images was for a long time the main aspect under which theologians encountered this issue. Nowadays, however, there is no longer a live controversy among Christians regarding this subject. The last “quarrel of sacred art” occurred in the 1950s and was primarily among Catholics. Since that time, a complex of historical factors has affected the issue: the failure of pious art; increasingly distant relations between the art world and the churches; the dubious nature and rarity of commissions; latent aniconism and chronic lack of concern with the liturgy of the recent tendencies in cutting-edge art; the movement to purify the churches; and the spread of icons in successive waves, most of which were related to Russian emigration during the 1920s and the Renewal shortly after 1970. As a result, there has been a slow convergence of the ways in which images are used, while official doctrines have not shifted from their positions. The two major signs of this are the reevaluation of images in some reformed circles in the West (Ramseyer 1963; Cottin 1994) and the reconciliation of the icon and Catholicism*, an event that, in the space of two decades, has seen Rublev’s icon of the Trinity become the most widespread of the images of God, with all the ambiguities implied by this unpredictable transplantation.

d) Images and the Proclamation of the Gospel. All the Christian churches are now faced with the growing need for a traditional religious set of images. They are also faced with the challenge offered by the new techniques of communication, be it in the classical media or in the more recent multimedia contexts. However, either through a lack of interest or education, inclined as they are by tradition to view it as a mere *adia-phoron*, a question without importance, Catholic theologians are largely uninterested in the matter, favoring other questions deemed to be more urgent and considering the religious image to be, at best, a hobby. If need be they will apply themselves to thinking about the cinema, television, advertising images, or even virtual images and multimedia—in short, those forms of the image that have the most obvious relation to power. This has

given rise to a considerable gap between the wealth of the artistic heritage of Christian art, in Europe and in those parts of the world touched by missionary work, and the relative poverty of contemporary creation in the domain of sacred art of biblical and Christian inspiration. Theological reflection on this gap is in itself all too rare, which also explains the improvised, to say the least, or perhaps chancy nature of the decisions adopted with regard to the media (televised broadcast of the Mass, for example). There is no doubt that this debate must be intensified in the decades to come: the theology of images, in view of the concrete situation facing the witnessing of the faith in the third millennium of the Christian era, is suffering at present from a certain shortfall in terms of elaboration and realization.

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See also Anthropomorphism; Architecture; Catechesis; Liturgy; Music; Nicaea II, Council of; Scripture, Senses of

Imitation of Christ

The three major Christian confessions tend to view the imitation of Christ in different yet complementary ways. For Catholics, it signifies the acquisition, through actual *mimesis*, of virtues* exemplified by Jesus, and leads to a certain moral asceticism*. For Protestants, it suggests rather a conformity to Christ manifested by the discipline by “following” (*akolouthēin*) Jesus in acts of love toward one’s neighbor. Here, the stress is less on the acquisition of virtues than on salvation* by grace* received through faith. As for the Orthodox, they regard “imitation” as a “participation” in divine life through *sunergeia* or “cooperation” with God, through sacramental communion*, with a view to reaching *theosis* or “deification.”

(a) *Biblical Foundations.* The Synoptics hardly explore the theme of the imitation of Christ, although it remains implicit. Jesus is the Son, and he teaches his disciples to have toward God the attitude of a son (filiation*), in prayer and in the call to be perfect “as your heavenly Father” (Mt 5:48; see Lv 19:2). He calls them to have attitudes that he himself assumes, as expressed by the Beatitudes (Mk 5; Lk 6). Jesus sends his disciples out to continue his own ministry* of proclaiming the Kingdom* and casting out demons. A common fate is promised to Jesus and to them: to be rejected (Mt 10:25). The necessity of *following* Jesus is more explicit: he summons that his cross be carried and that he be followed (Mk 8:34ff., 10:39). As the Suffering Servant and Son of man, Christ calls his disciples to follow the path of obedience to the Father’s will and purpose, which inevitably involves the stations of the cross that he himself experienced.

The Johannine tradition turns the imitation of Christ into a formal precept. The episode of the washing of the feet highlights the example to follow (Jn 13:15f.). In John 15:12, the commandment of fraternal love is grounded in the expression “as I have loved you,” which emanates from “as the Father has loved me” in John 15:9. Thus, Peter, summoned to feed Christ’s sheep, will “follow” his master to martyrdom (Jn 21:15ff.). The imitation of Christ involves both behavior (to *do* as Jesus did) and participation in him who *is* the Way, the Truth*, and the Life (Jn 14:6). In 1 John, being “like” Jesus is presented as an object of hope* (3:2), but it is in this world (4:17) and “like” Jesus that

the Christian is “in the light” (1:7), “pure” (3:3), and “righteous” (3:7), when he “walks in the same way in which he walked.”

In Paul’s epistles, Christ is the “image of God” (2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15), the archetype of agape* or self-giving love (1 Cor 13). The Christian is predestined to be “conformed” to the image of the Son of God (Rom 8:29). For Paul, the imitation of Christ is first and foremost a conformity to the death and resurrection of Jesus (Rom 6). Imitation cannot be separated from sacramental “participation” through baptism* but also through eucharistic communion (1 Cor 10:16ff.).

Paul can also speak of himself as an “imitator of Christ” (“Be imitators of me as I am of Christ,” 1 Cor 11:1; see 1 Cor 4:16; 1 Thess. 1:6; Thes 2:14; and the unique occurrence of *sumimētes*, “imitator with,” in Phil 3:17). As elsewhere in the New Testament, the verb used with *mimētes*, imitator, is *ginomai*, “be” or “become.” It implies spiritual warfare against sin* that dwells within us (Rom 7:7–25), a continual struggle in and through the Holy* Spirit, which leads to life “in accord with Christ Jesus” (Rom 15:5), conformed to “the mind of Christ” (Phil 2:5). Paul’s imitation of Christ, however, does not mean an exact reproduction of Jesus’s specific acts or types of behaviors. It involves rather an absolute obedience to the will of God for the upbuilding and sanctification of the church: “Be imitators of God, as beloved children, and walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself on behalf of us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God” (Eph 5:1f.).

Elsewhere, the New Testament speaks of imitating examples other than Christ, such as the Israelite ancestors (Heb 11). Yet here as well Jesus, as “founder and perfecter of our faith” (Heb 12:2), serves as the prime model for Christian conduct. The supreme expression of this model remains his Passion and redeeming death. “Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example that you should follow in his steps” (1 Pt 2:21).

(b) *From the Testimony of the Fathers to the Reformation.* During the first centuries of Christianity, the imitation of Christ occupied a central place in the definition of a specific way of life, but the interpretations that it received varied according to the historical contexts and the actual situation of Christians in the Ro-

man Empire. Up to the early fourth century and the official recognition of Christianity, and above all during periods of persecution, to imitate Christ was first of all to accept martyrdom, if not seek it out. Early in the second century, Ignatius of Antioch begged the Christians of Rome* not to prevent his martyrdom, so that he might, as he said, “imitate the passion of his God” (*Ep. Ad Romanos* 6, 3). The dissemination of accounts of the acts and passions of martyrs and the establishment of liturgical celebration in their honor show how Christian perfection was defined first and foremost through this imitation of Christ’s suffering and death. In the third century, this theology* of martyrdom played a prominent role in the letters that Cyprian* of Carthage addressed to confessors of the faith before he himself was martyred. Origen and Tertullian* wrote treatises exhorting martyrdom (*see* the texts collected in *Le martyre dans l’Église ancienne*, Paris, 1990). Paul’s texts on baptism had made the imitation of Christ’s Passion and death the crux of the definition of this sacrament*, and in the first centuries baptismal catechisms and treatises on baptism frequently reiterated it. Basil* of Caesarea emphasizes that such imitation is unavoidably an imitation of the perfections of Christ and, through baptism, an imitation of his interment (*De Spiritu Sancto*). The entire Christian life must therefore be in conformity with Christ, the imitation of Christ being the foundation of Christian morality; homilies thus give a great deal of attention to this theme. The prominent place given to the monastic life underlines this ideal of the full accomplishment of the virtues. However, the emphasis in the Epistle to the Hebrews on Christ as high priest also led to the development of a theology of priesthood* centered on the imitation of Christ: “the pontifical dignity...implies the imitation of the high pontiff Jesus” (*Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 46, 4).

By emphasizing the sinful condition of man, in the course of his polemic against Pelagianism*, Augustine created conditions in which the imitation of Christ could be called into question. His conception, developed within a largely Pauline* theology, had a broad resonance among the Lutheran Reformers. The imitation of Christ (*Nachahmung Christi*) was largely interpreted as succeeding Christ (*Nachfolge Christi*), in light of the emphasis on justification* by faith or grace* alone. The concept of moral and spiritual transformation through ascetic discipline gave way to that of the obedience of the disciple, a distinction that Augustine had explicitly rejected (*Quid est enim sequi, nisi imitare?*- *De sancta virginitate* 27). For Calvin and the Genevese Reformers, however, active imitation—taking up one’s cross in self-denial, to enable true participation in Christ’s holiness*—remained the

central tenet of a biblically based ethics. The most radical denial of any concept of imitation perhaps came from the Quietists of the 17th century, and especially Miguel de Molinos (†1697). For the Quietists, perfection consists not in imitation of Christ but in an experience in which one rejects all effort and, consequently, all responsibility, resulting in a complete passivity that gives free rein for divine action.

(c) *The Imitation of Christ by Thomas à Kempis.* The attribution of *The Imitation* to Thomas Hemerken à Kempis (c. 1380–1471) is no longer disputed (Delaissé 1956). The most widely circulated Christian work after the Bible, its title was supplied by his publisher in the late 15th century, at a time when the vogue for Plutarch compelled people to think of all pedagogy in terms of the imitation of illustrious individuals. *The Imitation* is a collection (or *rapiarium*) of rhythmic sentences that can easily be memorized, for use by the young canons regular of the abbey of Mont Sainte-Agnès (Netherlands) in their orations. This abbey, which was affiliated to the congregation at Windesheim, stood at the confluence of Ruusbroecian mysticism*, the erudition of Saint* Victor of Paris, and the interiority of the *devotio* moderna* of the Brothers of the Common Life. Thomas à Kempis studied with the brothers at Deventer in the days of Gert Groote and Florent Radewijns, who initiated the pre-Jesuit educational tradition. They provided the basic content of *The Imitation*, Thomas’s contribution being more its form, which he developed along with his own monastic *ruminatio*.

Modern spirituality grew out of *The Imitation*, a spirituality more psychological than intellectual or moral, concerned with pinpointing and discerning the motions of the soul (soul*-heart-body) that has resolved to follow Christ. Spiritual life then became inner life. Biblical expressions are favored to report this spirituality: 1,500 quotations, most of which are implicit, notably from the Psalms*, the books of wisdom, and Paul. There are also numerous borrowings from Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Bonaventure*, David of Augsburg, and from Suso, who gives the text its melancholy tenderness overtone, if not a certain pessimism. Misled by the title and a certain kind of Stoicism*—Seneca’s—that looms over modern spirituality, some read *The Imitation* as a work of asceticism. However, the moral aspect of the text as a whole is much less important than its resolutely mystical purpose, which is to invite the young monk to undertake an internal dialogue with Jesus, to bring him back, unceasingly, to the source hidden within himself and from which divine life springs. This religious pedagogy places personal *pietas* above observance of rules, and thus provides a spiritual basis for all the forms of

the religious life that were to flourish during the Renaissance.

This absolute Christocentrism is grounded in consideration of the humanity of Jesus, the Friend (in the chivalrous sense that was to be shared by Ignatius of Loyola) rather than the Spouse, up to the mystic union. Among the four books that comprise *The Imitation*, the second and the third, the author's true spiritual journal, make this doctrine of friendship as a form of "pure love"; the first book is an initiation to the monastic life according to the Windesheim ideal; and the fourth is a collection of meditations on the Eucharist*.

(d) *Imitation of Christ and the Christian Life Today*. Nowadays, thanks to the ecumenical movement (ecumenism*), much has been accomplished in terms of the recognition of attitudes that are at least comparable among Christians of different traditions, and this also involves the imitation of Christ. A large majority of Christians have rediscovered patristic theology and its refusal to separate theology from spirituality. In addition to the collection of the *Sources Chrétiennes*, we should also mention the rapprochement—and the observation of a frequently common experience—among the religious in the various churches. While the forms of the imitation of Christ are not always the same, its deep meaning is felt by all as a growth in life in Christ.

In the early 20th century, a time of conflict between East and West, some Orthodox theologians stated that the East did not know of the imitation of Christ (in relation to a "naturalistic" imitation of Christ). One can no longer say this. Indeed, if only during the Holy Week, the Byzantine tradition possesses numerous texts such as the following: "Initiating your disciples, Lord, you instructed them with these words: 'O my friends, awaken! Let not any fear separate you from me. What I suffer is for the sake of the world. Do not be troubled on my account, for I have not come to be served, but to serve, and to give my life as ransom for the world. *If you are my friends, do as I do*: so that he

who would be first shall be last, so that the master becomes the servant. Dwell in me and you shall bear fruit, for I am the vine of life.'"

On the other hand, contemporary Protestant theology owes to Bonhoeffer*, and then to Barth*, the vigorous rehabilitation of the *sequela Christi* through a resumption of intuitions found earlier in Kierkegaard*.

The vision of the imitation of Christ unites most Christians in a tension around the teaching of Christ (Lk 22:24–27): "I am among you as the one who serves" and in the memory of Galatians 3:27 "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ."

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See also Conversion; Experience; Heart of Christ; Holiness; Kenosis; Monasticism

Immaculate Conception. *See Mary*

Immensity of God. *See* Infinite

Immutability/Impassibility, Divine

I. Philosophy and Scripture

At the beginning of the Christian era, it was already traditional to contrast reason, a stable and relatively self-moved force, with the emotions, the domain of “passion,” in the sense of “submission to an alien force” (Frohnhofen, 1987). However, only the Stoics espoused *apatheia*, an ideal state of impassibility in which the mind is undisturbed by any sort of movement. As for transcendental realities, they were conceived, following Plato and Aristotle, to be without change or passion.

Several passages in the Bible seemed to conflict with this notion by describing God as moved to regret, pity, or anger (Gn 6:6, etc.). However, other passages (e.g., Mal 3:6, “For I the Lord do not change”; see Ps 102 [101], 27, Jas 1:17) appeared to suggest that the former passages should be interpreted either figuratively or as implying an emotion in God that was constant and depended only on himself. The same duality was repeated and intensified in the christological context. Ignatius of Antioch affirms, more explicitly than the New Testament, “the passion of my God” (*Ad Romanos* 6, 3), but on the other hand speaks of him “who cannot suffer, who for our sakes endured suffering” (*Ad Polyc.* 3, 2).

II. Patristic and Scholastic Discussions

1. Passion and Emotion

Of all the fathers of the church, only Clement of Alexandria, who assimilated love* to a state of true knowledge (gnosis), espoused the Stoic position on *apatheia*. Most of the fathers were rather partisans, as with Augustine (*Civ. Dei* VIII, 17), of the good use of the passions and an incorporation of the Platonic *eros* (e.g., the Cappadocians, Augustine, Pseudo-Dionysius*). However, beyond the legacy of philosophy, the fathers and the Scholastics (Scholasticism) insisted

on constant emotions, such as love or compassion, as attributes of the Godhead and thereby started to separate emotion from passion (John Damascene, *Expositiones de fide* iii, 18; Thomas Aquinas, ST Ia, q. 20, a. 1).

2. Apatheia and Orthodoxy

Since the 19th century, there has been a tendency to suppose that the question of God’s *apatheia* arose within Christian thought because it was caught between a need to relate to a God who is not impassible and the logical requirements of metaphysics. There is some truth in this view, and one finds Anselm, for example, wondering how God could be both “pitiful” and “impassible” (*Proslogion* 8). However, more crucially, it can be argued that it was part of the inner logic of Christian orthodoxy to think more and more clearly about the absolute as unchangeable and impassible, to the extent that the concepts inherited from philosophy were modified through the teaching of the Bible. This resulted in new distinctions, not just between passion and emotion, but also between passivity and receptivity. The argument concerns especially the areas of creation, the theory of the Logos (Word), and Christology (Christ and Christology).

(a) *Creation.* In the first two centuries of the Christian era, the idea of ontological mediation between creator and created had priority over any doctrine of an absolute distinction between the two. In consequence, the Logos, taken to be not fully divine, could be passible, such that the sufferings of Christ raised relatively few problems (Mozley 1926; see Rowan Williams, *Arius*). Sometimes, this was conjoined with the view that while, by nature, God was impassible, he had freely chosen to become subject to suffering. Even those authors who accepted the full divinity of the Logos dealt in this way with the question of the sufferings of the Logos in the flesh* (Mozley).

In this context, the cosmological debates of the third century, and especially the work of Methodius of Olympus († c. 311), are of crucial significance. For Methodius, there is a radical ontological distinction between creator and created, such that there can be absolutely no sense (as with Origen) that in creation some aspect of God proceeds outward from him and so is passively affected by God himself: the passionless God is not changed through the creation of the world (*De creatis*, PG 18, 331–44). Nor can the Incarnation* involve any change in the Logos. God does not subject himself to suffering in Christ's sufferings, which are therefore pure paradox: he suffered while remaining impassible (*De cruce et passione Christi*, PG 18, 398–403).

A further crucial aspect of Methodius's position is the denial, against Origen, of the eternity of the world and of any sort of subsistence or permanence of matter as a principle of things. Otherwise, the creating God must have been engaged with some reality outside himself and so been, to this degree, "passive." For this reason, Gnostics such as Valentinus denied that the supreme God is also the creator God. Dionysius of Alexandria († c. 264) had remarked that, if matter was unoriginate, it was strange that it was not, like God himself, impassible and immutable (*Epistolae*, Ed. C.L. Feltoe, Cambridge).

The insistence on creation *ex nihilo* by Methodius and others was required to get rid of this inconsistency and ensure God's full activity in creating. Basil and Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Eunomium* VI, 3) added that, if the creation is "of itself" *nothing*, then even within the creation there is no ontological passivity, but only degrees of participation in divine activity. The world is composed of bundles of active qualities, not of compounds of form and matter. Such a position meshes very well with their view, also found in Athanasius (*De Incarnatione*, SC 199, 7), that human beings were originally created incorruptible and that the Incarnation restores this incorruptibility.

Hence, the implication of the strict thinking through of creation *ex nihilo* was not that God was entirely active, whereas finite things were essentially passive, but rather that created things also, when not impaired by sin, were entirely active yet never received the infinite measure of divine action. This indicates a kind of paradox: to *participate* in divine activity is not fully to *receive* it in its infinite plenitude. This paradox could only be spelled out in terms of the theology of the Trinity.

(b) *The Logos.* One of the grounds for the opposition of Arius and Eunomius to the divinity of the Son was that this contaminated divine impassibility: first, be-

cause a generation in God implied passion; second, because the emanation of the Logos was intrinsically linked to the work of creation, and that implied passionate involvement (Mozley). Arianism* avoided a solution of the Valentinian type through a voluntaristic theology that claimed that a God absolutely one and simple in essence had nonetheless willed to descend into creation and incarnation. Its exaltation of divine sovereignty, and its preference for a negative theology, left it with hardly any possibility of ascribing *feelings* to God. Hence, even though the Arians accepted the sufferings of the Logos, they recognized no natural grounds for involvement with finitude and passibility within the Godhead. For more orthodox thinkers, such as Tertullian, certain divine attitudes, for example, those of love and mercy, were permanent and unalterable. Hence, a biblically derived emotive characterization of the absolute demanded an "essentialist" characterization of God as unchanging and impassible.

Athanasius, in opposition to Arius, and Gregory of Nyssa, in opposition to Eunomius, insisted that generation in God does not necessarily imply passivity. Even natural generation does not necessarily divide the essence of a thing, and in divine generation there is only the action of the Father and the Son, as fire gives out light. It was possible to conceive of a reception so intrinsic to the being that receives it that it is not strictly speaking passive in relation to that reception, it *is* that reception (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* 1, 13). In consequence, the finite creation does not fully share in the plenitude of the divine act, *not* because it is essentially passive, but because, unlike the Logos, it does not fully receive.

Hence, action itself is redefined to mean "to give, to effect, to influence," and, at the same time, "to receive, to be effected, to be influenced by." Just as it had been realized that emotions might be active, and that creation does not impair autonomy, so also it was now realized that action could be relational and even receptive. By these means, the idea of impassibility was in a *new* sense reinforced. The more the emanation or utterance of the Logos was recognized as fully divine, the less could the divine nature be subject to suffering, and no act of will could alter anything.

(c) *Christology.* Trinitarian orthodoxy therefore rendered impossible the voluntaristic solution of the problem of God's suffering, a solution that was in any case subject to the suspicion of attributing Christ's sufferings to the Father (patripassionism). The legates of the Cappadocians and the school of Alexandria insisted that no change or passivity was involved for the Logos in the Incarnation. At the same time, the primacy of salvation* in Athanasius and Cyril led them

to insist that we are healed by the divine initiative, and that we can only escape from passion and suffering if God has first assumed them by taking on our mortal condition (Athanasius, *De Incarnatione* SC 199, 7). Hence, Cyril insists strongly on the Logos as subject to the passion and repeats Methodius's paradoxical formulations (*Epistola dogmatica* 3).

However, a ground for this paradox gradually emerged as the doctrine of the hypostatic* union was formulated. Since what holds together divinity and humanity in Christ is not a substantial reality, the same divine hypostasis that of its essence does not suffer can express itself *both* in the eternal impassibility proper to the divine, *and* in the suffering proper to human nature. This is nonetheless an entirely active suffering because it is freely chosen, in a manner impossible for a sinful creature, for whom involuntary suffering is an inevitable consequence of sin. Since entirely active suffering is immediately transfigured into pure activity, the notion of *apatheia* is used to grasp the specificity of *redemptive* suffering: an entirely nonreactive and unresented suffering that is imposed from without and yet consists of a gift offered freely from within and that reveals the constancy of love.

III. Modernity

Luther* went beyond Cyril in his version of the communication of idioms, declaring that God himself has suffered and died for us. However, the exact import of this claim remained unclear, and it was rejected by several Lutheran Scholastics, as well as by Calvinists (Mozley). Only in the 19th century did divine impassibility become subject to widespread rejection, partly among Lutheran kenoticists but more drastically with a group of English and Scottish theologians.

In their view, only a God who is capable of sorrow and compassion is a God whom we can recognize as truly God. At first sight, one might think that theologies of a compassionate or essentially historical God, and christologies of kenosis*, in which the Logos loses its character as God, free the biblical vision from the shackles of metaphysics. What one sees instead is surrender to secular categories, for all these constructions assume the prime reality of evolution and the idea of progress through struggle and sacrifice. The ideas of an original perfection of creation and of the Fall (original sin) recede into the background, and a human experience is idolatrously projected upon God and made absolute. Mozley cites the Anglican Storr, for example: "He God enters into creation, experiences the struggle, feels the pain of the whole of His creation. He does so *because* it is love's nature to

go out of itself in self-sacrifice." God comes to be regarded as worthy of love and worship simply because he is involved in the same struggle as human beings and has played a supremely heroic part in it. These theories have had two consequences. First, the idea that redemption involves a transformation of our mortal condition is lost sight of; instead, purely human goals—the struggle of mankind for the future and the quest for the perfect city—are made absolute. Second, the nature of redemptive suffering is misconstrued, for where suffering is eternally inevitable (as in the common 19th-century idea of "a cross always in the heart of God") and sacrifice is held to be the essence of virtue (virtues), the evil occasion of suffering is secretly celebrated as the occasion for heroism (Mozley). The truth is that suffering is only redemptive when embraced (if necessary) in order to manifest a free self-bestowing gift prior to all evil, such that to suffer is to continue to give in dire circumstances, rather than to prove oneself "virtuous."

The reaction against the idea of impassibility therefore risked distorting Christianity into a sickly celebration of sacrifice and weakness. Given this development, Nietzsche*'s reaction was salutary; and yet his lesson has scarcely been learned by much 20th-century theology.

In more recent debates, one can contrast the position of Eberhard Jüngel with that of Hans Urs von Balthasar* on this subject. For the former (1978), God is only "established" through the encounter with meaninglessness, suffering, and death. This view is subject to the same suspicions that have been voiced. For Balthasar, by contrast (1993), the *passionless generations* of the life of the Trinity are nonetheless the ground for divine involvement in the world and in suffering. Such a view recaptures the best patristic intentions.

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JOHN MILBANK

See also Aseitas; Attributes, Divine; Eternity of God; Justice, Divine; Knowledge, Divine; Omnipresence, Divine; Simplicity, Divine

Impurity. *See* Purity/Impurity

Incarnation

The term goes back to the prologue of the Gospel of Saint John where it is said that “the Word became flesh.” Here we offer a brief interpretation of this prologue, a summary of the treatment of the topic in ancient and then medieval theology, and finally, indicate several issues raised in recent theology by the use of the concept of incarnation.

1. Theology According to John

To understand the perspective adopted by John we must first show how the prologue to the Fourth Gospel (Gospels*) establishes a connection, through the concept of the “flesh,” between the two titles it gives Christ: “Word” and “Son.”

a) John clearly gave the term *Word* (*logos*) the broadest possible meaning. From a biblical point of view, “Word” evokes the prophecies (prophet and prophecy) marking God’s intervention in human history and revealing his purpose (*see* Heb 1:1). It also evokes (especially with regard to literary form) the wisdom that accompanies God in his creation of the world and even, according to more recent texts (Sir 24; Bar 3:37f.; Wis 7:17, 10, etc.), in the history of Israel. This is a wisdom to which later biblical speculation would attribute a still uncertain hypostatic character, while Paul would see it as effectively actualized in Christ. Wisdom 9:1f. associates “Word” and “Wisdom” with God to an equal extent. The Word is treated as mystery, that is to say, as the plan of salvation hidden in God since eternity*.

Yet all of these biblical associations between the two testaments are contained in the Greek word *logos*, which in Stoicism denotes the immanent and eternal “reason*” for the world’s cohesion, the living principle of its intelligibility. In Middle Platonism it also points to the first emanation of the unknown God, the emanation through which he manifests himself. A complex

interaction between the Greek and Hebrew concepts was bound to occur.

All these meanings relate to the world and to humans as well as to God considered in his economy. But the opening formula of John’s prologue (v. 1) uses a preposition (“the Word was with God”) and a verb (“the Word was God”) and so introduces a paradoxical relationship of simultaneous difference and identity between God and his Logos.

b) “*And the Word became flesh*” (v. 14). This phrase, which stands at the origin of the term *incarnation*, suggests more than the mere unification of the Word with human nature. “Flesh*” connotes the precarious condition of human beings who are subject to death. Thus the term also alludes to a communication with human beings that shows them the way through the history of salvation.

c) At first glance the title of Son complements that of Word. With its accompanying epithet of monogenic, “only”, “Son” expresses the relationship between the unique Word and God’s own uniqueness and, at the same time, what distinguishes Christ from the other “children” of God (v. 12). Glory* is the very sign of God and it is through it that the Father communicates with his Son. This “only” Son is “at the Father’s side” (v. 18) and the one who “has made him known” (*ibid.*), the one who externalizes him.

All his action in the world thus appears as a manifestation of God, an externalization for the people and for their benefit of “the glory that I [the Son] had with you before the world existed” (Jn 17:5). In other words, “things [that] were made through him” (1:3)—that is, creation and salvation—find their meaning in a precise historical event: “without him was not any thing made that was made” (1:3). Hence, this event and its meaning, as well as all the other events with

their meaning, have an existence in God that the Logos expresses. Reciprocally, the Logos is externalized in the events of creation and history until the decisive moment of the Incarnation—by means of which, as well as by means of the events themselves, the Logos reveals God to those who believe.

Christ thus reveals the Father's glory in and through an authentic human history. The incarnation of the Word and "all things . . . made through him" are truly of this earth but they also express a mystery that is interior to God, and they lead to him by communicating the divine reality that fills them. Furthermore, this flesh is not isolated in history: it fulfills what happened in Israel and recapitulates the entire work of creation. So we see that there is a definite continuity here between a series of distinct levels: the theological level (that which is in God), the level of creation, the level of "Israel" (what happened before the Incarnation, represented by Moses and John the Baptist), the ecclesial level, and, finally, the level of the Incarnation.

Thus, in John's prologue, Christology (Christ and Christology) is primarily a theology: it draws its unity from "at God's side" or alternatively, "in the bosom of the Father." The two aspects, theological and historical, while each retains its own specificity, are indivisible.

2. Patristic Developments

In the patristic era the historical dimension of John's global perspective was to a certain extent overshadowed. What mattered most of all to the church fathers was salvation through knowledge. In order for such a doctrine of salvation to be possible it was necessary that the Word had really contemplated that which was in God in order to reveal it; therefore, the Word needed to be truly God since only God could know God completely. This presupposed, on the other hand, that the Word had become truly human. In this way there was no separation between the one who revealed and those to whom he was revealed, neither from the ultimate perspective of knowledge, nor from the intermediate perspective of the stages by which human beings (especially as sinners) were rendered capable of knowing God's glory. Finally, it was necessary that Christ, "consubstantial* with God in divinity, consubstantial with men in humanity" (Chalcedon), remained *one*. Thus, a systematic theory of the Incarnation developed in which focusing on Christ's being* eclipsed certain meanings (creation, history of salvation) that were essential to Johannine theology.

The historical stages of this discussion are well known. The cultural world of Alexandria focused on the Logos. This favored a christological perspective inspired by John 1:14, dominated by the distinction

word/body (soul*-heart-body), *logos/sarx*, and in which some difficulty was experienced in attributing to Christ a created human soul (soul*-heart-body). Sometimes this is even explicitly rejected and the Word is substituted for the soul, whether it is considered as something created (Arianism) or as something uncreated and consubstantial (Apollinarianism*). We may even observe a prudent silence over this difficult issue (Athanasius*). When, in reaction to the above, it becomes necessary to highlight Christ's total humanity (*logos/anthropos*), the discussion shifts to the mode of union. It is from this necessity that we should begin to understand the emphasis placed in Ephesus* on the unity of Christ proclaimed as truly God; then, to try to understand the efforts made at Chalcedon to establish a distinction between the two "natures" and the unity of "the person*"; and finally, to comprehend the statements on Christ's will and human action that were made during the final two centuries of the patristic era. Throughout these various stages a fundamental hermeneutic (hermeneutics*) principle was at work: affirming the perfection of what was divine and what human in the unity of Christ ensured human salvation through true knowledge.

Such an endeavor, pursued over the course of centuries, gave theology the opportunity to elaborate on the philosophical categories it had borrowed from Greek authors with whom they dialogued or disputed. The concepts of "substance," "relation," "essence," "nature," "faculty," and furthermore, the analysis of knowledge and will, as well as the refinements required by the theme of the communication of idioms*—all this represented a conceptual benefit for Western thought as a whole. The noun "incarnation," *ensarkosis*, appears in Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* III, 18, 3.) *Incarnatio* came into usage in Latin in the third century.

3. Scholastic Theology

Partly through a rereading of ancient conciliar texts, Scholastic (Scholasticism) theology inherited from tradition a developed concept of the Incarnation. The christological dogma was fixed and the concept of the Incarnation did not seem to call for further refinement. It will suffice here to outline two persistent themes: that of the mode of union and that of the motive of the Incarnation.

a) If we consider the problem of maintaining the humanity of Christ in his divinity, we find several possible solutions, all of which come down to the issue of the hypostatic union. These ideas or "opinions" were summarized in a famous text by Peter Lombard (adoptionism*) that opened the way for Thomas Aquinas's

classical speculations on “the union in the person” and his analysis of the characteristics of each of Christ’s natures, especially his human nature.

b) As to the “motive for the Incarnation,” we can formulate the question as follows: “Had there been no sin to expiate, would the Word have become incarnate?” There are in fact two types of theology to be discerned behind this supposition. One is centered on the theme of creation considered as a sufficient manifestation of the being, the power (omnipotence*), and the eternity of a God whose unity is perhaps more crucial than his Trinitarian nature. From this point of view the Incarnation is not required in order to demonstrate God’s being per se, but it testifies to his infinite mercy* (see Thomas Aquinas, ST IIIa, q. 1, a. 3, ad 2.) The other theology, on the contrary, sees the Incarnation as fulfilling God’s design for the world. Here the history of salvation and God’s Trinitarian being become central. The Incarnation is the most important moment of God’s manifestation by the Word who is the Creator of the world, the inspiration of the Scriptures, the savior of the human race, and the fulfillment of all things and all events (see Bonaventure, *Coll. in Hexaemeron*, Prol. and I, 10–26.)

4. Contemporary Problems

“The Word became flesh”: this was the basis of the treatises of *Verbo incarnato*—but the Christologies of the 20th century, which have replaced the Scholastic and Neoscholastic treatises of former times, make it appear more as the conclusion. A brief account of the most notable christological works offered since the 1960s will suffice to show this important shift. In Pannenberg’s *Grundzüge der Christologie* (1964), the point of departure is a paschal recognition of the divinity of Jesus, which permits a retrospective interpretation of the pre-Easter events; it is only the last theorems that give a thought to such *crucis interpretum* as the anhypostasy* and the communication of idioms. The Incarnation is very much the last word. In Moltmann’s *Der Gekreuzigte Gott* (1972) a *theologia crucis* absorbs everything and reduces the theme of the Resurrection to a congruent portion; and the passion for the future (including “the future of Jesus Christ”) regards with indifference all “non-historical” questions on the Incarnation. Schillebeeckx’s *Jesus* (1975), undoubtedly the most articulate of contemporary endeavors, uses a combination of an exegetical critical method and a hermeneutic (hermeneutics) procedure, which allows the author to follow Jesus from his preaching to his death in order to reinterpret the *theologoumena* of the Resurrection and determine the very meaning of Christology as the idea that “in Jesus

a definitive salvation has come to us from God.” O. Gonzalez de Cardedal, in his no less complex book of 1978, organizes first an anthropology of man’s meeting with God before adopting three perspectives aimed at defining Christ’s “newness”: a metaphysical horizon, an anthropological horizon, and a secular ethical (ethics*) horizon. Since the emphasis is now placed on Christ as living and encountered, the Incarnation is as much presupposed as passed over in silence. Finally, another example is B. Forte’s *Jesus of Nazareth* (1981), which makes a convincing effort to answer a good question: “How can a divine subject be the agent of a human history?” It tries to link the pre-Easter events to the post-Easter events by means of a very flexible hermeneutics—which, however, certainly does not draw from the Christology of John’s prologue.

We can see, therefore, that the Christology of the Incarnation is to a certain extent put in parenthesis. We may cite, for example, J. Galot’s neoclassical essay (1980), L. Bouyer’s more eclectic one (1974), both explicating the Incarnation with the help of the patristic traditions, together with M.-J. Le Guillou’s unclassifiable work of spiritual theology, *L’Innocent* (1973), an unfashionable meditation on John’s Christ and his consciousness (Christ’s consciousness). We can also cite G. Lafont’s outline (1969) of a Christology that is interested in the Word as invested with human consciousness, a Christology consequently designed “to enlarge, if not [...] transform the metaphysical method used in post-Nicaean theology.” In addition we might note that a kind of classical Lutheranism—Jüngel 1976—in trying to open a way between theism (deism*/theism) and atheism at the time of the “dead God,” is fully capable of developing a *theologia crucis* that attain to the secrets of Trinitarian love* by linking “the word of the cross” and “the Word made flesh” under the theme of “the humanity of God.” But, faced with these defenses of a theology that is little practiced today, we need only mention a few of the criticisms made of it. Starting from the very idea of the Incarnation, J. Hick and various Anglo-Saxon authors loudly proclaimed that it was perhaps not the best theory for explaining the divine aspect of Christ (Hick 1977; Lampe 1977) and that Christianity could happily dispense with such a myth. On the other hand, a certain vague criticism of “metaphysical” language among those who have read a bit of Heidegger* invariably leads them to note that terms such as *person*, *nature*, *hypostasis*, and *Logos* are all related to one and the same *episteme* and that no *episteme* has words of eternal life*—this is how J.-M. Pohier proposed to bring an end to the “metaphysics” of the Incarnation in order to start talking about God’s presence in Jesus as “a

Shekinah mode.” Finally, a new—political—aspect of *theologia crucis* leads us, quite logically, to suspect that both a post-cross (Resurrection) and a pre-cross (Incarnation) discourse would be totally deaf to the cries of the poor (Sobrino 1978).

Some responses do indeed exist or have been in the process of formulation. T.F. Torrance, a theologian and amateur physicist (to the point of authoring a critical edition of the Scottish physicist J.C. Maxwell), devoted two works to situating the Incarnation in time and space (1969 and 1976), which are considered important enough to be cited as opening the cosmological dimension of Christology. There is some awareness of the problem of metaphysical statements. We cannot be certain that J. Moingt’s treatise (1993) has succeeded in its ambitious mission: to attach consistently some simple “rumors” about Jesus to the paschal faith of the disciples, to a pre-Easter Christology, and finally, to the reemerging Nicaean idea of the consubstantial, all of which use the fluid and historical categories largely borrowed from Hegel—but it is important that the author tries to achieve it. D.M. MacKinnon (1972) also expressed some doubts about the supposedly “metaphysical” character of christological statements.

Perhaps what all of these attempts were seeking was simply an integral Christology. Having been plagued for a long time by an opposition between “Christologies from above” and “Christologies from below,” which, according to N. Lash (1980), only obscured rather than enlightened the subject, current research can at least guard itself against the dangers of a one-dimensional Christology. The object of such inquiry is something temporally defined—the “event of Jesus Christ”—which must be interpreted in all its logic by precisely following the traces it has left. It does not then matter if Christology chooses to have John’s prologue as a beginning or as an end. What matters is constructing a rich theology of the Incarnation, drawing on all the perspectives offered by other major concepts and capable of accomplishing an inquiry first into the “earthly Jesus,” then into “Christ risen and glorified,” through a contemplation of “the mystery of Jesus Christ” (for ex-

ample, Kasper 1974). It can thus be said, for example, that: “at the basis of the movement through which Jesus, just as any of us, achieves the truth of what we are and reveals himself as the Other, divine and filial, there is another movement, an unthinkable initiative by which the Other freely enters destiny or allows destiny to enter him” (Sesboüé, 1982).

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THE EDITORS

See also Chalcedon, Council of; Christ and Christology; Ephesus, Council of; Hypostatic Union; Kenosis; Word

Incomprehensibility, Divine. See **Knowledge of God; Negative Theology**

Inculturation

Theologically, pastorally, and liturgically, inculturation is one of the most striking elements of the late 20th century. Defined as an adequate relationship between faith and any human person (or community) in a particular social and cultural situation, inculturation is doubtless a reality as old as the history of salvation. One might even assert that all acts of faith and all understanding and experience of faith are, in the end, a question of inculturation. However, the missionary encounter of the “old Christendom” of Europe with peoples of different cultures and beliefs, and the option of Vatican II* for an evangelization (mission*/evangelization) and a Church that would be in close touch with the “world of today,” have led to a renewed understanding of the importance and urgency of the cultural grounding of the message of salvation. The neologism “inculturation” thus corresponds to a new state of awareness.

1. *Inculturation, a New Concept*

To designate the encounter of the biblical message and various cultures, use has been made of a plethora of terms each one as unsatisfactory as the others: stepping stones, adaptation, accommodation, indigenization, implantation, contextualization, incarnation, and so on. It required progress both in theology and in the social sciences to put at our disposal the concept of inculturation. North American anthropologists, who invented the term, spoke of *acculturation* as early as 1880 to designate the phenomena of contact and interaction between different cultures. In the same anthropological circles in the 1930s, “acculturation” was linked to “inculturation” to define the mechanism of ongoing integration of any individual into the culture of the group to which he or she belongs.

It was no doubt under the conceptual influence of this research in cultural anthropology that missionary theology, followed by the official discourse of the Church, began to use the terms *acculturation* and *inculturation* indiscriminately. From 1953 the Belgian missionary theorist, P. Charles, followed by other theologians, used “acculturation” in this sense. Pope John Paul II also used it as a synonym of “inculturation,” explaining that this “neologism perfectly expresses one of the elements of the great mystery of the Incarnation.”

“Inculturation” has gradually achieved dominance over “acculturation,” since it underlines that the encounter between the gospel and a particular culture is not reducible to a simple relationship between cultures. Rather, it sees the Good News as a factor of conversion and enrichment of culture while simultaneously making culture the location of a deepening of the message of salvation. It was used in this sense in Louvain in 1959, at the *19th Week of Missiology*, to designate the existence of a Catholicism that was open to the major human cultural groups. In 1975 Y. Congar asserted that the word *inculturation* had been used in Japan as a modification of the term *acculturation*, in the sense of “planting the seed of faith in a culture and causing it to develop there, to express itself according to the resources and the spirit of that culture.” But it was not until 1977 that an official Roman document, the message to the people of God from the synod* on catechesis*, used the word for the first time.

Since then, the concept of inculturation has been both a frequent subject of theological investigation and a term used in declarations of the magisterium*. In more than one local church, of all denominations and in every country, inculturation has taken the form of liturgical, catechetical, and pastoral praxis, a set of concrete activities intended to associate faith closely with life, so that it might be understood, celebrated, proclaimed, and lived in relation to the aspirations and concerns of the particular milieu.

As a result, the notion of culture implied by inculturation cannot be defined by using a sketchy analysis of “archaic societies” trapped in the myths, rites, and symbols of primeval times. Vatican II used a fortunate expression when it affirmed that the human person attains true and full humanity only through culture, and when it defined culture as “everything through which man affirms and develops the many capabilities of his mind and body (soul-heart-body), transforms the world, humanizes social life, and preserves the great spiritual experiences and the major aspirations of mankind” (*GS* §53–1). Hence, all cultures from antiquity to the present contain three characteristics. First, every society is an object and subject of culture; that is, it produces and fosters normative representations, a project of a collective identity. There is no society

without a specific cultural heritage and a specific cultural identity. In other words, culture represents both the reason for being and the way of being of any given society. It is thereby easy to understand—and this is the second characteristic—that there is a plurality of cultures and cultural particularities, because every human society has its own heritage, a source of particular and universal values. Finally, the third characteristic is that culture has no goal but to bring the individual and society to fulfill themselves by internalizing in the logic of the system the available endogenous and exogenous forms.

These considerations, sketchy as they are, confirm the fact that inculturation is not only a process necessary for any life of faith and hence for every local church, but that it is also a reality as old as the history of salvation.

2. Inculturation, a Permanent Reality

The process of inculturation has never been absent throughout the history of salvation. We know “the debts of the Old Testament to the surrounding cultures” (Cazelles 1981). For example, circumcision, one of the oldest and most sacred of Jewish practices (Jesus was circumcised), was originally a rite of initiation into marriage, specific to totemic cultures. The sacrifice of Passover* is a spring sacrifice for nomads engaged in transhumance. The Sabbath*, the name given at a certain period to the rest of the seventh day, was already known among the Semites (Ugarit). Of course, in assimilating these cultural elements, the Bible subjected them to profound transformations. But in preserving them it maintained something of the aspirations of the peoples to which they belonged. This is the case with the respect for God and for one’s neighbor recommended by the Ten Commandments (Ex 34:20; Dt 4:13, 10:4): these are found in Egypt and Babylon, in different but stereotypical formulations. Similarly, the God of Abraham, honored under the name of El, was the supreme deity of the Caananite-Phoenician pantheon (Ugarit), worshipped in the Caananite sanctuaries frequented by the patriarchs (Gn 14:19, 16:13, 21:33). In the early monarchy, Israel honored its God under the name of “Baal,” “the master” (Eshbaal, son of Saul, 1 Chr 8:33), a name that the Bible later rejected (Hos 2:18). Hellenism also posed problems of inculturation to Judaism*, a term that appeared in 2 Maccabees to express the way of life of the peoples of the Torah. Under the influence of Greek art and rationality, the groups springing from the breakup of Judaism did not have the same interpretation of the Torah, but a continuous reference to revelation caused them to respect fully the divine value of the Torah and allowed them to traverse the centuries in

osmosis with various civilizations. The Bible is thus not tied to any particular culture but rather uses cultures to express and stabilize a unique religious experience that is fulfilled in the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The process of inculturation continued in the New Testament. The four versions of the single gospel (Gospels*), written according to the cultural and contextual particularities of local communities; the specific language of Paul’s letters, a teaching closely connected to the religious and existential questions of the time; and similar phenomena were all practices of inculturation of the Word of God made flesh into the history of humankind. The relationship of Christianity to Judaism, and thereafter to paganism, was a source of tension and conflict. Jesus’s debates with the scribes and pharisees, and dissensions within the Christian community of Jerusalem* (Acts 6:1–6) and between Jewish Christians and converted Gentiles (Acts 15: Council of Jerusalem), posed the thorny problem of the movement of faith from one culture to another, the problem of faithfulness to the elements of the faith in the face of the requirements of conversion and of the fostering of diverse cultures.

The Church has always been confronted with this problem, since, as Vatican II declared, “from the beginning of its history, it has learned to express the message of Christ by using the concepts and the languages of diverse peoples” (GS 44–2; UR 14–3). For example, the question of the various rites and customs of local churches was long a subject of vigorous debate between the papacy and the bishoprics (Congar 1982). In the late second century Irenaeus* attempted to prevent Pope Victor from excommunicating the churches of Asia that, because they broke their fast on the 14th day of Nisan, celebrated Easter on different days of the week. “This diversity of observances,” he wrote, “has not come about now, in our time, but came about long ago, under our predecessors. . . . All of them nevertheless kept peace with one another; the difference in the fast confirms the agreement in the faith.” In April 591 it was the turn of Pope Gregory the Great to write to Bishop* Leander of Seville concerning the rite of baptism* by immersion: “If there is unity of faith, a difference in custom causes no harm to the Holy Church.” Unity* in diversity thus became a basic principle of various local churches confronted with the challenge of inculturation. To be sure, Pope Damasus, in contrast, argued that unity of faith called for unity of discipline, and Gregory the Great said the same. Gregory VII went so far as to order that the Spanish-Visigoth liturgy be replaced by that of Rome. The expansion of the gospel into other cultural traditions, however, almost always led the Church to reassert the imperative of inculturation. For example, in 1659 an instruction of the Sacred

Congregation of Propaganda (now the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples) addressed to the apostolic vicars of Annam, China, Korea, and Tartary recommended respect for the customs of the country. Leo XIII (Apostolic Letter *Ad extremas*, 1893) and Benedict XV (encyclical *Maximum Illud*, 1919), not to mention Pius XI (encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae*) and Pius XII (encyclicals *Summi Pontificatus*, 1939, and *Evangelii Praecones*, 1951) each in turn insisted that the particular values of the peoples being evangelized be taken into consideration. But it was not until Vatican II, and in its wake Paul VI and John Paul II, that there was talk of cultural exchange as a source of mutual enrichment within a single Church, and that the new churches were exhorted to borrow from the customs and traditions of their people everything that might help to bring Christian life within them to fruition.

It is in this tradition, as old as the history of salvation, that is rooted the question of inculturation in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. As the bishops of Africa asserted, meeting for the first time in Rome as a continental synod in 1994, inculturation is a priority and a matter of urgency for particular churches, a major stage on the road toward full evangelization. This is not merely a pastoral strategy, and therefore optional and secondary, but a condition for the relevance and credibility of evangelization. And as a consequence inculturation appears not only as an essential element in the manner of evangelizing but also and primarily as a specific characteristic of the gospel itself. In Santo Domingo in October 1992 the Fourth General Conference of Latin American Bishops declared: "The analogy between the Incarnation and Christian presence in the social, cultural, and historical context of peoples leads us to the theological perspective of inculturation. Inculturation is a dynamic process that moves from the gospel to what is the heart of each people and community, through the mediation of language and symbols that are accessible and that are accepted by the Church."

3. *Inculturation, a Requirement of Faith*

Christian faith bears on what Jesus Christ, the fullness of revelation, showed about God and about man, and it thereby bears on the relationship between God and man, between man and man, and between man and his cosmic environment. The Good News of the Word made flesh is thus the basis of faith's own relationship to the believing person; and it consequently provides the decisive criterion for the content, as well as for the hermeneutical, methodological, and practical norms of inculturation. The theological question of inculturation thereby has three aspects, relating to Trinitarian theology, to creation, and to redemptive incarnation.

a) Unity in Diversity within the Trinitarian God. The mystery of the Trinitarian God, the primordial and total object of faith, is that of the communion of three genuinely distinct persons and of a communion in which the specificity of each is as essential as their unity. The Father is God only as Father, the Son is God only as Son, the Holy Spirit is God only as Spirit (Holy Spirit). God is God and one God only in the unity of nature and the distinction of persons, in a relation of perfect love (1 Jn 4:16) that can be characterized as a "communion of differences." In God, difference is not an obstacle to communion but a demand for perfect communion. The theology of inculturation can find a model here. By agreeing to establish itself analogically in God, the enterprise of inculturation derives its true benefits not primarily from the particularity of a given culture but above all from the inexhaustible mystery of love of the Trinitarian God, the creator of all things.

b) Unity in Diversity at the Heart of Creation. By making human beings in his image and likeness, God created them both similar to and different from himself, on the one hand; on the other hand he made them both similar to (of the same nature) and different from one another (man and woman) (Gn 1:26f.). He thus intended to establish with human beings and among human beings a relation of love—both identity and otherness—the secret of which is Trinitarian. The Trinitarian theology of creation thus confirms that the problematics of inculturation are indeed those of a relationship of unity in diversity, of a communion of differences. Since each person and each people are a unique and irreducible image of the infinite riches of the Creator, it seems that this image, constitutive of his personal dignity, is the necessary location for his understanding and experience as a believer. This leads to two implications. Firstly, and because he or she is created in the image and likeness of God, every human being is a "sacred history," the bearer of specific values useful for the human race. And inculturation specifically takes into account this dimension of human person, helping individuals to be aware of it and to enrich it so that they may be ever more faithful to their dignity. As a consequence, and this is the second implication, interpersonal and intercultural relations cannot be defined a priori in terms of antagonistic opposition but in terms of an encounter among equals and of complementary exchanges. Because its goal is the communion of differences, inculturation is thereby opposed to any form of discrimination or exclusion.

c) The Mystery of the Redemptive Incarnation, an Enterprise of Inculturation. Perceived as a real entry of

the eternal Son, Word of God and God himself, into the human and carnal world, the event of Jesus Christ is the unfolding of the love of the Trinitarian God in the history of human beings and of the world. The Word of God truly dwelt among us; he established his tabernacle there (Rev 21:3). He was recognized as a man like all men, says Paul (Phil 2:7f.); and the Epistle to the Hebrews emphasizes that Jesus made himself like his brothers in every way (2:17). The incarnate Word is thus the first to inculturate himself (see Sales 1980–81). He does this first by “taking on flesh”—the Gospel of John speaks of the Word “becoming flesh” (Jn 1:14) rather than “becoming man” and thereby emphasizes the realism of his humanity and his total insertion in the history of humanity. He does it also by his death, for in dying crucified like a common criminal, Jesus goes to the limit of man condemned to death, and that in the most ignominious conditions. He does it finally by his resurrection*—glorification, because he thereby reaches and fully achieves the desire for eschatological beatitude* inherent in every human person. It must be added that the inculturation of Jesus Christ is not a conformist solidarity with the human race; it is aimed rather at removing human beings from everything that might undermine their dignity as creatures of God. One might speak here of “desolidarizing solidarity.” Christ thus appears as the unique incultured and inculturing model, as the decisive and ultimate norm of any enterprise of inculturation. The problematics of inculturation thus turn out to be essentially christocentric. As the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation, and the first born from among the dead (Col 1:15, 18), only Christ establishes and reveals the origin and the aim of every relationship between the Creator and his creation. He alone brings to perfect realization, in and by his person, the relation of love of God with human beings in which is accomplished the definitive fulfillment of every person. And this is indeed the object and the aim of inculturation, which is in fact directed toward the embodiment of Christ’s message of salvation in all sectors of life, so that any experience of faith may be expressed in particular cultural forms, and especially so that that experience may become a principle of inspiration, of interpretation, and of conversion of those cultural forms themselves. Inculturation thus raises the two related problems of the evangelization of cultures and the cultural understanding of the gospel. It was indeed a back and forth movement of this kind between faith and culture that led John Paul II to say in 1982: “The synthesis between culture and faith is not only a requirement of culture but also a requirement of faith. A faith that does not become a culture is a faith that is not fully re-

ceived, entirely thought through, and faithfully lived” (DC 1832, 1982. 604–6).

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See also **Hellenization of Christianity; Religions, Theology of; Rites, Chinese**

Indefectibility of the Church

According to the Nicene Creed the Church is “holy.” But theologians have also described it, in its concrete reality, as a *corpus permixtum*, made up of sinful members who are to some extent unworthy, a body in constant need of reformation. Although sanctity (holiness*) and sin are not directly opposed, we may ask to what extent such judgments are compatible with the idea of a “holy Church.” In its constitution on the Church (LG 8), the Second Vatican* Council says that the Church “is holy, but [that] it also always needs to be purified.” The decree on ecumenism (UR 3) reduces the scope of this declaration by establishing that the people of God, during its pilgrimage, remain “subject to sin in its members.”

Protestant theology, for its part, has not hesitated to speak of a Church entirely delivered into sin. Luther’s formulations sometimes led to making the “sinful Church” (*peccatrix*, WA 34/I. 276. 7ff.) into a confessional “criterion” (Jüngel 1983) characterizing the manner in which the Church views its relationship with God. But despite divergent formulations, it is legitimate to ask whether there is in this regard a basic difference between Catholics and Protestants, for “the belief in the indestructibility, in the continuity, and in the permanence of the one and holy Church also constitutes for the Lutheran Reformation an essential characteristic of its conception of the Church” (Meyer 1989). Turning to the patristic tradition, we are struck by the abundance of images through which this question is treated (Balthasar 1960). For the fathers of the church, it was especially the prostitute Rahab, impious and impure (Jos 6:25; Heb 11:31; Jas 2:25), who became the paradigm of pagan Christianity, and hence of the Church of Christ. They also attributed to the Church the words of the bride of the Song of Solomon (1:5): “Let the Church say: ‘I am very dark, but

lovely,’ dark according to your judgment, but lovely according to the radiance of grace” (Gregory the Great, PL 79. 486). Thomas Aquinas wrote: “The Church, ‘glorious, with no stain or wrinkle’ (Eph 5:27) is the ultimate end to which we are led by the Passion of Christ. It will therefore be realized only in the heavenly kingdom, and not in this life in which ‘if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves’ (1 Jn 1:8)” (ST IIIa. q.8. a. 3. ad 2).

In current ecumenical discussions *Church and Justification*, a document realized by Lutherans and Catholics, attempts to find common formulations. For example, the text confirms the doctrine of *Lumen Gentium* (LG), according to which the Church is “indefectibly holy” (150; LG 39). From this point of view it is possible to say “there is no difference between the two parties with respect to the fact that the Church is at the same time ‘holy’ and ‘sinful’” (156).

What precise meaning should be given to the term *indefectibilitas* in LG 39? There is no doubt that all Christians, as members of the Church, must pray: “Forgive us our sins” (Mt 6:12). We may also observe that the council document does not attribute the predicate of sanctity to the eternal Church alone but also to the earthly Church, indicating thereby the “subjective” holiness of its members and not the “objective” holiness of institutions and doctrines. But, whereas particular members of the Church may be, for Catholics as for Protestants, “simultaneously justified and sinners,” Catholics do not extend this characteristic to the Church itself. The Church is not simply *simul iusta et peccatrix*, for its sanctity prevails over its sin. Holiness is an essential mark of the Church, determinative in relation to sin (Rahner 1965). In the same context (LG 41) the ministerial grace (*gratia muneris*) of bishops (bishop*) and priests is presented as a source of their

exemplary sanctity. Although the concept of indefectibility does not appear here, the close link between the sanctity of the Church and that of its ministers may pose ecumenical problems, in particular because *UR* (3. 32) points to “defects” (*defectus, defectus sacramenti ordinis*) in other Christian Churches. Although Protestant Churches often use the expression “sinful Church” without reservation, it goes without saying that a local* church cannot purely and simply accept the obvious sins of a sister church. Ecumenical discussions on what is called the *status confessionis* illustrate the attitude of Protestant Churches in this kind of case. The exclusion from the ecumenical community of the South African churches that practiced apartheid was thus referred to the *status confessionis*, in the absence of which it would be impossible to identify and judge a “sinful church.” The discussions were not able to es-

tablish whether apartheid, in this case, was to be considered a heresy* or a moral fault (or both at once).

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RISTO SAARINEN

See also **Church; Infallibility; Sin**

Indulgences

An indulgence is the remission before God of the temporal punishment* for sins (sin) whose error has already been absolved. The faithful who are well disposed to receive remission can obtain it with the Church’s help under certain well-defined conditions. As minister of redemption, the Church distributes and applies with authority the treasure of the satisfactions of Christ and of the saints (Paul VI in 1965, definition used again in *CIC* of 1983, can. 992). The conditions are defined as a spiritual work (a pilgrimage* or a visit to a church, prayer, almsgiving, etc.). An indulgence can be partial or plenary (can. 993) and can be applied both to the living and the dead (can. 994).

a) The Birth of a Practice. The first evidence of indulgences can be traced back to the 11th century and is linked to the changing nature of penitential discipline. In ancient public discipline the conversion of a sinner could not be accomplished without him or her devoting to penance a certain amount of time proportional to the seriousness of the sin. During this time the repentant sinner was refused the Eucharist and had to undertake various ascetic practices. Reconciliation was not granted until the end of this process. It was accompa-

nied by the prayers of the Church, and such prayers were judged as being indispensable for obtaining pardon. These two aspects of this practice are combined in an indulgence: sin engenders “temporal punishment”; the execution of this punishment is inseparable from the prayers of the Church.

From the moment absolution is given, immediately after confession and before the accomplishment of an often rigorous and long “satisfaction” (determined in penitential “*tarifs*” and expressed in weeks, months, or years), the sacramental absolution of the sin must be distinguished from the liberation from the “temporal punishment” due to sin, which is the purpose of the indulgence. In addition, the faithful ask that a long punishment be commuted to a shorter, if the shorter punishment comprises an onerous act, such as a pilgrimage. For its part, the Church is conscious of its duty to help the sinner through intercession and to contribute to the lightening of the “temporal punishment” by invoking ecclesial solidarity—which is nothing less than the communion* of saints—and by drawing on the “spiritual treasure” of Christ’s merits (all redemption comes from Christ) and of the saints justified by his grace. This is the origin of the indulgences through

which bishops (bishop*) or the pope* propose to Christians certain satisfiable brief practices in place of temporal punishment for their sins.

Indulgences multiplied in the 12th century. The most famous indulgence was that of Portiuncula in Assisi and involved a pilgrimage. The idea of a plenary indulgence came about when the popes remitted of all their temporal punishments Christians who took part in the Crusades. In 1300 Pope Boniface VIII announced the first Jubilee with a plenary indulgence for those Christians who visited the four Roman basilicas.

b) Classical Theology of Indulgences. Abelard* had vigorously opposed the principle of indulgences. The first Scholastic (Scholasticism*) theologians were hesitant. Thomas Aquinas formulated a doctrine of indulgences that would remain a classic (ST, Suppl. 25–27). He regarded them as being derived from the “power of the keys” given by Christ to his Church (Mt 16:19). This power is just as effective in heaven before God as it is on earth in the Church, where the pope is its guardian. In such circumstances the Church uses its “key to jurisdiction,” which is not sacramental. An indulgence relies on the superabundance of the Church’s treasure and has no value if it is not accomplished in charity and piety.

Catholic theology has always remained circumspect on two points. On the one hand, the success of the practice of indulgences has led to abuse on the part of those with authority to bestow them, and the multiplication of indulgences has often reduced them to insignificance. The faithful have sometimes too easily seen them as works that were automatically effective, as a sort of assurance of salvation. This mentality has engendered a banklike conception of the Church’s treasure and a commercial perception of an exchange of merits to profit the dead. On the other hand, the actual way indulgences work poses a problem. An action “through absolution” for the living has been distinguished from an action “through intercession” for the dead, who do not fall under the Church’s jurisdiction. Nonetheless, “even in the case of a plenary indulgence, [...] assurance cannot be given that it has been completely remitted at God’s tribunal” (Didier, 1963).

c) Reformation’s Contestation of Indulgences. Despite some intervention by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and severe criticism by J. Wyclif (1378) and J. Hus (1420), the proliferation of the practice of indulgences in the 14th century and 15th century (during which time they were applied to the dead) led to financial malversation in the course of “quests for indulgences.” Indulgences became the object of organized trade. Various collective bodies, and even bankers, were charged with their distribution. Preaching on the

subject of indulgences gave way to a dangerous simplism. The indulgence preached by the Dominican Tetzel, the profits of which went to the construction of Saint Peter’s in Rome, was accompanied, according to Luther, by the following formula: “The money has barely clinked into the offertory plate and already the soul has leaped out of Purgatory*.” The question of indulgences would become central to the conflict of the Reformation. Luther rejected them in his 95 theses of Wittenberg in 1517. He considered them contradictory to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, independently of all works, and held them as an example of the abuse of spiritual power within the Roman Church.

In response to this situation the Council of Trent* formulated a reminder of the doctrinal principle of indulgences. The power to bestow them had been given to the Church by Christ; their use, approved by the council, must be preserved due to their salutary nature for Christian people. Those who claim that indulgences are useless, or who deny that the Church has power to grant them, are anathema (session 25). The council also recognized the abuse to which indulgences were subject and prohibited any monetary trafficking in respect of them.

d) Renewing the Doctrine. In 1948 B. Poschmann proposed a “new” theological conception of indulgences with which K. Rahner agreed. They combined the old “absolution” of temporal punishment for sin—efficient absolution as the Church’s prayer—with a jurisdictional remission of ecclesiastical penance. The same held for plenary indulgences: the Church could only attempt to gain temporal remission of all punishment for a sin, but it could not guarantee with any certainty that the punishment had been entirely remitted by God (K. Radner 1955, trad. Fr. 123). Taken in this sense, an indulgence always works through intercession, whether for the living or for the dead. But it is an official intercession, undertaken by the Church under the authority of the apostolic ministry, which relies on the merits of Christ and the saints. This position was defended at Vatican II by the Patriarch Maximos IV.

In 1967 Pope Paul VI reexamined the doctrine and formulated new norms. He rejected the banking concept of the treasure of the Church: there is not a totality of goods but a whole that is Christ Himself. The doctrine of “treasure” is none other than that of the communion of saints. With indulgences, however, the Church, as the dispenser of the redemption of Christ, not only prays but in its authority distributes the treasure of the satisfactions of Christ and the saints to the well-disposed faithful for the remission of temporal punishment (DC 62, 210). Conversion is nonetheless always necessary, or else the indulgence is illusory. Fi-

nally, the practical norms that accompany the Constitution of Paul VI prohibit all quantification of partial indulgences. Rahner believed that prayer and authority should not be opposed and that indulgences were at once a form of prayer and an act of authority and that they carried all the efficacy of the Church's intercession. Rightly understood, the theology of indulgences is then an aspect of the theology of grace and of the communion of saints, and its practice is of the order of works of faith. This theology does not put justification into question. The teachings of the Catholic Church would nonetheless gain much from using language that avoids all ideas of mechanical efficacy ("to gain" an indulgence) and by underlining the value of indulgences as intercession.

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See also **Communion; Expiation; Justification; Luther, Martin; Penance; Purgatory; Solidarity; Works**

Inerrancy

Inerrancy is a concept used in ecclesiology* and in theological epistemology in conjunction with the concepts of infallibility* and indefectibility*. A negative concept (like the other two), inerrancy means first that Holy* Scripture, both as the Word* of God and as words about God, cannot lead to error (corresponding to the negative concept of inerrancy in this context is the positive concept of inspiration). Inerrancy also means that the Church cannot "err" in its doctrine (corresponding to the negative concept of inerrancy in this context is the concept of assistance given by the Holy Spirit to the Church). In recent discussions about the exercise of the magisterium in the Catholic Church, there has been a tendency to consider inerrancy as an

inclusive concept—the Church cannot deceive through its teaching—often linked to a theory of doctrines that accepts that Catholic dogma* is inalterable but that there is a constant possibility that it may be reformulated. Inerrancy also means the continuity of a true word through the diachronic multiplicity of words and concepts serving to affirm that doctrine. A teaching of the Church, finally, might possess the charisma of inerrancy without involving infallibility as that has been defined by the two Vatican councils.

JEAN-YVES LACOSTE

See also **Holy Scripture; Indefectibility of the Church; Infallibility**

Inerrancy of Scriptures. *See* **Holy Scripture**

Infallibility

a) Use of the Concept. According to Roman Catholic doctrine, the charism of infallibility is granted to the Church* and is also bestowed on the episcopal body when that body exercises the supreme magisterium* in conjunction with Peter*'s successor (LG 12, 25).

The Catholic doctrine of infallibility emphasizes that the revealed truths have remained unaltered in the Church's proclamations. All the same, this characteristic is subject to the given historic conditions and to the analogical nature of all theological statements. That is why even infallible doctrinal decisions cannot express the whole truth* of the supernatural* object of the faith* (Lang 1965).

The Protestant Churches do not teach infallibility. However, most of the Christian confessions have defined the conditions that the teaching within the Church must satisfy, founded on the principle that the continuity of the Christian faith is guaranteed by the Holy Spirit. Thus Luther's Reformist thought teaches that the Church as a whole cannot err, because, according to John 10:28, Christ* promised that no one could snatch it out of his hand (Pannenberg 1993). The infallibility of the Holy Scriptures, which is both the consequence and the proof of their true inspiration, is stressed by many Churches.

b) History of the Concept. In the New Testament, the idea of infallibility is founded mainly on the passages in which Jesus gave his disciples or the apostles (apostle*) the authority* to teach (for example, Lk 10:16) or on the definition of the Church as "a pillar and buttress of truth" (1 Tm 3:15). In the early Fathers, in Irenaeus for instance, there are statements that describe the Church as the guardian of the whole of Christian truth. Although such passages indeed show that, from the beginnings of Christianity, the Church exercised control over the doctrinal opinions of its members, nonetheless, historical criticism cannot find any actual doctrine of infallibility in them. As Hans Küng puts it: "With regard to infallibility, in the sense of the impossibility of falling into error, as little mention is made of it in the texts of the Scriptures as in the rare quotations from the Fathers" (Küng 1970).

Even though, during the whole of the Middle Ages, the Church's supervision often manifested itself in rigorous disciplinary forms, it has to be admitted that as

far as concepts are concerned, *infallibilis* remained primarily—for instance in Thomas Aquinas and Luther—a characteristic of God, a consequence of his prescience and of his providence*. In the Middle Ages the question of infallibility was discussed from the most diverse angles (Tierney 1972). From the end of the Middle Ages, the partisans of papal infallibility (for example, Pierre Olivi and Guido Terreni) did however single out the broad theological aspects of this issue.

The concept of infallibility took on particular importance from the time of the decision made at Vatican I* (1870). The dogmatic constitution *Pastor aeternus* attributed infallibility to the pope when he spoke *ex cathedra*—that is, when he made a decision, in the discharge of his pastoral (pastor*) duties and as a teacher of all Christian people, that a doctrine regarding faith or "morals" (*mores*) should be held by the universal Church (DH 3074). From 1870 onward, the question of papal infallibility has dominated public theological debate. Vatican I had already planned to expound a general doctrine about the infallibility of the Church, but circumstances prevented its dealing with these questions. A detailed development of this notion had to wait for the texts that resulted from Vatican* II, and especially for the constitution concerning the Church (LG). The latter document stresses that the community of the faithful cannot err and that the laity (lay*/laity) shares in the "supernatural appreciation of the faith (*sensus* fidei*) of the whole people"—that is, in the instinctive sensitivity and discrimination that the members of the Church possess in matters of faith (LG 12; see also DH 4852). Within this community, the pope is endowed with infallibility "by virtue of his office." But the infallibility held in common by the bishops (bishop*) is also emphasized. When the bishops teach points of faith or of morals unanimously and authentically, they infallibly proclaim the doctrine of Christ (LG 25).

Since Vatican II this extension of the Catholic doctrine of infallibility has often been criticized. That was the central theme of the polemic provoked by Küng's theses (1970). In its 1973 declaration *Mysterium Ecclesiae* (see DH 4530–41), the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith confirmed the decisions resulting from the two Vatican Councils.

c) *Infallibility in Interconfessional Discussion.* Among the various Christian confessions, the Eastern Orthodox and the Anglican faiths are relatively open to the idea of the Church's infallibility, although they reject the primacy of the pope. In the joint text drawn up in 1984 under the title "Declaration of Dublin," they sum up as follows their conception of infallibility (29–30): "The Eastern Orthodox and the Anglican believers consider that infallibility is not the privilege of a particular person in the Church.... We believe that, by virtue of their ministry, all the bishops hold the power to attest to the truth; but if the doctrine of infallibility means that it is possible, by means of external criteria, to guarantee the absence of error in such and such a declaration by a particular bishop, then we cannot accept this doctrine. What is more, such a guarantee cannot be given regarding the declarations of a council of bishops, since the ecumenicity of a council can only be demonstrated by the fact of its recognition by the whole Church."

Despite all these reservations, the declaration did not deny the principle of infallibility. And specifically, ecumenical councils recognized by the universal Church might be infallible. The first seven councils fulfilled the set conditions and are therefore infallible. The "Declaration of Dublin" (29) quotes, in addition, the agreement of the 1982 Anglican–Roman–Catholic International Commission (*The Final Report*, 32), according to which infallibility "in an absolute sense is applicable only to God." This obvious postulate translates the fact, important to many confessions, that in the history of dogma infallibility is seen, above all, as a divine characteristic, and for this reason it cannot be extended directly to the earthly Church.

As early as 1972 the Lutheran–Catholic dialogue stated that: "Despite the historic vicissitudes of preaching, Lutherans and Catholics are convinced that the Church is constantly guided to the truth by the Holy Spirit and, through this Spirit, it is kept within the truth. It is in this context that the notions of indefectibility* and infallibility, current in Catholic Tradition*, must be understood.... Infallibility should be recognized above all as a gift bestowed on the universal Church, which constitutes the people of God."

Although infallibility continued to pose an ecumenical problem, the Lutherans and the Catholics made another joint statement, published in a document of 1985: "There thus exists in both Churches a supralocal responsibility as regards doctrine: It is exercised in different ways, but with a certain concordance. In both Churches, as far as doctrinal affairs are concerned, this responsibility is included within their testimony to the faith of the universal Church. In this matter, both Churches recognize their subjection to the authority of the Gospels."

Aside from the question of the magisterium, the current discussion about infallibility is engaged with the fundamental question of whether the idea of theses a priori infallible can have any theological legitimacy, inasmuch as the truth of these declarations would not then need to be recognized by the faithful. According to Vatican I, the exercise of an infallible magisterium was the privilege of the pope who does not depend on the ecclesial reception of his teaching (*DS* 3074). Now, as W. Pannenberg has stated, it is "a known fact from the earliest days of Christianity" that no doctrine can be authoritative if it is not accepted by those to whom it is communicated (Pannenberg 1993; an opinion that is shared by all engaged in the dialogue with Catholicism).

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See also Church; Magisterium; Word of God

Infinite

In theology the attribute of infinity designates that absence of intrinsic limits that is proper to the divine essence. In the absolute sense, infinity signifies divine perfection, simplicity, and uniqueness; it can only apply to God. A being whose essence is limitless possesses all possible perfection to the sovereign degree. Such a being cannot enter into composition with anything and no other being could share this attribute (attributes*, divine). Therefore, this being is unique. Moreover, absolute infinity excludes all indeterminacy, insofar as God is a distinct, singular being. The divine essence remains unknowable to a finite intelligence. The infinity of the essence of God thus founds his unknowability.

Theology* has always conceived God's power (omnipotence*) as infinite, but the application of the con-

cept of infinity to the divine essence has not always seemed legitimate. The Bible does speak of divine perfection (Mt 5:48 and Is 40:17), eternity* (Dt 32:40), and so forth, but there is no passage where it is said that God is infinite. The one that comes closest is Psalm 145:3, which reads: "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, and his greatness is unsearchable" (the Vulgate translated the last two words as "*non est finis*" or "without end"). Though the affirmation did not seem to create any problem for certain Neoplatonists and Fathers of the Church, it was achieved at the cost of many battles in the Latin Occident. The infinity of the divine essence was not explicitly proclaimed until a 19th-century synodal text (*Vatican* I, DS 3001*).

A. Greek Antiquity

a) From the Pre-Socratics to Plato. Anaximander was the first to use the word *infinite* for the first principle. He reasoned that because the origin cannot be identified with any of the elements at its source, the principle can only be indeterminate or infinite. Infinity maintained its importance for the Pythagorists, but *apeiron* was conjugated in the finite in the production of things. The infinite is a material principle, the finite a structuring, determinant principle. There is no place for infinity in the thought of Parmenides: the One is immutable, simple, but finite. Melissos, another Eleatic, stood against his master on this point. He argues that the uniqueness of the One presupposes its infinity: the One would not be unique if it were finite; by its infinity it is the positive principle of real. Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurius also conceived the infinite as a perfection, as opposed to both Parmenides and Pythagoras and also to Plato and Aristotle.

In Plato's *Philebus*, the infinite and the finite are, as for the Pythagorists, the two constituent principles of reality. The infinite of indetermination connotes the

excessive and imperfect; for the constitution of things it requires a limit (*peras*). However, in the second part of *Parmenides* (137 d.) there is a brief allusion to the infinity of the One that hardly accords with the doctrine of *Philebus*. Plato hypothesizes that "If it is true that it has no beginning and no end, then it is true that the One is infinite." And since *Parmenides* was the subject of a large number of commentaries by the Neoplatonists, who took its hypotheses as descriptions of reality rather than logical exercises, the text is a source of the Plotinian (and even the Dionysian) doctrine of the infinity of the One.

b) Aristotle. Even if Aristotle did not know the ontological infinite, the long analyses in *Physics*, *l. III* were a major influence on the history of this concept in the sciences and theology. Aristotle conceived infinity as an exclusive attribute of quantity (numerical or dimensional); therefore it can never be encountered in the form of a finished whole. The infinite is always in potential, which led to the idea that "the infinite as infinite is unknowable," cited by medieval thinkers in support

of divine unknowability, and the principle that “nothing is greater than the infinite,” invoked in favor of the absolute, inexhaustible nature of the divine essence.

c) *Plotinus*. Plotinus was the first thinker to attach importance to the divine infinity. The One is infinite, he declared, in that it is not contained by any form and escapes all specific or material determination. All that

exists has an essential determination; by its infinity the One is radically distinguished from the intellect, the soul (soul*-heart-body), and being*. This is by no means a negative or extrinsic characterization of the infinite and cannot be reduced to saying that the One has a limitation individually different from that which affects beings; on the contrary it implies that the One is, by essence, free of all limitation.

B. Christian Era

1. Patristic

Many Latin church fathers and to an even greater extent the Greek Fathers conceived of God as infinite. Marius Victorinus saw God as pure *esse* (“to be”), or infinitive being, which was distinct from and prior to participial “being.” If every being is a particular thing, that is, a form partially participating in being, pure being is infinite, limitless (*infinitum*, *interminatum*). If the determination of participial-being implies limitation (because this being is not that other one), God is determined only by the infinity of the being that he fully is. Victorinus’s doctrine, by attaching infinity to the being of God, announces the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas. However, Marius differs from the latter by conceiving the infinity of being as incompatible with God’s simplicity or uniqueness. He argues that pure being is so totally non-participial that it must be conceived par excellence as before the one and beyond simplicity. But Victorinus did not feel the need to imagine a sur-infinity—as Pierre de Candie would do in the 14th century—which shows that the concept of infinity was in itself sufficient to express absolute transcendence.

Augustine did not have much to say about infinity as attribute of the divine essence. The infinite figures in his thought as a synonym for eternity, almightiness (omnipotence*), or incomprehensibility, depending on the context; in God it signifies the absence of spatial and temporal boundaries. Generally speaking, Augustine thought of infinity in its mathematical sense; but toward the end of his life he also evoked the possibility that God is infinite (*aliter*).

In his *Life of Moses*, Gregory* of Nyssa described the divine as infinite according to its nature, that is, as non-circumscribed by a limit. And in *Against Eunomius*, he gave the first definition of the infinite as positive attribute: “The infinite (*to aoriston*) is not

such with regard to a relation to something else, but thought according to itself it escapes from all limits.” Basil*, similarly, made God an *aoristos* and *apeiros* with no boundaries. Analogous thoughts are expressed in the works of Clement of Alexandria and Gregory* of Nazianzus.

Though infinity is relatively absent from Latin speculation from the fifth to the 12th century, the contrary is true in the Byzantine tradition, starting with Pseudo-Dionysius*. The Dionysian reflection reveals two influences that nourish two antinomic doctrines of infinity. One group of texts subordinates the *peras* and *apeiron* of the One, following the Neoplatonic tradition (Proclus and Damascius) but, in another group of texts, the Pseudo-Dionysius attributes the infinite directly to God. In *Divine Names*, c. 5, he states that “God does not exist in this or that way, but possesses all being ever since the origin, simply and without limits (*aperioristôs*).” The Dionysian reflections were made available in a 13th-century Latin *Corpus dionysien* with glosses attributed to Maximus* the Confessor. One of these glosses (written in fact by Jean of Scythopolis) describes God as infinite (*aoristos*) “because he does not fall within any limit.” Albert* the Great comments on this assertion, applying it directly to the essence of God. Jean of Damas explains that “Who is” is the name that best suits the essence of God, which explains his incomprehensibility for a finite intelligence.

2. Latin Middle Ages

a) *Before the 13th Century*. The 11th- and 12th-century Latin authors hardly attached any importance to divine infinity. Anselm*, for example, never writes that “God is infinite.” A century later, Peter Lombard would say that God is infinitely powerful, without

thinking of applying infinity to the essence. Pierre de Poitiers, in the last third of the 12th century, did not use the word, nor did Robert de Melun. Stephen Langton saw it as nothing more than a synonym for indetermination; Hugh of St. Cher took it as a synonym for divine incomprehensibility. And yet *Liber de causis*, an Arabic work of Neoplatonic inspiration that explicitly named the *Primus* “infinite being,” was translated in the 12th century. The *Primus*, being nothing but its being, is pure being bereft of all other formal (*hilyah*) determination. Its determination lies in its very infinity. This is constitutive of God’s ipseity.

b) Doctrinal Condemnation of 1241. The question of infinity rebounded with a controversy over the possibility of seeing the essence of God *in patria* (beatific [beatitude*] vision). Some early 13th-century authors, influenced by Pseudo-Dionysius and John the Scot Eriugena, accentuated the distance between God and creatures, with particular emphasis on the unknowability of the divine essence. They were able to draw on a rich tradition, and yet they brought Aristotle into the argument: in *De caelo* it is declared that “between the finite and the infinite there is no proportion.” Invoking this lemma was recognizing that God is infinite and is distinguished from the creature by that attribute. But this notion was condemned in 1241, and certain authors later contested the right to preach for the divine essence, an attribute that Aristotle said was applicable only to quantitative magnitude. Guerric of Saint-Quentin, for example, considered the question “Is God finite or infinite?” meaningless. The divine essence, by definition immaterial, is not one of the things about which one can ask if they are finite or infinite, so speaking of an infinite essence is committing an error of category. Bonaventure* argued that the contemporaries of Guerric would have even said that God is finite with regard to essence. In fact, the real problem at that period was to reconcile divine simplicity (which excludes composition) with infinity (which supposes it), and this reconciliation would rapidly occur. Richard Fishacre, Albert the Great, Alexander of Hales, and John Pagus were the first authors to maintain that God is both knowable by the beatified intellect and simple and infinite in his essence. Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas were inspired by their solution.

c) Propositions of the Great Scholastic. The absence of biblical texts that clearly state the infinity of God posed a problem for medieval thinkers who sought to legitimize this controversial concept. The silence of Scripture was interpreted by some as a guarantee. The author of *Summa halensis* explains that God must be

infinite in his essence because the Bible does not state the contrary! For lack of biblical references, there were attempts to rely on synodal authorities but they offered little more than (pseudo-) symbol of Athanasius, who speaks of immensity. That was enough for Bonaventure, who identified immensity and infinity, followed later by John of Ripa; this provided him with an adequate point of contact between the authority and the new doctrine. In order to put this idea in accord with Aristotle’s claim that infinity can only apply to quantitative substances, a different acceptance of the term had to be found for theological purposes. Three distinctions were introduced. Two different kinds of quantity were posited: “dimensional” quantity (that of Aristotle) and “virtual” quantity (which designates the degree of perfection of a being that one may consider infinite without betraying Aristotle). Two types of infinity, privative and negative, were distinguished. A being to whom it pertains to have an end but who does not have one is privatively infinite. A being to whom it does not pertain to have an end and who has none is negatively infinite (it is in this sense that God is infinite). And a distinction between the absolute infinite (*simpliciter*) and the relative infinite (*secundum quid*) parries all danger of confusion between God and the creature, because an infinity realized in matter—supposing that such a thing were possible—could never be but a relative infinity. An infinitely large body would be limited by the matter in which it is found. Therefore, only God is infinite in the full sense.

These distinctions were widespread in the Middle Ages, but each author used them in his own way. In Thomism*, the privative-negative notion was articulated on the distinction between material infinity and formal infinity. Matter is determined (*finitur*) by form, and form is determined by matter. However, the lack of (formal) determination in matter is synonymous with imperfection, the absence of (material) determination allowing form to reach its fullness. Here matter is a hindrance; there it is the necessary condition for access to substantiality.

In the thought of Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventure, the infinite qualifies in its own right the divine essence, but always in terms of the negative attribute. Infinity means absence of limits, which certainly connotes perfection, but it does so in denying that the essence has a term; therefore it designates in God nothing positive that would correspond to our idea of infinity. Another conception, sketched out by Bonaventure, came to light at the end of the 13th century in the thought of Henry of Gand and Richard Middleton, culminating with Duns* Scotus. The latter argued that infinity is both the most adequate concept of God and his distinctive modality,

prior to all propriety. I can think God without thinking of him as perfect or good, but I cannot think him without thinking of him as infinite. Infinity becomes a positive attribute that adds something to God. Duns Scotus founded the ontological primacy of infinity on an authentic demonstration of the “thinkable” nature of this concept. In the fifth *Quodlibet*, he shows that going from the infinite in potential of Aristotle one can arrive at an intensive infinity that encloses all perfection of the entity. His disciple Francis of Mayronnes established an even closer connection between the infinite and God in affirming the priority of infinity over existence.

d) *Late Middle Ages*. Nicholas* of Cusa conceived God as an infinity in which are dissolved the oppositions of the finite. The infinity of God is not simply opposed to a universe that contains infinities in potential, but to a universe that constitutes an infinity in act, in the quantitative order. The closed world* of antiquity burst open to leave room for an infinite universe whose very existence testifies to the infinite power of its creator. In the thought of Giordano Bruno, the infinity of space, conjugated with that of God and his power, brings along the existence of a limitless number of worlds. The difference between the infinity of God and that of the created universe tends to fade (pantheism*).

3. Modern Era

Descartes* reversed the classic conception of the negative infinite. Duns Scotus had already seen the infinite as designating a pure positivity, but Descartes went one step further in posing primacy of the infinite with regard to the finite in the very order of the ideal genesis. The infinite, adequate attribute of God, has par excellence the status of clear and distinct idea because it is the idea of absolute perfection, with regard to which the thinking substance grasps itself as limited and blemished with imperfection. It is in fact the absoluteness of that perfection that gives the thinking ego to understand that it cannot have for cause a being other than one who has in formal reality the same degree of perfection it has in objective (thinkable) reality. The idea of infinity—which Descartes distinguishes from the indefinite, characteristic of numbers and geometrical or physical magnitudes—is ontologically anterior to the idea of the finite. Descartes denies “that we conceive the infinite by negation of the finite, seeing that, on the contrary, all limitation includes the negation of the infinite.” For Spinoza the last step would be: The existence of the infinite substance makes impossible its coexistence with all other substance. One could not go any further in the affirmation of the primacy of the infinite.

Other noteworthy 17th-century authors are Charron, Malebranche, Pascal*, and Leibniz*. Leibniz, inspired by the results of infinitesimal calculation, confounded the Aristotelian axiom related to the impossibility of an infinity-in-act in nature. He admits the existence of actual infinities, whether in a continuum or in simple or composed substances. However, this does not affect the notion of divine infinity: “God is absolutely perfect; perfection being none other than the grandeur of positive reality taken precisely, setting apart the limits or boundaries in these perfect things.”

The empirical tradition was an exception to the unanimous medieval belief in the necessity of conceiving God as infinity. Hobbes, for example, was impenitently agnostic in the matter. He argued that because all knowledge comes from the senses, the infinite is never given to us in experience and so cannot be the subject of knowledge. This skepticism was a prelude to the generalized mistrust of natural* theology that prevailed in the 18th century. D’Alembert declared that asking oneself about the infinity of God is a simple case of “abusive metaphysics.” Kant* went so far in this direction that his thought could be described as a “philosophy* of finitude.” He raises the problem in the context of the insoluble antinomies of pure reason; infinity falls out of the field of categories of application of pure reason. Kant described the divine nature as “almighty” or “perfect” rather than infinite.

Hegel*, on the contrary, saw the finite and the infinite as interpenetrating. He introduced a new distinction between poor infinity (*schlechte Unendlichkeit*), which is but the negation of the finite, and an authentic infinity (*wahrhaft Unendliche*), which he saw as the negation of the negation, the conquest of self by the mediation of the other. Authentic infinity is, first, that of the Spirit conceived as negativity, and the Spirit does not reach full infinity but as absolute Spirit, at the term of a process of self-realization during which it actively frees itself of all finitude. The reciprocal admission of the finite and the infinite leads to elimination of the distinction between absolute Spirit and created being. Furthermore, this conception of infinity, which is both dynamic and negative, prevents seeing in infinity an attribute referring to immutability, the autarchy of the divine being.

4. Contemporary Period

Speculation on the infinite was not neglected in the 19th and 20th centuries, but the most original reflections are situated in the field of science (physics and mathematics) and ethics.

a) *Ethics and Infinity*. The doctrine of infinity in its traditional theological form found its most original ex-

pression in the 20th century in the thought of E. Levinas, rooted in a reflection on alterity. The Western conscience, in its epistemological function, has always tended to bring the Other down to the same. However, the Cartesian analysis of the infinite, in *Méditation III*, permits a reversal of this logic of assimilation. What Levinas found remarkable in the Cartesian idea of infinity is that its *ideatum* surpasses its idea: Thinking infinity I think more than what I think. Nonetheless Levinas believes that the infinite takes all its sense in the field of ethics, not theology. The infinite is an experience of irreducible alterity; its paradigm is revealed to me in the face of the Other and the Other's resistance to my desire to assimilate. The logical structure of the Cartesian analysis is thus retained in preference to the divine referent it was destined to manifest. The concept of infinity that medieval thinkers sought to attach to the divine essence is thereafter considered usable in other contexts.

Many original contributions mark the history of the infinite, but it can be said that the essential was already glimpsed by Marius Victorinus, and even Plotinus, and clearly stated by 13th-century Scholastics. They all expressed the existence of an infinite being, unique and distinct in virtue of this very infinity. It is, again, that fundamental intuition that Descartes adopted and modulated and Cantor did not disavow.

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See also Attributes, Divine; Duns Scotus, John; Negative Theology; Omnipotence, Divine; Omnipresence, Divine

Initiation, Christian

Initiation can be understood to have three meanings. For the fathers of the church, who adopted the notion from the religions with holy mystery, it designated the sacraments (sacrament*) through which one is made a Christian. Today is added the idea of a progressiveness, of entering upon a journey (initiation *to*). Finally, the ethnological sense designates the process by which individuals reach a new membership status to a tribe or specific group.

The fathers recognized the notion of initiation as early as the second century but hardly used it before the end of the fourth century. From then on they used it to indicate the sacraments that determine Christian

identity: baptism, together with its related rites that would later receive the name confirmation*, as well as the first Eucharist. According to Kretschmar (1977), baptism “is the original name for initiation in its entirety.”

The concept was unknown during the Middle Ages except in the vocabulary of the religious novitiate (the shift is significant). It would be revived by scholars from the Renaissance onward, but especially, at the end of the 19th century, by L. Duchesne, who devoted a chapter to it in his *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (1889). It was adopted by the Vatican* II Council: AG 14 (which also included the catechumenate) and PO 2

speak of the *sacramenta initiationis christianae*; SC 71 affirms “the close connection between this sacrament [confirmation] and the entire Christian initiation,” and the apostolic constitution that introduces the 1971 Rite of Confirmation speaks—for the first time in an official document—about the “unity of Christian initiation.” Henceforth, the mention of *Christian initiation* acted as a title for the Rites of Baptism and Confirmation, and for the presentation of the three sacraments in the *CEC*.

The theological notion signifies the restoration of an encompassing vision of the three sacraments, beyond their medieval independence. The *Notes Doctrinales et Pastorales* in *Rituel de l'Initiation Chrétienne des Adultes* express it with vigor: “According to the oldest usage, [...] an adult will not be baptized without receiving confirmation immediately after the baptism, unless there are serious reasons presented. This connection expresses the unity of the paschal mystery, the close relationship between the mission of the Son and the gift of the Holy* Spirit, and the conjunction of these sacraments through which Christ* and the Holy Spirit communicate with the Father to the baptized” (n. 34, *see CIC*, can. 866). The unity of the three sacraments is therefore not only circumstantial: its stems from Trinitarian theology. This theological unity, however, is realized differently in the respective cases of adults and children. At the paschal vigil the former usually receive the three sacraments at the hands of the bishop, though the priest (priesthood*) is lawfully permitted to administer them in the bishop’s absence (*Rituel*, 228). In the case of children, the Western Church spreads these three celebrations over a period of time, while the notion of initiation means that they are

nonetheless understood in terms of a dynamic unity rather than as isolated celebrations. These perspectives were accepted, with some variation, by the Orthodox and Catholics (document by Bari 1987).

Another question concerns the relationships between the structures of initiation of a specific society and Christian initiation. This question certainly influenced the history of the West (question of spiritual relationship, *see* Lynch 1986), while today it is crucial in several African countries (Sanon-Luneau 1982) where the debate concerns its pertinence for the future of a continent that is more and more influenced by Western lifestyles.

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See also Baptism; Confirmation; Eucharist; Inculturation; Sacrament

Inspiration of Scripture. *See* Holy Scripture

Integrism

Integrism (from the French, *intégrisme*) is a term that appears in sociology and religious history and that is almost totally lacking in theological (or philosophical) development. *Intégrisme* is commonly understood in the Catholic world as the conjunction of fundamentalism*, ultramontanism*, an erroneous concept of tradition*, and the fear inspired by modernity. *Intégrisme* wishes to preserve the integrity and the entirety of the doctrines and institutions of the Church*, but at the cost of a strict prohibition of any

change in doctrines and any legitimate reform of institutions. The opposite of *intégrisme* is “progressivism,” another phenomenon that has not been given adequate theological analysis.

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THE EDITORS

See also **Fundamentalism; Liberalism; Tradition-alism**

Intellectualism

1. Definition

“Intellectualism” made its appearance toward the end of the 19th century, in the historiography of the Latin Middle Ages, as an antonym of “voluntarism*.” It is important to keep in mind that it is a concept developed by commentators and is absent from the original sources. It is used to designate several different arguments, all of which arise from the same impulse: an affirmation of the primacy of the intellect over the will. It is also sometimes used in a less precise sense to designate confidence in the intellect’s capacity to attain to the divine, a confidence that rests on an affirmation of the divine nature of the intellect itself.

2. History

The privileged domain to which the concept, in its strict sense, is applied is Scholastic (Scholasticism*) thought of the 13th and 14th centuries. The controversies that arose in this period, in particular those between Franciscans and Dominicans, clearly set forth the alternative that until then had been latent between the primacy of the intellect and the primacy of the will. Dominican thought was at the time predominantly intellectualistic and was opposed to what has been called “Franciscan voluntarism.” During the same period an-

other movement with an intellectualistic tendency appeared, based on the adoption by Albert* the Great of the Aristotelian notion of “conjunction” (Christian Aristotelianism*). This movement developed in two directions: on the one hand, Latin Averroism, notably in Jean de Jandun (naturalism*); on the other, the German Dominican school, notably in Meister Eckhart and Dietrich of Freiburg (Rhineland-Flemish mysticism*). We will leave it to one side: in fact, it chiefly emphasizes philosophical happiness without implying an intellectualistic theory of beatitude*, whereas the debate between intellectualism and voluntarism in the 13th and 14th centuries grew primarily out of theological questions.

If intellectualism experienced a rapid expansion in the 13th century, this was by virtue of its privileged relation to Aristotle, whose works were then being rediscovered in the West, particularly the theories of choice (*Nicomachean Ethics* III. 5; VII. 5), happiness (*Nicomachean Ethics* X. 7), and knowledge (*De Anima* III. 5). However, it is not in the 13th century that the birth of intellectualism should be situated, nor can it be thought of solely with reference to Aristotle. The first appearance of intellectualism in the strict sense can be traced back to Greek patristics with the intellectualism

(in the broad sense) of Platonic thought and its adoption in a Christian context.

3. *Theological Issues*

The affirmation of the primacy of the intellect over the will in created beings raises two principal questions: the basis of liberty in higher beings and the nature of the movement toward beatitude.

a) Liberty. A theory of liberty is intellectualistic if it bases free will on the intellect and not the will. The will is directed toward absolute good. But nothing in this life fully realizes the good, because all good is mixed with evil. This gives rise to two consequences: on the one hand, a finite thing can never be desired except as a means to the end, and it thereby escapes the necessity that binds the will to its end; on the other hand, no finite thing provides the will with the means necessary for it to reach its end. Free will therefore functions in the determination of means to the end. But for intellectualism, this choice of means does not derive from the will; it is the intellect that convinces the will to will a certain object, and it does so according to the way in which it conceives that object, presenting it to the will as something that is good or evil. The apprehension of the object therefore determines the desire or repulsion that the will experiences with respect to that object, for the will does not have the power to reject what the intellect perceives to be good or to desire what the intellect perceives to be evil. Intellectual knowledge thus plays the role of determining cause in the specification of the acts of the will. The will, according to the intellectualistic conception of free will, is not free to choose what it wills, neither its end nor the means leading to that end. It is the object, insofar as it is known, that causes the determination of voluntary acts; free will is thus based on the indeterminacy of judgment and not on an indeterminacy of the will itself. Historically, it was Boethius's commentaries on Aristotle that provided the Latin tradition with an intellectualistic conception of liberty as *liberum de voluntate iudicium* (PL 64. 492–93). This conception, for which free will resides in reason, was adopted and developed by Abelard* and Prevotinus of Cremona, and then by William of Auxerre, before flowering in Thomas Aquinas and Godefroid of Fontaines. Some Averroists adopted it for their own, notably Siger of Brabant. In the list of theses condemned by Étienne Tempier in 1277, propositions 151 and 162 to 166 correspond to this position (naturalism).

b) Nature of the Movement toward Beatitude. In the treatment of this question, the intellectualistic theory asserts that the essence of beatitude resides princi-

pally in the action of the intellect and not the action of the will. Many arguments can support this affirmation of the intellectual character of ultimate happiness. One can rely first on the superiority of the intellect as a faculty. It will then be said that the intellect is a nobler faculty than the will because the will is an appetite and because every existent is endowed with appetite, whereas intellect belongs only to higher beings; it is therefore more fitting that the process by which those beings attain their particular end be produced by the intellect. It also happens that the intellectualistic conception is based on the comparison of acts of intellection and volition in relation to the end sought, namely, union with God. By reason of the unifying capacity of those acts, a hierarchy is established between the faculties. The matter at issue is important. Does the most perfect access to divinity derive from knowledge or from love? Any answer to this question requires a determination of which of the two acts most fully unites us with its object and a decision as to whether or not love may be conceived as that which makes it possible to go beyond the limits of knowledge. According to the intellectualistic answer, the act through which we are most intimately united with God is an act of intellection, and love does not go beyond knowledge. Like any act of will, love proceeds from knowledge and receives from it its limits; since its object is external to it, it falls short of the kind of union with the object that can be produced by intellection. The Aristotelian theory of an intellect that becomes everything makes it possible in this context to describe union with God in terms that ensure the superiority of intellection.

It should be noted that this argument does not necessarily apply to intellectual knowledge *in via* (intellectualism is not necessarily a naturalism, although naturalism is its constant temptation). The question of the primacy of intellectual knowledge over love is indeed complicated when a distinction is established between the historical reality—*in via*—and the eschatological reality—*in patria*—of both of these acts. Thus, an intellectualistic understanding of beatitude is perfectly compatible with the argument according to which the ecstasy of love in this life goes beyond any intellectual knowledge of God (Gregory* of Nazianzus, Pseudo-Dionysius*), or even with the affirmation of a primacy of the will within the limits of this life (Thomas Aquinas).

The intellectualistic understanding of beatitude often relies on John 17:3, and it appeared as early as the Greek Fathers, particularly Justin (apologists*), Clement of Alexandria, and Origen*. It was later developed in the Latin tradition, particularly by Abelard*. And in the 13th and 14th centuries it was

under the influence of the theme of theoretical happiness in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* that the intellectualistic understanding of beatitude achieved prominence both in the faculty of arts (philosophy) and in that of theology. Whether happiness and beatitude were identified with one another (as for Pseudo-Peckham and Arnoul de Provence), or philosophical happiness was conceived of as an imperfect beatitude (according to Thomas Aquinas, Boethius of Dacia, and Gilles d'Orléans), the Aristotelian description of theoretical happiness provided the model in both cases according to which beatitude was conceived, and it was principally concerned with the intellect. It was particularly on this point that the Franciscan Guillaume de la Mare attacked Thomas Aquinas in his *Correctoire*, and the Franciscan order officially gave him its support in 1282, prohibiting any reading of the *Summa Theologica* that was not supplemented by the reading of the correction. Godefroid de Fontaines and the literature of the "corrections of the corrupter" came to the defense of Thomas and strengthened intellectualism. And the question was again at the heart of the debate that, in the early years of the 14th century, would oppose Meister Eckhart and Gonzalvo of Spain, both directly and indirectly (a debate in which "Eckhart's reasons" were clearly intellectualistic). Points of opposition were nevertheless not always as clear-cut as it may seem, as evidenced precisely by Eckhart's conception of beatitude (which involved love as well as knowledge) or, in the Dominican John of Paris (Quidort), a conception of reflexive vision that attempted to combine intellectualism and voluntarism.

4. Intellectualistic Theory Applied to God

A certain manner of understanding divine liberty and power (omnipotence*) also deserves to be called intellectualistic. But intellectualism in this context can no longer signify a primacy of the intellect over the will, which moreover are not really distinct in God. It offers an answer to the question of the relation between divine will and the good or the relation of divine intellect and the possible. On the one hand, does the good impose itself on God or does God determine the good? On the other hand, does the possible impose itself on God or does the power of God go so far as to determine the possible? These are the questions.

In one discussion, it seems that only Hugh of Saint-Cher and Descartes* asserted that God determines the possible. Thomas Aquinas, Duns* Scotus, William of Ockham (nominalism*), and later Leibniz* all asserted in one way or another that the possible does not depend on God.

The other discussion has patristic origins, and Augustine already provided an understanding of divine

action according to which God does not determine the good and cannot do evil. This notion recurs in Abelard, directing God's action toward the best so that God cannot do evil, but above all can do only what he does. This extreme argument, which limited God's liberty in the name of his wisdom, was condemned by the Council of Sens. The principal writers of the 13th century, notably Thomas Aquinas, belonged to this tradition. It was only in the 14th century, with speculations on divine power, that the contrary argument was developed, particularly in the nominalist movement. For this argument, divine will does not have to submit to the good, because that will on the contrary determines the good (voluntarism*). Leibniz returned to the "intellectualistic" tradition by allowing the principle of the best to provide a norm for divine action.

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See also *Beatitude; Liberty; Love; Vision, Beatific; Voluntarism*

Intention

(a) *Definition.* Intention is the goal that one hopes to achieve through an action. Since aims may be immediate or long term, and since an action may serve multiple purposes, intention refers to the entire structure of meaning that informs the action. Intention is one of the crucial aspects of the morality of an action.

(b) *Thomas Aquinas's Analysis.* In the summary of the process of action (ST Ia IIae, q. 12), intention comes first, since all action begins with the desire to reach some end. This ending may be general and true for all people, such as health, or it may be particular to the individual, such as an ambition to become an architect. In the latter case, a genuine intention results in preparations in order to make the goal a reality. Intentions are not vague wishes.

Both an end and the means (or series of means) leading to it are included in intention. The end can be realized only through particular means, and the means need to be chosen in relation to the desired end in order to initiate the execution of the action. Thus, intention includes both the overall purpose or "ultimate" end, such as health, and the object of the act or its "nearing" end, such as the preparation of a remedy (ST Ia IIae, q. 12, a. 3). Desire for an end is properly a matter of the attraction of the will to what appears good (Ia IIae, q. 8, a. 1), but the intellect also plays a part, since there is no intention without knowledge of its end (Ia IIae, q. 12, a. 1, ad 1).

(c) *Modern Viewpoints.* Modern moral ideas tend to take the goodness of the end as a sufficient condition

for the goodness of the act, forgetting that intention includes the means toward this end. With utilitarianism* especially, one can easily justify actions from which good results are expected. Another tendency has been to make the end subjective (Pinckaers 1961). This results in the substitution of vague sentiments, such as benevolence, rather than actual goods (good*) as objects of intention.

(d) *"Double Effect."* The nature of intention can be better understood when considering the problem of an action with two effects—one good and one bad—and distinguishing between the intended good effect and the evil result as a side effect. Thomas* Aquinas evokes this possibility while discussing legitimate* defense (ST Ia IIae, q. 64, a. 7): a person has the right to defend him- or herself against unjust attack by using force, perhaps even killing the assailant, but the prime intention must be to save one's own life and not to harm the attacker, plus the use of force must be proportionate to the situation.

Further treatment of this idea, especially by Vitoria (c. 1485–1546), Suarez*, and Jean de Saint-Thomas (1589–1644), resulted in the formulation of the following criteria: 1) the act itself must be good, or indifferent; 2) the good effect must be what the agent intends; 3) the good effect must not be produced by the evil effect; and 4) a proportionately grave reason is required for allowing the evil effect. Some think that this is in continuity with the doctrine of Aquinas (Mangan 1949), others that it is a significant departure from his

thought, especially on the part of Jean de Saint-Thomas (Ghoos 1951).

Critics of double effect argue that if the evil consequences are foreseen, then they are intended, because the agent knows that the act, freely performed, will have these results (e.g., that attacking a group of terrorists will result in the death of some civilians). The negative effects are part of the action and must certainly be considered part of the agent's responsibility. The objection fails to realize, however, that intention involves more than awareness, since it is a matter of the will, and that it is not the results of an action that determine its moral value.

The distinction between formal and material cooperation in sin also illuminates the role of intention: material cooperation consists in coming to the aid of a criminal or a sinner, without condoning the sin, while formal cooperation involves sharing the intention and agreeing with the purpose of the sinner.

Despite the risks of self-deception or rationalizing (in particular, in time of war), the importance of inten-

tion must be acknowledged to judge the value of an act. The double effect doctrine may seem artificial or casuistic in a bad way, but the idea of providence must imply a similar analysis. The presence of evil in the world is explained by making a distinction between God's intention of creation, which is that the universe should be good, and the foreseeable yet unintended results that are sin and evil.

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See also **Conscience; Legitimate Defense; Ethics**

Intercession. See **Indulgences; Prayer**

Intercommunion

(a) *Definition.* *Intercommunion* means, most generally, Eucharistic fellowship between distinct churches, but its meaning has become more restricted in the course of the 20th century. At the First World Conference on Faith and Order (1927), the term *complete intercommunion* was synonymous with "full communion" or "complete collaboration" (*Acts* 453, 462). Already, however, the term "intercommunion" was criticized as "ambiguous" (462).

Spurred by the lack of mutual admission to the Eucharist* by the Churches, the Faith and Order Com-

mission conducted a major study of intercommunion in preparation for the Third World Conference in Lund (1952). In its definitions, the conference distinguished "intercommunion" from "full communion." Intercommunion exists where two churches that are not in the same confessional family agree to permit their communicant members to take part in the holy supper or to participate in the Eucharist freely in one or the other church. In most cases, intercommunion involves intercelebration, that is, that "the ministers can celebrate the sacrament...freely in one or the other church"

(*Rapport* 1952). At the request of the World Council of Churches, in 1968, the commission again took up the question of intercommunion and (redefined it) simply as “reciprocal admission” to the (Eucharist) by two or more churches (1971).

This definition corresponds to the present use of the term *intercommunion*. Intercommunion exists between two churches that officially and reciprocally admit members of the other to partake of the Eucharist. It may be strengthened when the churches not only admit but reciprocally invite members of the other churches to participate or when the churches urge their members to accept such an invitation.

(b) *History and Present Situation.* In the patristic church, intercommunion without full communion was understood as fellowship with schism* or heresy* and, therefore, was rejected (Elert 1954). Lutherans and Calvinists maintained a similar policy following the Reformation; intercommunion was a sign of unity* in the faith, which it presupposed (Baillie-March 1952). The Orthodox churches, the Catholic Church, and some conservative Protestant churches still maintain such a policy.

In the first half of the 20th century, the question of intercommunion was central to certain bilateral agreements that stopped short of full communion, such as those between the Church of England and the Scandinavian Lutheran churches. In the middle of the century, restricting communion to members of one's own church or of churches in full communion with it was increasingly questioned in many Protestant churches (see, e.g., the studies of *Koinonia* [1957] by the Lutheran churches in Germany and *Intercommunion Today* [1968] by the Church of England). In 1954, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches recommended the admission of all baptized Christians to the Eucharist, regardless of their church of origin. Many Lutheran and Anglican churches adopted similar policies. Explicit declarations of intercommunion among these churches thus lost much of their significance, since intercommunion is implicitly practiced between all churches, in the sense that their members are admitted to communion. Declarations of intercommunion have remained significant as elements within more comprehensive declarations of communion (e.g., the Leuenberg Agreement [1973] among Lutheran, Reformed, and United churches in Europe).

(c) *Theological Problems.* Intercommunion raises the question of the relation between the eucharistic fellowship realized by reciprocal admission to the Eucharist and the unity that exists or is sought in the church. Churches that admit all baptized Christians to the Eu-

charist sometimes argue that such general intercommunion is demanded by the unity given in baptism. Such general intercommunion expresses the unity of all Christians more than the unity of any specific churches.

Official declarations of intercommunion, especially when accompanied by joint celebrations of the Eucharist, are sometimes seen as foretastes of a fuller communion that the churches are seeking (see the Meissen Agreement [1991] between the Church of England and the Evangelical Church in Germany).

For the Orthodox churches, the Eucharist, as the sacrament of the unity of the church, is incompatible with division. *Inter-communion* is a contradiction in terms, for *communion* points to the unity of the church while *inter-* indicates a plurality of churches. The Eucharist thus can be rightly celebrated and received only by those within the unity of the church.

The Catholic Church also insists that “eucharistic communion” is “inseparably linked to full ecclesial communion” (*Ecumenical Directory*). Intercommunion is therefore rejected in principle. Nevertheless, because a real but imperfect communion is acknowledged with all baptized Christians, with other “ecclesial communities,” and especially with the Orthodox churches, the Catholic Church is open to “a certain communion *in sacris*, and therefore within the Eucharist,” with the Orthodox churches (*CEC*, 1399), and accepts to administer the sacraments in case of emergency to “Christians who do not have full communion with the Catholic Church...provided they manifest Catholic faith in these sacraments and are properly disposed” (ibid. 1401). Since it does not recognize the validity of the sacrament of ordination (priesthood*) in the Protestant churches, “eucharistic intercommunion with other communities is not possible for the Catholic church” (ibid. 1400).

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See also Church; Communion; Eucharist; Unity of the Church

Interpretation. *See* Hermeneutics

Intertestament

1. Terminology

The term *intertestament* covers both a period, from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D., and a literary production. But, with the discovery of the manuscripts of the *Astronomical Book* of Enoch found in Qumran, the period has been extended back to the late third century B.C. From the literary point of view, the intertestament brings together, over the course of these centuries, heterogeneous Jewish writings representing the interpretation of the biblical revelation in different circles. Some reject the term *intertestament* as being too ambiguous and prefer to speak of “ancient Jewish literature.” For: 1) Chronologically, the intertestament is not located “between” the Old Testament and the New Testament but encompasses the two eras. 2) The idea of the two testaments is Christian. Judaism prefers to speak of “Jewish literature between the Bible and the Mishnah” (Nickelsburg 1981). 3) This title itself is equivocal, because the concept of Bible as a completed book presupposes a canon* of Scripture, a definition that, for Jews as for Christians, took place only at the turn of the second century, precisely when the intertestament came to an end.

However, Mosaic law* was very early considered the quintessential book (Sir 24:23) and the focal point of divine revelation, seconded by the writings of the prophets (prophet* and prophecy) (*see* the Greek prologue to Sirach; Mt 5:17). Different Jewish circles supplemented this central axis with various writings that made it possible for them to specify their particular orientations. Following the model of the ambient Hellenistic culture, Jewish culture of the period tended to fix its history and traditions (tradition*) in writing, in order to identify itself in relation to other groups and nations. Some of these books entered into the canon of Hellenistic Judaism (Tobit, Judith, the additions to Daniel and to Esther). Others were excluded from the Jewish canon but accepted by certain churches

(church*): for example, the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (Chaldean Church) and the *Ethiopian Enoch*. As a consequence the border between “biblical” and “intertestamentary” writings has become porous. It is difficult to specify further here the fruitful concept of intertestament and to retrace “the social space of the book” (A. Paul, *EU* 15. p. 996), everything through which, in its diversity, the ancient Jewish world evidenced its manner of receiving and interpreting the divine revelation to which it lay claim.

2. Stakes

Christian exegesis* long paid special attention to the influences that inserted the ancient Church into the currents of the Roman Empire: Hellenistic-Oriental religions, Gnosticism, Mandeism. Christianity was given a privileged status as the child liberated from its Jewish matrix, and the literature of the intertestament served as a foil demonstrating the superiority of Christian ideas over Judaism. For its part, Jewish scholarship removed from the intertestament, as heterodox, everything that rabbinic Judaism had later excluded (Urbach 1979), namely the apocalypses and pseudepigrapha (or apocrypha*) of the Old Testament. By the beginning of this century Christian writers had the intuition that the roots of Christianity were better explained in terms of its Jewish origin than by Hellenistic or Mandaean influences. From this came the literary monument of Pfarrer P. Billerbeck, sponsored by H.L. Strack: *Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash* (1926). But the documentation assembled by Billerbeck was often from a period too late to shed valid light on the New Testament. Similarly, later popularized works, which were based on Talmudic documentation from the fourth and fifth centuries, tended to make Jesus into a rabbi (*see* Tassin 1986).

Current interest in the intertestament has its sources in a methodological reorientation. Whereas rabbinic

Judaism subsequent to the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 appears as a unified world, earlier Judaism, by contrast, was polymorphous and scattered. Its diversity is shown both in ancient translations of the Bible and in pseudepigrapha. This Judaism was a mosaic that included the pharisees, the sadducees, the Essenes, the Baptists, and the movement of Jesus, not to forget the Jewish diaspora that set out to translate the biblical message in the Hellenistic environment.

The Jews of the first century did not read the Bible as a bare text but spontaneously supplemented it with interpretive traditions that were ramified in the profusion of the intertestament. For example, the exultation of Abraham in John 8:56 is understood in the context of a Judaism that, in Genesis 17:17, changes the incredulous laughter of the patriarch into joy; hence the translation of the Targum of Onqelos: "He rejoiced." But this theme had already been emphasized in the second century B.C. in the book of Jubilees (14:21, 15:17, 16:19; Grelot 1988 *RdQ* 49–52, 621–28). The intertestament thus requires critical work that attempts to date the development of traditions (Vermes 1961) in order to distinguish those that are capable of restoring the Jewish background to the New Testament. *La nuit pascale* (Le Déaut 1963) represents a model of this method.

3. Works

It is impossible to enumerate and classify here all those works that have in common their Jewish origin and thereby are to be distinguished from the New Testament apocrypha. They include the apocalyptic* literature and the pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. This latter category includes books that "rewrite" the Bible, such as the *Apocryphal Genesis* (in Aramaic) found in Qumran, and texts providing elaborations on biblical characters, such as *Joseph and Aseneth*, a religious romance of love and knighthood. But other works do not fit into these categories. Based on the narrative of the martyrs in 2 Maccabees 6–7, the Fourth Book of the Maccabees (first century A.D.) sets out an argument, influenced by Stoicism, on the value of "pious reason*" in ordeals. Some religious narratives are not directly rooted in biblical texts. The *Letter of Aristeus to Philocrates* (second century B.C.) recounts the legendary origin of the Septuagint. The Third Book of the Maccabees is a novel, frequently confirmed by the hazards of history, about a persecution suffered by the Jews of Egypt. An entirely different category is represented by the works of Philo of Alexandria (born c. 15 B.C.) and Flavius Josephus (born 37 A.D.).

The study of the intertestament must deal with three problems:

a) *Dating*. Works are often anonymous or conceal their author behind a pseudonym; for example, the *Sentences* of Phocylides (first century A.D.), a gnostic poem that "transposes into Greek form elements of Jewish wisdom*" (Grelot 1994). As for the apocalypses, they mask events by the use of hermetic images. In short, the attempt to date documents as earlier or later than the beginning of our era is sometimes impossible.

b) *Revisions*. By the end of the first century A.D., Judaism's interest in this abundant literature had been superseded by its interest in wisdom literature. Christians, on the other hand, preserved these texts in which they saw, according to the title of Eusebius of Caesarea, a providential *praeparatio evangelica*. The documents were thus transmitted with Christian interpolations, like the Trinitarian doxology that concludes the *Testament of Abraham*. But the identification of Christian additions is often a matter of debate, with respect to the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Levi, 18:6–8; Judah, 24:2), for example.

c) *Language of Transmission*. Many of these writings, particularly in Alexandria, were composed in Greek, a language that assured them a wide audience, even if there is some question as to whether this literature was read outside Jewish circles (Tcherikover 1956, *Eos* 48, 169–93). Because of their transmission by Christians, some books from Palestine have survived only in the languages of the early Churches: Latin (*Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo*, *Testament of Moses*), Syriac (*2 Baruch*), Ethiopian (*1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*), or Slavonic (*2 Enoch*). But fragments discovered in Qumran have restored the antiquity and the original language of several of these works—Aramaic for *1 Enoch* and Hebrew for *Jubilees*.

4. Elements of Classification

With no claim to establishing a precise classification, we can distinguish five groups:

a) *Works of Philo and Josephus*. They are precisely situated in time, and if they did not exist we would know almost nothing of Jewish history from the end of the Persian era to the end of the Jewish war* against Rome (Philo: *In Flaccum. Legatio ad Gaium*; Josephus: *The Jewish War*; *Autobiography*). In addition, Josephus sets forth his understanding of Mosaic institutions and biblical history (*Antiquities of the Jews*, *Against Apion*). In doing so he echoes interpretive readings and, through cross-references, confirms the antiquity of documents that are less definitely dated. Similarly, beneath the allegorical surface of Philo's commentaries ancient Palestinian traditions emerge.

For example, in Exodus 28, Philo, Josephus, and the Targum agree in giving an allegorical interpretation of the high priest's costume.

b) Qumran Writings. They present not only an outline of a particular sect. The biblical manuscripts of the caves now clarify certain discrepancies in ancient translations. The biblical commentaries of Qumran (*pesharim*) and other anthologies and *Testimonia* confirm the convergence of biblical interpretations known from other documents with respect to eschatological expectations: the prophets Elijah, Moses, and the Messiah (messianism/Messiah*), and even the use of the figure of Melchizedek in the Epistle to the Hebrews (replaced by Elijah in the rabbinical tradition).

c) Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. They include the apocalypses, legendary histories (*3 Maccabees*), instructions in narrative form (*Jubilees*), and poetic works: in Alexandria, for example, Ezekiel the tragedian presented the Exodus of the Hebrews in the form of a tragedy in verse. There is also a large number of "Testaments": The fiction is that a biblical hero on his deathbed brings his heirs together and gives them his spiritual testament. This genre influenced the New Testament (Lk 22; Jn 13–17; 2 Tm; 2 Pt). It is still difficult to evaluate the size and identity of the public reached by the pseudepigrapha.

d) Targums. Targums, on the other hand, reached the broad audience of the synagogues. These are versions of the Bible in Aramaic, at first oral, in the framework of the liturgy, for listeners who no longer understood Hebrew. The Targum often uses paraphrase. Even though the versions from synagogues that we have are late and require critical analysis, this type of writing is ancient, since a Targum of Job has been found in Qumran (4Q₁₇Job). The traditions transmitted by Targums were addressed to the popular audience of the synagogues, who spontaneously rejected interpretations that were too sectarian or too innovative. They thereby reflected a kind of consensus that flourished in rabbinic literature.

e) Midrashim, the Mishnah, the Talmud. In ancient synagogues and in schools, explicit interpretation of the law was often entrusted to "wise men" or "scribes" (Mt 23:2). Between the beginning of our era and the early third century, they made up the generation of *Tanna'im* ("tutors"). Their scholarship was nourished by the intertestament and enriched it in return. It took concrete form in *midrashim* (commentaries) of the Pentateuch, of which only later recensions survive. It led to the publication of the Mishnah (see Strack-Stemberger 1986). With the Mishnah began a sifting

and a codification of the proliferating traditions of the intertestament. What had been merely "the traditions of the elders" (Mt 15:2) became the oral law, supposed to have come from Moses himself, endowed with an authority equal to that of the written law, and later to be set out precisely in the Talmud.

A new history begins at that point. On the one hand, Christians collected the writings of the intertestament. In the framework of their mission to the Gentiles they appreciated the pseudepigrapha that attempted a "Greek explanation" of biblical revelation to the Jewish diaspora. As for the Palestinian traditions of interpretation of Scripture, Christians placed them at the service of faith in Jesus the Messiah. On the other hand, in the wake of the destruction of the temple, Judaism abandoned Jewish-Hellenistic writings, considered too dispersed and thereby dangerous for an identity that had to be reconstructed, and it selected in the intertestament legacy everything that might focus believers on the Torah and the Torah alone. In short the intertestament was a breeding ground that made it possible for the disciples of Jesus to identify themselves as a "Church" and for ancient Judaism to become rabbinic Judaism.

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Apocrypha; Bible; Book; Canon of Scriptures; Gospels; Holy Scripture; Israel; Judaism; Law and Christianity; Translations of the Bible, Ancient

Investiture Dispute. *See Lateran I, Council*

Irenaeus of Lyon

c. 140–200

1. Biography

a) Life. We have little information on the life of Irenaeus. Everything we know derives from his still extant works or from lost works of which a few extracts were preserved by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Irenaeus came originally from Asia, perhaps from Smyrna. In any event, it was there, while still a youth, that he listened to the teachings of Bishop* Polycarp, who was already an old man (*HE* 5, 20, 5–8). The difference in age between Irenaeus and Polycarp and the date of the latter’s martyrdom* (155/156 or 167) make it possible to place Irenaeus’s birth about the year 140.

Without our really knowing the reasons why, except that there were very strong links between the Christian communities of Lyons and Asia, Irenaeus came to Lyons. He was already there at the time of the persecutions of 177, in the course of which Pothinus, the first bishop of this town, met his death. Irenaeus succeeded him before his journey to Rome as the community’s representative in order to bear a letter to Pope

Eleutherius (*HE* 5, 4, 1). Irenaeus also interceded with Pope Victor (189–98) about the currently disputed question of the date of Easter. We know nothing more about Irenaeus, not even the date of his death. The traditional story that Irenaeus was a martyr dates from the beginning of the 6th century.

b) Works. Irenaeus wrote several works in Greek, the list of which figures in Eusebius (*HE* 5, 26; 5, 24; 5, 20, 1). Only two among them are extant. Composed of five books, the *Elucidation and Refutation of Pseudo-Gnosticism* exists in its entirety only in a Latin translation from the fourth century. Apart from fragments in Armenian and in Syriac, we also own the Armenian translation of books IV and V. Only fragments of the Greek text remain, especially for book I. This work is better known under the title of *Against Heresies* (*Adversus Haereses*), given by certain manuscripts and by its first editors. The second work, entitled *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, is extant in a sixth-century Armenian translation only.

Can these two works be dated? In the conclusion of the *Demonstration*, Irenaeus referred to his *Against Heresies*. That might indicate that the two works were written at the same time, or, more probably, that the *Demonstration* followed closely on Irenaeus's first treatise. Moreover, in *Against Heresies* (3, 3, 3), Irenaeus mentioned Victor's predecessor Eleutherius as bishop of Rome*. It can therefore be confirmed that at least the first three books of *Against Heresies* were written before 189, the first year of Victor's reign as bishop.

The *Demonstration* is a catechesis that interprets the sacred history of Israel as a prophecy (prophet* and prophecy) of Christ Jesus. On the other hand, his *Against Heresies* is a theological treatise in which Irenaeus refutes three main types of heresies: Ebionite, Marcionite, and Gnostic. In reality Irenaeus himself had only met with Gnosticism. But the systematic nature of the treatise encompasses in fact the whole theological domain and uses the heresies as counter-proofs in order to expound the Catholic doctrine.

2. Irenaeus's Theology

a) *Sources and Theological Method.* Irenaeus had read his predecessors. But he worked above all on the Scriptures, and it was in the biblical domain that he was most influenced by these predecessors. From them he got the *Testimonia*, those collections of more or less enlarged scriptural quotations. Also from that source, particularly from Papias, Polycarp, and Justin, he inherited a method of interpreting the Scriptures. And he borrowed Justin's way of understanding the Old Testament as a prophecy of the New Testament. The Old Testament tells of God's deeds undertaken in favor of the men of that time and of the words that He transmitted to them, and these deeds and words prefigure and herald Christ Jesus. The Scriptures form a whole: the New Testament is the realization of the Old Testament (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 26,1).

The Scriptures and their interpretation by the Church are the nucleus of the doctrine preached, particularly during baptismal instruction; they are summed up by the rule of faith and the rule of truth (*Adv. Haer.* 1, 9, 4). Scriptures and doctrine belong to the tradition of the Church, a tradition that is inseparable from the apostolic* succession of the bishops. According to Irenaeus, the Church cannot in fact exist except when grouped around the bishop, who transmits the tradition and guarantees the apostolic origins of the Church by reason of his belonging to a line going back to the apostles (apostle*) (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 3, 1). Of course the episcopal structure (structures*, ecclesial) of the Church was established only in the second

century and contrasts with other more ancient forms of organization. But, having become acquainted with this structure only through Polycarp, Irenaeus had no doubt that it went back to the apostles.

Meditation about faith takes place in the Churches governed by bishops by means of the tradition that they transmit and the control that they ensure. For Irenaeus, those who do not recognize the episcopal organization are therefore outside the communion of the Church: those are the heretics whom he refutes.

Citing no Marcionite documents, Irenaeus likely borrowed from Justin his presentation of Marcionism* and arguments to refute it. As for Gnosticism, Irenaeus had read several Gnostic texts, especially those by the Valentinians. Here too he completed his information with the help of Justin's works.

In the state in which it has come down to us, the documentation collected by Irenaeus did not always allow him to make an exact and thorough interpretation of Gnosticism. Despite that, he was capable of perceiving the theological issues, which set the Church against Gnosticism. It was primarily a question of man's salvation, in his soul and in his body (soul*-heart-body), and consequently of the salvation of the material world. The controversy bore correlatively on the status of the Son and the Holy* Spirit in relation to the Father*; they depend solely on him and have no share in the divine plan. In this context, Irenaeus used in a personal way several ideas found in the Scriptures and in his predecessors' works, in which moreover they played only a restricted role. He used them to explain the Church's teaching on salvation and on God. Theology then becomes a meditation on the divine plan of salvation that leads to the mystery of God.

b) *Plan of Salvation.* God had a plan and he realized it: that is what Irenaeus calls the "economy," or plan of salvation, a central idea in his theology. God created man in order to have him share in his life (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 14, 1). Creation was undertaken for man's sake in order to bring about the meeting of God and man (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 7, 4; 4, 20, 4; 5, 29, 1). Irenaeus took from the Scriptures different ways of presenting salvation.

A prime notion is that of the adoptive filiation (Gal 4:4-6) that Christ Jesus brings to men through the gift of the Holy Spirit (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 6, 1; 3, 19, 1). Another derives from the theme of man created in the image of God and in the likeness of God (Gn 1:26). Body and soul, man is naturally the image of God by reason of his corporeity (*Dem.* 11). To put it more precisely, man is the image of the Word made man Christ Jesus, the prototype of humanity brought to full perfection by the gift of the Spirit, and therein lies the resemblance (*Adv.*

Haer. 5, 6, 1). The presence of the Spirit thus perfects the modeling of man, who increasingly comes to resemble Christ.

These examples show that the plan is divided into two phases. The first phase starts with the beginning of the world and prepares the incarnation of the Word of God; during the second phase, humanity is brought to its perfection. The transition from the first phase to the second is accomplished by the Word of God made man, Christ Jesus. That is what is called the recapitulation, *anakephalaiósis*. It carries out the transformation of the whole human race, not only of the future generations until the end of time, when creation itself will be transfigured (*Adv. Haer.* 5, 36, 1.3), but also of preceding generations as far back as Adam* himself (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 23, 1; *Dem.* 78).

Through this recapitulation Christ Jesus gathers all men together. He also conquers the devil, sin, and death, and frees men from them (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 18, 7). Finally he brings man to perfection by giving him the Holy Spirit (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 33, 8; 5, 20, 2). During the second phase Irenaeus no longer links the plan to the Son but to the Spirit. After the ascension and the gift of the Spirit, Christ in fact works through the Holy Spirit that lives in man. The Spirit prolongs Christ's work. It makes men new by freeing them, by gathering them together, and by perfecting them (*Dem.* 6). Irenaeus thus perceives two characteristics of the effusion of the Spirit. On the one hand, Christ spread the Spirit throughout the whole human race (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 17, 1–2; *Dem.* 6 and 89). On the other hand, this Spirit is transmitted to believers by means of baptism (*Dem.* 42) and the Eucharist (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 18, 4–5 and 5, 2, 3) in order to create the Church as its visible abode (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 24, 1).

c) Christ's Recapitulation of Adam: Creation and Salvation. Adam was the first man. But he is also a collective figure, for all men have their origins in him through succeeding generations, and for this reason they compose a single humankind (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 33, 15).

Similarly, Christ Jesus is the origin of this new humanity, that is, of this spiritual humanity. In his work of recapitulation, Christ is in the same situation as was Adam with regard to the human race, for he was modeled from virgin clay as Adam had been. "Just as the first man to be modeled, Adam, received his substance from a still virgin and intact clay...so, recapitulating Adam in himself, the Word's generation, which is the recapitulation of Adam, very fittingly came about by means of the still virgin Mary*" (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 21, 10).

But, placed in an identical situation, Christ Jesus succeeded where Adam had failed. Indeed, the disobedience of the first model—which subjected man to sin,

death, and Satan—corresponds to the obedience of the second one, who freed man from those powers (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 18, 6–7; 3, 19, 3; 5, 21, 3). All the same, Christ also confers divine life, which Adam could not impart. Insofar as Christ is man and Word, he could on the one hand be tested and obey the Father, and on the other hand be glorified for thus transmitting divine life to the other men (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 20, 2).

Lastly, just as Adam transmitted to man his nature and his state of sin, so Jesus gave to man the Spirit, which perfected that nature and corrected that state by destroying sin. The relations between Adam and Christ thus express the link between creation and salvation. Adam gives his humanity to the Son by means of Mary, but it was for the sake of Christ's advent that Adam had been created. Salvation is the completion of creation.

d) Christ Jesus, the Origin and the Purpose of the Divine Plan. The plan for salvation presupposed the existence of a Savior and the existence of men to be saved. But for Irenaeus, the Savior does not exist because there are men to be saved—on the contrary, there are men to be saved because the Savior pre-exists. "It is for this reason therefore that Paul calls Adam himself the 'pattern of the one to come' " (Rom 5:14); because the Word, the artisan of the universe, had sketched out in advance, in order to prepare the ground for himself, the future plan of the human race in its relation to the Son of God, with God first of all establishing natural man in order, quite obviously, that he might be saved by spiritual man. Indeed, since he who would be the Savior pre-existed, it was necessary that what would be saved should also come into existence, for this Savior had to have a *raison d'être*" (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 22, 3).

In this text (see Fantino 1994), Irenaeus established that the relation between Adam and Christ is the same as the one between natural man and spiritual man (1 Cor 15:45s.), the one between the pattern and the perfected reality. Thus Adam is the pattern of Christ Jesus, who came in order to realize in himself perfect humanity (Rom 5:14). But, as Paul teaches (1 Cor 15:42–48; quoted in *Adv. Haer.* 5, 12, 2), what existed first was the pattern, Adam, the natural man, transformed later into the perfect man, a spiritual man. Therein lie the two phases of the plan. The creation of humanity comes first, secondly comes its perfection through the incarnation of the Son, Christ Jesus, who transmits the Spirit to the whole human race. But it is only at the end of time that the full gift of the Spirit will come, an event linked to the Resurrection and to the advent of the Kingdom of the Father. The key to the whole plan manifested in creation is not the exis-

tence of evil or of sin but of the person of the Savior. Sin is incorporated into the realization of the plan, which in effect includes the freeing from sin (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 19, 3; 3, 23, 1).

Irenaeus does not identify evil with sin. In fact he recognizes two types of evil. Physical evil arises from the nature of the creature, for it is due to the opposition of contrary forces or to the sequence of events that obey natural laws: what seems to be an evil in the short run is a good on the cosmic (cosmos*) scale (*Adv. Haer.* 2, 25, 2). The second type of evil, moral evil, is sin. It arises from the jealousy of Satan and of certain angels* who lured Adam into transgression (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 23; *Dem.* 16). Following Johannine writings, Irenaeus considers sin to be a condition of human existence rather than a collection of individual actions.

In his prescience, God had foreseen the angel's sin as well as that of man, including the consequences, and he had sanctioned it (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 20, 1; 3, 23, 1; 4, 38, 4; 5, 36, 1). But putting man to the test is part of God's original design (*Adv. Haer.* 5, 24, 3; *Dem.* 15). For it is through experience that man acquires knowledge and therefore knowledge of good and evil (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 37, 6–7; 4, 38, 4).

e) Plan Reveals the Mystery of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Basing himself on the plan, Irenaeus reflects on the salvation that God bestows on man and on the means by which he grants it to him. Since the Son and the Spirit indeed transmit God's life to us, it is because they themselves possess this life. They are therefore not created, their existence is not "part of the divine plan."

In this way Irenaeus makes a clear distinction between the uncreated, which is God, and the created. The created consists of the temporal world, both visible and invisible. The Father, the Son, and the Spirit, co-eternal, belong to the uncreated. For Irenaeus, the divine nature of the Son and the Spirit is revealed by the Scriptures. But, although the Son and the Spirit are uncreated, nonetheless they have their origin in the Father.

Irenaeus states precisely the difference in origins of the Son and of the Spirit on the one hand and of creation on the other. The created arises out of the divine will. The Son and the Spirit themselves sprang from the substance of the Father. The act of generation established the unity of the Father and the Son as well as their difference. Insofar as the Spirit is concerned, Irenaeus is more reserved. He follows the Scriptures. The Spirit is co-eternal with the Father and the Son, not a

creature but sprung from God, and remains forever with the Father and the Son.

The unity of the three lies not only in the realm of action but also in the realm of being. Irenaeus recognizes God as a single substance. But he expresses this unity through recourse to images, for example, God's hands, the Son and the Spirit, are always attached to him (*Adv. Haer.* 5, 28, 4). This procedure stresses the constant presence, and indeed, the eternal one, of the Son and the Spirit alongside the Father.

However, Irenaeus acknowledges a difference among the three with regard to the plan and attributes a specific role to each. Here again he follows the tradition of the Scriptures. The Father decides, the Son acts, and the Spirit orders and makes grow, but there is only one divine action (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 20, 1; 4, 38, 3). That interpretation is in harmony with the fact that Irenaeus's theology is founded on the plan. Indeed, it is through this plan that men accede to the Father, to the Son, and to the Spirit, who realize the plan by creating man and by leading him to his destiny: that of meeting and loving God, that is to say, the three. In theology, the transition from the plan to the mystery of God is therefore quite natural for Irenaeus, because it corresponds to the progress of the plan, which is a road to God.

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See also Apologists; Creeds; Gnosis; History; Salvation

Israel

1. Old Testament and Judaism

a) *Terminology.* “Yisrâ’êl” is among the proper names most frequently used in the Masoretic text (2,514 times). In Genesis it is essentially applied to the patriarch Jacob after his change of name, interpreted in Genesis 32:29 (*see* Hos 12:4) as “to fight with God*” (however, in theophoric names, God is subject: “God combat,” “God reign”). Thereafter, “Israel” almost always designates the people* (“sons of Israel” 637 times, “House of Israel” 146 times, “land of Israel” 17 times). They are designated in other ways such as “my people,” “Jacob,” “Jerusalem,” “Zion,” “you,” and so forth.

From the beginning the ethnic and religious aspects are inseparable: “Israel” designates a league of tribes united not only by political ties but also by the covenant with the Lord, who in turn is defined by the relationship with his people: “God of Israel” (201 times; a total of 231, with other analogous syntagms: “the Holy One of Israel,” etc.).

This remains constant down through the vicissitudes of history. After the schism of the ten tribes (1 Kgs 12:20–33), “Israel” designates the northern kingdom and “Juda” the southern kingdom (1–2 Kgs, *passim*, particularly in political contexts). This may be a return to an older terminology (1 Sm 17:52, 18:16; 2 Sm 2:8–11, 5:1–12, 19:41–44, etc.). Nevertheless, in more explicitly religious contexts the name Israel still indicates the people as a whole, particularly in Prophets (prophets* and prophecy) (Is 1:3, 8:18; Am 3:1, 9:7...) and Deuteronomy.

After the period of exile, the people is practically reduced to the tribe of Juda, and the name “Jew” (Hebrew *yehôûdî*, Aramaic *yehôûdây*, Greek *ioudaios*) becomes current. The term is used by foreigners (Ezr 5:1; 1 Macc 11:30), and also by Jews themselves, in an ethnico-political context (1 Macc 12:3). But the name Israel does remain, taking on an even more decisive religious value (Is 44:5; Ezr 2:2; Neh 9:1s.; Sir 36:11; Jdt 4:1, 4:8; 1 Macc 13:26).

b) *Theological Dimension.* Despite an ever-increasing emphasis on individual responsibility (*see* Ez 3:16–21, 18:1–32), the collective aspect maintained its place within the development of the theological reflec-

tion with its new reading of the past from the angle of the history of salvation* (choice*, promise*, covenant*), and the projection toward an eschatological future. The promises are not delivered to a group of individuals but to the people as such. Sometimes, in the perspective of judgment, the people is limited to a faithful “remnant” (Is 1:9, 4:2–6, 10:20–23; Jer 21:7; Am 3:12, 5:15, 9:8f.; Mi 4:7, 5:6f.; Sg 3:12f., etc.); and sometimes it is also globally included in salvation, which will be the gratuitous work of God’s power (omnipotence*) (Jer 31:31ff.; Ez 36:26f.).

The reconstitution of the twelve tribes becomes an object of prayer*, an eschatological hope* (Ez 47:13–48, 35; Sir 48:10; Ps Sal 17). With the image of the pilgrimage* to Zion, the nations are brought within the perspective of final salvation without loss of their respective identities (Is 2:1–5, 25:6–9, 45:14–25, 60:1–22, 66:18f.; Zec 14:16).

2. New Testament

a) *Jesus and Israel.* In announcing the kingdom of God, Jesus* did not proclaim a general ethico-religious message but rather the eschatological fulfillment awaited by Israel. His constitution of a group of Twelve shows he knew that he was sent to constitute the eschatological Israel (Mt 19:28 par.; Lk 22:28ff.). He spoke of the salvation of pagans using Old Testament images of the pilgrimage and the banquet (Mt 8:11; Lk 13:29). Jesus came “born under the law*” (Gal 4:4), to interpret it “as one who has authority*” (Mt 7:29), but he definitely did not abolish it or abrogate any part of it. He accomplishes his service in favor of the circumcised (Rom 15:8), limiting his activity and that of his disciples to the “lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Mt 10:6; though these expressions may be post-paschal they are inspired by the historical reality). His encounters with pagans (Mk 5:1–20 par., 7:24–30 par.; Mt 15:31; Jn 12:20ff.) or Samaritans (Lk 17:11–19; Jn 4:1–42) were never more than occasional.

Jesus interpreted his own mission within the horizon of the faith of Israel and at the same time gave the definitive interpretation of Israel. This is what he did when he connected the Kingdom to the mystery of his own person and demanded an adherence of uncon-

ditional faith, beyond all other criteria and every other authority, from those he called to “follow” him. In this sense, even if the movement he initiated might on a purely sociological level seem to be one among many “reform movements” that arose within Judaism at that time, it cannot be reduced to that. Subsequent developments, no matter how gradual and tortuous—conflicts with the Jewish authority, constitution of the Church as a distinct religious community, evangelization of pagans, going beyond the law—originated not only in the paschal event but also in the pre-paschal teachings and practices of Jesus.

b) New Testament Reflection on Israel. The lexical framework is formed by the more solemn and religious term *Israel* but includes others such as *Jews*, *the people*, *this generation*, and so forth. As for the historical framework, New Testament writings reflect the experiences of Christian preaching to Jews and to pagans. Never more than partially successful with the Jews, it ended in failure and rupture, whereas it was increasingly successful with the pagans and ended up making them (at least in tendency) the majority and giving them a dominant position. These writings also reflect the attempt at theological interpretation of such experiences in order to situate them within God’s plan. This reflection, which was never fully systematic (and is not so in Rom 9–11), puts multiple categories into operation and leads to various perspectives.

The author who undertook the most profound approach to the question was Paul, precisely the one who placed the greatest emphasis on the newness of Christianity. His path led him from a more conflictual vision (1 Thes 2:14ff.; Gal 3–4) to a more positive, serene position in Romans 9–11. Without denying his whole theological vision of the law and the cross, or (better) in giving to gratuity the statute of fundamental instance, he crowns these chapters with the announcement of the final salvation of all Israel.

Some writings—Mark and even more so John—bear hints of a polemical vein against the unbelief of Judaism (always meaning, concretely, the Judaism contemporary with Jesus and the first communities). Coexisting with these positions are others that recognize the special role of Judaism in the history of salvation (Jn 4:22, 11:51f.), though there is no attempt at synthesis. Matthew is more systematic, being dominated by the polemical schema of “substitution”: “the kingdom of God will be taken away from you, and given to a people producing his fruits” (Mt 21:43). Once the priority of Israel has been respected by the earthly Jesus (even if the end result is negative), the Crucified immediately sends his disciples to the nations (Mt 28:16–20) with no further mention of Israel.

He simply refers in passing to the future salvation of this people (Mt 23:29).

In Luke-Acts, on the contrary, the Crucified asks the disciples not to go far from Jerusalem, to bear witness to him above all in that city (Lk 24:46–49; Acts 1, 5). Evangelization (mission*/evangelization) will gradually embrace the gentiles as well (Acts 11:18): “a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to your people Israel ” (Lk 2:32). These pagans will be received, not to take a place that has been left vacant but to fulfill the universalist prophecies (prophet* and prophecy) of the Old Testament. The unbelief of the Jews is not considered final (Lk 13:34f.; Acts 1:6ff.). Its historical consequence will be that, after a certain point, preaching can only be addressed to the pagans (Acts 13:46, 18:6, 28:125). This is how the historical reconstruction of Luke is turned into a legitimation of the missionary Church.

Apocalypse also distinguishes between the chosen people of the tribes of Israel and the chosen people of the nations (Rev 7:1–10; see also 21:12, 24). However, in other writings the distinction seems to pertain only to the past (Eph 2:11–18); it is never mentioned in Hebrews.

Nonetheless, the role of Israel in the history of salvation is not denied, as it would be later, for example with Marcion (Marcionism*). There is no affirmation of an absolute rejection of the Jewish people as such, nor of its pure and simple replacement by the Church. The term always keeps its originary meaning, the idea of the Church as “the true Israel” being basically foreign to the New Testament, even if some texts seem to move in that direction. Galatians 6:16, *Israël tou Theou*, remains controversial. 1 Corinthians 10:18 *Israël kata sarka* is not the opposite of a “spiritual Israel.” If the salvific prerogatives of certain Jews are sometimes denied (Rom 9:6f.; Jn 8:31–58; Rev 2:9, 3:9), those of the people in general are never denied. They are sometimes extended to Christians, called the descendants of Abraham (Gal 4:21–31), people of God (Acts 15:14), chosen lineage, holy people (1 Pt 2:9), people of the diaspora (Jas 1:1). These expressions do not yet have the meaning that they would subsequently acquire, that of an exclusion of the historical Israel.

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See also **Apostle; Choice; Church; Eschatology; Jerusalem; Jesus, Historical; Judaism; Messianism/Messiah; Paganism; Pauline Theology; People of God; Promise; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Universalism**

J

Jansenism

Strictly speaking, Jansenism is a heresy* defined by several condemnations of the post-Tridentine magisterium*. More generally it designates a movement within Catholicism* that denies the need for these condemnations, limits their impact, and especially seeks to present an image of Christianity that is faithful and loyal to its origins and its objectives.

1. Jansenist Heresy

In the beginning there was *Augustinus* (1640), the book by Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), professor of Holy Scripture at the University of Louvain, then bishop of Ypres. The elaboration of this Augustinian synthesis on salvation and grace was a counter-offensive intended to weaken the impact of the Molinist opinions (Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism) that were being taught by the Jesuits. Its publication contravened the pontifical decisions that forbade disputing these themes after the closing of the *De Auxiliis* assemblies. This was the cause of an initial wave of condemnations, the principle one being the bull *In Eminenti* (1642, published 1643). This censure was explicitly presented as something that did not call into question the privileged status of Augustinianism* with regard to these discussions.

This matter had reverberations in France, where it took on the politico-religious complexion that would mark it to the end. A friend of Jansen, Jean du Vergier de Hauranne, the abbot of Saint-Cyran (1581–1643), had a major influence, advocating Catholic reform

based on the model of the early Church* (in writings under the name of *Petrus Aurelius*) and a spirituality of inner renewal. He turned a monastery of Cistercian nuns, Port-Royal, into an influential center for these views. Disagreeing with Richelieu's Protestant covenants, he also opposed the cardinal on the subject of penance* (notably the question of attrition, or imperfect sorrow for sin). He charged Antoine Arnauld (1612–94), one of his disciples as well as a Sorbonne doctor, with researching the Church's ancient tradition with regard to penance and the Eucharist*. The essay met with some difficulties in Rome* (*La Fréquente Communion*, 1643). Arnauld also came to the defense of *Augustinus*, which had been publicly attacked by Isaac Habert, the canon of Paris.

It was through the upholding of theses at the Faculty of Theology of Paris that Jansenism found its first expression. By asking the Faculty to take a stand (1649), the syndic Nicolas Cornet sought to impede the reinforcing of a strict Augustinianism among the younger generation. The Faculty doctors were too divided to act and five propositions out of the seven noted in *Augustinus* were subjected to the judgment of the Holy See by several French bishops. They were judged heretical and were condemned by the apostolic constitution *Cum Occasione* (May 31, 1653, *DS* 2001–7).

The five propositions were as follows:

- 1) Some of God's commandments (Decalogue*) are impossible for the righteous who want and

- strive to follow the forces they currently have; they also lack the grace that would make them possible.
- 2) In the state of fallen nature, one can never resist internal grace.
 - 3) In order to fall or not in the state of fallen nature, the liberty that excludes the need is not required; the liberty that excludes the constraint is enough.
 - 4) The semi-Pelagians acknowledged the need for a prevenient interior grace for each specific act (action*), even for the act of initial faith, and they were heretical in that they wanted this grace to be such that the will could either resist it or obey it.
 - 5) It is semi-Pelagian to say that Jesus Christ is dead or that he shed his blood generally for all men.

The Roman consultors had proceeded, as they usually did, by focusing on the meaning contained in the examined propositions. They situated their condemnation in the continuation of the teaching of Trent* but added necessary clarifications. Only “the first of the propositions can be found textually in the *Augustinus*, the four others correctly express doctrine that it does contain, extensively elaborated upon and developed in many forms” in the book (the *Brière* 1916). Could this condemnation fall on Augustinianism? Innocent X had explicitly dismissed it. Moreover, it was Jansenius’s book, mentioned twice, that provided the context for the condemnation. And it was the connection between the propositions and the book that reignited the debate, provoking new interventions. Against Arnauld and his friends, who acknowledged the abstract condemnation (the *right*) but denied the *fact*, that is to say the *verbatim* presence of the propositions in the book, Pope Alexander VII followed the French clergy and asserted that they were found here and that they had been condemned in the sense of the author (*Ad Sanctam*, 1656, *DS* 2010–12); he later imposed a decree in this line (*Regiminis Apostolici*, 1665, *DS* 2020). The decision was important since it affirmed the Church’s authority to establish “dogmatic facts” and in this way demanded the consent of faith. Arnauld was censured by the Paris Faculty of Theology* for his *Seconde Lettre à un Duc et Pair* (1655), in which he was held to have revived the error condemned in the first proposition and also to have shown disrespect by denying the fact. He was dismissed along with a great number of doctors (1656). This decision was due more to political than to religious considerations, and it gave rise to the successful counter-offensive of Pascal*’s *Lettres Provinciales*.

Pascal was able to shift the debate to the domain of moral theology and with some success since both the Paris Faculty and the Roman Inquisition then published severe condemnation of latitudinarian propositions (1665–66; *DS* 2021–65, 1679, *DS* 2101–67).

Negotiated in 1669 to resolve Gallican tensions that resulted from various Roman condemnations, the “Peace of the Church” should have marked the end of the dispute, because it implicitly acknowledged the distinction by authorizing a “respectful silence.” This was a fruitful period for the Port-Royal circle, which devoted itself to biblical, patristic, and liturgical renewal in an anti-Protestant perspective (*Perpétuité de la Foi*, Bible de Sacy). However, the tensions endured and even grew as a result of underground initiatives on both sides. They were given a particular boost in 1704 with the publication of a “matter of conscience” that was submitted to the Paris Faculty of Theology and that concerned inner submission to the pontifical condemnations. As a result of this, previous judgments were reiterated (*Vineam Domini*, 1704, *DS* 2309), and especially the censure expressed in the constitution *Unigenitus* (1713) of 101 propositions extracted from the *Réflexions Morales* by Pasquier Quesnel, one of Arnaud’s disciples (*DS* 2400–502). This last condemnation showed that Jansenism had, by that stage, taken on a new meaning, since in terms of grace (prop. 1–43) it added an extreme conception of the role of theological charity (prop. 44–93) as well as of the origin and character of the powers within the Church (prop. 94–101). The Roman text nevertheless lacked clarity, and qualifications applied *in globo* were susceptible to varying interpretation. Sizable and highly vocal, resistance to *Unigenitus* exposed real differences within French Catholicism (call to council, 1717). It gave rise to a new condemnation, *Pastoralis officii* (1717), as well as to vigorous intervention on behalf of the political powers. This resistance gave its specific identity to a certain “Catholic Enlightenment” (*katholische Aufklärung*), which won sympathy during the 18th century in most Catholic countries. In the Netherlands it triggered the schism of the Old Catholics (1724). The acts of the synod* of Pistoie (1783), censured by the bull *Auctorem Fidei* (1794), provided the most complete example of this Jansenism, elements of which could also be found in the Church that issued from the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790). *Auctorem fidei* thus condemned (*DS* 2600–700) errors concerning the constitution and the authority of the Church (prop. 1–15), the natural and supernatural condition of man (prop. 16–26), the sacraments (sacrament*) (prop. 27–60), cult* (prop. 61–79), religious figures (prop. 80–84), and the convocation of a national council (prop. 85).

2. A Reformed Catholicism

Recent historiography has tended to highlight the nuances and differences that prevent us from considering Jansenism as a coherent whole. On the dogmatic level it is most certainly true that Jansenius's intransigent Augustinianism can hardly be detected in his later disciples. A. Arnould himself, in his successive explanations, eventually criticized Thomist thought. There are, however, common elements, beyond political components, that express a particular vision of Catholicism, and of precisely the kind that the Roman condemnations sought to prohibit, directly or indirectly, with measures that had serious repercussions on the evolution of faith and Christian practice in general.

a) An Austere and Demanding Christianity. This is the popular image of Jansenism, according to which it is seen as contradicting the kind of easygoing, extroverted Catholicism associated with the Society of Jesus. But the real opposition was less clear since the rigorous quality of Jansenism was in fact characteristic of the Catholic reform in general. But it remains true that wherever the Jansenists had influence, a distinctly severe notion of salvation was subscribed to. This notion was linked to a rejection of the Molinist concept of grace and, especially, to the accent placed on the primacy of love of God and on the efficacy of divine help. It is this rejection of "sufficient grace," noted as early as the publication of *Augustinus*, that justifies the anti-Jansenist accusations summarized in the five propositions.

b) The insistent demand for "truly" sacramental practice—mainly penance and the Eucharist—but also a liturgical one, with a request for active participation that was at the origin of several translations (Scriptures, missal, breviary) and a revision of the liturgy* (neo-Gallican liturgy).

c) An ecclesiology of participation, and therefore a profound and active resistance to an authoritarian type of Church. This perspective, already expressed by Saint Cyran, was only amplified in reaction to magisterial decisions. Corresponding to a particular form of Gallicanism*, it was abused in a millenarian, convulsionary, figurist way. These somewhat reactionary tendencies, reminiscent of the early church, were nevertheless combined with progressive elements, which explains the transformation of Enlightenment thinkers.

d) Individualism. By opposing their meaning to the judgment of the pope, the champions of *Augustinus*,

and then of *Réflexions Morales*, expressed the rights of conscience and Christian liberty.

e) Rationalism.* By stressing the rational character of their process, they set in motion an important discursive process, distinguished by logic (*Logique de Port-Royal*, 1662) and Cartesian philosophy.

f) Political Theology. By finally justifying their disregard of the laws of the state, they developed a new and influential theology of authority.

Jansenism disappeared with the turmoil of the Revolution, even if the term was widely used by the 19th century Ultramontanes to disqualify their austere, Gallican adversaries.

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See also Augustinianism; Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Gallicanism; Grace; Pascal, Blaise; Ultramontanism

Jealousy, Divine

“[T]he Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God” (Ex 34:14). This title for YHWH, used in texts of major theological significance (such as the Ten Commandments: Ex 20:5 and Dt 5:9) is one of the most peculiar descriptions of the God of Israel*.

In Hebrew the concept of jealousy is expressed by the root *qn'* (83 times); the noun *qin'â* is very frequent (43 times), the adjective “jealous” is rarer and used exclusively of YHWH (*qannâ'*: Ex 20:5, 34:14; Dt 4:24, 5:9, 6:15; *qannô'*: Jos 24:19; Na 1:2). The Septuagint usually translates this as *zêloô* (or derived verbs), with nouns and adjectives from the same root; whence our terms *jealousy* and *zeal*. The NT has substantially adopted the terminology of the Septuagint, but the concept of “divine jealousy” is infrequently used (2 Cor 11:2; Heb 10:27).

The term *jealousy* designates a powerful passion (Sg 8:6), where love and hatred seem to be united and inseparable (Eccl 9:6). Its various manifestations are neither all morally acceptable nor all applicable to divine behavior.

Among human beings jealousy is often the equivalent of *envy*: the desire to possess that which belongs to others, something that causes hatred and violence (Gn 26:14, 30:1, 37:11; Prv 27:4; Sir 30:24, etc.). As such, the Scriptures (Scripture*) condemn this emotion (with particular emphasis in the NT: Mt 27:18; Rom 1:29; 1 Cor 13:4; 2 Cor 12:20; Gal 5:20f, 26, etc.) and obviously do not ascribe it to God.

In marriage jealousy is displayed as possessive love, with the connotation of suspicion with regard to the beloved (Nm 5:14–30) and vindictive anger against the rival (Prv 6:34). There are very few biblical passages in which such a meaning of the term is applied metaphorically to God (Ez 16:38, 16:42, 23:25) Those that do so are to be found within the context of parables, where the history of the covenant* is described in terms of a conjugal relation. There, jealousy is identified with the punitive wrath that punishes adultery.

Finally, words with the root *qn'* describe the feeling of passionate and exclusive love for a given object. In modern languages this nuance of meaning is conveyed by the word *zeal*. However, this does not adequately express the character of all-encompassing passion,

with a touch of extremism, that belongs to the biblical concept. Human beings can feel this kind of exclusive jealousy for God (Ps 119:139; Jdt 9:4; Rom 10:2), for the temple (Ps 69:10; Jn 2:17), for the law (1 Macc 2:27, 50; 2 Macc 4:2; Acts 21:20, 22:3; Gal 1:14), and for the good (Ti 2:4; 1 Pt 3:13). The Scriptures praise those who uncompromisingly choose the cause of God by giving themselves utterly to it—individuals such as Phinehas (Nm 25:11ff.; 1 Macc 2:54; Si 45:23), Elijah (1 Kgs 19:10, 14; 1 Macc 2:8; Si 48:2), Jehu (2 Kgs 10:1), Mattathias (1 Macc 2:2ff.).

It is this last aspect that will enable us to understand the meaning of “divine jealousy,” God’s exclusive and irrevocable attachment to Israel as his partner in the covenant (Renaud); and it is through this concept that the Bible* expresses the unique and absolute nature of YHWH as the God of Israel. Indeed the concept of a “jealous God” appears to be the foundation of the law of monotheism* and provides the justification for the absolute prohibition of other gods or the worship of idols (idolatry*) (Ex 20:5; Dt 4:24, 5:9, 6:15, 32:16, 32: 21; Jos 4:14, etc.).

Divine jealousy implies two apparently contradictory aspects. The first is the most obvious and the most widely attested: “I the Lord your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children to the third and the fourth generation of those who hate me” (Ex 20:5). This is a punitive expression in which jealousy and anger appear as closely related (Dt 29:19; Ez 5:13, 35:11, 36:5f.; Na 1:2; Sg 1:18, 3:8, etc.). This aspect shows how serious the choice of adhering to a “holy” God is (Jos 23:16, 24:19) and how the betrayal (or “hatred”) of his love is the equivalent of death (Dt 6:15, 29:19).

The other aspect of the jealousy of God must not, however, be neglected: “but showing steadfast love to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments” (Ex 20:6). In this case jealousy signifies election (choice*), an overwhelming and eternally faithful love. The term is applied above all when Israel finds itself in conditions of extreme need, and then the jealous love of the Lord of armies will come down upon the enemy (Is 26:11; Zec 1:14f., 8:2), while revealing itself as mercy and salvation to God’s own people (Is 9:6, 37:32, 42:13, 59:17, 63:15, etc.).

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See also **Anthropomorphism; Choice; Love; Universalism; Wrath of God**

Jerome. *See* **Scripture, Senses of; Translations of the Bible, Ancient**

Jerusalem

The name *Urusalim* is attested from the time of the pharaoh Amenophis IV (1377–58). It appears in the Old Testament as *Yeroûshâlaim*, in the Septuagint in the Semitic form *Ierousalèm*, carried over into the New Testament where the Hellenistic form *Hierosoluma* is also used.

a) Old Testament. Jerusalem is not named in the Pentateuch but simply suggested by anticipation as “the place that he will choose, to make his name dwell there” (Dt 14:23). Genesis 14 probably connects Jerusalem to that “Salem” whose king Melchisedek collected the tithe of Abraham (Ps 110:4; Heb 7:4). David made Jerusalem his city (2 Sm 5:9; Is 22:9, 29:1)—until then it had been in the hands of Jebusite Canaanites (Jos 10:1; 15:63). He installed the ark there and acquired the land where Solomon would build the temple (1 Kgs 6–8). Jerusalem then became the religious center of the whole of Israel, though competing sanctuaries were built in the northern kingdom. The old Canaanite name “Zion” designated the Temple Mount. Jerusalem was besieged by the Assyrians in 701 (2 Kgs 18:17–19, 35), captured by the Babylonians in 597, and reconquered and sacked in 587 (2 Kgs 24:10–25, 21).

The city was reconstructed when the Israelites came back from exile during the Persian era (Ezr 3–6; Neh 3–6) and remained the great center of attraction for the Jews of the Diaspora and those of Palestine (Is 60; Ps 122, 126).

“Daughter of Zion” had been a collective name for exiles welcomed (Is 1:8) into a neighborhood of Jerusalem after the destruction of the northern kingdom, but from the time of the exile it came to denote the population of the entire city (Is 52:2, 62:11; Zec 9:9).

Dominated by the successors of Alexander the Great and in the grips of internecine conflicts, the city was liberated by the Maccabees (reconsecration of the temple that had been profaned by Antiochus IV: 1 Macc 4:36–59). Then, under the Romans, Herod restored the former splendor of the city and the temple.

The major testimony of the extraordinary symbolic and theological charge with which the city became invested is found in the Books of Isaiah and Psalms (Ps 46, 48, 84, 87 and within the “psalms of ascent,” 122, 125–129, 132–134). The prophets (prophet* and prophecy) reproach the personified city (Is 5:3, 40:2, 9...) for its crimes (Is 1:21, 5:3, 28:14; Jer 2:1–3, 5), predict its ruin (Is 29:1–7; Jer 7:1–8, 3, 11:11, 26), and

weep for it (Lam). But, in the name of an irrevocable promise (Is 28:16, 54:6), Jerusalem will see the eschatological paroxysm of triumph and rejoicing (Is 51–54, 60–62; *see* oracles of salvation added to the Old Testament after the misfortunes of Israel: Is 1:25ff., 4:4ff., 6:13; Jer 3:14–18). The wife that YHWH cannot repudiate, and mother of every man and of all other pardoned cities (Ez 16:53–63), Jerusalem, washed and purified, will become once more the permanent abode of God* (Ez 48:35) and of justice, the meeting place of the surviving remnant of the nation (Ez 4:2f; 1 Jn 3:1–5), the chosen focal point of a vision of salvation for all nations (Is 2:2ff., 65:18–21; Mi 4:1ff.; Hg 2:6–9; Zec 14:16; Tb 13). The fate of Jerusalem is bound to the fate of the Davidic dynasty (Ps 132; Is 22:9; Jer 33:15f.) or detached from it (Ez 45:7–46, 18).

b) New Testament. In the Gospels Jerusalem is first and foremost the site of the Passion* and Resurrection* of Jesus Christ. Jesus* fulfills the prophecy of Zechariah 9:9 by his final entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21:5; Jn 12:15), and here the symbolic, prophetic name “Daughter of Zion” is used. John differs from the synoptics by punctuating his whole narrative with various passages that see Jesus in Jerusalem, from 2, 13–25.

In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem frightens the disciples who are following him. Jerusalem becomes the place of suffering and death (Mk 10, 32 *Sq*). By contrast, Galilee becomes the place of resurrection and revelation (14:28, 16:7). Matthew modifies Mark: at the death of Jesus the rebellious city becomes the “holy city” (Mt 27:53 prepared by 4:5), where the chosen are for a time raised from the dead and appear to a great number of people.

Jerusalem is highly significant in the book of Luke. He brings together all the apparitions of the risen Jesus (Lk 24) in one single day in Jerusalem or nearby, making that place the unique center of the redemptive drama, the city of the Risen One, the site of the Pente-

cost and the beginnings of the Church (Acts 1–7), where God’s plan is fulfilled, where Jesus realizes salvation in history. The community of Jerusalem (Acts 15; Gal 1:18–2, 10) is the starting point of the mission* (Lk 24:47; Acts 1:8) and the center of the new faith* (Acts 2:14, 5:28, 9:21).

It seems on several occasions that Luke deliberately uses the Hellenistic form *Hierosoloma* to designate the unfaithful city; the form is used in Acts 21–23 when Paul is arrested and held in Jerusalem before being transferred to Caesarea (La Potterie 1981 and 1982, Sylva 1983). The fourth gospel (Gospels*), written after the destruction of Jerusalem, uses this form. In Galatians Paul uses the Semitic form for a positive or negative *symbolic* meaning (4, 25f.) and the Greek form for a *geographical* meaning (1:17, 2:1).

In Hebrews 12:22, Christians approach Mount Zion and the city of the living God, the celestial Jerusalem (Semitic form). Greater than the city of David and prefigured by it, Jerusalem is the “celestial Jerusalem” called “new Jerusalem” in Revelation 21:2, permanently, indestructibly founded by God (Heb 11:16, 12:22); Jerusalem comes down from heaven next to God (Rev 21:2, 10–27). It reveals the true nature of the Church as the people* of God, both body and city.

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MAURICE CARREZ

See also **Apocalyptic Literature; City; Eschatology; Israel; Jesus, Historical; Kingdom of God; Parousia; Rome; Temple; Universalism**

Jesus Christ. *See* Christ and Christology; Jesus, Historical

Jesus, Historical

The term *Jesus of history*, or *historical Jesus*, designates the Jesus whose life can be reconstructed on the basis of “scientifically neutral” historical data. Neutrality is understood here as either in opposition to the intervention of faith—which transforms historical (history*) data—or in opposition to the distortions of time—which alter the memories of witnesses.

I. How Can the Historical Jesus Be Reconstructed?

Due to the scarcity and particularities of available information, methodological problems inevitably arise in any attempt to reconstruct the life and the words of a personage from antiquity. In the case of the historical Jesus the enterprise is both facilitated by the multiplicity of sources and complicated by the nonhistoriographical approach of testimonials.

1. Documentary Sources

We do not have direct access to Jesus’ thought, as no document written by him has been handed down to us. We do have indirect access in the form of five different types of documentary sources (see Meier 1991) from various historical witnesses.

a) Sources from Christian Canon (in Chronological Order). The most ancient of these is the Pauline correspondence (from the years 50–58). In addition to discussing the Crucifixion and Resurrection* of Jesus, Paul reports four pronouncements of the Lord (1 Cor 7:10 and 9:14, 1 Thes 4:16, and Rom 14:14). The apostle seems to be acquainted with some early collections of Jesus’ sayings, which he uses (sometimes without quoting them) in his argumentation. There, the fundamental structure Jesus’ ethics—an ethics of love (as stated in Gal 5:14)—can be found, along with the idea of an essential coherence between his life and death (2 Cor 8:9, Gal 1:3–4, and Rom 3:24–25).

The second source is the so-called *Q* source, sayings pronounced by Jesus as a master of wisdom within the horizon of the eschatological kingdom. Collected in Palestine in the years 50–60, and subsequently lost, these sayings are postulated by the majority of exegetes as underlying the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The third source is the Gospel of

Mark (written about the year 65), which is the first document that integrates the teachings of Jesus into the narrative of his life. Mark draws on the collections of miracles (miracle*), parables (parable*), and sayings presented by tradition, combing them with a narrative cycle of the Passion that had been established in the 40s within the Church of Jerusalem*. The Gospels of Matthew and Luke, which integrate materials from *Q*, constitute the fourth source. The fifth source is the Gospel of John, which includes fragmentary historical information.

b) Christian Apocrypha Sources. The dating and the historical accuracy of the Christian apocrypha, which consists of various extracanonical early writings, are intensely debated. The oldest texts are dated from the middle of the second century, but the traditions they represent may have been taken from archaic forms close to the historical Jesus. This might be true of the Egerton 2 papyrus and the papyrus of Fayoum; the Fathers handed down to us fragments of Judeo-Christian gospels (from the Nazarenes, *Ebionites*, and Hebrews). The Coptic Gospel of Thomas (from about 170) includes 114 sayings, some showing a late Gnostic influence while others are a more sober (therefore archaic?) version Jesus’ word attested by the synoptic Gospels. Certain of these sayings might emanate from teachings of Jesus that were not preserved elsewhere. For example, the Gospel of Thomas 82 reads: “Jesus said, ‘He who is near me is near the fire, and he who is far from me is far from the Kingdom.’ ” A fragment of the Gospel of Peter (from about 150) narrates the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus with motifs close to those of Matthew’s Gospel. The *Protoevangelium Jacobi* (150–200) relates the childhoods of Mary* and of Jesus, in which the theological fictions recounted may indeed contain hints of historical truths. In general, it is preferable to avoid sweeping judgments and evaluate case by case the credibility of material contained in apocryphal sources.

c) Jewish Sources. Jewish sources are extremely rare. This quasi-silence can be explained by rivalry between Jews and Christians and hostility toward the founding hero of the Christian movement. There are about 15 allusions to *Yeshua* in the Talmud; they men-

tion his activity as a healer and his execution (*Baraitha Sanhedrin* 43 a *Abodah Zara* 16 b-17 a). A popular fifth-century text, the *Toledoth Yeshua*, is ironical about Jesus' impurity (purity*/impurity) and contradicts his virgin birth, making him the illegitimate son of the soldier Pentera, who supposedly suborned Mary.

Events are related on an entirely different level in a fragment of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus's *Testimonium Flavianum*, dating from 93–94: "Now there was about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works,—a teacher of such men who receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles.... And when Pilate...had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him" (*Antiquities of the Jews* Book 18, 3:3; see also Book 20, 9:1). Although Flavius Josephus's actual text was glossed over by a Christian scribe, but with a primitive core still possible to attribute to the author, it stands as the sole attestation of Jesus independent of Christianity.

d) *Latin Sources.* Latin historians had more to say about the faith of the first Christians than about their master. The oldest document is a letter from Pliny the Younger to Trajan (about 111–12). This was followed by Tacitus (*Annals* 15:44) and Suetonius (*Life of the Emperor Claudius* 25:4).

2. Problems

Nevertheless, historians have no other documentation so readily abundant or close to historical events on any other figure of antiquity other than the life of Jesus. Although the Gospels were written between 65 and 90 and are based on an oral tradition and collections of sayings or narratives subsequently lost, some of which go back to the 40s, this chronological gap is minimal for ancient historiography.

But major difficulties are encountered in attempts to exploit these sources, which are not firsthand documents or neutral accounts and which do not seek the documentary exactitude demanded of a modern historian. On that count, they are no different from other biographies and histories of Jewish and Greco-Roman antiquity. Ancient historians were, of course, bound by an ethic of precision and verification of facts (see *How to Write History*, written by Lucian of Samosata in about 160). But their writings were also meant to defend a position or a point of view, which led them to select, interpret, and distort the data they collected. Neutrality was not of concern to ancient historiographers, whether Greek, Jewish, or Roman.

Furthermore, the Gospels create an additional problem for historians. Not only is their understanding of

history governed by a confession of faith, but this faith in the glorified Lord is also their very reason for telling the story of Jesus and his disciples. Consequently, the modern historian in search of the historical Jesus studies the Gospels with a documentary perspective that does not coincide with the theological edification that motivated them. It is erroneous to claim that the ancient Church was not interested in setting down the words and deeds of the earthly Jesus. On the contrary, the Church believed that the glorified Lord could not be known outside of the life of the man from Nazareth. But this interest in the story of Jesus was not archaeological; words and deeds were recorded in order to express their meaning for the community at hand. The miracles of healing* were told because they attested to the power (omnipotence*) of God acting through Jesus and because this power reverberated within the community. The words of Jesus were preserved but, because they were recognized as authority, they had to be modified to adapt to the situation of those who received them.

Therefore, scholars looking for the historical Jesus view the narrative framework attributed to the words and deeds of Jesus with suspicion. For example, the *Formgeschichte*, the school of literary genre or form, has demonstrated that this framework is largely a product of the literary activity of the Evangelists. Scholars search for information on the social, cultural, economic, and religious context of the land where Jesus lived, which is missing from the Gospels. This requires knowledge of intertestamentary Jewish writings, Jewish historiography (Flavius Josephus), rabbinical literature (the *Mishnah*), and Roman law. Cultural anthropology* gives an idea of the social fabric of an agrarian society in antiquity (see Crossan 1991).

3. Criteria of Authenticity

Oscar Cullmann is basically correct when he asserts that everything in the tradition of Jesus is secondary because it is all filtered by the faith of the post-Pascal community, and at the same time everything is authentic because whatever changes are made by the community, they are made in order to transmit the message of Jesus (Cullman, 1925). Nonetheless, four primary criteria and three secondary criteria of authenticity are applied in research aimed at going back to the most ancient strata of the tradition of Jesus (see Meier 1991; Fusco in Marguerat 1997).

Primary criteria: 1) Multiple attestation: The words and deeds of Jesus are reputed authentic if they are attested by at least two literary sources independent of each other (*Q*, Mark, Paul, John, Gospel of Thomas, etc.) or in more than one literary form (parable, controversy, miracle, *logion*, etc.). 2) Ecclesiastical diffi-

culty: The words and deeds of Jesus that have created difficulties (historical or theological) in their application within the first Christian communities are retained. 3) Discontinuity: Any tradition is considered authentic if it “cannot be deduced from Judaism* or attributed to primitive Christianity, particularly where Judeo-Christianity tempered the received tradition as audacious or rearranged it” (Käsemann 1954). This criterion should be balanced by the following: 4) Sufficient explanation (or historical continuity): Anything may be attributed to the historical Jesus that helps explain certain incontestable facts about his destiny (e.g., the conflict with the authorities in Jerusalem and his physical elimination) and who helps us understand the diversity of movements derived from him in primitive Christianity (e.g., differing positions on the question of the Torah). The secondary criteria include 5) Coherence: It is postulated that the various characteristics attributed to the historical Jesus should not contradict each other. 6) Language: Words attributed to Jesus must allow for retroversion in Aramaic and have characteristics of Semitic rhetoric (antithetical parallelism, alliteration, divine passive, etc.). 7) Conformity with the Palestinian environment: Words and deeds are accepted if they mention customs, beliefs, legal procedures, commercial and agricultural practices, or socio-political conditions historically attested in first-century Palestine.

The presumption of authenticity demands the joint use of several of these primary or secondary criteria.

4. Framework for the Biography of Jesus

Reconstruction of the life of the historical Jesus operates within a chronological and geographical framework marked out by the testimony of sources and data from Jewish historiography. Researchers agree on the following information:

Birth: the year 4 B.C. (the year of Herod the Great's death).

Death: April 7 A.D. 30, which on the Jewish calendar is Friday, 14 *Nizan*. (Another possible date is April 3 A.D. 33.)

Public activity: three years, mainly in Galilee (miracles, preaching to the humble, infractions against the code of purity); then journey to Jerusalem, where he came into conflict with religious authorities, precipitating the decision to have him put to death.

II. The Historians' Quest

Up to the Enlightenment period, the question “Who is Jesus?” was answered in dogmatic* terms. Precursors of the late 17th-century English school of Deism*

(John Locke et al.) had already expressed doubts on the relevance of this response.

1. Initiator

Hermann Samuel Reimarus's work *Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger*, which was published posthumously by Lessing in 1778, caused an uproar. The author maintained that the teachings of Jesus had been falsified by his disciples, who were disappointed by the failure of their master's pretensions to political messianism. Reimarus founded a new literary genre, the “Life of Jesus,” which was marked by three major characteristics: 1) The biography of the historical Jesus was reconstructed above and beyond evangelical information, and often opposed to it. 2) The alternative between the Jewishness of Jesus and his quality as founder of a new movement was posed, and if one of these was affirmed the other tended to be denied. 3) The works created controversy within the Church; they were reproved as subversive and even blasphemous.

2. The Rationalist Quest

In a first current, the Life of Jesus imposed upon the Evangelical tradition a rationalist critique mistrustful of everything supernatural. H.E.G. Paulus (1828) and Friedrich Daniel Schleiermacher* (1832) accepted the miraculous only when it conformed to a rational explanation. A mythological current—including D.F. Strauss (1835–36), L. Couchoud (1924), and the Tübingen* school (F.C. Baur) saw the Gospels as a symbolic expression of spiritual truths; the historical reality of the life of Jesus dissolves into nothing more than a mythological concretion derived from the religious imagination of the first Christians.

3. The Liberal Quest

The middle of the 19th century is marked by the strong return to the humanity of Jesus. The Gospels are taken as biographical-type documents created out of followers' spontaneous interest. Jesus is seen as a fascinating religious personality whose psychological development needed to be reconstructed. There was a plethora of liberal “Lives of Jesus,” including works by E. Renan (1863), A. Sabatier (1880), B. Weiss (1882), and A. Reville (1897). Renan's study was a brilliant success, which cannot be explained exclusively by its excellent literary quality. Renan succeeded in making an audacious synthesis of the positivist heritage (“everything in the story has a human explanation”) and the imagination and sensitivity of the romantic tradition.

4. The Apocalyptic Quest

In 1906 Albert Schweitzer, summing up two centuries of “Lives of Jesus,” came to a devastating conclusion

on their methodological fragility—every period dressed “its” Jesus in the ideological outfit that suited it. But his combat against the recuperation by modernity of the historical Jesus did not stop there. Inspired by the works of J. Weiss (1901), Schweitzer affirmed that the reign of God, which represents the heart of Jesus’ preaching, should be understood in the Jewish apocalyptic* sense. Jesus was aware of living the imminence of the end of the world and precipitating its coming by his prophetic activity; his ethics is radical because it holds for that short intermediary period remaining before the great upheaval.

The double traumatism provoked by the publication of Schweitzer’s book stopped the flow of liberal biographies by declaring the failure of the attempt to give to modernity a “non-dogmatic” Jesus bearing universal values. But the reestablishment of the image of the historical Jesus in his times was so powerful that it brutally cut him off from the movement derived from him. That position was summed up in the slogan formulated by A. Loisy (1902): “Jesus announced the Kingdom and it is the Church that came.”

5. *The Existential Quest*

The school of literary form, which followed immediately after Schweitzer, saw the primitive Church as the author of the tradition of Jesus, thus destroying every possibility of reconstructing the biography of Jesus. Rudolf Bultmann*’s *Jesus* (1926) illustrates this program, which created an unbridgeable gap between Jesus and the kerygma. Nevertheless, under the impetus of E. Käsemann, a “new quest” took shape in 1953 around the determination to articulate the historical Jesus and the kerygma. This was the line followed by Joachim Jeremias (1947), E. Fuchs (1956), Hans Conzelmann (1959), J.-M. Robinson (1960), Norman Perrin (1967), and particularly Gunther Bornkamm (1956). While recognizing the post-Pascal origin of christological formulations, these disciples of Bultmann gave value to the salvational dimension of the words and deeds of Jesus in which the present offer of the Kingdom is concretized. At the most a mediating function is recognized for the historical action of Jesus, though its christological reach is “implicit.”

6. *Return to the Jewishness of Jesus*

The quest for the historical Jesus is currently split into three currents, whose common denominator is a revalorization of his Jewishness.

One trend is fed by the rediscovery of the Judaism of Palestine beyond the caricatures left to us by history. It underscores Jesus’ participation in the apocalyptic effervescence of his times and his proximity to messianic ideals of the restoration of Israel. From this viewpoint,

integration of Jesus into the Jewish faith is admitted without reserves (Vermès 1973; Sanders 1985).

Conversely, a neoliberal current purges the tradition of Jesus of all apocalyptic elements (which are considered post-Pascal). It recenters the preaching of Jesus on a sapient-type moral message of direct communion with God, material egalitarianism, and spiritual fraternity. On the basis of strong exploitation of extracanonical traditions (Crossan 1991), the provocative preaching of Jesus is assimilated with the teaching of the cynical philosophers (*see* Chilton-Evans 1994).

Proponents of a sociopolitical trend detect a state of social and cultural crisis in first-century Israel. The successive messianic eruptions that marked the period are understood as attempts to reform Palestinian society, and Jesus is placed within this series of protest reformers (Horsley 1985, Theissen 1986).

III. *Jesus: A Unique Figure?*

Palestinian Judaism at the time of Jesus was not monolithic; the sociocultural fabric was varied and multicolored. A profusion of groups, parties, and subversive cells rubbed together, sometimes actively proselytizing. Can Jesus’ group be assimilated with one of them?

1. *Comparable Figures*

Jesus had little in common with the Saducees, the priestly aristocracy, and members of the sect of Qumran, who practiced retreat from the world. The closest comparable figures would have been the rabbi, the zealot, and the messianic prophet (*see* Schubert 1973).

Jesus shared several features with Pharisaic rabbis, including interest in commentary of the Torah (*see* Lk 6:20–49 and accounts of controversies), concern for educating the people, and formation of a circle of students who shared the life of their master. The miracle-making rabbi was also a familiar figure in Judaism (*Honi le Traceur de cercles, Onias le Juste et Hanina ben Dosa* in the first century B.C.; *see* Vermès 1973). It has been shown that most of the sayings in the Sermon on the Mount are closely analogous to the rabbinical teaching preserved in the *Mishnah* (*see* Klausner 1933). But the historical Jesus partially escaped from the model in several ways. His teaching does not enter into the casuistic (casuistry*) game of the rabbis (Mt 5:21–48). The state of disciple was neither voluntary nor transitory but permanent and on call from the master. Jesus was nomadic, unmarried, and expressly committed to breaking away from the family (Lk 14:26) in contradiction with the family ethic and sedentarization of the rabbis.

Jesus is radically separated from the Zealot movement by his ethic of non-resistance to others (Lk

6:27–35). Nevertheless, Jesus' awareness of a crisis brought about by the imminence of the Kingdom, and the active reaction it demanded, explains a rapprochement with the Zealot project, apparently with the consent of Pilate (Mk 15:2–9 and 15:17–20 and Jn 19:19).

There is greater proximity between Jesus and the numerous first-century messianic prophets (prophet and prophecy) (*see* Grelot 1978). John the Baptist animated a popular movement of awakening and baptized people in the Jordan for remission of sins (sin*) (Mk 1:4–5). Shortly after Jesus' death, a Samaritan prophet led a crowd of followers to Mount Garizim, with the promise of letting them see the sacred bowls that Moses had buried there; Pilate's repression was so murderous that it cost him his appointment (Josephus' *Antiquities* Book 18, 4:1–2).

The entire period of the procurators was marked by these charismatic figures who announced the advent of a "sign" that would typologically repeat the story of salvation. These miracles, which were connected with the Exodus or the entry into Canaan, brought back Israel's sacred past. Before he succumbed to Roman repression, Theudas had rallied hundreds to the messianic cause by promising them to part the waters of the Jordan in order to give them an easy passage across it (*Antiquities* Book 20, 5:1). Another prophet of the new times, the Egyptian referred to in Acts 21:38, stirred up the crowd at the Mount of Olives, predicting that they would see the walls of Jerusalem come crumbling down as in the days of Jericho (*Antiquities* Book 20, 8:6).

Jesus—who assembled disciples, preached to the crowds, announced the Kingdom, and worked signs and miracles—can be more easily compared with the messianic prophets than with the rabbis and Zealots. And it would seem that this was his contemporaries' opinion because the Gospels say that the crowd took Jesus for a prophet (Lk 7:16 and 7:39 and Mk 14:65 and 16, 4) or compared him to prophets of old (Mk 6:15 and 8:28). The people asked him for a "sign" (Lk 11:29). The loaves shared in the desert (Mk 6:34–44) are certainly a substitute for manna. Furthermore, the discourse of Jesus included typical elements of prophetic discourse, such as announcements of salvation, threats, predictions, and visions (Lk 10:18).

But what accounts for this profusion of messianic prophets in first-century Israel?

2. Messianic Protest Movements

Close study of sociocultural components of first-century Palestinian society reveals a situation of social and religious crisis (*see* Theissen in Marguerat 1997). Though the country enjoyed the exceptional political stability prevailing in the Roman Empire during the *Principat* (*pax romana*), this facilitated the forceful

strategy of cultural assimilation practiced in the provinces under the Roman yoke. The Pilate government (A.D. 26–36) consistently strove to acculturate Palestine to the values of the empire. Coins were minted with pagan symbols, military insignia with the effigy of the emperor were introduced in Jerusalem, and the treasure of the temple was spoliated to finance public works (*see Antiquities* Book 18, 3:1).

The greatest resistance in the entire empire against this policy of assimilation was in Palestine. On the death of Herod the Great (4 B.C.), a "war of brigands" brought forth numerous messianic pretenders to the throne; the shepherd Athronges crowned himself with the royal diadem before a crowd of enthusiastic followers. When Archelaus was deposed (6 A.D.), Judas the Galilean led a campaign of refusal to pay taxes based on the theology that the land belongs to YHWH. His partisans, fired by this theocratic ideal, were crushed by the Roman legions. Josephus highlighted John the Baptist's strong criticism of Herod Antipas on the grounds of morality and respect for the law (*Antiquities* Book 18, 5:2). It is no surprise that in this tense atmosphere Jesus was interrogated on the emblematic question of taxes due to Caesar (Mk 12:13–17).

The growth of messianism* in first-century Palestine should be understood against a background of resistance against cultural assimilation. This resistance came from the common people because the aristocracy of Judea and Galilee (including the Saducees) were affiliated with the values of the ruling power. The survival of Israel's religious traditions was endangered under pressure from Roman modernism. This caused an effervescence of messianic piety focused on the imperative need to restore the purity of a land sullied by the presence of sinners and the impious. It led to the emergence of charismatic prophets, spiritual adventurers who exacerbated Jewish nationalism under the theocratic ideal of the Kingdom of God.

The activity of the historical Jesus should be situated in a context of the rise of protest messianism. This helps us understand how Jesus aroused the interest of the humble, but it also explains why some were disappointed and rejected him because he did not support rising Jewish nationalism.

3. Jesus, Disciple of the Baptist

The Gospels let us imagine a close affinity with one of those prophets, John the Baptist, whose role was changed by the Christian tradition after the facts. Jesus, like John, proclaimed a message of conversion. The first Christians reversed their roles, making John a precursor of Jesus when in fact he was the master and Jesus the pupil.

The comparisons are obvious. Jesus presented himself to the baptism* of John; this episode is related to the manifestation of the divine filiation* of Jesus (Mk 1:9–11). The public activity of Jesus in Galilee followed that of John (Mk 1:14). The two are often associated, either by Herod (Mk 6:16), by the multitudes (Mk 6:14 and 8:28), or by Jesus himself, who associates his rejection with that of John the Baptist (Mk 11:27–33 and Mt 11:18–19). Jesus honored John and raised him above the Old Testament prophets (Mt 11:9 and Lk 7:26).

The first Christians did not invent these parallels. On the contrary, the proximity of these two prophets of the Kingdom soon became troublesome for the primitive Church, which was in rivalry with Baptist circles. The criterion of ecclesiastical difficulties applies here. Christianity strove to subordinate John the Baptist to Jesus; the fourth gospel is the clearest testimony to this reversal of hierarchy (Jn 1:19–36 and 3:22–4:3).

It is most likely that when John was executed in the year 28, Jesus took over for his master (Mk 1:14). Like his master, he called for conversion and founded the urgency on the proximity of the Kingdom (Mt 3:8 and 4:17). Like John, he destroyed all spiritual security based on belonging to the holy people (Mt 3:7, 12:41, and 8:11–12). His first disciples came from John's circle (Jn 1, 29–42). Jesus did not found a separate community like the Pharisees or members of the sect of Qumran. Jesus addressed himself to all the people and particularly to the outcasts of the official religion as did John (Lk 3:10–14, 7:28–29, and Mt 21:32).

But these close affinities also enlighten Jesus' originality. The very fact that the Baptist movement and the Jesus movement became competitive early in their development indicates that these two theologies, which arose in the same place, were not identical. The first difference is that Jesus was not an ascetic; he did not live in retreat in the desert but favored public places. In fact, he was reprimanded for not fasting (Mk 2:18) and called a glutton (Lk 7:33–34). The second difference, judging from the scattered remnants of John's preaching available to us, is that John's announcement of the conversion seemed to function against a background of the wrath of God. Jesus transformed the Baptist's preaching of judgment and restructured it around a God of grace, breaking the crime-punishment correlation. Jesus' God is a God of limitless love, a God who loves bad people as much as good people (Mt 5:45). The announcement of judgment persists in Jesus' teaching but the primacy of salvation, backed by miracles, is patent; divine wrath is no longer the reason for action. On this major point, the Galilean reversed his master's message (see Becker 1972 and 1996).

A third difference touches on Jesus' statute. Jesus

does not announce, he accomplishes. By acts of exorcism*, he makes the royalty of God intervene as a present rather than a future reality. "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Lk 11:20). John threatened the imminent advent of the God of wrath; Jesus was aware that he accomplished, by his words and deeds, the turn of events called for in the incantations of the messianic prophets. The future of God is so pressing that it has already invaded the present; the Kingdom is "in the midst of you" (Lk 17:21). The man from Nazareth was aware of causing an upheaval in the history of God and men.

IV. The Horizon of the Reign of God

Initiatives taken by Jesus concretize a strong conviction: Jesus was aware of living and, by his words and deeds, hastening the coming of the reign of God. His activity was thoroughly invested in the face of the *basileia tou theou*, a concept that is both spatial (Kingdom of God) and temporal (reign of God), open to the immediacy of an "already there" and the imminence of a "not yet."

1. Insuppressible Urgency

The words and deeds of Jesus were dominated by a sense of urgency. The call to follow him upset the most untouchable solidarities. To follow Jesus was to take leave of his kind (Lk 9:61–62), ignore burial duties for his own father (Lk 9:59–60), and even "hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters" (Lk 14, 26). This disregard for funeral rites and familial responsibilities was a radical departure that was unknown in antiquity, except among the Greek cynical philosophers.

There were other signs of the urgent need to announce the Kingdom. Disciples were ordered to bring neither purse nor sandals and not to greet anyone on the way (Lk 10:4). Pressed by the imperative necessity of saving lives, Jesus healed on the Sabbath* (Mk 3:4 and Lk 13:15). In Jesus' commentary on the Torah, the imperative of loving others outweighed all other rules; even the sacrificial rite at the Temple of Jerusalem had to be interrupted, if necessary, to reconcile with others (Mt 5:23–24). The parables of judgment induced a rapid, decisive reaction in the face of the coming event (Mk 13:34–36, Mt 25:1–13, and Lk 12:42–48 and 16:1–8).

In short, the state of emergency dictated by the imminence of the Kingdom precipitated everything, including the call of Jesus to walk in his footsteps (*sequela Christi*), the healing, the reading of the Law, and the discourse in parables. "Truly I say to you, there

are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the kingdom of God has come with power” (Mk 9:1). Jesus had the conviction that he was living in the immediate proximity of the coming of God who, by his judgment, would eliminate all causes of suffering and assemble his own around him. Nothing else mattered but the call to convert before the coming of the great day of liberation (Mk 1:15).

2. Signs

The conviction of the approaching reign was concretized in acts that have the power of signs—healing and speaking in parables.

There are many traces in the Gospels of Jesus’ miraculous activity. Five different types of miracles are attributed to him: healing (to the point of raising the dead), exorcism (where a man is liberated from the evil spirit that dispossessed him of himself), miracles justifying a rule (for example, forgiving sins), feats of generosity (the abundance of the loaves), and lifesaving on the lake (vanquishing the disciples’ fear).

As a matter of fact, miracles of this sort were known in Jewish writings and Greco-Roman literature. The Romans had healers such as Apollonios of Thyane, the Jews had miracle-making rabbis and messianic prophets who performed feats. The miraculous activity of Jesus was not an exception. Jesus had the same skills as other first-century miracle-makers, and the way he cured a deaf mute (putting a finger in the ears, spitting, and touching the tongue; Mk 7:33) corresponds to common therapeutic practices in antiquity.

Nonetheless, it cannot be concluded that the healing activity of Jesus blended in with commonplace popular medicine of his times. Jesus gave an uncommon sense to his miracles. He made them signs of the reign already there (Lk 7:20–22 and Mt 11:2–5). The distinction between Jesus and other healers in his times lies in his assigning the miracles to the royalty of God. His cures and exorcisms were indications that God’s titanic battle against evil was under way then and there in the combat of Jesus against illness, which disfigures humanity. Sending out 72 disciples charged with the power to exorcise, he exclaimed: “I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven. Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall hurt you” (Lk 10:18–19). By his healing acts Jesus restored the dignity of the human in the order of creation, contesting a religious culture in which evil was taken as a fatality and a divine sanction and the ailing were considered responsible for their suffering (Jn 9:2–3).

Jesus did not invent parables as a form of communication but he made much greater use of them than did the rabbis from whom he borrowed the form. Jesus did

not eschew the charm of tales. The Gospels attribute some 40 parables to him. Why was that so? Parables, by their indirect veiled discourse, are the language suited to the Kingdom; they make it known that an event has taken place in the present, which changes the face of things. But this mystery must be sought out. The parables of growth give to understand that the grandeur of the reign is to be paradoxically discovered in the humble environment of the activity of Jesus (Mk 4:3–9 and Lk 13:18–21). The relation between history and the reign is reversed. History is not hurtling to a brutal end as described by the Apocalypticists; the reign invests the present. The parable gives word to the hidden presence of a God whose surprising initiatives upset the everyday order (Lk 15:11–32 and Mt 20, 1–16).

There is a correspondence between the parables and the activity of Jesus, which can be seen in their biographical dimension. The meals Jesus shared with the sinners emerge in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15, 11–32) and the invitation to the banquet (Lk 14:15–24). His offer of forgiveness (Mk 2:5) appears in the story of the merciless debtor (Mt 18:23–35). His openness to marginal religions comes through in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:30–37) and the one about the Pharisee and the Publican (Lk 18:9–14). The patron of the Workers in the Vineyard justifies his apparent disdain for the law (Lk 20:1–16). Thus the narrative material of the parables, fruit of the free imagination of Jesus, was also steeped in his life, encounters, and conflicts. It verbalizes his experiences and includes a clearly autobiographical dimension.

3. The Choice of Social Solidarity

The Gospels and the Talmud agree in noting the shocking liberty taken by Jesus in his associations. He espoused all social categories marginalized by Jewish society of the times, whether by social or political distrust or religious discrimination.

Jesus did not accept the ostracism of tax collectors for political reasons (Lk 19:1–10 and Mt 11:19) or the Samaritans for religious reasons (Lk 17:11–19). He chose children as the model of openness toward God (Mk 10:13–16). He refused the religious disqualification of women (woman*) by accepting them in his entourage (Lk 8:2–3). He allowed the ailing to approach and touch him and used his healing powers to reintegrate them into the holy people. He spoke out to country people, those people of the land (*ham-ha-aretz*) decried by the Pharisees because they could not respect the code of purity and pay the three tithes levied on every product.

The meal partaken with the reprobates and women of easy virtue was the most stinging sign of Jesus’ re-

jection of all particularism (Mk 2:15–16 and Lk 15:2). These meals, which indicate an option for social and religious tolerance, are set against a background of the much-awaited messianic banquet of the end of times (Mt 8:11–12). They anticipate the banquet of salvation while already embracing those who would be taken into the Kingdom of God to come. We should note that community meals at Qumran were also considered as anticipation of the messianic banquet that would be presided by the Messiah-priest (1Qsa II:17–21 and 4Q 521). Thus it appears that the meals of which Jesus partook are “expressions of the mission and the message of Jesus (Mk 2:17); these are the eschatological banquets, first manifestations of the banquet of Salvation at the end of time (Mk 2:19)” (Jeremias 1971). Table companionship with the outcast displays Jesus’ hope for a reign that invests the entire society of his times, contradicting the structure of Jewish society as partitioned by the religious order founded on the Torah and the temple.

4. *Disciples and Adherents*

The Gospels clearly stress the group of twelve disciples gathered around their master; the entourage of the historical Jesus, however, was organized in three concentric circles. First, the circle of the Twelve, all Galileans; then, men and women who followed Jesus (Lk 8:1–3 and Mk 15:40–41); and a larger circle of sympathizers, such as Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and Martha and Mary.

This large range was the opposite of a sect. Unlike the Master of Justice of Qumran, Jesus did not found a cell and did not retire to the desert in order to preserve the purity of his followers. The composition of the group of the Twelve confirms the option of openness; there was a tax collector, a Zealot, and men with Greek and Hebrew names (Mk 3:16–19). All or most came from the “people of the land” marginalized by the law. This anti-elite composition was all the more striking in that the number 12, based on the 12 tribes of Israel, is indicative of a symbolic reconstitution of the people of God (Lk 22:30). The circle of the Twelve prefigures the Israel of the Kingdom, the family of God. The God of Jesus does not select or classify when he reassembles in his reign; he welcomes all those who recognize themselves as seeking forgiveness (Mk 2:17).

Jesus’ strategy of integration was the opposite of that practiced by the Pharisees, John the Baptist, and the messianic prophets who sought by exclusion to constitute a pure Israel. Jesus did not found the Nazarene sect, or a remnant of Israel, nor a separate synagogue that would become the Church. His ambition was to reform the faith of Israel by breaking up the internal fundamentalist strains that nourished the hope

of the Kingdom. The Twelve symbolized and at the same time realized a salvation that excluded no one. This prepared a theology of a universal God, the God of each and every one, which would later be spread by the first Christians (Acts 10:34–35 and Rom 1:16).

5. *Recomposition of the Torah*

Within the extraordinary diversity of first-century Judaism the Torah represents the seat of identity par excellence. Thus, it is not surprising that representatives of Jewish factions who wished to evaluate Jesus questioned him on his interpretation of the law.

The Gospels point out Jesus’ infractions against the Law of the Sabbath, based on the axiom: “The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath” (Mk 2:27). This position, which corresponds to the most liberal currents of Judaism, did not invalidate the principle of Sabbath rules. The novelty of Jesus is that, unlike the rabbis, he placed the preservation of life as an absolute instead of regulating the particular cases for exemption. The individual is free to manage this as he sees fit, but the rule must bend before this absolute.

The posture adopted with respect to the Sabbath exemplifies the position of Jesus with regard to the law. Jesus placed himself within the practice of the Torah, which he ratified like any other observant Jew. But his assent to the divine imperative went with a recomposition of the law around the call to love. The will of God is entirely recapitulated in the double call to love God and love one’s fellow man (Mk 12:28–34). Jesus was not the first to opt for the priority of the ethical law over the ritual law; Hellenistic Judaism had already done this. The focus on love, and notably placing love of one’s neighbor over love of God, was not foreign to the great liberal rabbi Hillel, who lived one generation before Jesus. But these rapprochements, though they confirm the integration of Jesus in the debate of Judaism on the Torah, should not obscure the originality of his interpretation of the law, which can be particularly grasped in his new reading of the Decalogue (Mt 5:21–48).

First, the decision to give predominance to love was portentous because it placed in the heart of the Torah an instance that must govern its reading and can authorize the validation or invalidation of such any given rule. Thus, the prohibition against murder must be broadened to wrath (Mt 5:21–22), whereas the Talion Law is abrogated (Mt 5:38–42). This means that the law is no longer to be respected because it is the law; it should be followed because it serves love, and only when it serves love.

Second, when Jesus recomposed the Torah around the imperative of love, he ignored the rabbinical rule that requires exegesis* to be based on the tradition of

the elders. Jesus opposed to the elders an “I” that was at the same time sovereign, impertinent, and liberating (*see* Marguerat 1991). The “but I say to you” of the antitheses (Mt 5:21–48) indicates that Jesus takes his authority from God without deriving it from Moses. The thrust of God’s unconditional love is so strong that it leads him to collide with the dogma* that Judaism holds most dear—the infallibility of the law. Jesus declared that only obedience guided by love could claim to be infallible. But what was the image of God that authorized him to overturn the law?

6. The God of Jesus

Side by side with the reference to the God of the Kingdom who will give welcome to the eschatological banquet, along with the reference to the God-judge who will reward each according to his works, the ethical discourse of Jesus was open to tonalities close to the literature of the wise men of Israel.

Jesus’ call to take no heed for the morrow is based on the example of the birds in the sky and the lilies of the fields, whose needs are magnificently satisfied by God (Mt 6, 25–34). The exhortation to the disciples to testify without fear refers back to the God-providence* who watches over every single creature (Mt 10:29–31). The moral exhortation is governed here by a theology of the Creation* that does modify the eschatological register.

The same holds true when Jesus calls on the experience of God: “Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust” (Mt 5:44–45). Several parables work on this precedence of God’s gracious offer over the response of the believer—the invitation to the banquet (Mt 22:1–10 and Lk 14:16–24), the Unmerciful Servant (Mt 18:23–35), the fig tree (Lk 13, 6–9), the treasure in the field and the pearl (Mt 13:44–46). These parables confirm the preponderant place occupied by the precedence of God’s bounty over the call to act. The God of Jesus is a God of unconditional love. On this conviction he establishes his practice of welcome (partaking of meals with reprobates) as well as the invitation to call God by the familiar name *abba*, that is, “daddy” (Mk 14:36), and the call to unbounded love for others (Mt 5:43–48).

Here we confront a sapiential dimension of Jesus’ preaching that led some scholars to ask if he is not closer to the wise men than the messianic prophets (*see* Chilton-Evans 1994). However, the factor that clearly distinguishes Jesus from the wise men is the absence, in his thought, of reflection on the possibility of acting according to the required obedience. The ethic of the

Sermon on the Mount, with its immoderate demands (to love one’s enemies, not to have concern for the morrow), contradicts the concern of sages and rabbis to limit obedience, keeping it within the measure of the reasonable. Jesus did not follow this policy of the acceptable. The conscience of God that inhabited him was so imperious that the shadow of the reign totally invaded the present. Excess and absolutism were the only fitting tones (Marguerat 1997).

V. The Crisis

According to the scenario retained by the synoptic Gospels, the conflict between Jesus and the religious leaders of Jerusalem culminated during Jesus’ visit to the holy city at the end of his life.

1. The Attack against the Temple

We do not know what led the historical Jesus to leave Galilee, where he had been practicing his activity and recruiting disciples, and go to Jerusalem for the Passover* pilgrimage in the year 30. Up until then he had been a local prophet. Did he now want to give national scope to his message? Did his disciples push him? Was the spectacular Cleansing of the Temple his sole objective?

As it happens, his entry into the holy city fired a latent, explosive messianic effervescence (Mk 11:1–10). The celebration of a Last Supper with his companions does denote that Jesus was aware of the gravity of the conflict engaged with the priestly authorities. Even if we do not project into this event the salvational dimension of his death, as would the first Christians, the way that Jesus integrated the eventuality of his death as a manifestation of his theological conviction can be noted. (Schürmann, 1975, speaks of “pro-existence.”)

Basically what the sources report on his life in Jerusalem is the cleansing of the temple (Mk 11:15–17). This act is, of course, related to the prophetic protest against the moral perversion of cultural rites (Jer 7:11). Moreover, its destructive symbolism fits into the messianic perspective of the disappearance of the old temple in favor of the new temple that would mark the era of salvation (*see* Sanders 1985). The first Christians interpreted this act as an abolition of the institution of the temple in favor of mediation with God within the framework of the community, the body of Christ* (1 Cor 3:16–17 and 6:19, Mk 14:58, Acts 6:14, and Jn 2:19–22). Might this interpretation be postulated on the commentary Jesus made on this act in the circle of his followers? Whatever the case may be, the sympathy of the crowd that Jesus had acquired was lost by the attack against the temple. The crowd turned against the prophet from

Nazareth, facilitating the manipulation by the religious authorities that resulted in the withdrawal of all popular support from Jesus.

2. The Crucifixion

Jesus was sentenced to death by crucifixion for the crime of high treason against the state, in application of the *Lex Juliae majestatis*. It is common knowledge that the procurators, and especially Pontius Pilate, made extensive use of this jurisdiction. But the denunciation, according to all evidence, was Jewish. The Sanhedrin, dominated by the Sadduceen aristocracy, gave Pilate the motive for capital punishment.

Execution on the cross was a long, drawn-out torture, a slow process of tantalization that ended in death by asphyxiation. The agony of the Nazarene was abnormally brief, indicating a weak constitution, which surprised Pilate (Mk 15:44). Jesus died in the afternoon on the eve of Passover (Mk 15:34). Already the lambs were slaughtered at the temple and families were preparing to partake of the Passover supper. Joseph of Arimathea, a follower, got permission to bury Jesus in a sepulcher instead of letting his corpse be thrown to the dogs.

3. Why Was Jesus Condemned?

The crime of messianic insurrection sufficed to set in motion the repressive apparatus of Pontius Pilate, who was described by King Agrippa I in the year 40 as a merciless, cruel governor (*see* Lk 13:1). But what was the real motive for the physical elimination of the Galilean?

The scene of the trial before the Sanhedrin is a Christian recomposition (Mk 14:53–65). Judaism did not generally denounce men to the Romans for messianic pretension. However, the attack against the temple was infinitely serious, considering the symbolic role of the temple in the national conscience. Josephus reports the case of Jesus ben Ananias, an oracular prophet who, four years before the Jewish War, went around Jerusalem announcing the destruction of the city and its temple. The priestly aristocracy handed him over to the Romans, who took him for a madman and released him (*The War of the Jews* Book 6, 5:3). This parallel accredits the idea that Jesus was rejected for false prophecy (prophet* and prophecy) (messianic) and sacrilege against the holy place.

J. Klausner, a Jewish scholar, explains that Judaism had to get rid of Jesus because he was an extremist whose radical, extravagant interpretation of the Torah and critique of religious practices imperiled national cohesion. By his outrages, Jesus gave the “kiss of death” to Judaism (Klausner 1933). We will also note that Klausner includes liberties taken by Jesus in inter-

preting the law among the causes for this incrimination. It is likely that this was an additional motive, though it was not reason enough for accusing Jesus. The absence of any mention of participation of Pharisees during the proceedings might well indicate that the sympathy awakened by Jesus in their ranks was not extinguished and, further, that the dispute was not primarily centered on the Torah. Several years later, Stephen was accused of crime against the temple and the law and stoned to death in Jerusalem (Acts 6:8–7:60).

VI. Jesus the Messiah

What awareness did the historical Jesus have of himself, his role, and his mission? Documentary sources situate us before a paradox: On the one hand, Jesus kept silent about his identity; on the other hand a clear claim to authority transpired in his preaching on the reign.

1. Jesus and the Son of Man

Almost all the declarations Jesus made about his identity (*see* the Johannine pronouncements beginning “*I am*”) emanated from the Christian community. The synoptics respected the Nazarene’s discretion about his identity. None of the titles such as Son of God, Son of David, Messiah, Christ (except in Mark 12:35–37) is pronounced by him. However “Son of man” often comes up in his statements.

Since the parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) the expression *Son of man* had designated a celestial figure connected to the eschatological judgment. On several occasions Jesus associated his person with the Son of man (Mk 2:10, Mt 19:28, and Lk 7:34, 9:58, 12:8–10, and 17:26–30,). However, the Aramaic expression he used, *bar nasha*, can also be understood as the common equivalent of “I.” Jesus drew on the title Son of man to claim the power to forgive sins (Mk 2:10), consequently rendering obsolete the mediation of the sacrificial cult. He ruled that the attitude adopted toward him would be sanctioned in the Kingdom by the Son of man (Lk 12:8–10). He contrasted the dignity of the Son of man with the fragility of his own nomadic existence (Lk 9:58).

Exegetes are divided on this point; some deny all authenticity to the sayings on the Son of man, others think that Jesus did declare himself to be the Son of man. But it is observed that: 1) Jesus never identified himself explicitly with the Son of man; and 2) the profusion of sayings on the Son of man prohibit a priori their attribution to the primitive Church. To sum up, the historical Jesus understood himself to be the person who by his words and deeds introduces the reign of

God into history. He saw himself as the one who initiated the ending, but without confusing himself with the principal agent of that end. Nevertheless, he was convinced that the position adopted with respect to him would be a decisive criterion at the time of judgment by the Son of man (Lk 12:8–10; *see also* the Gospel of Thomas 82).

2. *Implicit Christology*

Did Jesus call himself the Messiah (messianism*/Messiah)? Except for the Christian recomposition in Mark 14:62, the Gospels attribute a deferred reply when the question is put to him (Mt 11:2–5). This vagueness about his identity is the signature of a man who effaces himself behind the event he brings to fruition. The Galilean does not say he is the Messiah but the “finger of God” (Lk 11:20). Jesus was certainly aware that he surpassed the prophets. He categorically affirmed that here there was more than Jonas and more than Solomon (Lk 11:31–32), but it is clear that this statement avoids any clear fixation of identity. The announcement of the coming of the reign predominates over any form of messianic pretension. Jesus’ preaching was millenarian; it was not the harangue of a pretender to the title. This subtle game can be labeled “implicit Christology [Christ* and Christology].”

The refusal to assume any messianic title could well express a withdrawal from the underlying nationalistic ideology associated with all the Jewish messianisms, whether prophetic, royal, or priestly. But in upsetting the game of messianic aspirations, in claiming the prerogatives of the Son of man without confusing himself with him (Mk 2:10), in referring back to messianic signs without declaring himself (Mt 11:2–5), Jesus announced and prepared for the surpassing of the messianic categories on which the faith of the first Christians worked (*see* Grappe in Marguerat 1997).

Nonetheless, the Romans condemned Jesus as a messianic pretender (Mk 15:18 and 26 and Jn 19:19). This confirms to what extent the words and deeds of Jesus, despite his reserve, offered a hold to popular messianic aspirations (Mk 6:30–44, 8:27–30, and 11:1–10).

3. *Easter: Blossoming of the Faith*

The events of Easter are inscribed in history as a strong spiritual experience for the companions of Jesus. Even if the outlines of this revelation remain historically out of reach (irreconcilable divergence among the Evangelists), its effects in history are obvious. The disciples in flight reassembled, their fear turned into courage, and the death of Jesus was no longer considered as a failure but as the solidarity of God with the impotence of the reprobate. The memory of the Master’s words begins.

Overwhelmed witnesses, the disciples, bring a decisive testimony—the identity of the Crucified/Resuscitated is not to be detached from that of the Galilean.

Easter would function as focal point of new reading or rather new readings of the history of Jesus. The question of the identity of the Galilean became primordial as the spread of Christologies made explicit that which the Master had deliberately left in suspense. The varying Christologies should be understood as so many attempts to respond to the mystery of the one who had always been a question for those who encountered him. The first formulations of faith in Jesus found their cultural matrix in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, reservoir of messianic hopes.

VII. The Jesus of History and Theology

By preserving and canonizing four Gospels, which are four new Pascal readings of the history of the earthly Jesus, the primitive Church sanctioned a theological choice. The identity of Christ cannot be grasped outside of a narrative reconstruction of the Galilean’s life. All Christological discourse, then, finds its standard and limit in the exposition of the words and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth. Forever after, the scripture of the Gospels refers the knowledge of the Lord that the Christians confess to the field of a past history. Whoever claims to approach the Christ of faith must verify his knowledge by attachment, by the narrative mediation, to the words and deeds of the Jesus of history.

This choice is theological. By posing the irreducibility of the history of the Galilean as criterion of all christological words, the gospel assigns to theology a responsibility of conformity with the Incarnation*. A theology attached to the vicissitudes of the life of the Galilean, his encounters and conflicts, his wrath and his compassion, will not be inclined to turn into an escapist spirituality. In the Christian regime, reference to the earthly Jesus constitutes the site of obligatory verification of all words on salvation.

It has already been said that the memory of the earthly Jesus that structures the theology of Paul, Mark, and John is not to be confused with the reconstruction of the historical Jesus undertaken in modern research. The first Christian theologians assuredly did not subscribe to the canons of historical exactitude, though in his way Luke was not a stranger to the concerns of a historian. Yet the Evangelists and the scholars who search for the historical Jesus participate in the same movement back to the Jesus of history. In canonizing the four Gospels, the primitive Church ratified both the plurality of access to the worldly Jesus and the impossibility of claiming a unique reading of the Galilean’s life. The quest for the historical Jesus con-

firms this verdict by its very incompleteness because, like all historical undertakings, it remains constantly open to new reconstructions. But this incompleteness in research makes sense theologically, for the outstanding uncertainty about the biography of the Galilean impedes closure of the dogmatic debate on Christ.

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Apostle; Bultmann, Rudolf; Christ and Christology; Conscience; Gospels; History; Kingdom of God; Law and Christianity; Mary; Messianism/Messiah; Miracle; Mysticism; Narrative; Parable; Passion; Resurrection of Christ; Son of Man; Temple; Theology

Joachim of Fiore

1135–1202

The work of the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202) represents the first attempt at apocalyptic* millenarianism during the Middle Ages. It was, however, an orthodox millenarianism, compared with the literal chiliasm refuted by Augustine*. Joachim was a monastic reformer who in 1187 abandoned the Cistercians to found a new order in Fiore. Like Bernard of Clairvaux, he disputed Scholastic (Scholasticism*) Trinitarian theology* and accused Pierre

Lombard of *quaternitas*—that is, of introducing too clear a disjunction between substance and Person* (*Psalt*, 229 r-v, e 277, *De vita s. Benedicti*, 76–77, *Liber Figurarum*, ms. Dresden, f. 89r).

Joachim could conceive of neither a unity separate from Persons and anterior to them nor of Persons cut off from substance. And in order to preserve the prerogatives of a God who was "triune *but* not composed," a *but* which was not singular (*De articulus*

fidei 8), he went from the “trinum” to the “unum.” The fundamental question, therefore, was how can three Persons be one? The answer was based upon the notion of *inesse* (to exist within). Each of the three Persons exists within the two others; the dynamism of the reciprocal relations constitutes the substance of divine life. Considering intra-Trinitary relations, Joachim mentioned two *diffinitiones* of the Trinity. The first was symbolized by the triangular letter *alpha* (*missio*): the Father* was at the summit, and he sent the Son and the Spirit. The second was symbolized by the lowercase letter omega (*processio*), of which the *virgula* in the center represented the Spirit (Holy* Spirit) that emerged from the Father and the Son. And these two figures referred back to two different representations of history, according to a ternary model (three states, three orders) and a binary model (two Persons [person*], two testaments).

Joachim was convinced that the two models were not mutually exclusive, and he endeavored, therefore, to integrate them reciprocally. As a result, his name and his doctrinal legacy remain tied to this ternary, which represents the most innovative aspect of his doctrine. Joachim believed that all through history, therefore, there came three stages, in succession and partially superimposed—that of the Father (the time before the law and under the law, *ordo conjugalis*), the Son (the time of grace*, *ordo clericalis*), and of the Holy Spirit (the time of an even greater grace, *ordo spiritualis*). The third state, which had been gestating since the time of Benedict, marked a significant progress in comparison with the two preceding ones. It was indeed through the Holy Spirit that the full manifestation of the Spirit would allow “spiritual men” to decipher in its entirety the divine mystery still sealed in the letter of the Old and New Testament. The third state was, therefore, an era where history would grow younger. The meek and humble would be its protagonists, and during this time the promise of the *Magnificat* would be fulfilled, and the mystery of the divine election (choice*) of the youngest—Jacob—instead of the eldest—Esau—would be fully revealed (see *Dial. de praesc.* I). Issues such as the future existence of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, of the permanence of the sacraments (sacrament*), and of the role and the aims of the monastic elite remained open for historiography to debate.

In Joachimism, the principle of concord, fundamental for a precise understanding of history, was no longer applied simply to the relations between Old and New Testaments, as in the earlier exegetic tradition. The Joachite concord was more complex and allowed one to establish a perfect, or almost perfect, rule of correspondence among various generations situated at

the same level in the historical development of the three orders and the two nations. Even for the concord there were, therefore, two models (Joachim speaks of the *duplex assignatio concordiae*) and a double calculation, with a gap of 10 generations between one and the other (*Conc.* II, 44).

While Trinitary theology had led him to the vision of the second state, the exegesis of the Book of Revelation would lead Joachim to draw the same conclusions (*Exp. in Ap.*, 1184–200). The dominant method of interpretation at that time was to proceed “vision by vision,” a method perfected by Bede and shared, among others, by Richard of Saint Victor. In this perspective, the text was divided into seven visions, viewed in turn as so many autonomous thematic blocks. Each vision contains a complete knowledge of the history of the Church (divided in turn into seven states). After one vision mysteriously described the entire history of the Church, that which followed started again at the beginning, recapitulating the entire story from another angle.

Joachim shared this disposition of the visions, while affirming, however, that there were eight of them and not seven; but he endeavored first of all to read Revelation as a text tracing the entire course of the history of the Church, progressively, vision upon vision, from the origins until the final expected outcome. And from this perspective, he perceived Revelation 20 as the annunciation of a future era that would be fully intramundane, in which he recognized the features of a third state. Joachim agreed with Augustine, therefore, on the criticism of literal millenarianism, but, unlike Augustine, he remained convinced (*non tam opinio, quam serenissimus intellectus*, *Exp.* 211r) that a sabbatical period, a brief interlude of peace and freedom within history, would occur between the coming of the Antichrist and the final attack of Gog and Magog. Joachim’s millenarianism resided in just such a concept.

The Fourth Council of Lateran* (1215) condemned Joachim’s Trinitary theology (*DS* 803–7) without attacking his person or his historico-eschatological vision. That vision would be disseminated over the coming decades, thanks not so much to the monachism* of Fiore as to certain Franciscans, who saw a prefiguration of their experience in the prediction of an order of “spiritual men.” The first pseudo-Joachite writings appeared in the atmosphere of prophetism that arose both around and against the figure of Frederick II. The most famous of these, the commentary *Super Hieremiam*, was transmitted in at least two different versions, the first of which seems to have originated in the circles of the order of Fiore, while the second (about 1243) was the fruit of a new elaboration by Franciscan circles.

The spread of Joachim's ideas encountered difficulties from the middle of the 13th century on. Convinced that the work of the Calabrian abbot constituted "the eternal Gospel" that he himself advocated, the Franciscan Gerard de Borgo San Donnino provoked a reaction among the secular masters in Paris, bringing about his own condemnation and the censure of excerpts from Joachim's work by a cardinalatial commission (Protocols of Anagni, 1255). Also criticized in more assertive theological contexts (Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia IIae*, q. 106, a 4 ad 2: against the idea of a third state of the Spirit), Joachite theses nevertheless did endure, with changes, in the minority circles of the spiritual Franciscans. In his *Lectura super Apocalipsim* (1297–98), Peter Olivi advanced the doctrine of the three comings of Christ: between the first coming, in the flesh, and the last, in the glory of the last judgment, Olivi posited an intermediary coming, through the Spirit, to work an evangelical reform of the Church. And this second coming had already taken place through St. Francis of Assisi at the beginning of the third age of the world. The schema of the three comings imposed a thorough revision of the Joachite point of view, since it sought to place the period of the Spirit within a Christocentric sphere and give it a historical significance of a Franciscan nature. But as far as the millennium itself was concerned, Olivi took a decisive step in the direction of a literal millenarianism, for he seemed convinced that the third age was destined to last for 70 years. In his wake, in 1349, the Franciscan Jean de Roquetaille dared to maintain that the duration of the world between the

death of the great Antichrist and the last judgment would be exactly 1,000 years by the solar calendar.

In the 14th and 15th centuries the wave of Joachite prophetism expanded remarkably, all the more so in that with the flow of authentic works was mixed an even greater influx of works of dubious origin (attributed progressively to the Calabrian abbot in order to invest them with authority). Prophetic literature of a Joachite mold, in claiming to foresee and to calculate, represented either an instrument for political and ecclesiastical propaganda or a motive for erudite accumulation—and sometimes both at once—which accompanied the ever-increasing occurrences of visions, vaticinations, sibylline oracles, and cabalistic calculations. The deepest layer of Joachite apocalypse, in turn, fueled the representations and expectations of popular religious movements, thus working to radicalize its revolutionary social impetus. At the threshold of the modern era, the frail profile of the third reign was finally projected into a situation that differed significantly from the one originally envisaged by the Calabrian abbot.

- *Expositio super Apocalypsim*, Venice, 1527, 1–224 (reissued in Frankfurt, 1964); *Psalterium decem chordarum*, Venice, 1527, 226–81; *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, Venice, 1519 (reissued Frankfurt, 1964); *TAPhS* 73, 8th part (1983) (critical edition of books I–IV); *Dialogi de praescientia Dei et de predestinatione electorum*, Rome, 1995.

GIAN-LUCA POTESTA

See also Apocalyptic Literature; Church; Exegesis; History; Kingdom of God; Spirituality, Franciscan

Johannine Theology

More than any other text of the New Testament, the Gospel (Gospels*) of John is the product of a long and complex composition spread over several generations, with two major stages: 1) in Palestine before 70; 2) in the pagan world, once the break between the synagogue and the Johannine community had been completed. It is therefore not surprising to encounter in the fourth gospel distinct and even contradictory points of view. However, its completed version as a single book makes it possible to speak of a unified Johannine

theology, even if the many internal tensions between the views expressed cannot be ignored. In addition, in order to account for the particularity of the fourth gospel in relation to the synoptics, various sources have been mentioned: Gnostic (R. Bultmann*) or hermetic (C.H. Dodd) movements, Samaritan religion, heterodox Jewish movements like the Qumran sect. Nevertheless, the fact that it belongs to the genre (literary* genres in Scripture) "gospel" is not in any doubt: the first conclusion (Jn 20:30f.) is explicit about the

purpose of the book. Finally, the fourth gospel belongs to a corpus that includes the three epistles of John and Revelation. There is near unanimity in treating Revelation separately, in view of its important stylistic and theological differences from the fourth gospel. On the other hand, the three epistles seem to be indissociable from the gospel; for example, for R. Brown, the first constitutes a rereading of Johannine theology in reaction against certain deviations that had appeared in the community in the late first or very early second century.

1. *The Son Sent by the Father*

As the conclusion of John 20:30f. asserts, the purpose of the fourth gospel is to inspire faith in “Jesus Christ the Son of God*.” The central axis is radically christological, but the intention to illustrate the mystery of the Son inevitably raises the question of his relation to the Father.

a) *Reinterpretation of Messianic Titles.* In the final stage of composition, the titles “Christ” and “Son of God,” applied to Jesus (20:31), whose actions are reported by the book (20:30), take on a fullness of meaning that is favorable for later theological developments. But the fourth gospel nonetheless sets out the Old Testament roots of these designations. The first scene of the gospel (1:19–51), devoted to the witness of John the Baptist (v. 19), is set against the background of a many-sided messianic hope, associating with the royal Davidic Messiah* (vv. 20, 25), translated by “Christ” (v. 41), the figures of Elijah restored to life and the Mosaic prophet* (vv. 21, 25), following the lines of Deuteronomy 18:15. In fact the protagonists of the narrative recite a series of titles, all of which may refer back to messianic expectation, something that was intense in Baptist circles: for example, the Lamb of God (Jn 1:29, 36); the Son of God (vv. 34, 49) (variant “God’s chosen one”: v. 34), the king of Israel (v. 49). Added to this are characteristic traits such as the presence of the Holy Spirit (vv. 32f.), the unknown character (vv. 31, 33) fitting for the Messiah (see Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 8. 4; 49. 1; 110. 1); the recapitulation of the Scriptures (Scripture*) (v. 45); and, in light of the Messiah’s link to Bethlehem (7: 40ff., 52), Nathanael’s surprise about Nazareth (v. 46). In this sense, Johannine Christology does not derive from belated speculations but originates in the earliest Christian memory, applying to Jesus of Nazareth all the titles and characteristics supposed to characterize the divine envoy who is the inaugurator of the salvific age.

b) *Exposition of “High” Categories.* Rooted in apostolic preaching, Johannine Christology emphasizes the

heavenly character of the divine envoy. More than a providential man, for whom the traditional titles might be fitting, the figure of the Son of man, which is of apocalyptic origin (Dn 7:13), forms the basis for understanding the initial pericope (Jn 1:19–51). Assimilated to Jacob’s ladder (1:51), Christ occupies a mediating position between God and humanity, and the future (“you shall see”: vv. 50f.) invites the reader to interpret the gospel narrative as a whole as illustrating the quasi-divine condition of the one whom the Baptist and the first disciples recognized as the Christ-Messiah. In these circumstances the ancient titles take on added meaning. This is particularly the case for filiation, intended to express not only divine election but the community of destiny with God. Similarly, in what follows in the gospel, various debates illustrate the equality of Jesus with God, for example in reference to the Sabbath rest, which is judged to contradict the permanence of divine activity (5:17–21). And again, urged to locate himself in relation to Abraham (8:53), Jesus asserts his absolute antedecence (8:56) and places his existence under the sign of an eternal present that assimilates him to God himself: “Before Abraham was, I am” (8:58). In the eyes of the Jews, such a claim to divinity is blasphemous (10:33). Although Jesus does escape from stoning at that point (10:31), the close link between the resurrection of Lazarus and the final plot reveals, beyond strictly political arguments (11:48f.), the Jewish rejection of a “high” Christology. This Christology comes after the experience of Easter, but the fourth gospel proposes an explicit formulation of it even before the event of the cross.

c) *The Impact of the Prologue.* The prologue (Jn 1:1–18) opens the gospel narrative by attaching it to categories of thought familiar to the reader (theology* of the Word*) and also to the liturgical experience of the community (the hypothesis of an original hymn reworked by the writer of the prologue). It also determines the conditions for interpreting the text, as well as its grammar. The heart of the prologue consists of the identification between the historical Jesus, the subject of the Baptist’s witness (vv. 6ff.) and founder of a community of believers (vv. 12f.), and the divine Word that preexists creation (vv. 1f.) and that is both distinct from God (v. 1b) and identified with him (v. 1c). The source of life and principle of creation (vv. 3ff.), the Word is addressed to humanity as a whole (the “world,” v. 9). Responses are diverse (vv. 10ff.), but the universality of his mission is nonetheless strongly asserted. In these circumstances, the concrete being of Jesus (the “flesh,” v. 14) is an instance of particularization on the basis of the broadest universal, existing before the universe and encompassing history.

Whatever the origin of the prologue and the time at which it was set at the beginning of the gospel, its proleptic function invites us to read the succeeding narrative as a whole not only in the binary thematic context of the two covenants (covenant*) (v. 17) but as the decisive manifestation of God, through the mediation of his only Son, himself God in a relation of perfect proximity to the Father (v. 18). This perspective authorizes a consideration of christological statements at the deepest level of their meaning.

d) The Relation to the Father. The divine origin of Jesus is his true legitimation (see the image of the royal “seal,” the basis for the authority* of a duly appointed minister: 6:27). The Son of man descended from heaven (3:12), Jesus presents himself as the only Son of God (the “monogenic”: 1:18, 3:16 and 18); He defines his mission as that of an envoy (3:31f.) from the Father (6:46) entrusted with speaking the words that have been entrusted to him (3:34, 12:49f.) and as one armed with full authority (3:35). This is why the attitude adopted toward him adequately expresses the acceptance or rejection of God (3:33, 36). The participation of human beings in the work of God is nothing other than the faith in Jesus as an envoy of God (6:30, 12:44, 13:20). The attachment of Jesus to the divine plan is such that even adherence to his person comes from the initiative of the Father (6:37, 38, 44). Between the Father and the Son there exists a perfect communion of wills (6:37–40), on the ground of a love that, although reciprocal, nevertheless proceeds first from the Father (3:35), for whom the gospel recognizes a perfect priority of initiative.

Hence, whereas the existence and the mission of Jesus derive from the Father, his Passion and death are themselves a return to the Father (13:1, 16:28). Anguish and suffering seem to be overshadowed by the certainty of accomplishing a mission in full conformity with the will of the Father and carried to its conclusion in perfect order (the motif of the “hour”: 12:23, 13:1, 17:1). The intimate union of Father and Son then reaches its perfection and, although the superiority of the Father is not denied (14:28), shared love turns out to be fully reciprocal: the mutual indwelling of Father and Son (14:10f.) establishes Jesus’ claim to accomplish the work of the Father, in complete fidelity to the mission he has been given (14:31).

2. The Son Revealing the Father

a) The Motif of Glory. Already in the prologue, the intimate relation that characterizes Jesus as Son (1:14) is a matter for communication to believers, themselves born of a divine will (v. 13) to the point of sharing the

condition of children of God (v. 12). This manifestation of Jesus as Son, which makes up the body of the gospel (v. 18), is called “glory” (twice in v. 14), a term which has to be given its full relational value. Present from the opening sign of Cana (2:11), the motif of glory comes to the fore principally at the time of the Passion, constituting a veritable leitmotif throughout the speeches before the cross (ch. 14–17) (noun *doxa*: 17:5, 22, 24; verb “to glorify” [*doxazein*]: 14:13, 15:8, 16:14, and 17:1, 4f., and 10). It is the Father’s initiative that remains predominant: he alone has the power to manifest his Son in Jesus, thereby revealing his own paternity, through the nonviolence of the crucified one (8:54, 12:28, 13:31f., 16:14, 17:1–5 and 10). However, Jesus is not simply passive: his own obedience, freely given, represents in itself a manifestation of the Father and contributes to the revelation of Jesus as Son (13:31f., 14:13, 15:8, 17:6ff.). In short, from the perspective of the fourth gospel, glory is not a static attribute of God but resides in the reciprocal revelation of the Father and the Son (17:1–5), from the first days of public life (in Cana: 2:11) up to the fulfillment of the cross.

Above all, the disciples are fully associated with this manifestation of glory, not only as spectators (1:14, 17:24) but insofar as they themselves contribute to this revelation, by means of a mission (15:15ff.) that qualifies them as witnesses in the heart of the world (17:18). Centered on the motif of community unity (17:21f.), the “priestly” prayer of chapter 17 assigns to the disciples the task (14:21f.) of pursuing the revelation of the Father and the Son in their mutual relation (17:10f., 23, 26).

b) The Mention of the Paraclete. Witnesses to and actors in the mutual revelation of Father and Son, believers benefit from the support of the Holy Spirit, called “Paraclete” (14:16 and 26, 15:26, 16:7), a social term designating an advocate “called to” (verb *parakalein*) an accused to assist him in his defense. Identified with the Spirit of truth* (14:17, 15:26, 16:13), the Paraclete is presented as a personal being, the subject of a certain number of actions having principally to do with the realm of knowledge: teaching, remembering, testifying (14:26, 15:26), or speaking, proclaiming, glorifying (16:13f.), always with reference to the Son and on the basis of the Son’s teaching.

The mission of the Paraclete is in some sense to make up for the absence of Christ (14:16). Its arrival among human beings is dependent on the departure of Jesus (7:39, 16:7). A substitute for the Son, the Paraclete comes from the Father (15:26); we can say that it is sent or given by the Father (14:16, 26), but it is sent by the prayer of the Son (14:16) or in his name (14:26),

when not simply by the Son himself (15:26); but the Holy Spirit is sent from the Father. Thus the relations of the Holy Spirit with the Father and with the Son turn out to be intimately connected; later theological difficulties were to arise on this point.

Developed in the section of speeches (ch. 14–17), the Johannine theology of the Holy Spirit sheds light on the entire gospel narrative. From the baptism* (1:32ff.) to the cross (19:30), the gift of the Holy Spirit accompanies the designation of Jesus as Son and marks the advent of the Church (represented in 20:22 by the disciples), itself pointed toward the universal, according to the principle of a new cult* “in spirit and truth” (4:23f.). Similarly, it falls to the Holy Spirit to ensure the “spiritual” understanding of the teachings of Jesus, so that they may be received as a revelation of his divine mission (3:5–8, 6:63).

c) The Ambiguity of Signs. While the disciples who came after the Resurrection, assisted by the Holy Spirit, had the ability to bring out the deep sense of the words and actions of Jesus (2:22, 12:16), the witnesses to his public life were confronted with actions whose spectacular or unprecedented character should have been enough to reveal the singular personality of Jesus. We might also speak of a series of signs (*see* miracles [miracle*]), coextensive with the earthly existence of Jesus (2:11, 4:54, 20:20f.) and supposed to be able to lead directly to faith (2:11 and 23, 6:2 and 14, 12:18), since signs form a part of the process of revelation or “glory” (2:11).

But the great misunderstanding of the multiplication of the loaves reveals the partial failure of signs, that is the lack of recognition of their role as signs and the excessive attachment to apparent material reality (6:26). In this sense the reiterated demand for signs (2:18, 6:30) is less the mark of an attachment to Jesus than the refusal to follow him on his own territory. Similarly, actions following signs remain vague and imprecise (3:2, 6:14, 7:31, 9:16), sometimes even hostile (11:47). It is easy to understand the impatience of Jesus in the face of a reception of a sign that reduces him to the status of a vulgar miracle worker (4:48). Finally, the fourth gospel emphasizes the inability of signs to give rise to faith (12:37). Conversely, the nakedness of the cross and the emptiness of the tomb call for an act of faith (19:35, 20:8), beyond any tangible appearances, in an absence of signs that is in harmony with the very excess of the mystery. Only then does perfect coincidence of “seeing” and “believing” occur (20:8). A similar experience is offered to the post-Resurrection disciples (20:29) who, like Thomas, are asked to find their happiness in bare faith, with no support other than the gaping wounds of the Crucified One

(20:27), a reminder of the cross and the tomb. Thus, the Easter experience of the first day of the week (20:1, 19), repeated a week later (20:26), informs the time of the Church, a time of faith in “Jesus Christ the Son of God” (20:31) and a time of missionary proclamation (20:17, 21), in continuity with a witnessing (21:24) whose source is located precisely at the place of the cross (19:35). This is the place of the “lifting up” (3:14, 8:28, 12:32) of Jesus.

d) The Debate on Works. If the actions of Jesus are truly signs only in the framework of a church-based rereading of his entire career (20:30f., 21:24f.), the motif of works, also frequent in the fourth gospel, expresses a complementary point of view with respect to the revelatory function of the Son and the circumstances in which human beings receive revelation.

In the speech to Nicodemus, Jesus refuses to be constrained by the problematic of signs, as urged by the Pharisee rabbi (3:2), who is effectively a spokesman of the Jewish world (2:23). The call to be born “from above” (3:3) or “from water and the spirit” (3:5–8) is an introduction into a spiritual understanding of the teachings of Jesus (3:8). Their subject is not only “earthly realities,” related to the condition of disciple (3:12), but also “heavenly realities”: the divine origin of the Son (3:13) and his salvific mission (3:15, 17), manifested in the event of the cross (13:14). In this context, mention is made of good and bad works (3:19f.), which themselves have the effect of revealing the deep nature of the man who has accomplished them.

Applied to the activity of Jesus, the motif of works has a revelatory function: it throws light on the close connection between the action of the Son and the will of the Father who has sent him (5:19f., 14:10f., 15:24, 17:4). Thus, the works of Jesus are included in the category of authorized witnesses (5:36), on the same basis as the word of the Father (5:37f.) and the letter of the Scriptures (5:39f.). Similarly, a symbolic action like the healing* of the man born blind is a manifestation of the works of God (9:3) and attests to the unity between the activity of Jesus and the will of the Father who has sent him (9:4). Finally, the great controversies of chapters 8 and 10 demonstrate the opposition between the works of Jesus, accomplished in the name of the Father (10:25f., 32, 38), and the persistence in unbelief displayed by the Jewish authorities of Jerusalem (8:39–47, 10:33). Far from automatically bringing about an acceptance of faith, the works of Jesus strengthen the hostility of his opponents (15:24f.) and accelerate the judicial process that has been unleashed against him (8:59, 10:3, 11:53).

As for believers, who receive the works of Jesus as the sign of his close communion with the Father

(14:10), they enter into a movement of love that gives them the capacity in turn to carry out similar works or even “greater” ones than those of Jesus (14:12). Thus, to fulfill their function as revelation, works call for the commitment of the disciple in an act of faith (20:30f.). Without this act of faith the actions of Jesus are meaningless.

3. *The Son as Mediator of Salvation*

From the outset (1:51) the identification of Jesus with Jacob’s ladder designates the Son of man as the mediator, instituting perfect communication between heaven and earth: the definitive opening (past participle: v. 51) of heaven makes the tearing of the veil of the temple related by the synoptics unnecessary.

a) The Images of Salvation. On two occasions (3:17, 12:47), the verb “to save” (*sôzein*) explicitly designates Jesus’ activity with respect to the world. But rather than describing the content of this action, the fourth gospel contrasts it to its opposite, “judgment,” understood in terms of condemnation, given the malignity of men, more inclined to “love the darkness” than “the light” (3:19). The mission of the Son sent by the Father consists of “saving” the world, by protecting it from the “judgment” and the death that would ensue if human beings, left to themselves, were to bring forth only their own works (3:20). Conversely, from their very faith in Christ (3:16), believers open themselves to the light, which reveals to them their own truth (3:21a) and enables their works to find their fulfillment in God (3:21b).

The metaphors of life (6:33, 35, 48, 51, 53, 57), often characterized as eternal (4:14 and 6:27, 47, 54, and 58), and of light (8:12) are associated with one another from the prologue onward (1:4) and are the privileged expressions of a salvation expressly linked to the person of Jesus. Repeating the miracles of the desert, he also presents himself as food (6:33, 41, 48, 51) and source of living water (4:10, 14). The victories over hunger (6:35) and thirst (4:14, 6:35) are metaphors for a salvation born of faith (6:35), itself understood as the work of God (6:29), as a free gift (6:44, 65). This salvation brings about more than intellectual acceptance. It enables believers to enter into the communion of divine life, permitting them to be engendered in filial status (1:12f.) through a birth from above (3:5) and finally brought to an everlasting resurrection (6:39f.). Thus, believing in “Jesus Christ the Son of God” and “having life in his name” (20:31) are the two inseparable aspects of salvation.

However, the fourth gospel manifests a certain reserve with regard to physical healing, whereas the synoptics emphasize its continuity with the overall experience of salvation, particularly through the for-

giveness of sins (sin*). Only one passage evokes physical healing as a form of salvation (11:12), but the remark is placed in the mouths of the disciples and rather expresses a lack of understanding of Jesus’ purpose: only victory over death adequately expresses the radical nature of salvation.

Finally, the universality of the divine plan of salvation (3:16f., 12:47) does not exclude the historical mediation of Israel (4:22), even as Jesus reveals to the Samaritan the overcoming of ethnic and religious divisions (4:21, 23).

b) The Time of Salvation. Coinciding with the act of faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God (20:31), salvation is rooted in the current situation of the believer (17:3). Access to eternal life (life*, eternal) implies not so much projection onto a distant horizon as grasping the present as the location of a possible judgment (3:18ff., 5:24). According to the perspectives of an eschatology* known as “realized” or “anticipated,” the gift of life is often expressed in the present (6:27, 32f., 50, 53f., 56), but we also find the future (6:35, 51, 17), including the evocation of a last judgment opening onto a final resurrection (5:28f., 6:39f., 44, 54).

The tension between the “already there” of salvation and the “not yet” of its fulfillment finds expression in the motif of the “hour.” Identified with the moment of the cross (7:30, 8:20, 12:27, 13:1, 19:27), the Johannine hour is presented as already having “come,” not only with respect to the historical fate of Jesus (12:23, 13:1) but in its later manifestations: the universal assembly of believers (4:23), the resurrection of the dead (5:25), the unleashing of persecutions (16:32). However, the anticipation of the hour (“And it has come”; “And it is now”) is inseparable from the striving toward an expected fullness (“The hour is coming”: 4:21ff., 5:25–28, 16:2 and 25). Only the first epistle, in an outburst related to persecution, goes so far as to identify purely and simply the “now” of the church crisis and the “final hour” of the Antichrist preceding the final revelation (1 Jn 2:18–25). The emphasis placed on realized eschatology derives from the christological presentation of the fourth gospel. The cross is indeed the specific place of revelation (Jn 17:1–5), but Jesus’ public life anticipates his full manifestation as the Son. This is true of the “glory” of Cana (2:11), following directly from the prologue (1:14) and in conformity with the promise made to Nathanael (1:51). It would, however, be erroneous to think that the “already there” of glory can overshadow the reference to the cross as the central event of salvation. At Cana the manifestation of Jesus and the belief of the disciples represent glory (2:11), but there is no confusion with the hour of the cross (2:4).

c) *The Place of the Church.* The Johannine preference for existential metaphors, like life (10:10), light (8:12), and knowledge (8:19), brings in its wake a relative thinness in collective or historical expressions of salvation. For example, the notion of the Kingdom* of God appears in a single passage (3:3, 5), and we do not know whether this was an early element, preceding specifically Johannine perspectives, or a late compositional addition with a harmonizing aim. Similarly, the traditional metaphors of the people of God (flock, vineyard) are modified in a personal sense. Emphasis is placed on the relationship between Christ the vine and each of his branches (15:1–10) or on the close knowledge linking each of his sheep to the shepherd (10:1–5, 27f.); the image of the door (10:8f.) makes of salvation a personal passage into Christ.

The reality of the church does not escape unscathed from this individualization of salvation. Not only are the Twelve marked by their inadequacy to accomplish the plan of Jesus (hence the clumsiness of their interventions: 13:22, 14:5, 8, and 22, and 16:17f.—including Peter*: 13:6, 8f., 36), but their very existence as a symbolic community of the Church (6:70) proceeds from a rigorous selection carried out through the discourse on the bread of life (the crowd: 6:22, 24; the Jews: 6:41, 52; the disciples: 6:60, 66; finally the Twelve: 6:67, 70f.). Constituting the final remainder who have gone through the ordeal of faith (6:67ff.), the Twelve nevertheless remain open to division, symbolized by Judas, called a “devil” or “divider” (6:70f.).

On the other hand, the privileged reference to the beloved disciple, recognized interpreter of Jesus’ sayings (13:23–26), eyewitness of the crucifixion (19:25ff., 35), and initiator of the Easter act of faith (20:8, 21:7), evidences the particular character of a community jealously protective of its singularity. The authority of the “disciple” (21:24) takes the place of the referential function of the Twelve, but the last stage of composition (ch. 21) proceeds to a redistribution of roles (21:10), around the symbolic figure of Peter, recognized as pastor (21:15ff.) on the grounds of his martyrdom* (21:18f.).

d) *The Role of the Sacraments.* Since John proposes to lead one to a faith that is first of all a “life” in Christ (20:31), it is not surprising that, since the Fathers of the Church, commentators have recognized many allusions to the bread and wine of the Eucharist (speech at Capernaum: 6:22–71; the wedding of Cana: 2:1–12), as well as to the celebration of baptism (birth of water and the spirit: 3:3–8; a spring providing eternal life: 4:14; restoration of sight to the blind man sent to the pool of Siloam: 9:6f.; the washing of feet as participation in the Easter mystery of Christ the servant*: 13:7f.).

However, deeper study of the documents shows that the sacramental motif is neither primary nor unique. For example, the discourse on the bread of life is first of all a homily on faith in the divine envoy (6:27ff.), whose coming to earth repeats the miracle of manna (6:31f.) and constitutes the true food for believers (6:35, 48, 51a). The practice of the Eucharist appears only in second place, with the explicit allusion to the sacramental reality (chewing the bread: 6:54, 56ff; the two species: 6:53–56), which is performed as a memorial of the cross (6:51b).

Similarly, the narrative of the washing of the feet brings together two aspects. It represents a symbolic act carried out as a prefiguration of the cross (13:7f.), within a perspective that is close to that of baptism. It also contributes a teaching of Jesus with respect to community behavior (13:12–16), lived in the form of service, in imitation of the exemplary gesture made by Jesus (13:14f.).

Thus, sacramental practices do not constitute the principal object of John’s narrative but are rooted in the logic of a discourse centered on the person of Christ and communion with his life (20:31). The effusion of both water and blood at the moment of death (19:34), before explicitly designating baptism and the Eucharist, evidences the continuity between the concrete being of Jesus and the communication of the Holy Spirit (19:30; see 1 Jn 5:6–9), according to the promise made to the disciples (7:39, 14:17, 15:26, and 16:13, 20, 22).

Conclusion

Marginal in many respects, the Johannine community nevertheless had its theology canonized by the great councils (council*) of the fourth and fifth centuries. For example, the motif of the “Incarnation*,” inaugurated by the prologue (1:14) in the framework of a “high” Christology implying the preexistence of the Word (1:1), became the authorized expression of Christian faith in Jesus Christ, the son of God and Savior. One can therefore understand the interest in shedding historical light on chapter 21, in relation to the integration of the Johannine community and the audacious theology of John’s book into the Great Church as a whole.

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See also **Bultmann, Rudolf; Eschatology; Father; Filiation; Flesh; Glory of God; Holy Spirit; Incarnation; Judgment; Lamb of God/Paschal Lamb; Love; Sacrament; Truth; Word; Works; World**

John Duns Scotus. *See* **Duns Scotus, John**

John of Ripa. *See* **Duns Scotus, John**

John of Salisbury. *See* **Chartres, School of**

John of the Cross

1542–1591

a) *Humanist and Mystic at the Heart of the Spanish Golden Age.* Juan de Yepes was born in Fontiveros (Avila), the third son of a family of weavers. Left fatherless from his first months, his mother had to send him to an orphanage for the poor in Medina del Campo, where his first education was oriented toward

craftwork. Very early on he acquired an exceptional artistic and religious sensibility. Noticed by a benefactor, he was able to receive a solid classical education from the Jesuits in the town before entering the local Carmel in 1563. From 1564 to 1568 he worked his way through the university of Salamanca, an institu-

tion that was still basking in the glory of Vitoria and Melchior Cano and was under the present influence of Luis de León. All the theological schools were represented here and could debate freely. Besides a solid biblical and patristic training, the university gave him all that he would later need in order to link the realities of the mystical life to a technically flawless theology.

Spain was experiencing a spiritual explosion at that time and despite censorship directed against the Illuminism of the Alumbrados (a censorship that was not actually effective), the works of the northern mystics, as well as the interiority of the *Devotio* moderna* introduced by Montserrat around 1500, became widespread. John was ordained to the priesthood* in 1567, which was also the year he met Teresa of Jesus. She made him abandon his idea of complete withdrawal into a Carthusian monastery, recruiting him instead to help her in the reform of Carmel, which she had just begun. In 1568 he returned to Medina and then began to reform the male branch of Carmel by founding the small monastery of Duruelo. Here he adopted the name John of the Cross. Henceforth he divided his time between the spiritual formation of the reformed Carmels and management of the reform.

Internal and external frictions, which resulted in his nine-month incarceration in the dungeon at the monastery of Toledo between 1577 and 1578, would lead to him being marginalized within his own religious family. He preferred not to impose himself on the institution that he reformed. He died of osteitis on 14 December 1591 in the monastery of Ubeda.

b) Works and Influence. It was after his release from the Toledo dungeon that John of the Cross began to put in order a poetical work that showed perfect mastery of the new style—it was employed in Italy by Garcilaso de la Vega—and to write down the commentaries that he had given orally in the parlors of Carmelite convents. The *Spiritual Canticle*, which traces the mystical (mysticism*) journey with reference to the games of the couple in the Song of Songs, achieved its first completed form in 1584. It was dedicated to Anne of Jesus, Teresa's companion. Anne took it to northern Europe, where she launched the reform of the French and Belgian Carmels after 1604. The development of this essential text, reworked until John's death, was later lost. The *Vive Flamme*, written in the last few weeks of 1585, would be a dazzling account of the final developments of mystical perfection. At the same time he carefully began writing *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* and *The Dark Night of the Soul*. Both represent a clearer explanation of his spiritual doctrine.

Because the second generation of Spanish reformers did not favor him, because his manuscripts were de-

stroyed and not made available, and because obvious doctrinal changes introduced obscure circumstances, a genuinely critical edition of John's work has still not appeared today even though his writing was published in stages from 1618 onward. His gradual return to favor would only lead to his beatification in 1675 (Teresa was already canonized in 1622). It was in France that he had the earliest and deepest influence (thanks to the magnificent French translation of the Complete Works by Cyprian of the Nativity of the Virgin [1605–80], 1641), even though his works were also translated into Italian, Latin, Dutch, and German, less than a hundred years after his death. When, on 24 August 1926, John of the Cross was declared a Doctor of the Church, he became a main reference for mystical doctrine in the modern West.

Much more proficient in theological discourse than some others writers, and therefore more open to attacks in this terrain, John was to pay a high price for the divorce between theology and mysticism. The permanent disputes over his work, the quasi-universal moralism of some of his best-intentioned translators and commentators, as well as the intense opposition that he and his disciples faced show to what point mysticism has become unintelligible to modern theology. It is when John describes a journey that entails man's acquiescence, a journey of which God is nonetheless the sole driving force, that rational and apologetic theory has relentlessly chosen to find the difficult rise of a mandatory asceticism*. He does warn us, however, that he is speaking of a theology "in which we know by love, and in which we do not only know, but simultaneously taste" (CT, prologue).

c) The Ascent of Mount Carmel. My main intention is not to address everyone, but only some of the persons of our holy Order of the Primitive Observance of Mount Carmel, both friars and nuns, whom God favors by putting them on the path leading up this mount" (S, prologue). All of John of the Cross's doctrine presupposes this vocation, which involves nothing more than letting it be carried out by marking the way to the summit "where only the honor and the glory of God can be found" (diagram of Mount Carmel). However, the honor and glory of God come together to join man through love: "The summit of the mount is the high state of perfection that we call the union of the soul with God." (S, argument). John of the Cross's entire work does nothing but develop this theme of union. On the path leading to this union, man does not belong to any system: he allows God to act and eliminates any pretext for not allowing him to act, always leading the soul (soul*-heart-body) back to the passivity of unconditional faith.

Entrance into contemplation, strictly speaking, corresponds to this transition to passivity. In order to identify it, John of the Cross offers three signs, which have become classic in spiritual guidance (spiritual* direction): it is authentic if 1) the soul has become incapable of meditation; 2) if it feels detached from what is not God; and 3) it feels established in “simple and loving attention to God” (S. II, 13).

On this path of enlightenment, phases of bedazzlement, of hyper-lucidity, will be perceived painfully. This is precisely the theme of the nights, which denotes the process of the soul’s accommodation to the divine light. John distinguishes two principle nights, corresponding to the two regions of the soul, the sensitive and the spiritual. These must be gathered and returned from the outside to the inside. Once these nights are completed the soul is reestablished to its original state in the image of God; henceforth, “in this state, the soul cannot perform acts (action*). It is the Holy Spirit that makes them all, moving the soul—which is the reason that all these acts are divine, because it is moved and activated by God” (LI. 1–4). This state of union is called “spiritual marriage,” in that it presupposes a reciprocal and free commitment between the soul and God, to which all pedagogy of nights led, and which initiates a stable and continuous delight between the two partners. Even death will be received in this state as abundant love, a complete assumption of the person in God: “Here, all the wealth of the soul comes together, and the soul’s rivers of love start to flow into the sea . . . , all their treasures uniting to accompany the righteous one who is leaving to go to [God’s] kingdom” (LI. 1, 30).

d) The Fundamental Spiritual Attitude. The necessary passivity of the soul takes the shape of both solitude and poverty, the two vectors of all spiritual progress. Solitude is necessary in that love is secret, impossible to identify from the outside. This is the theme of the hiding place, of the soul in disguise, needing to pass unnoticed by the world, or by the tempter, or even by itself, so as to go forward in the total security of one who is allowing himself to be guided by another who sees better: “In an obscure night,/ in the anxiety and blaze of love,/ Oh happy adventure!/ I left without being seen,/ my house now at rest.—In darkness and safety,/ by the secret ladder, in disguise,/ Oh happy adventure!/ in darkness and in hiding” (poem of the night). Poverty is liberation, enabling a greater joy in true wealth: this is the spirit of the celebrated *todo y nada* (S. I, 13), which is the spirit of contemplation and not asceticism. It is because the soul already has

all—that “all” that was at the starting point of its vocation—that the soul can consider all the rest as nothing. At both the beginning and the end of his famous litany on how it is necessary to be completely dispossessed before advancing toward the summit of Carmel (“to be inclined always to the most difficult, the most insipid, the most exhausting, etc.”), John designates the only motive that should suffice to satisfy us: “For the sole honor and the sole glory of God . . . through the love of Jesus Christ” (ibid.).

In this solitude and poverty the soul knows that the union has in fact already been carried out since Good Friday (see Ct. 28), although hidden in its eyes, and it knows that its unveiling only presupposes entrusting oneself to God who, from the beginning, does all the work. It is from this, then, that comes the fundamental optimism that runs through John of the Cross’s work. In the deepest darkness of the night, his words are filled with encouragement, and if he can be forthright when it is a question of what is essential, he reserves his harshest words for those nervous spiritual directors who, alarmed by the night’s obscurity, discourage souls who are called to make this leap into the light.

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See also Carmel; Contemplation; Mysticism; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism

John the Evangelist. *See Johannine Theology*

Judaism

a) Historical and Social Context. Relations between Judaism and Christianity take place in a concrete context, notably the presence of Jewish communities in Christian lands. Even though the life of these communities, with its economic and social aspects, does not concern us here, it does dictate the nature of the strictly theological question. First, because this places the confrontation of ideas against a background that necessarily falsifies it, in that the Jews live under the domination of Christian rulers. Second, this very situation becomes part of the argument: the fact that the Jews are dominated is taken as proof of withdrawal of the divine favor promised to Israel.

Legally prohibited from owning land in many parts of medieval Europe, the Jews had to turn to financial professions: commerce and lending money against interest (the latter being forbidden to Christians). By institutionalizing their position, in a certain sense, these laws encouraged a residual anti-Jewish resentment that existed prior to Christianity (*see* Juvenal, Tacitus). This was further complicated by various phantasms such as the accusation of “ritual crime.” Forced conversions (conversion*) were outlawed by the Council of Toledo (633) and again by the bull of Calixtus II *Sicut iudeis* (1122 or 1123), which defined the legal status of Jews in Christian lands. The Fourth Lateran* Council (1215) imposed the wearing of a distinctive garment, later replaced by a round yellow badge.

Intellectual controversy was lively and reciprocal. Sometimes it was institutionalized. Jews were forced to take part in debates (*wikkuah*), often at the insistence of Christian converts. Treatises by Christians against Jews were usually addressed to fellow Christians. And there was no lack of Jewish treatises against Christianity during the whole medieval period, before the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492 (Lasker 1977). The first treatises were written in Arabic in the Islamic East, then in Hebrew in Christian lands, and

even in Catalan; for example, the *Refutation of the principles of Christians of Crescas* (1412 manuscript). The controversy continues in modern times, in a more moderate tone, but also in that wider public space that is opened up by publication in modern languages.

Jewish philosophers sketch out a theology of Christianity, sometimes reversing categories forged by Christian theologians. This has been the case in Germany (Hirsch, Formstecher), and Italy (Benamozegh) (Fleischmann 1970).

However, the controversy is not to be confused with the question of relations with Judaism and does not prevent intellectual exchange (Dahan 1990). This is true even in the theological domain: with Rachi, Jewish exegesis came to have an important influence on the exegesis of the Victorines and Nicholas of Lyre, and, by way of the latter, on Luther*. The philosophy and theology of Maimonides influenced Thomas Aquinas (Wohlman 1988) and Meister Eckhart. Reciprocally, late Scholasticism is present, without explicit citation, perhaps in Gersonide, certainly in Crescas (Pines) and Joseph Albo, and explicitly in Hillel of Verona. The Kabala influenced the Renaissance and humanism. Present-day Catholic and Protestant theologians read Martin Buber, Franz Rosenzweig, and Emmanuel Levinas.

b) Conceptualizing Continuity. Christianity’s relation with Judaism is not on the same level as its relations with other religions that are either foreign to the Abrahamic tradition (religions of India and China) or claim to be connected but reject the preceding sacred books (Islam). Christianity and Judaism are not simply exterior to each other. Christianity “came out of” Judaism in the two senses of the word: it constituted itself in distinguishing itself from Judaism as such. Therefore, in conceptualizing Judaism, Christianity is indirectly conceptualizing itself.

Christianity arose and developed in a Jewish environment. Jesus and the apostles were Jewish, as were all the authors of the New Testament except for Luke. The Christian Church appeared at first as nothing more than a tendency within first-century Judaism. The separation occurred gradually, beginning when Paul prevailed over James and imposed his solution, that of requiring of pagan converts only a minimal respect for the law (Acts 15). Judeo-Christian communities persisted for centuries. Within the second-century Church there was a strong temptation to push Paulinism to the extreme and reject the Old Testament. Marcion's rejection of this claimed a justification in attributing it to the evil creator posited by Gnosticism. Under the influence of Tertullian* and Irenaeus*, the Church rejected this temptation.

It remained to be demonstrated that the Old Testament announced the coming of Christ and a new law. On the first point, passages such as Psalms 2 and 110 were invoked and above all Isaiah's prophecy of the "suffering servant" (Is 53), and on the second, Jeremiah's prophecy of the new covenant inscribed in the heart (soul*-heart-body) (Jer 31:31–34). Various solutions were offered to the problem raised by the abandonment of certain legislative provisions. First, a distinction was made between those provisions that were permanent and those that had only pedagogical and therefore transitory value. This was simple in principle but difficult to apply. Laws labeled "ceremonial" were no longer in effect; but moral laws were deemed permanent and sometimes labeled with the Stoicist term "natural" (Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*). Later, the commandments (Decalogue*) were interpreted allegorically (*Gospel of Barnabas* 9, 7; SC 172, 146 *Sq*). Prophecies (prophet* and prophecy) of messianic times were interpreted not as referring to the first coming of Jesus but his glorious second coming.

It also had to be shown that Christianity did not go back on the affirmation of monotheism. The theology of the Trinity* strove to distinguish itself from any kind of triplicity. Indications of the Trinity were sought in the Old Testament, as in the plural "Let us make man" (Gn 1:26) or in the passage where Abraham receives three supernatural visitors (Gn 18). Similarly, it had to be shown that the cult of images and of the cross did not amount to the worship of idols (idolatry).

However, the relation to the ancient covenant and the texts that tell its story (the Old Testament) is just one aspect of the relationship with Judaism. Post-Christian Judaism crystallized after the destruction of the temple and the loss of the land. Jewish elements that had been centered on the temple and the land—

such as the Sadducees—disappeared, leaving only the Pharisees, whose focus was the study of the Torah.

c) *Conceptualizing the Persistence of Judaism*. The question for Christianity was that of knowing what role remained for the unconverted people of Israel. This problem already tormented Paul, himself born and raised as a strictly observant Jew, and he entertained in coexistence themes that were hard to reconcile. On the one hand, by adhering to the law, the Jews refuse grace (Gal 5:4). The *Epistle to the Hebrews*, basing its argument on Jeremiah 31:31–34, notes with the same sense: "In speaking of a new covenant, he [God, through the mouth of Jeremiah] makes the first one obsolete. And what is becoming obsolete and growing old is ready to vanish away" (Heb 8:13). On the other hand, "the gifts and the calling of God are irrevocable" (Rom 11:29) so it follows that "all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26). The same ambiguity is expressed in the Johannine writings: in the fourth gospel (gospels*) Jesus' enemies are plainly named "the Jews," but it is also affirmed that "salvation is from the Jews" (Jn 4:22).

The church fathers introduced a new theme: the Church is *verus Israel*, "the real Israelite race" (Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*). The promises (promise*) made to ancient Israel are understood to be valid for the Church, that is, for all of Christianity. The fact that the scepter has left Jacob proves that "the one to whom it must return"—if the word *šil'oh* is interpreted this way—has come (Gn 49:10). So it should be no surprise that the Jews are deprived of their land and all political power and dispersed throughout the world. Nor, conversely, that Christians should appropriate cultural features taken from the Old Testament and abandoned by Judaism, such as the anointing of kings and the Aaronic imagery of the priesthood. The universalist prophecies are interpreted as referring to the conversion of the nations to the Church.

The Church's claim to being the true Israel is interpreted as an exclusive one: the Jewish communities are no longer Israel (Augustine, *En. Ps.* 75, 2; CChr.SL 39, 1038), and this means that they are situated outside of themselves. An explanation must be found for their persistence. The effective cause is the hardening* of hearts and blindness, as expressed in the image of the blindfolded synagogue. The final cause is the testimony they give, in spite of themselves, of the validity of the gospel. As Augustine has it, the Jews are kept in their dispersion in order to bear witness (Augustine, *City of God* XVIII, 46; BAug 36, 653).

A change in themes can be observed from the 12th century onward (Funkenstein 1968). From around 1240 the procedure of allegorization of the Bible was

extended to the Talmud, until then unfamiliar to Christians, and then to the Kabala, both of which understood as announcing a messiah (messianism*/Messiah) who resembled Jesus.

d) Recent Developments. The favorable context created by the religious neutrality of modern states does not explain everything but does facilitate matters. On the other hand there was an upsurge of a modern, social, pseudo-biological anti-Semitism dissociated from Christian anti-Judaism even if it shared certain themes (Hadas-Lebel 1993). The Shoah, ultimate consequence of this anti-Semitism, led to the concretization of the Zionist project and the creation of the State of Israel.

But intellectual factors are also at work. Emancipation allows Jews to participate in modern intellectual life and Christians have a more positive attitude, which had been developing for centuries. Some called Bernard of Clairvaux a “saint” for his action against the pogroms connected with the Second Crusade (Joseph ha-Cohen, *Vale of tears* ... 1881). Abelard*, at the same period, provides an example of irenic dialogue sensitive to the sufferings of Israel (*Dialogue between a philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian*). From the 15th century onward, knowledge of Hebrew spread. Progress in biblical studies produced a better awareness of the implications of Jesus’ Jewish origins. At the Council of Trent the Catholic Church explicitly condemned the idea of a “decide people.” In *Le salut par les Juifs* [Salvation by the Jews] (1892), the writer Léon Bloy (1846–1917) opposed anti-Semitism. He was followed by Jacques Maritain (1882–1979), Erik Peterson (1932), Charles Journet (1945), and the Jesuit Gaston Fessard (1960), who deepened an irenic meditation on the mystery* of Israel. At the same time, Jews rediscovered the person of Jesus.

Vatican II* represents an important stage, but not an entirely new departure. The declaration *Nostra Aetate*, §4, extended by *Orientations and suggestions for the application of the conciliar declaration Nostra Aetate* (1975), and then *Notes for a proper presentation of Jews and Judaism in the Preaching and Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1985), sought to reorient Christian teaching as a whole. The work of Franz Mußner (1979) is important, if only for the symbolic impact of its title: it marks the transition from a discourse against the Jews to a discourse about the Jews.

However, the theological problem of the status of non-converted Israel is not specified in any official document and continues to be disputed. It is further complicated by the division of the Jewish people into different congregations (Reform, Conservative, Orthodox) and by the foundation of the State of Israel. It is in

itself a mysterious question, one reserved for God alone. Among the questions that can be dealt with, some are concerned with the very status of Israel, others with its relation to the Church.

Paul called for immediate conversion (Rom 12:31), while suggesting that a conversion will eventually occur (Rom 11:25). For what period, era, or epoch does the Church have the right to hope for this conversion? Within the time of human history? Will it be gradual or en masse? Or is it an eschatological event, reserved for Christ’s second coming?

Are there two peoples of God? Will the Church only be fully the true people of God after the conversion of Israel? Is there a separate path of salvation for Israel that could forego belief in Christ? Of course, “there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus” (1 Tm 2:5). But acceptance of this, which is an article of faith for Christians, might, for the Jews, be a vision, the eschatological vision of “him whom they have pierced” (Jn 19:37 citing Zec 12:10).

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See also Church; Choice; Ecclesiology; Israel; Judeo-Christianity; Pauline Theology

Judeo-Christianity

a) Various Notions. The notion of Judeo-Christianity employed in the history of ancient Christianity, as in the history of Christian doctrines, expresses the connection between nascent Christianity and Judaism. The content varies from one author to another, but three major concepts can be brought out.

In its first meaning Judeo-Christianity represents Christians who were born Jewish and confess the messianism of Jesus, his resurrection from the dead, and the new life he begins according to the announcement made to the prophets (prophet* and prophecy). Those Christians who continued to observe Jewish law became the minority by the end of the first century as a result of the development of Christian communities made up of a majority of formerly pagan (pagans*) believers.

This concords with the definition of "Judeo-Christians" given in his time by L. Marchal (*DThC* 8, 1925, col. 1681): Christians of Jewish origin who kept the Mosaic observances while confessing the Christian faith. According to this hypothesis, confession of Christ's divinity would mark the limit between orthodox and heterodox Judeo-Christians. To one side of this line there would be the Nazarenes and on the other the *ebionites* and the *elchasaïtes*, a group of marginal Christian communities mentioned or described by some church fathers from the middle of the second century to the fourth century.

From another viewpoint, Judeo-Christianity would include communities that came from Judaism and recognized Jesus as the Messiah (messianism*/Messiah) but not as God. The Judeo-Christians would constitute heterodox primitive Christian communities, on the fringes of other Christian communities, at the end of the first or beginning of the second century.

Another line of research starts with the observations that the Christian communities express and celebrate their faith with the use of Jewish theological and liturgical notions taken from the environment in which they were born. From this viewpoint Judeo-Christianity designates a Christian theology and practice of Jewish origin.

These varied notions in fact all use a similar approach. They all seek to bring out Judaizing intellectual fashions or practices within a number of more or less important of Christian communities developed no-

tably after the year 70. In so doing, all of these notions place the Judeo-Christian problematic in a period after the first Jewish war (66–73) and identify the Judaism of that time with the rabbinical Judaism derived from the Pharisaic tradition. And from this viewpoint, the majority of the Christian communities of that period were characterized by their abandonment of traditional, that is, Pharisaic Jewish observances.

However, by revealing first-century Judaism in its diversity and not as a uniform entity, recent studies invite reconsideration of the question.

b) First-Century Christianity and Judaism. Judaism at that time was composed of various groups that shared an ensemble of practices and beliefs: faith in the unique God who revealed himself to the Fathers, covenant established by God with Israel, law that engages observances, in particular the cult celebrated in a unique temple. On this common basis, each group was characterized by particular practices and doctrinal interpretations; the Christians appeared then as a new group among other older ones, Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, Zealots... They were all designated by the same term, *hairesis* (sect or group), in literature of that time, whether Jewish (for example, Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 13, 5, 9; 18, 1, 2) or Christian (Acts 5:17, 15:5, 24:5; etc.). Thus, the Church and rabbinical Judaism do not derive from a uniform clearly defined Judaism but from two different traditions of first-century Judaism (*see* Neusner 1991; Dunn 1991).

Early Christianity went through a phase where it elaborated its own practices while still belonging to Judaism. This phase lasted up to the separation from Judaism, which took place after the first Jewish war* in the opening decades of the second century. After this war, in fact, certain groups constituting Judaism would more or less rapidly be jeopardized, mainly the Essenes, Sadducees, and Zealots. However, there is no indication of their total disappearance. Though most Jewish traditions other than the Pharisaic and Christian lost importance, the Judaism from which Christianity separated cannot be identified exclusively with the Pharisaic group.

The fact is that the Roman authorities considered the Christians as belonging to Judaism up to the early sec-

ond century. Up to that period, the same accusations were made against Jews and Christians, which shows that they were not distinguished (Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion* 79; Suetonius, Nero 16, 3; Tacitus, *Annales* 15, 44).

The Christians were still subject to harassment down through the second century but it became occasional. They were prosecuted by judges who used their police power to restore order, and their attitude shows the beginnings of a distinction between Christians and Jews. The prosecution of Christians around 111–12 by Pliny the Young, governor of the *Pont* and *Bithynie*, shows that the Christians were no longer considered as Jews. Letters exchanged on that occasion between Pliny and the Emperor Trajan are the first documents attesting the separation, at least in that site. This is far from the date usually given, which is the reign of Nero (54–68) or Domitian (81–96).

c) New Perspective on Judeo-Christianity. The question of Judeo-Christianity should be posed from the question of what was first-century Judaism. Christianity at that time was a new group within Judaism and can legitimately be called Judeo-Christianity during the period in which it was part of Judaism (*see* Dunn, 234). The duration of that period varied according to different communities, because the characteristic diversity of first-century Judaism also marked all the groups that constituted it. Christianity did not escape from this situation. In fact it shared with the other groups constituting the Judaism of the Second Temple a common stock of practices and beliefs that also included Scripture (the Old Testament), an ensemble of prayers (prayer*) and liturgical practices, and a way of organizing communities. But this common stock was interpreted and valorized in different ways according to the communities. This led to tensions and conflicts, not only between

Christians and other groups within Judaism, notably the Pharisees, but also within Christianity, to such an extent that when Christianity and Judaism separated in the second century, some Christian communities did not find a place within Christianity as it was defined. Those are the communities that the church fathers in the second century perceived as Judaizing.

The notion of Judeo-Christianity, thus redefined, takes into account the characteristic diversity of the first Christian communities and the Jewish nature of their practices. From this perspective, the classical interpretations of Judeo-Christianity reflect, in their divergence, the situation of Christianity during the initial, Judeo-Christian phase of its history.

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See also **History of the Church; Judaism**

Judgment

1. Preliminary Philosophical Remark

Man perceives reality both as *being* and as an *obligation to be*; he experiences himself as existing in the present but at the same time his relationship to the ex-

ternal world allows him to take a detached look at his own behavior. Western philosophy* bears witness to this irreducible duality: metaphysics and practical philosophy (in the classical tradition), or the critique of

pure reason and the critique of practical reason (for Kant*), are fundamental forms of philosophical activity. It follows that history is neither mere contingency nor an immediate realization of morality. It is of a mixed nature and asks to be evaluated. It is therefore inevitable that, from within faith, with the living and revealed God as starting point, there should be postulated an evaluating and judging act of God. God can have no other relation to history. The idea of divine judgment is thus not merely an allegory derived from human judicial practice and transposed to God by analogy*. We perceive that reality and history call for judgment through a transcendental experience, implicitly contained in everything that we live through. The widespread opinion that sees in theological discourse about the judgment of God a mythological survival to be abandoned, or merely a symbol (*see, e.g., Tillich*, Systematic Theology* Chicago, 1963, vol. 3), does not take this point of departure into account. If it is also true that the relation of God to history is determined by grace, then judgment and the fulfillment of history constitute two indissociable notions.

2. Old Testament

The categories of judicial procedure are amply employed in biblical literature, in both the Old and New Testaments, because the exercise of human and divine justice is represented there in an elevated form. The concept of justice in particular has a specific range of meaning insofar as it condenses a whole series of operations carried out to “do justice” in circumstances in which justice is threatened or flouted.

a) Judicial Procedure in Israel. Conflicts break out between individuals, who, often provoked by wrongs suffered or presumed, feel that their rights have been infringed, and who institute proceedings (*rîb*) against the responsible party to bring a complaint before a competent judicial body so that justice may be done. The law regulates this procedure (Dt 19:1f.; 2 Sm 15:2), which contains organically structured stages that assure the lawfulness of the judgment.

The starting point of any judicial consideration is a criminal deed, that is, the violation of a law. It is also necessary that the offense be brought to the knowledge of the legal authority, who is attributed the title and the competence of *judge* (*shôfêṭ*) and who will then assume the action of punishment.

At an evolved stage in the history of Israel, judicial bodies seem to have been divided into specific jurisdictions: “elders” probably presided over local tribunals “at the gates” of the city (Dt 21:19, 22:15, 25:7; Jos 20:4; Proverbs 31:23); “priests” decided questions concerning sacred norms (Nm 5:15–28; Dt 17:8ff.,

19:17ff.; 2 Chr 19:8–11); and the most difficult cases were reserved for the king and his officials (1 Kgs 3:16–28), who may have also dealt with cases on appeal (2 Sm 14:4–8; 2 Kgs 8:1–6). The judicial body usually had a collegial form in order to guarantee greater impartiality; this model was also followed in imagining the heavenly tribunal in which God administers justice, assisted by a counselor (1 Kgs 22:19; Ps 82:1; Jb 1:6).

The judge was responsible for all actions necessary for a judgment to be lawful (*shêfêṭ*). Simplifying greatly, the procedure provided that the magistrate would examine the validity of relevant legal matters: by means of careful investigation (Dt 13:15, 17:4 and 9, 19:18) he would make certain of the facts and circumstances, and by questioning witnesses and the accused, he would develop a conviction leading to the pronouncing of a sentence (1 Sm 22:7–16; 2 Sm 14:5ff.; 1 Kgs 3:16–27; 2 Kgs 6:28, 8:6; Greek Dn 13:50–59). The public aspect of the entire procedure, as well as the involvement of the people, would be emphasized in the various stages of the process (Jer 26).

The totality of the acts decided or verified by the judge was called “judgment” (*mishepat*). Each moment of the procedure might, by metonymy, signify its end; for example, “accusing,” arresting a guilty person, or turning him over to the authorities might each be enough to designate the entire procedure. This is particularly true for poetic texts, which prefer allusive language to the technical terminology of the law. The term *judgment* was applied particularly to the concluding stage of the process, becoming a synonym with *verdict*, a sentence of condemnation or absolution, as well as the articulation of motives, all making up the end and the summit of the judicial action as a whole.

The purpose of punitive judgment was threefold: repression of evil (Dt 13:6, 17:7 and 12, 19:19, 21:21, etc.), social deterrence (Dt 13:12, 17:13, 19:20, 21:20; 1 Kgs 3:28, etc.), and reformation of the guilty (2 Kgs 19:4; Jer 2:19; Ps 6:2, etc.).

b) Judgment in the Prophetic Tradition. The entire judicial proceeding revolved around the figure of the judge; it was incumbent on him to see that justice was done, because the actions of any other legal subject were rendered futile if not ended in a decision by the competent body and made in a speech authoritatively defining the judicial truth that was imposed on everyone. With that purpose in mind, the law prescribed that the choice of magistrates take into account the level of wisdom and moral uprightness indispensable for the office; judges indeed had to be “*men of value who fear God, men of truth who hate venality.*” (Ex 18:21; *see also* Dt 1:15). Impartiality and incorruptibility were in

a sense the bedrock of the tribunal (Ex 23:6; Lv 19:15f.; Dt 1:16f., 16:18f.).

The history of Israel did not conform to that ideal. Prophets (prophet* and prophecy) repeatedly denounced the perversion of judicial acts, subjected to venality (1 Sm 8:3; Is 1:23; Jer 5:28, 22:17; Ez 22:27; Mi 3:11) and used by the powerful against whom an innocent man was unable to defend himself. Given that improper administration of justice was the hallmark of an iniquitous government (*shâfat* meant both to judge and to govern), the prophets proclaimed that God himself would establish a higher tribunal to pronounce a judgment against both judges and rulers. Thus, once the mighty had been brought lower and the poor saved, justice would reappear on Earth. Many exegetes have therefore identified the message of the prophets with the proclamation of judgment.

The literary genre (literary* genres in Scripture) characteristic of prophecy (prophet* and prophecy) may be called “judicial discourse” (*Gerichtssrede*). It should, however, be noted that in order to be able to speak of judgment, a legal structure consisting of three elements is necessary; that is, that two opposing parties must be present. These take on the figures of the *accuser* (accompanied by his witnesses) and that of the *accused* (who may have a defender but is often alone). The judge, the third element, stands above the parties; he listens (holds “audience”) and decides (separates good* from evil). But not all legal proceedings in the Bible have this structure. For example, the prophets frequently evoke the procedure of the trial (*rib*), which was essentially bilateral and thus did not provide for mediation between the accused and the accuser. This process typically took place within the family and was metaphorically applied in circumstances in which covenant relationships were in force. The accuser tried to convince the accused to recognize his wrongs and to recover the conditions of an understanding based on reciprocal respect; but if his words turned out to be futile, he could also turn to punitive means to the extent necessary—always, however, with the intent of reaching a reconciliation. Whereas in the dynamic play of judgment the accuser tended to seek the condemnation of the opposing party, in the logic of the bilateral trial the one who accused, even if he threatened in anger, wished only for the other to confess his wrong so that he might be forgiven.

c) Judgment of God. In the Bible the power of judgment rests heavily on those who also hold another form of authority (political and religious). It is therefore clear that, since sovereignty over the entire world is recognized as belonging to YHWH, the character of

a judge is also attributed to him (Gn 18:25; Ex 5:21; 1 Sm 24:13–16; Is 2:4; Jer 11:20; Ps 7:12, 9:5, 82:1).

Of course, the judgment of God does not only apply to the rather limited number of cases of ordeals, where individuals, unable to decide, leave it to chance or to prescribed rituals to decide between guilt and innocence (Ex 22:6ff.; Nm 5:16–28; Jos 7:16–19; 1 Kgs 8:31f.). But Scripture sees the entire history of the human race subordinated to the constant judgment of the God of heaven, who knows all and intervenes whenever people fail to render justice.

The stories of Cain and Abel (Gn 4:9–12), of Sodom (Gn 18:16–33), of the liberation from the Egyptian yoke (Ex 3:20), and the like are examples of the price God attaches to an equitable judgment, to punishing the guilty and to rehabilitating and saving innocent victims. Thus, not only is God’s absolute and impartial justice revealed but also his sovereign concern for the poor. Indeed, he listens to the lament of the weak, and his judgment is equivalent to saving intervention. This explains why the judgment of God and his justice are so often signs of salvation (1 Sm 26:23f.; Is 19:20; Ez 34:22; Ps 7:9, 26:1, 43:1, 54:3). It should also be noted that God’s judgment is often accomplished through warlike actions; a defeat in war is in fact seen as a verdict of condemnation issued by God against the guilty party.

This vision of things, which governs the biblical narration (and not only the Deuteronomist strand) and largely inspires prophetic and omniscient literature, corresponds to the axiom in which “God rewards everyone according to their deeds” (Ps 62:13; Prv 24:12; Jbb 34:11; Eccl 12:14; Rom 2:6). Negative events of individual and collective history are interpreted as the manifestation of the just judgment of God, who punishes faults with rigor. The exile of the people of Israel is to be read as the tragic outcome of a history subordinated to divine judgment, the emblem of an analogous condemnation of all nations (Jer 25).

The metaphor of the judgment of YHWH claimed to explain the meaning of history. However, the doctrine was criticized by various prophetic and intellectual currents, which objected that the wicked prospered in the world while the poor continued to suffer injustice and abuse. The protest of the prophets (Jer 12:1f.; Hb 1:2–4:13; Mal 3:15) and of the suppliants of Israel (Ps 10:13, 73:3–12, 94:3–7 and 20f.) was echoed by the denunciation of the wise (Jb 21:7–33; Eccl 7:15, 8:14, 9:2). Thus, history does not provide an adequate revelation of the divine government of the world. In order to maintain complete faith in a supreme justice that was inherent in human events, the metaphor of the tribunal was displaced to a concluding act of history: judgment became the “last judgment,” or final judg-

ment, the quintessentially eschatological act, which would definitively separate the just from the wicked (Is 26:20f.; Jl 4:1–17; Mal 3:19–21; Dn 7:9–14). The Wisdom of Solomon (5) adopts this line of interpretation. New Testament passages proclaim that the final event of God's judgment is "imminent" (Mt 3:7–12, 24, 25, and parallel passages).

3. *New Testament and Historical Theology*

a) The background in the Old Testament, the *mishepat* of YHWH, is indispensable for any understanding of the preaching of John the Baptist. He too establishes an immediate relationship between the condemnation and the favor of God; no one may feel safe in the face of the coming judgment. Only conversion and repentance, sealed by baptism, give promise of salvation (Mt 3:7–12). If we were to reduce the judgment announced by Jesus to formulas, parables (parable*), and the like, we would lose sight of the fact that the proclamation of the Kingdom of God, like the message of John the Baptist, brings together the idea of unreserved concern for sinners and the idea of their condemnation (*see* in particular the Sermon on the Mount [Mt 5:22, 26 *passim*] or the images used in Mt 13:24–30, 47–50 and 24:50f. *passim*). The measure of this twofold divine justice is the commandment (Decalogue*) of love, which is valid for Jews as well as for Gentiles (Mt 25:32).

Human beings can be saved from divine condemnation by divine forgiveness, which is granted to the sinner without restriction (Lk 15), whatever the gravity of his sin (*see* Lk 7:36–50; Mt 18:21–35). But man will be saved only if he can also pardon himself with that same unconditional intention to forgive (*see* Mt 6:14, 18:22 and 35 *passim*). The Kingdom of God, in which divine judgment is situated, is the future that is being prepared on the threshold of the present, a future that takes form in the words and deeds of Jesus. Although only some exegetes argue that Jesus designated himself as the Son* of man through whom judgment is fulfilled (Mk 14:62), there is on the other hand no doubt that the post-Easter Church* expected that the Christ who had ascended to heaven would return to judge humanity (for the synoptics, *see* Mt 13:41, 24:31, 24:35–51, 25:31 *passim*; Acts 10:42, 17:31; 2 Thes 1:5–10; 1 Cor 4:5; 1 Pt 4:5). The one who returns to judge humanity is the savior and the establisher of law* inasmuch as he condemns evil.

This fundamental structure of Jesus' proclamation, and of the Easter faith in relation to the judgment of God in and through Jesus Christ, is found in various forms in the different corpuses of New Testament. The Pauline writings, through the doctrine of the justifica-

tion of the sinner, develop the present aspect of judgment and forgiveness worked by God in Jesus Christ. They define justification in relation to the future judgment of God (Rom 2:6) or of Christ (2 Thes 1:7). In the proclamation of the last judgment, Paul calls on many apocalyptic elements, and a comparison of 1 Thessalonians 4:13–5:11 with 1 Corinthians 15:20–58 exhibits the freedom with which he varies these images. The proclamation of salvation and judgment in this context are based on the death and resurrection of the Lord, both harbingers to the resurrection of the dead (*see* 1 Cor 15:17, 20). The imminence of final events is thus attenuated to some degree. Deutero-Pauline writings (*see* Eph 2:1f.; Col 3:1–4) more strongly emphasize the present character, already at work, of the mystery of Jesus Christ, although they do not exclude the future dimension. This aspect of judgment is even more strongly emphasized in the Johannine corpus. "*He who believes in God is not judged, he who does not believe is already judged*" (Jn 3:18). In John 5:24–30 we can see how apocalyptic* language is used to proclaim the present event of judgment, the already given reality of resurrection to eternal life (life*, eternal) and of condemnation. H. Conzelmann comments: "The future dimension is not dismissed but rather made present . . . John is of course acquainted with the expectation of the Parousia* (as of the resurrection and judgment). He does not eliminate it, but integrates it into the present understanding of salvation" (*Grundriß der Theologie des NT* [Munich, 2nd Ed. 1967]).

The future dimension of judgment certainly appears in John (John 5:28ff., 6:39f.). Entirely similar pronouncements can be found in Acts. Christ brings together the present and future realities of judgment and fulfillment; he is the Lord, and he comes as the Lord. In the Johannine corpus, judgment is understood as condemnation. The believer is not subject to judgment, which affects only "this world" (John 12:31). According to the synoptic Gospels, although those who believed or loved are nevertheless subject to judgment (Mt 25:31), as disciples of Jesus they are also those who exercise judgment with him (*see* Mt 19:28; Lk 22:30). In the Gospel (Gospels*) of John, in accordance with his interest in the present aspect of judgment, the Church is created by the Holy* Spirit to confound and judge the world (*see* Jn 16:8, 11).

b) The first formularies of faith in the early Church—like the great majority of Western and Eastern confessions of faith, including the creeds of Nicaea* and Constantinople* (*see* DH 10–76)—attest to a belief in the judgment of God or in the return of Jesus Christ to judge the living and the dead. Debates

about Marcionism*, Gnosis*, millenarianism*, and the doctrine of apocatastasis* (see Constantinople II*, *DH* 433) gave rise to deeper theoretical developments, in the areas of both ethics and theology. In part, these developments went back to Plato (*Apology* 40c ff.; *Gorgias* 523a–527a; *Republic* X. 614–615d) and were also not distant from the ideas about judgment as held by Plutarch, the neo-Pythagoreans, and the Neoplatonists. The three Cappadocians, especially Basil*, (see *Com. in Isaiah* I. 43, PG 30. 201), understood divine judgment strictly as the end point of human liberty, so that even one condemned by God acquiesces to the divine sentence. Judgment is thus the advent of liberty to truth. In that way, the freedom of the created being is implicitly conceived not only as the capacity to choose but also as the ability to do good and evil, a thought that in the modern era finds full theoretical expression in Kant and Schelling*.

Latin theology of judgment was later essentially governed by the profound Augustinian synthesis of the *eschata* or last things (see *Civ. Dei* XX–XXII) and the more parenetic discussions of Gregory the Great. Both were weighty authorities whom medieval theologians invoked to defend the idea of individual judgment after death, a doctrine that appeared only implicitly in Eastern and early Latin theology, for example in the cult of martyrs and saints. Art and religious practices show how belief in a universal judgment deeply marked spirituality and piety. There is abundant evidence of this in Romanesque and particularly in Gothic churches, as well as in the illuminations produced by monks. At the same time, judgment was one of the principal themes of preaching up to and beyond the Reformation and the Counter Reformation; it also played a central role in literature and plastic art.

The theology of the early Middle Ages up to the 12th century did not undertake a systematic discussion of divine judgment in the framework of the *eschata*. Such discussion was made possible only in the 13th century, with the development of an anthropology* endowed with a structured conceptual apparatus. Death now represented the threshold through which the soul, after undergoing an individual judgment, acceded to its fulfillment. As a rational principle, the soul found its supreme perfection in the beatific (vision*, beatific) vision: that is, in the immediate vision of divine essence, granted by God without the mediation of any created being. Conversely, damnation was characterized by eternal privation of that vision. The souls in purgatory*, for their part, acceded to the beatific vision only at the end of a period of purification. As for the body, the material principle of the human person, it was inextricably tied to the physical world, but its reality continued beyond the death of the individual (see

Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* IIIa. q. 59. a. 5); this is why it was included in the universal judgment. It would be resurrected for that judgment and then receive its sentence. In this way the theologians of the great medieval period emphasized that a close bond united individual and universal judgment. According to Thomas and Benedict XII, for example, the resurrection and exaltation of the body would bring to the human soul both a quantitative and a qualitative increase in happiness.

This systematization of eschatology brought about a tension between Latin and Eastern theology, because the latter had not undertaken the same conceptual development of anthropology. Whereas the Latin formularies of the early Middle Ages were still content with emphasizing the judgment of Christ “according to works” (see *DH* 574, 681 passim), the creed of the Second Council of Lyons* already reflected the systematization of Latin eschatology (see *DH* 856–59). The constitution *Benedictus Deus* (*DH* 1000–02) of Benedict XII, intended to correct the sermons of his predecessor John XXII, adopted the doctrine of divine evaluation of individual souls after death, although without using the term *judgment*, which Thomas was the first theologian to do.

The attribution of judicial power to Jesus Christ was frequently debated in medieval theology. According to Thomas Aquinas, the *judiciaria potestas* of Christ is based on the fact that, as Son, he is the truth and the work of the Father (*ST* IIIa. q. 59. a. 1). This power falls to him as a man, as leader of humanity and as author of salvation. For Thomas, judgment was essentially a part of the salvific unveiling of the truth, the truth of man and the truth of history. The three possible sentences of the judgment of God or of Jesus Christ—eternal beatitude, eternal damnation, and purification—are justified in a strictly argumentative mode.

c) Martin Luther argued against this idea of a twofold judgment; he spoke of a sleeping of the soul until the last judgment, rejected the doctrine of purgatory, and understood the judgment of Christ as a condemnation, the antithesis of grace. In Calvin*, with the notion of positive predestination* (see *Inst.* III. 20–22), these two elements, condemnation and grace, were again placed in an immediate relation to one another, although in a way different from that of the medieval tradition. Moreover, the Protestant polemic against the piety of works denounced with some reason an understanding of indulgences that, in preaching, in popular faith, and even in the theology of the period, often manifested magical characteristics that tended to place restrictions on the sovereign judgment of God and Jesus Christ. In its decree on justification (*DH* 1545–49, 1582) the Council of Trent character-

ized Jesus Christ as the “equitable judge” who grants eternal life *tamquam gratia...et tamquam merces*. That council rejected the principal characteristics of “justice by deeds” and maintained purgatory as the moment of judgment (*DH* 1580, 1820).

Although Catholic Scholasticism of the baroque period and Protestant orthodoxy presented many common points in relation to the doctrine of universal judgment, Enlightenment thought led theology to concentrate almost exclusively on morality. In this perspective, divine judgment served to strengthen the moral motivation of human beings. The doctrine of judgment disappeared entirely from the dogmas (dogma*) of certain liberal Protestant currents. Despite the reaction of the dialectical theology of Barth*, H. Merkel is able to take note of the uselessness of the concept of judgment in current Protestant theology: “Whoever proclaims the absolutely gratuitous character of grace can no longer grant decisive importance to judgment according to works” (*TRE* 12, 492). The development of Catholic theology followed other paths. Under the influence of the confrontation with Schleiermacher, German idealism, and romanticism, the school of Tübingen again granted a particular place to eschatology. In his *Encyclopedia of Theological Sciences* (1834–40), A. Staudenmaier treated universal judgment as an essential moment in the fulfillment of revelation and of the kingdom of God. Conversely, neoscholastic theologians, who did not generally demonstrate a very developed sense of history, saw the traditional doctrine of judgment as a strict calling to judgment of humanity and the world, some of them distinguishing clearly between a period of divine mercy lasting until the death of the individual and a period of rigorous justice beginning after death. This idea was carried to an extreme in the work of J. Bautz, *Weltgericht und Weltenende. Im Anschluß an die Scholastik und die neuere Theologie dargestellt* (Mainz, 1886). Some Anglican writers, as well as some neoscholastics, had a view of modernity that expressed the expectation, not devoid of apocalyptic tones, of an imminent judgment (see P. Toulemon, “La

question de la fin du monde et du règne de Dieu sur la terre,” *Études*, 1868).

Hermeneutic (hermeneutics*) reflection on eschatological pronouncements (Rahner*), a better articulation of individual judgment and individual *eschata* with what is said about a universal resurrection and judgment (Y. Congar, M. Schmaus, R. Guardini, P. Teilhard de Chardin), and the attachment of judgment to the domain of soteriology and Christology (Balthasar*, Blondel*), have all given new impetus to recent theological analysis. The Second Vatican* Council, for its part, integrated its articles on judgment into the universal eschatological perspectives of the Christian experience of faith (see *LG* 48, *GS* 45).

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See also Eschatology; Hell; Kingdom of God; Limbo; Mercy; Parousia; Purgatory

Jurisdiction

The term *jurisdiction* is of Roman origin. It concerns the exercise of a power or *potestas*. In canon* law, commentators gave it a more precise definition beginning in the 12th century, a period of a certain renaissance of Roman law. Certain concrete questions arose, and although these questions were admittedly old, commentators used them to articulate tools for legal analysis. Two major problems presented themselves: the validity* of celebrations of the Eucharist and ordinations (ordination*/order) carried out by excommunicated, heretical, or schismatic (schism*) ministers; and the origin of the power exercised by the pope* and the bishops (bishop*) before their consecration. Doctrine relied more and more systematically on the distinction between two powers, one of order, *potestas ordinis*, the other of jurisdiction, *potestas iurisdictionis*. The former, which could not be lost, was acquired by ordination and granted the authority to carry out sacramental acts. The latter was given in a canonic mission and authorized the exercise of the power of governing and teaching. In particular it authorized the carrying out of magisterial acts, understood in their jurisdictional sense, which made it possible to impose on the faithful a doctrine that was to be believed or followed. The distinction between the two powers is reiterated in the Code of Canon Law of 1917.

The Second Vatican* Council* made little use of the term *jurisdiction*. It sought rather to go beyond the duality between order and jurisdiction by endorsing a mode of presentation of the functions of the Church on the basis of a distribution that Catholic theology had used since the 19th century and that had been adapted from Calvin. As priest (priesthood*), prophet, and king, Christ has given a mission to the Church to carry out duties of teaching, sanctification, and government. After Vatican II, Catholic canon law was influenced by this way of presenting the activity of the Church, although it did not abandon the distinction between the power of order and the power of jurisdiction. New theories on the origin of the power of the pope and the bishops have taken shape, because the council was unable to set out with clarity the elements of an acceptable position. The council clearly set forth the sacramentality of the office of bishop and introduced the notion of *potestas sacra* received in ordination but failed to clarify the efficient role played by the canonic

mission. If ordination is the source of the power of the bishops, does the canonic mission simply determine the place in which power is exercised, or does it confer a portion of a power that can be fully acquired only with a canonic mission? A *nota praevia* attached to the dogmatic constitution *Lumen gentium* did not answer the questions left unresolved by doctrine.

In the *CIC* of 1983, the power of jurisdiction is also called “power of government” (*potestas regiminis*). It may be exercised personally or in the name of another. In this case, power is called personal or vicarious. It may be delegated. The legal categories organizing the power of jurisdiction are described for themselves or on the occasion of the definition of competencies attached to various canonic offices or duties. However, even if the organization of the Church is presented as a structure of duties that may be entrusted to the faithful clergy (cleric*) or laity (lay*/laity), some of these duties are restricted to ordained ministers, and when a competency including jurisdictional power is involved, they are reserved for those who have received holy orders, bishops or priests. Canon 129 of the Latin Code of Canon Law makes an innovation by declaring that faithful laymen may cooperate in the exercise of the power of government. But the use of such cautious terms shows that the principle of a link established between ordination and jurisdiction remains an essential principle of the Church’s organization.

Elements of reflection on the exercise of government in the Catholic Church are to be sought more in relation to the question of pastoral responsibility (*cura pastoralis*) within communities. In fact this is organized in such a way that the faithful participate in the power that is conferred on the bishop set at the head of a diocese or a priest set at the head of a parish. The canon law that came out of the revision that took place after Vatican II has considerably furthered the implementation of participation in the power of government in the Church. We should also mention the place taken by the movement to increase the prestige of synods (synod*) in the Church, synods in which participation in legislative power is institutionalized. This is true for diocesan synods, ancient institutions of the Church, that have often met in dioceses following Vatican II. With respect to participation in executive power, the law sets out principles to be implemented within the

participatory institutions whose competency may be expanded. Through the exercise of this power, the holder of an office is given the possibility of making decisions, but he may also be given the obligation in particular cases of making known the decisions he intends to make in order to solicit advice and consent.

Finally, canon law has set in place mechanisms for the control of the exercise of the power of jurisdiction, the constituent elements of which come from canonic tradition* and from the experience of major state systems. Legislative power is under the control of the Pontifical Council for the interpretation of legislative texts, an organ that has jurisdiction over the entire Church and may receive complaints about the nonconformity of particular laws to universal laws. This recourse to an institution is not possible in the case of universal laws, which remain subject to the principle of discretionary appeal. Executive power may also be subject to control in case of an appeal made against particular decisions considered to be illegal or requiring reparation for a violation of subjective rights. Canon law provides a system

of administrative appeals, followed by appeal to an administrative jurisdiction that was established in 1967 and that needs further development in canonic doctrine. Lastly, the exercise of judicial power is itself carried out in a hierarchy of jurisdictions allowing persons who are seeking reparation for rights violated by another member of the Church to present their complaint to a judge or to have a legal fact recognized, as in cases of marriage annulment. This hierarchy of tribunals is ancient and includes diocesan, regional, or interdiocesan tribunals and a tribunal in Rome, the *Rota Romana*, which judges in the name of the pope and largely functions as a court of appeal.

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See also Canon Law; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Law and Legislation; Hierarchy

Justice

In our time, *justice* refers to an ideal of fairness in the distribution of the goods and burdens of society. It is primarily a virtue (virtues*) of institutions and social arrangements; indeed, it is the fundamental moral quality of a society. By contrast, in classical and medieval writings, more emphasis was given to justice as a personal virtue, defined as "a constant and perpetual will to render to each person his due" (*Digest* I, 1 tit. 1, leg. 10). Of course, justice, so understood, has a social dimension: it is preeminently (although not exclusively) a virtue of rulers and judges.

1. Antiquity

(a) *Old Testament.* In the Bible, the term that is generally translated as "justice," *mishpat*, has various meanings. Sometimes, it refers to one of the legal ordinances in the Pentateuch. In other passages, it refers to a custom or ordinary practice and does not necessarily carry a positive moral connotation. Most importantly

from our perspective, *mishpat* can also refer to the right order of society, which may be violated in practice but respect for which is morally obligatory. Used in this sense, it is often paired with *cedaqah*, "righteousness," and the two together are characteristics of God (e.g., Am 5:24). Both the Pentateuch and the prophetic writings stress that justice includes a special concern for children, widows, orphans, aliens, laborers, and the poor (e.g. Am 5:7–13 and 8:4–8; Mi 6:9–14).

(b) *Greece.* In Greece during the Homeric era, the word usually translated by "justice," *dike*, referred to an eternal order of right relations that structured the natural and social worlds. In human society, this order was expressed in a hierarchy of roles, within which each individual found his or her place; the individual's role, in turn, determined either his or her obligations to others and the claims that he or she could make on others and on the wider society. Both gods and human

judges were thought to be bound by this order, and the justice of a particular law or judgment was evaluated in terms of its conformity to *dike*. As Greek society became more urbanized, this model of justice was increasingly called into question; this provides the context for understanding the work of Plato and Aristotle.

In both the *Republic* and the *Laws*, Plato identifies justice as one of four qualities that comprise moral goodness; this led to the traditional identification of justice as one of four cardinal virtues (*Rep.* 4, 433 b–c; *Laws* 1, 631 d). Plato also internalizes justice, interpreting it as a quality of the soul (soul*-heart-body) in virtue of which the individual's passions* are brought under the control of reason (*Rep.* 4, 434 d–445 c). Justice is thus presupposed by the other virtues.

Aristotle identifies two senses of justice and injustice. In the wider sense, justice comprises the practice of any virtue insofar as the act in question affects another person. Correlatively, any vicious action that harms another can be considered as a form of injustice (*NE* 5, 1129 b 1–1130 a 15). In a more limited sense, justice is a specific virtue: it consists in a commitment to render to each person what is due to him in accordance with fairness (*NE* 5, 1129 a 1–20; 1130 b 30–1131 a 30). That is, neither party to a transaction should benefit more than the other or at the expense of the other (*NE* 1132 a 10–1132 b 20). In Aristotle's view, this conception of justice as fairness was compatible with a strict social hierarchy because, according to him, persons are naturally unequal (*Pol.* 1, 1260 a 9–15).

Finally, the Stoic idea of a natural law—the idea of a moral order set by nature and discerned by reason—set the context for reflection on justice well into the modern period. Although this natural law never had one definite, fixed content, for the Stoics it always implied the idea that all persons are equal as moral agents, and therefore that the institutions of society are conventional rather than natural. The idea of natural law, with its corollary notion of natural justice, served as a vehicle for the classical notion of a moral order that is more basic than particular social arrangements and can serve as a basis for criticizing them.

2. Christian Conceptions

(a) *New Testament.* In the New Testament, God's justice is held up as the standard by which all human conceptions of justice are evaluated. In the synoptic Gospels, this ideal is taken as the basis for a radical critique of human relations, as set forth in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:1–6:29; see Lk 6:14–29), in accordance with the injunction, “You must therefore be per-

fect just as your Heavenly Father is perfect” (Mt 5:48). However, Paul's contrast between the justice of God, manifested in Christ, and human unworthiness has been even more influential for subsequent theology. In Paul's view, the human person is incapable of attaining justice through his or her own efforts, even through obedience to the law (Rom 2:12–29). Justification (*dikaiosisune*), that is, finding grace before God, can only come through faith in Christ (Rom 5:1–11).

(b) *Augustine.* Augustine expounds his views on justice in the *Civitas Dei* (*City of God*). Taking as his starting point the definition of a republic offered by Cicero (106–43 B.C.), as a community organized around a common good, Augustine argues that neither the Roman Empire nor any other community has ever attained true justice (*Civ. Dei* 19.21). In order to do so, it would be necessary to acknowledge the true God and to place all other relationships and goods in their proper relationship to God (*ibid.*, 19.21, 23). There cannot be even a true idea of justice apart from God's revelation in Christ. At the same time, Augustine acknowledges that human societies can attain a kind of justice that is not without value, since life would be impossible without it. Accordingly, the Christian can and should give allegiance to earthly societies, so long as he or she recognizes their imperfect and transient character (*ibid.*, 19.5, 6, 17, 26).

(c) *Thomas Aquinas.* Aquinas (Thomas* Aquinas) accepts the view, shared by civilian jurists and canon lawyers in his day, that there is a natural justice, the demands of which can be known, at least in their broad outlines, by all persons (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 94, a. 6; IIa IIae, q. 57, a. 2). Thus, in contrast to Augustine, Aquinas believes that a genuine justice can exist even in non-Christian communities, and he argues that Christians are bound by natural justice to respect the legitimate claims of non-Christians (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 10, a. 12). For Aquinas, too, justice is one of the four cardinal virtues, more specifically, the virtue of the will (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 56, a. 6; q. 61, a. 2; IIa IIae, q. 58, a. 4). He accepts the traditional definition of justice as the will to render to each his due, in accordance with the norm of equality (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 58, a. 1, 2, 11). On this basis, he distinguishes between “commutative” and “distributive” justice (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 61, a. 1, 2). Distributive justice comprises the norms by which society distributes rewards and punishments (punishment*) and imposes obligations on its members. Commutative justice comprises the norms that govern relations among individuals, including norms of non-maleficence; for example, the prohibition against murder, adultery, or theft. Aquinas also incorporates the traditional virtue of

*epieikeia**, or equity, into his account of justice: through this virtue, one acts outside the letter of the law if that is necessary to preserve the intention* of the legislator (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 120, a. 1). The significance of equity for Aquinas can only be appreciated once we realize that, in his view, no moral rule can be applied with absolute certainty in every possible situation (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 94, a. 4; IIa IIae, q. 47, a. 2, ad 3).

3. Modern and Contemporary Conceptions

In the late Middle Ages and during the Reformation, preoccupation with the notion of justification displaced reflection on justice from the center of theological attention. However, the school of Salamanca (e.g., Suarez* and Vitoria [c. 1485–1546]) offered an exception to this trend, anticipating later doctrines of the rights of man. At the beginning of the modern period, the Stoic-Christian conception of natural law was reformulated into a doctrine of natural rights, and the idea of the rights of man offered a basis for moral claims across social boundaries; it was then a revolutionary element in the political transformation of societies. In the late 18th century and, above all, in the 19th century, it was replaced by utilitarianism* in English-speaking countries.

(a) *Contemporary Theories of Justice.* In Anglophone political philosophy, *A Theory of Justice*, by John Rawls (1921–), has the greatest influence. Rawls criticizes the utilitarian conception of social order in the name of a constructivist account that attempts to establish the norms of justice by asking what social rules would be accepted by rational legislators who know nothing about their own particular situation and interests. Rawls argues that, in these circumstances, rational persons would agree to create a social order characterized by respect for fundamental liberties (liberty*); furthermore, social and material inequalities would be justified only to the extent that they generate a higher standard of living for those who are worse off than would be possible in a more nearly equal society.

On the European continent, reflection on justice has been most deeply influenced by the Frankfurt School. Its most influential representative is probably Jürgen Habermas (1929–), whose account of justice is based on his theory of communicative action. Like Rawls, Habermas argues that social norms can only be justified through a process of reasoned discussion, leading to consensus among those subject to these norms. He further insists that this process must take place through public dialogue in which all participants try actively to place themselves in the position of their interlocutors. Unlike Rawls, Habermas believes that a conception of justice can be grounded in something more universal

than the particular tradition of liberal universalism, namely, in the universal features of social and linguistic interaction.

Theological reflection on justice has not been wholly detached from philosophical thought on the subject, but it has different priorities. As a result, some issues that are central to political philosophy today have scarcely surfaced in theological discussions, such as the distinction between substantive and procedural conceptions of justice, whereas others are almost exclusively theological, for example, the question of the limits of human societies from the perspective of God's justice.

(b) *Problem of Social Justice.* Trenchant theological critiques of government policies were a feature of life in both Europe and the United States throughout the early modern period. In the late 19th century, the focus of this criticism shifted to society itself. Within Protestantism*, this new emphasis on society gave rise to “social Christianity” in Europe (e.g., Charles Gide [1847–1932]) and the “Social Gospel” in the United States (W. Rauschenbusch [1861–1918], *A Theology for the Social Gospel* [1917]). Within Catholicism*, the encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1891) laid the foundations for what was to become the “social teaching of the church.” The Protestant movements attempted to take Jesus's moral sayings as a basis for a social order characterized by social and economic equality. The encyclical of 1891 was not so radical, but it also attempted to develop a Christian response to social injustice. It was a response to Marxism: it acknowledged the force of Marx*'s critique and offered an alternative model of society in which laborers and owners of capital would work together for the common good.

Protestant theologians were responsive to the social ideas of the movements that we have just mentioned. While the two world wars (war*) disillusioned them, they continued nonetheless to draw inspiration from these ideas well into the middle of the 20th century. Perhaps the most influential Protestant theory of justice is the “Christian realism” of Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971), who argued that Christians are morally obliged to work with others to attain the best possible social order, even while acknowledging that any society will necessarily fall short of the ideal of Christian love. The debate between Karl Barth and Emil Brunner (1889–1966) on the possibility of natural justice has also exercised a profound influence on Protestant thought.

Catholic thought drew inspiration from *Rerum novarum*, expanding Aquinas's categories of justice with a third, social justice, which is concerned with the obligations of society to its members. The most notable

figure in the revival of Thomistic political thought (Thomism*) was Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), whose defense of human rights has had a great deal of influence. Maritain should be linked with the German Jesuit O. von Nell-Breuning, who has inspired numerous pontifical documents. More recently, the combination of Marxist elements with Catholic social teaching that constitutes the theology of liberation, with its insistence on reaffirming God's love for the poor, has sought to mount a radical critique of the global economic order. It has been widely criticized, but some of its ideas have been incorporated into official Catholic teaching, notably the claim that God has a "preferential option for the poor." This idea certainly has enduring value as a critique of uncontrolled liberalism.

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See also Authority; Epieikeia; Justice, Divine; Justification; Law and Christianity; Political Theology; Society

Justice, Divine

The definition of justice (*çedâkâh*, *dikaïosunè*) cannot be used as the starting point for an understanding of divine justice because in this case the term is polysemic. In fact, before justice was thematized as a property of the divine essence it was understood or experienced as an action or manifestation of God with respect to human beings (Descamps 1949; Quell-Schrenk 1935). Justice, then, is clearly an attribute related to God (divine attributes*, III). Now the question is to say exactly how they are related.

1. Scripture

a) Old Testament. "The Lord is righteous in all his ways and kind in all his works" (Ps 145:17). This divine justice confessed throughout the Old Testament has, as this verse implies, a double aspect: a legal or judicial aspect of conformity to standards by which the judge rewards or punishes, and an aspect of intervention to deliver and save (Johnson 1987). The latter corresponds to the function of the judge in the ancient Near East, the essential function of the king responsible for establishing peace and prosperity for his people. These two senses mutually imply each other

because it is in judging human beings, individually and collectively, that God communicates his salvation* to them.

Firstly then, God is the just judge who does not favor one person over another (carried over in the New Testament, Rom 2:11; Eph 6:9; Gal 2:6; Col 3:25; 1 Pt 1:17; Acts 10:34; Jas 2:1), meaning that he cannot be corrupted (Dt 1:17; 2 Chr 19:7; Jb 34:19). It follows that he does not favor the rich and powerful. On the contrary (Wis 6:1–8), he does justice for the poor, the abandoned, the widow, the orphan, the stranger (Dt 10:18). Consequently, he is called upon in the Psalms*, when one is sure of being in the right: sure, that is, of one's own "justice" (for example, 7:9–12, 34:18–21, 35:24). But he is also the judge of sin, before whom one admits transgression (Ps 130:3, 51:5f.), and imploring his pardon.

In liberating the oppressed and pardoning the sinner God manifests the fullness of his justice, which is more concerned with salvation than chastisement. This is shown, for example, in the episode where Abraham intercedes on behalf of Sodom (Scharbert 1984). Far from being exclusively punitive (of the oppressor or sinner), divine justice is essentially faithful to the

promise and the covenant, gift of salvation, the “communication of grace and glory” (Descamps 1949) within a universalist (ibid.; Aubert 1974) and even a cosmic perspective (ibid.; Pidoux 1954).

b) New Testament. The theme of divine justice is rarely carried over into the non-Pauline texts (Descamps; Aubert), unless from an eschatological viewpoint (Rev 15:3f, 16:5, 16:7, 19:2, 19:11, e.g.). Though Paul also preaches about the last judgment* (Acts 17:31), when one will reap what one has sown (Gal 6:7ff.) and God will “render to each one according to his works” (Rom 2:6), he usually employs the expression “justice of God” in a new sense that it is not always easy to harmonize with the earlier meaning. Here, justice is no longer proper to God, it is the justice he communicates to man “justified by faith” (justification*, Pauline* theology). The theme of redemption by the death* of Christ*, who acquits the debt to divine justice owed by sinful humanity, runs through the whole of the New Testament (Mt 20:28, 26:28; Mk 10:45; Gal 3:13; Eph 1:7; 1 Tm 2:6; 1 Pt 1:18f.; Rev 1:5, 5:9 par. ex., see 1 Cor 6:20, 7:23).

2. Theology

a) The Fathers. Within the Greco-Roman context in which Christianity developed it became increasingly difficult to resolve the latent tension between the two different aspects of divine justice. In that context the Bible was read first in Greek. In the Septuagint (older translations* of the Bible) *cedâqâh* was usually translated by *dikaio sunè* (ThWAT 6, 922–23), a term that does not (any more than *justitia* in Latin) convey the idea of a merciful salvific justice (ibid., 923; see ThWNT 2, 197) but rather the Aristotelian concept of distributive justice (see EN 5) (Aubert). If God’s justice consists in rendering to each his due, if one should “only have what one deserves,” how can one hope for salvation and divine life? The *massa peccati*, to use the words of Augustine, owes an unpaid debt to divine justice (*Quaestiones ad Simplicianum*, BAug 10, 480; *De diversis quaestionibus*, BAug 10, 274). How then can God’s love and mercy be reconciled with his justice? Almost all the Fathers responded to these questions using a soteriological language: if salvation consists in the fact that Christ paid this debt, then justice and love are profoundly united. Irenaeus, for example, argued against the Gnostic (gnosis*) distinction between a good god and a just god (*Adv. Haer.* III, 25, 2–5). Divine justice and bounty shine in the redemption that the Word of God gives to humanity by his blood (*Adv. Haer.* V, 1, 1); God “recovers his own good in all justice and goodness” (V, 2, 1). In all justice because he

pays for us the ransom due, instead of using violence, be it against the demon (demons*) (same idea in Augustine, *Trin* XIII, 14–15, BAug 16, 314–19; in Gregory* of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica* 20–26, PG 45, 55–70). Augustine understands divine justice in the same sense as Paul: “The justice of God does not signify that by which God is just, but that justice which God gives to man so that he will be just by the grace of God” (*Homilies on the Gospel of St. John* 26, BAug 72, 482; see Council of Trent*, session 6, ch. 7).

b) Middle Ages. For Anselm*, “God is justice” (*existit justitia*—Monologion 16) and justice is the very example (ibid.) of those divine attributes that belong by essence to the supreme nature (*summa natura*). But mercy is also one of those attributes, because we know for sure that God pardons and saves. Highly aware of the problem raised by attributing to God seemingly contradictory properties (as that of justice itself: “can he do an injustice” in sparing evildoers?; *Proslogion* 9), Anselm resolves the antinomy with recourse to the unity of the divine essence in which all the attributes of the sovereign good* mysteriously coincide. God is just, not in that he treats us according to our merits, but in that he treats us in a manner fitting to what he is: “You are just, not because you render us our due, but because you do that which is worthy of you, Sovereign good” (ibid., 10. Note the same idea in Barth*, *KD* II/1).

This shift in sense with respect to the ordinary notion of the virtue (virtues*) of justice is found also in Thomas, for whom God, by being just, renders to himself that which he owes himself (*ST* Ia, q. 21, a. 1, ad 3). This justice is indeed distributive (*CG* 1, 93), but above all it is fundamental because it consists in “given to each that which is fitting in virtue of his nature.” And it has a cosmic dimension, to the extent that it also constitutes an order of the universe (q. 21, a. 1). There is no opposition between justice and mercy (which are treated in the same question) because mercy is the fullness (ibid., a. 3) of justice. Even more deeply, it is its “root” and “foundation,” because nothing is due to the creature but by the will of his Creator, but everything is given superabundantly, “more than the measure of things demands” (a. 4).

c) Modernity. Apparently the message of Thomas did not persist. Divine justice was reduced to retributive or vindictive justice, with all the problems that entailed for considering justification. When Luther set forth the justice of God in the Pauline and Augustinian sense—the justice that God bestows on us, which he named “passive justice”—it was in opposition to an “active justice” that he regarded as solely a justice of

condemnation (e.g., WA 40/1, 45, 25–26; 40/2, 331). This explains why he understood justice as an action of salvation by God, not a divine attribute (Hauser 1974).

K. Barth should be credited with rethinking the unity of mercy and justice, retaining for the latter its proper sense of “distributive justice” (countering modern interpretations, *KD* II/1). This justice is manifest in the death of Christ as both the chastisement of sin and of the sinner (*ibid.*): justice is therefore a mercy that saves. Barth is one of the rare theologians of modern times who still posit a justice in God and consequently affirm the seriousness of redemption (§30, 2, 3, e.g.). By being absorbed in mercy, which in fact changes its nature, justice, divine justice is dissolved in it and, without being explicitly denied, today often disappears from the list of divine attributes (Pesch 1995). Perhaps modern thinkers find it difficult to discern the justice of God in creation and in history. After all, as one of them has said, “the vision of justice is the pleasure of God alone.”

- Anselm, *Monologion* 16.
- Anselm, *Proslogion* 9–11.
- Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1a, q. 21; *CG* 1, 93.

- Luther, *Commentary on Galatians* (1531), WA 40/1, *Commentary on the Psalm 51*, WA 40/2.
- K. Barth, *KD* II/1, §30, 2.
- ♦ G. Quell, G. Schrenk (1935), “Dikaïosunè,” *ThWNT* 2, 194–214.
- A. Descamps, L. Cerfaux (1949), “J. et justification,” *DBS* 4, 1417–1510 (bibl.).
- G. Pidoux (1954), “Un aspect négligé de la j. dans l’Ancien Testament: Son aspect cosmique,” *RThPh* 4, 283–88.
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- J. Auer (1978), “Die Rede der Gerechtigkeit Gottes,” *KKD* 2, §43, 523–32.
- B. Hägglund (1984), “Gerechtigkeit” I, *TRE* 12, 432–40.
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- J. Scharbert (1984), “Gerechtigkeit” I, 3, *TRE* 12, 408–11.
- B. Johnson (1987), “Çadaq,” *ThWAT* 6, 898–924.
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IRÈNE FERNANDEZ

See also Attributes, Divine; Cosmos; Eternity of God; Immutability/Impassibility, Divine; Judgment; Justice; Justification; Knowledge, Divine; Omnipresence, Divine; Providence; Simplicity, Divine

Justification

a) New Testament. How are people to please God? Or, more specifically, how are they to enter into communion with him? According to Christian theology, this question can only be answered by bearing in mind the following two points. On the one hand, the situation of sin in which human beings are immersed makes them incapable of this communion—they are unable to free themselves from the distorted vision, or from the weakness and the corruption of the will, that the situation imposes on them. On the other hand, God’s liberty is total: he cannot be compelled or even persuaded to act in one way or another. So, if human beings are to find grace in his eyes, it can only be on his account.

As early as the Dead Sea Scrolls, there is reference to God’s acting to enable human beings to enter into communion with him by virtue of his justice (*tsedâqâh*). Divine justice does not condemn but rather

liberates: “Thanks to God’s justice, my justification will endure for ever” (1QS11, 12): “Your justice has brought me into the service of your Covenant*” (1QH7, 19). It is true that the primary sense of the Hebrew words formed from the root *ts-d-q* is “to acquit,” “to declare innocent”; but it should also be noted that, in the case of a number of the texts from Qumran, God’s action brings about a change in the sinful man and makes him capable of bearing genuine witness to the covenant. So we see arise the complications that would characterize later Christian thinking: was the divine action above all an acquittal (a simple declaration), or was it above all a transformation?

The New Testament usage of *dikaïoun* (to justify) and *dikaïosunè* (justice) does not resolve the problem. In the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Lk 18:14), we see that the tax collector goes home “justified,” in other words innocent in the eyes of God,

because he has laid claim to no innocence or virtue (virtues*) of his own; but no conclusion can be drawn as to the effect that this has had upon him. Paul discusses this question at length, particularly in the Epistle to the Romans; he is chiefly concerned with the reasons why God treats us as if we were not culpable, a decision based only on his free choice. Thus we are “justified” by God’s grace manifested in Jesus Christ (Rom 3:24ff.), or by the blood of Jesus stretched upon the cross (Rom 5:9). When we fully acknowledge the divine action, we receive its fruits; it is for this reason that it can be said that we are justified by faith (Rom 3:28, 5:1; Gal 2:16, 3:24). Whoever has confidence in what was accomplished by the death of Jesus is therefore innocent in the eyes of God (Rom 3:26). The later and disputed formula of “justification by faith *alone*,” the *sola fide* of some Protestants, is not to be found in these terms in Paul’s writings; and the very expression “justification by faith” must be understood in the context of the whole dramatic scheme set out in Romans and Galatians, in which God, in the person of Jesus, redeems and remits sins. Failing this, there is a risk of forgetting that it is *God* who has taken this unparalleled initiative.

According to Paul the divine acquittal is the beginning, in history, of a process of transfiguration of humankind, which nonetheless has its origin in God’s eternal foreknowledge (Rom 8:29f.). But this is not his only observation concerning salvation, and it would be wrong to detach this point from his whole conception of it: salvation also includes “glorification” and is achieved in union with the glorified Christ, by participation in his death and resurrection, and by incorporation into his body, the Church. It very soon became clear, however, that the intensity, the excessiveness even, of Paul’s language in Romans and Galatians when he speaks of a “justice” entirely distinct from obedience to the law, could be interpreted in an antinomian or quietist sense; consequently the Epistle of St James strongly opposes the idea that one can be “justified” by faith alone, without avoiding sin and without practicing justice and generosity in human relations (2:14–26).

b) Before Augustine. The question was hardly discussed in Christian literature before Augustine, although Origen* is very close to Pauline* thinking in his commentary on Romans (4:1): “It cannot be said that justice derives from works*; rather it is the fruit of good works which derives from justice”; and this “justice” comes from faith, since it is with respect to those who show proof of their faith that God exercises his power of granting it. Origen also employs *dikaion* in its less technical but significant sense of “to rectify”

(*Against Celsus* 4, 7): from this point of view, “justifying” human beings is a matter of making them live in accordance with the rational principle that is within them, and thus with God’s will. Origen aside, few of the Greek Fathers* really dealt with the question. Later Greek catechesis* (in the work of Cyril of Jerusalem or John Chrysostom, for example) generally recognized that human liberty* played a part in the observance of the commandments (Decalogue*) but did not consider that this was the means by which our relationship with God might find its full expression. An excellent summary of the Eastern attitude to the subject is to be found in a work attributed to Mark the Hermit (certainly from the fifth century), *On those who consider that they are justified by works: Two hundred and twenty-six texts*. Good works act to counterbalance sin and are essentially defined negatively. They make it possible to “retain the purity*” of baptism. But perfection (“justice” or “sanctification”) is a matter of living fully as adoptive sons of God, free from all passion (passions*). It is an inner state resulting from God’s grace alone but which may be prepared for by way of asceticism and attentive prayer. The problem of justification is located here in the typically monastic context of the relationship between *praktikè*, the active practice of the virtues, and *theologia*, the gift of inner purity and stability. This is certainly not a very Pauline point of view, but it would be a mistake to see it as mere Pelagianism*.

c) Augustine. Augustine was the first to take the Pauline doctrine seriously in the sense in which Paul himself had conceived it; and despite what is often alleged, the Pelagian controversy was not the sole reason for his absolute conviction of the supreme priority of God’s grace. From his works of the 390s, indeed, he increasingly emphasizes God’s initiative in everything concerning salvation: our will is corrupt and has no freedom, and even when we fleetingly glimpse the good we are incapable of fulfilling it (this point lies at the heart of his theology, as can be seen from the *Confessions*). It is certain, nonetheless, that the Pelagian controversy led him to formulate more and more energetically the central idea that God, “when he crowns our merits, is merely crowning his own gifts” (*Ep.* 194:19). Left to its own devices, our will can do nothing to deserve God’s gifts, since it is incapable of turning itself toward him. It must, however, be recognized that for Augustine divine justification is precisely what makes us *righteous*. To be a righteous person is to fulfill the law; but the fulfillment of the law, according to Paul, is love (Rom 13:10), and this love is the gift made us by the Holy Spirit (Rom 5:5), so that in the last analysis, to be righteous is to participate in the di-

vine life (*Treatise* 26, 1). For Augustine, *justitia* is in effect equivalent to *caritas*: justice thus consists of our incorporation into the body of Christ, and the indwelling of the Trinity within us, by the operation of the Spirit (*De Trinitate* 15, 18, for example). From a slightly different standpoint, it can also be said that to be *righteous* is to be in one's place in the universe, since *justitia* may also denote the balance and interconnection of all things in their proper order and hierarchy (*City of God* 19, e.g.): to be "justified," then, is to have this just relationship with the rest of creation and with the Creator. Our love must be properly ordered, so that we may take created things for what they are and not for God; the divine life present in the baptized will thus find expression in a measured love of the world. If God is truly present to us, it is impossible to confuse his beauty with the beauty of the world. The inner justice of the divine life is expressed in the outward justice of ordered relations, which demands the exercise of a will that has been redeemed and healed: "He created you without your help, but he will not justify you without your help; he created you without your knowing, he justifies you with the assent of your will" (*Fecit nescientem, justificat volentem*, sermon 169, 3). It is not that our acts of will bring about our justification, but rather that the process of justification brings about a willed activity on our part. Justification would not be real if it was not expressed in a transformation of the will.

d) *Latin Middle Ages*. For Augustine, justification was inseparable from a whole series of processes, including our adoption as children of God, our sanctification, and even our "deification." Until the 13th century the Latin West accepted this model, on the one hand attaching great importance to the quasi-identity between the Holy Spirit and justifying and sanctifying grace, and on the other hand approaching the question from the standpoint of the divine presence in the soul (soul*-heart-body). Scholasticism, however, was more interested in the effect produced by that presence. On the basis of observations that Augustine had made in passing on the necessity of expressing our justice through the will to good, it erected the theory of what came to be known as "created grace" (this expression, doubtless derived from the 13th-century *Summa Alexandri*, is uncharacteristic of Thomas* Aquinas). The "formal" cause of our justification was the sum of the created aptitudes produced in us by divine action and presence. There was not the slightest doubt as to the author of the real initiative: it was God who brought about justification. In concrete terms, however, justification was a transformation—the acquisition of new aptitudes, and the formation of a particular

moral and spiritual state. God's grace worked to make us ready to receive his gifts to the full and to ensure that those gifts took root in us. As in Augustine's conception, we can do absolutely nothing by ourselves to deserve divine favor, but grace does not come upon us unawares. There is in fact a preparation for grace, which makes us worthy to receive it. This "merit" that prepares us for supernatural life is itself the work of God within us and is in no way binding on God. At every stage God's action remains free. There is thus a distinction between merit *de condigno*, in which there is an exact parity between an act and its consequences, and merit *de congruo*, which is an openness to or a general fitness for God's gifts. In the view of some authors, the second type of merit left mankind with a limited degree of initiative (though it never existed without divine help). Generally speaking, Thomas and the Dominicans limited the role of merit *de congruo*, while the first Franciscans (Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure* among them) allowed it more scope and considered that there was a predictable relationship between human activity (assisted by grace) and the culmination of God's gift in justification: he who endeavored to do what God inspired him to do had no *right* to justification but could reasonably hope that God's mercy would not fail him.

In the 14th century, above all among the Franciscans influenced by Duns* Scotus, a much stronger emphasis began to be placed upon the absolute gratuitousness of the divine initiative, to the point that the formal cause of justification was increasingly defined as God's declaration of our state of justice. The habitus created by grace ensued from it, admittedly, and could even be considered as a second formal cause; but, above all, it was never to be seen as the reason for the decision that God took to look upon us with favor. God decided from all eternity that some sinners would be treated as righteous, and that they would be distinguished from other sinners by the fact of receiving the grace to live in supernatural love; but this last decision was not a condition of the first one. God could have decided that the distinction would be quite different. So at the end of the Middle Ages the problem of justification was discussed with the help of the idea of God's "two powers," *potestas absoluta* and *potestas ordinata*, the absolute power to do what pleases him, and a power in which he restricts himself and decides that he will "react" in a given way to a given situation. The same emphasis was placed on the priority and liberty of the divine will by William of Ockham, Gabriel Biel, and other supporters of the *via moderna* in the 14th and 15th centuries and is also found at the same period in the work of numerous theologians of the Augustinian order, for example Gregory of Rimini. All

agreed that there was nothing in the life of grace of a created being, with all its resulting faith, love, and so on, to oblige God to accept it. Such a life could, in the abstract, be meritorious on a moral level, but this moral quality had nothing to do with salvation. However, God had decided that he would accept this life. If therefore we lived according to God's law, we could presume that our salvation was probable—with reservations, however, since we never know for certain whether we have observed the law as well as we could have done.

e) Reformation. It is a characteristic trait of late medieval thought to make a complete separation between justification and participation in divine life. For Augustine and for many other older authors, to be acceptable to God entailed living a life that reflected the nature of God; but for the theologians of the *via moderna*, there was in the life of grace nothing intrinsically connected to the divine nature. It is paradoxical that the two main currents in the Reformation returned to the earlier model, albeit in fundamentally different ways. Luther is faithful to some aspects of the *via moderna*, in particular to the principle that God alone can be the cause of what God does or decides, but concludes that the principle of our justice must be God *in Christ**. Faith grasps the essential and decisive fact that God chooses to regard us as though Christ's justice were our own. This justice remains "foreign" to us—we can never own, cultivate or develop it—and so there can be no question of there being a model of grace inherent to us. It is a mistake, as is generally recognized today, to say that Luther makes justification dependent upon *our* faith; rather he sees faith as a consequence of justification, which is simply God's decision to ascribe Christ's justice and faith to us. Luther's lectures on the Epistle to the Galatians (early 1530s) offer a powerful conception of the unity of the believer and Christ (by *conglutinatio* and *inhaesio*); and this unity is seen as initially dependent upon God's decision, and only later taken up by faith. Christ's justice thus remains forever external to us; however, as faith grasps the reality of the divine decision, we begin to act in a way appropriate to our new status. So our lives reflect the fact that we are accepted by God and also the basis of this acceptance—Christ's justice.

For Augustine and earlier writers in general, justification implied a participation in Christ's justice, and thus in the life of God. For Luther, on the other hand, there is certainly an identity between Christ and ourselves, but it is still dependent upon God's pleasure and never upon anything that might become innate to us. Nonetheless, the Christocentric nature of his theology in this field, and the force of the language* he em-

ploys to talk of the effective identity that exists in God's eyes between Christ and ourselves, mean that he is still very close to the patristic tradition. Among the Lutherans of the following generation (Lutheranism*), however, it is the purely *juridical* character of justification that is highlighted: justification is considered as the remission of a debt without (human) payment. The Latin technical term *acceptilatio* was often used to convey this (Erasmus* had pointed out that it could denote the decision to consider an unpaid debt as paid, and Melancthon [1497–1560] seems to have taken this as his starting point in order to understand the meaning of the "imputation" of justice); it was distinguished from *acceptatio*, which presumed that one had actually been paid. So theologians concerned themselves more and more with the way in which Christ pays our debts for us and less and less with what interested Luther, namely the union between Christ and the believer. The latter point was treated in more depth, indeed, within Calvinist theology (Calvinism*). Calvin shared with Luther the conviction that Christ's justice and obedience could be attributed to the believer by virtue of his union with him, which brought with it the gift of sanctification. Christ had "consecrated" or sanctified himself for us, according to the Fourth Gospel (Gospels*) (Jn 17:19; in the Vulgate [translations* of the Bible] *pro eis ego sanctifico meipsum*), and God considered his justice, his perfect obedience, and his sanctity (holiness*) to be ours, as well as the sacrifice* that he offered for us as our high priest. Other Calvinist theologians put a greater emphasis on the eternal and unconditional acquittal pronounced by God. It was Calvin and John Knox (1505 or 1513–72) who situated both justification and sanctification most firmly in our adoption by God in Christ. Seventeenth-century Protestant thought was almost completely dominated by the idea of the covenant between God and humanity in general (the covenant of obedience to the law promising grace under the old dispensation, and the new covenant in which salvation is promised in exchange for faith in Christ). It offers many echoes of the late medieval speculation on the decisions in which God limits his power, though this theology is increasingly remote from Calvin himself.

f) Counter Reformation. The Catholic reaction to the Reformation was extremely complex, but the Council of Trent's decree on justification (COD 671.681) is actually much closer to Luther and Calvin than to the medieval debate, in particular because it largely abandons the technical vocabulary of Scholasticism in favor of an Augustinian or even Pauline language. Justification is seen as entailing the gift of a new status as adoptive children of God, a gift that remits sins by

virtue of incorporation into the second Adam*. Even though baptism is defined as the instrumental cause of justification, it is very clearly stated that it has one and only one formal cause, God's justice, understood as the justice by which he makes us righteous. By linking justification so clearly to the nature of God in actuality, the council was therefore clearly asserting that there could be no created cause of justification. Certainly one could speak of merit *de congruo* to describe gifts granted before justification properly speaking, but this would be to take the words in their Dominican sense, according to which merit was never effective before the grace of justification. The brevity and the general nature of the Trent decree nonetheless opened the way to many further debates on the relative priority of created and uncreated grace.

The Catholic controversies of the late 16th century show that disagreements concerning justification do not follow denominational lines—some Catholic authors of the period are closer to some Protestant theologians than to their own coreligionists, and more than one of the various theological opinions presented at the Calvinist synod of Dordrecht in 1619 would have met with the complete approval of some Catholics. The pope's condemnation of Baianism (Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism) in 1567 was directed against the idea of a grace that would be necessary even to perform actions related to the natural order of things—a much more pessimistic vision of the human condition than Calvin's. But no papal decision came to put an end to the debate *de auxiliis* that began in Spain at the close of the century between the Jesuits and the Dominicans. The Jesuit position, represented by Molina, gave a major role to liberty in justification: God created conditions that he knew (by his perfect foreknowledge) would be sufficient for a human will to turn to him. The Dominicans, whose most formidable representative was Domingo Bañez (confessor to Teresa of Ávila) (Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism) maintained that the soul always turned to God as a result of a "physical premotion" of divine grace. The final Roman document on the subject (in 1607) was careful not to take sides; but the later condemnation of Jansenism* was to incline Catholic theology somewhat toward Molinism.

The Anglican theology of this period (Anglicanism*) also underwent a debate on the problem of justification. At that time in England there were supporters of an extreme position that categorically refused any idea of a grace "internal" to the justified soul—a position more extreme than Calvin's and one that led to the conclusion that Catholics were absolutely outside the true Church and excluded from salvation. Richard Hooker (c. 1554–1600) spoke out against these views

during the 1580s, which caused him to be regarded by some as a traitor to Protestantism*. But his understanding of the relationship among justification, adoption, and sanctification would to a large extent have met with Luther's agreement as much as Calvin's. He summarizes it in his first sermon on the subject: in this life, the justice that justifies us (that of Christ) is "perfect but not inherent," while the justice that sanctifies us, and that depends entirely upon the first, is "inherent, but not perfect"—it expresses, but neither causes nor influences in any way, the justice by which we are adopted and incorporated into Christ. Anglican theology subsequently evolved at best toward a kind of Molinism, at worst toward what was effectively Pelagianism. The teaching of Newman* (while still an Anglican, 1837) on the subject belongs broadly to this tradition, although it accords great importance to the priority of the divine presence.

g) Modern Times. The religious thinking of the Enlightenment made a fundamental break with Protestantism's central concern and rejected the idea of an absolute priority of divine action in our reconciliation with God, which appeared particularly arbitrary. In *Religion Within the Limits of Simple Reason*, Kant* ingeniously transposes the idea of justification by a justice not our own onto a moral and individualistic plane: the virtues of a man new born from a free conversion* to moral virtue may be ascribed to the man he used to be before he turned toward the good—a fact that ensures the forgiveness of his sins, since God considers the former man as though he were new and converted. In the same way, once the will has turned toward the good, God regards the newly (even if imperfectly) virtuous person as though he had already attained perfect virtue: he looks on such a person with approval and compensates for his deficiencies. (This is already far removed, however, from the kind of thinking to be found elsewhere at the time, which maintained a strict parity between virtue and reward.) Schleiermacher*'s position resembles Kant's, though it is much more Christocentric: we need a salvation that does not come from ourselves, and this need is fulfilled through the gift of participation or communion in Christ, in whom there is a perfect correlation between moral goodness and divine favor.

The most important contribution to the study of the issue, at the close of the 19th century, was undoubtedly that of A. Ritschl (1888–89), by virtue of the balance he was able to achieve between the objective and subjective aspects of justification. For Ritschl, justification is the pardon granted by God to the sinner, as revealed by Christ, and the purpose of this pardon is to establish a perfectly just society, the Kingdom of

God. The goal of justification is thus a moral situation, the existence in the world of a just and peaceful (peace*) community; and in order for this to come about, the freedom and action of the believer are necessary to make manifest God's plan as revealed by the absolution of our sins. Ritschl says little about the way in which the event of Jesus Christ reveals to us the (eternal) fact that God is a forgiving God, and he was criticized for not clarifying the specific nature of God's action in Christ.

Barth approaches the problem of justification in various ways. In his earliest works, particularly the second *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (1921), he insists that no human virtue, knowledge, or achievement is commensurable with God's justice; on the contrary, the incommensurability is so complete that without grace we would not even know that it existed—without grace, indeed, we would have no criterion of comparison. Moreover, we discover God's justice at the same time as his judgment on all our works, good or bad. It is at the very moment when we hear the devastating “No” pronounced by God upon all that we are, that we also hear the divine “Yes,” since it is at this point that we learn what God is, and who he is—a God who does not hide but who manifests himself. “God's justice is the place where we remain in uncertainty, in other words where it is impossible to remain...the place in which we are entirely in his hands, so that he may treat us as he pleases” (*Der Römerbrief* [1922], new corr. Ed. 1967).

For God, to reveal himself as just is to reveal his desire for reconciliation. Barth was to say the same in the first parts of the *Dogmatics*, leading to criticism of the notion of a salvation apparently based exclusively upon a progression in knowledge. In the fourth part, however (see above all §13), the theory is complemented by a reference to the deed of Christ who allowed himself to be judged in our place. By accepting condemnation and even “annihilation” in our place, he in fact showed that there could no longer be any condemnation for anybody and so established a truly new humanity, an objectively new status of communion with the God who has chosen us all in him. The tendency to emphasize knowledge is still apparent but is more clearly linked to the traditional themes of incorporation and adoption.

We owe one of the most important ecumenical contributions on the subject to Hans Küng (1957), in whose view there is no fundamental difference between Barth's theory of justification (or those of the great reformers) and the teaching of the Catholic Church. The pronouncements of Barth and the reformers on faith in justification would be more meaningful, in general, if they were interpreted in the context of the

Catholic doctrine of hope: we put our trust in God to look upon us in the light of his eschatological plan. This concern for eschatology is evident in the declaration on “justification by faith” that emerged from the Lutheran-Catholic dialogue of 1983 (in the United States) and in the document *Salvation and the Church* produced by ARCIC II (1987). These texts prove that Catholics and non-Catholics are able to agree on key aspects of the doctrine and to recognize in particular that the community of believers, while it exists *in via*, is nonetheless able to proclaim and realize sacramentally the sanctity of Christ on which it is based. Contemporary Protestantism increasingly recognizes that the idea of sanctification within the Church, or even through the community and sacramental life of the Church, does not put God under any “obligation” toward it. Contemporary Catholicism, moreover, is increasingly prepared to incorporate into its theology a consideration of the sins of the Church throughout history and to accept that Christ's justice, celebrated and made present and effective in the sacraments (sacrament*), is nonetheless given in an entirely gratuitous and unconditional way.

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ROWAN WILLIAMS

See also **Augustinianism; Choice; Indulgences; Judgment; Knowledge, Divine; Mercy; Nature; Predestination; Puritanism; Wrath of God**

Justin. *See* **Apologists**

K

Kant, Immanuel

1724–1804

To begin with, one must examine the concept of religion as it is presented in Kant's work. This will serve to reveal that which may be of interest to theology* in Kant's thought and also to understand the significance of his actual influence upon Christian theology.

a) *The Kantian Notion of Religion*. "Religion is the recognition of all our duties and of divine commandments." The first appearance of this definition can be found in the *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788, AA V, 129). It would continue to be valid, above all in the two major works devoted to religion: *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793) and *The Conflict of the Faculties* (1798). It hinged upon that which the *Critique of Practical Reason* called the "primacy of practical reason*" (AA V, 119), which referred on the one hand to the theological attitudes adopted in the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781–86) and on the other to the major features of the theology contained in the *Critique of Practical Reason*.

This primacy comes at the expense of theoretical reason, whose aim to *know*, supported by proof, fails when the idea of God* is in question. Such knowledge is indeed restricted to the phenomenal object, given to sensibility, and of which we can henceforth dispose, a last feature that suffices to make one understand why a proof (existence* of God, proofs of) of God's existence is out of the question. Moreover, one must be able to *think* of God, something that can only be done on the basis of our knowledge, which is still linked to

sensibility. Kant would develop an analogous use of the idea of God, which he did not hesitate to describe as anthropomorphism* (AA III, 457–59). The main thing was in fact to not remain limited to deism (deism*/theism) (the "Supreme Being") and to move on to theism, to the affirmation of the personal God, which implies an analogy* with the human person*. The theology of the *Critique of Practical Reason* is double. On the one hand, the moral obligation present in the conscience* of moral law* (the "categorical imperative") does not need a theological foundation, as moral law is henceforth autonomy (that in which reason recognizes itself). But if one's relation with God does not precede duty and its fulfillment, it is nevertheless called upon an exigency contained in the moral imperative itself, that of the possibility of an achievement, the "sovereign good*", where accomplished virtue (virtues*) and happiness are joined. (*Critique of Practical Reason*, AA V, 110–13). This amounts to "postulating" the immortality of the soul (soul*-heart-body) and the existence of God, object of a "faith* of reason" (*Critique of Practical Reason*, AA V, 142–46).

Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone, in a first stage, expounds upon a religion of reason, transcribing original sin* into a radical evil* and setting forth in Christ* "the idea of a man who is pleasing to God" (AA VI, 62–63). In a second stage, moral law, taken from the violence* of history*, demands to become, as a law of liberty*, the law not only of individuals but also of the group. This is equivalent to setting up a leg-

islator of inner law, one who “scrutinizes hearts,” as the link of “people* of God under ethical laws” (AA VI, 98–100). One must read it as an interpretation of the *Church**.

b) Christian Theology. The problem stated is that of a *rationalization of religion reduced to morality* (a reduction with no trace of the Pietism* in which Kant was raised). It would be found again all through the theological reception of Kant, with some notable differences, however, between Protestant theology (Protestantism*) and Catholic theology (Catholicism*).

Protestant reception began during Kant’s lifetime, and the debate was centered upon the “religion of reason.” Its moral interpretation, which placed the value of the act (action*) first of all in respect for the law, and not in “works*,” refusing any “merits,” was an explicit acknowledgment of the Gospels* (*Critique of Practical Reason*, AA V, 81–83) and was consonant with the ideas of Martin Luther*. But it would be too easy to view it as a departure from biblical revelation*. One might be reminded of Schleiermacher*, who initially leaned toward Kant but later moved away from his ideas when he turned toward a hermeneutic (hermeneutics*) theology. Of note, in the era of neo-Kantism, are the works of Albrecht Ritschl (1822–89), who insisted in particular on the socio-political dimension of Kant’s religious writings. With Karl Barth*, dialectical theology would be opposed to such a position and would firmly refuse any reduction of the Word* of God to a moral or political attitude.

It is remarkable that on the Catholic side the debate moved from the notion of religion toward its foundations, the critique of the proofs of God’s existence, and the morality of autonomy. During Kant’s lifetime, it was in southern Germany that supporters and adversaries confronted each other. In the 19th century, Georg Hermes (1775–1831) would firmly uphold a dogmatic* theology that preserved, from Kant’s work, the dignity of the person and his analyses of faith. Rome* banned the teaching of Hermes’s ideas in 1835. The negative image of Kant would characterize the beginnings of Neoscholasticism at the end of the century. A change of great significance occurred in the first half of the 20th century, when the Belgian Jesuit Joseph Maréchal (1878–1944) published *Le point de départ de la métaphysique*, notebook 5, *Le thomisme devant la philosophie critique* (Brussels-Paris, 1949). This work introduced Kant in order to accomplish the initial aims of Neoscholasticism: a return to Thomas* Aquinas, but taking modernity into account—something that could not be done if Kant were merely an adversary. Kant’s *a priori* was reexamined within the

framework of the Thomist “formal object”; access to the being* was maintained, however. Development within a German context was enriched by the contact with Heidegger*, as with J.-B. Lotz. It was in this fertile ground of “transcendental Thomism” that Rahner* was educated, and this fact alone is proof of the movement’s fertility.

c) Theology in a Plural World. The above remarks, both from a Protestant and a Catholic point of view, show that Kant can still provide “food for thought” to the theologian. It is no accident that Catholic reception, undoubtedly more hesitant than the Protestant one, found its most fertile development when, with Joseph Maréchal, it discovered in Kant one of the most radical interrogations of Christian thought, that of the possibility of being human, in the understanding and accomplishment of the moral imperative, without first making the relation to God explicit.

Kant’s *Critique of Judgment* is exemplary: There Kant acknowledges the full moral sense of the atheist and concludes that in order not to lessen the transformative power of moral law, he will become a “believer from a practical point of view” (§91, AA V, 469–70). This is the radical proposal that a plural world* is possible, one that will form a whole despite the radical differences in religious options. The “practical point of view” means that no confession* of faith can be separated from an exchange among freedoms. No idea about God can be anything other than the act of free thought, which does not exclude the fact that it is committed to ties of solidarity* that may be those of a Church.

Kant did not find his inspiration from theologians: his reexamination of incarnation* is poor and is in strong contrast to the treatment given by Hegel*. It was rather to Scripture that Kant returned. He knew how to give it the status of a reading, as in the appendix to the first section of the *Conflict of Faculties*. In this capacity, Paul Ricoeur belongs to the best Kantian tradition in his programmatic aims: “Symbols make us think,” a long path to follow, where Kant is merely a starting point.

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See also **Agnosticism; Ethics; Ethics, Autonomy of; Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich; Kierkegaard, Søren Aabye; Knowledge of God; Rationalism; Reason; Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst**

Kenosis

1. Scriptural Basis

The term *kenosis*, coined by the Greek Fathers of the Church* from the verb *kénoō*, “to empty” (hence, used reflexively, “to empty oneself of oneself”), derives from an expression in the hymn of Philippians 2:7. The naming of Jesus* as Lord (2:9) is preceded by a sequence describing the humbling of the man who was “of divine condition” (2:6). His elevation comes at the end of a descent and an annihilation (*heauton ekenôsen*) that takes him, because of his obedience, to his death* on the cross. The entire event of Jesus is the outcome of the free initiative of the man “*who was not considered as a victim, but as equal to God**” (2:6), who chose the “condition of servitude.” Whether this text refers to the Son before his incarnation* (following the ancient tradition*) or in Jesus as incarnate (following the majority of modern exegetes), pre-existence is understood. Jesus comes from God and returns into the glory* of God, after having divested himself in a human existence. In the Gospel of John, Christ*’s journey is also represented as a dramatic descent and ascension. The path he follows begins in heaven (1:1f.) and leads him to earth (1:11f.) and eventually to the cross (19:17f.); there follows the reascension of the Risen One in his earlier glory. According to the prologue of John, the divine Word has become flesh (1:14); however divine the Word may be in God, its presence in the “flesh” is nonetheless absolutely real. The originality of the Johannine contribution lies in the sharpness of this contrast. In Greek thought, indeed, there can be no stronger contrast than that between *logos* and *sarx*.

2. Revival of the Theme in the Fathers of the Church

The problem of kenosis remained misunderstood in gnosis*, which attributed to the Word as only an apparent body; in Arianism*, which denied the equality of

being* between Son and Father; and in Nestorianism*, which emphasized the “promotion” of a man to the dignity of man-God. In its struggle on these three fronts, orthodoxy had to tread a fine line: it had to avoid defending divine immutability* in such a way as would have implied a sheltering of the Word from a real event, and on the other hand it had to avoid falling into an immediate affirmation of a change in God. A first fundamental idea was used by Athanasius* against Arius and Apollinarius, by Cyril* against Nestorius, and by Leo against Eutyches: the divine decision that the Word should become man indicated a genuine humbling. For God, the Incarnation is not an “increase” but an emptying, an exhaustion. Hilary* went a step further. He sees everything as taking place by virtue of the sovereign liberty* of God, who, while dwelling in himself, has the power to lay his glory aside (*De Trin.* VIII. 45; PL 10. 270). If the two forms were simply compatible (as the three Doctors of the Church* previously mentioned thought), nothing would occur in God. For Hilary, the subject no doubt remains the same; but between the form of slave and the form of glory there is the “disposition to annihilation” (*ibid.* IX. 41; PL 10. 314 B), which does not change the Son of God but signifies the action* of “internally ridding himself of power” (*ibid.* XI. 48; PL 10. 432 A). The only thing lacking in these arguments is the Trinitarian dimension. The eternal condition for the possibility of the kenosis of the Incarnation indeed lies in the tri-personal gift. For divine “power” (omnipotence*, divine) is so constituted that it can contain within itself the possibility of an emptying of self, such as is represented by the Incarnation and the cross.

3. Modern Theological Essays on Kenosis

There is a common distinction between 1) a theory improperly called a theory of kenosis, and 2) kenotism properly speaking.

a) In the 16th and 17th Centuries. Lutheran kenosis of the period had as its basis the concept of the “communication of idioms*” adopted by Luther*. According to him, certain attributes* of the divine nature of Christ become attributes of human nature. Later there was discussion of an “attenuation” or kenosis of these “divine” attributes in humanity, so as not to alter their divine character. The school of Giessen, under the influence of M. Chemnitz (1522–86), taught that Christ possessed divine majesty in his humanity and during his earthly life but customarily refrained from using it. It was only upon his glorification that he would make full use of that majesty. The theologians of Tübingen*, on the other hand, following J. Brentz (1499–1570), contended that Christ had never renounced the use of his divine attributes, but that he had only hidden them for a time, “according to the economy.” They criticized their opponents for abandoning Lutheran principles in favor of the Calvinist doctrine known as the *extra*, according to which, throughout the time of the Incarnation, the government of the world was to be entrusted to the Word considered separate from its flesh. Whatever the divergences among these theories, for them, kenosis has a direct effect on humanity. They consider the exaltation and the humbling of Christ with respect to his human nature alone and not a humbling of the Son of God himself. Hence, they do not touch on the central point of kenosis.

b) In the 19th and 20th Centuries. The 19th-century German theorists of kenosis wrote under the influence of Hegel*, for whom the absolute subject, in order to become concrete and for-itself, becomes finite in nature and in the history* of the world. Unlike the schools of Tübingen and Giessen two centuries earlier, the subject of kenosis is no longer he who became man, but he who becomes man, the divine Word himself. This represents a “self-limitation” of the divine (G. Thomasius, 1802–75). The Word abandons the attributes related to divinity, which concern the Trinity* considered in its relations with the world* (omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence*) but not the absolute attributes of the immanent Trinity (truth*, sanctity [holiness*], love*), which, far from being emptied out, are revealed in the Incarnation. F. Frank (1827–94) spoke more radically of a self-degradation of the consciousness of the eternal Son into a finite consciousness of self; the Son made man, however, has the consciousness of being the Son of God. For the Calvinist W.F. Geß (1819–91), an incomprehensible lacuna even interrupts the course of divine life: the Word made man gives up the immanent properties of God and his eternal consciousness of self. He recovers the latter only gradually, through his human experi-

ence (notably through a reflection on the prophecies [prophet* and prophecy] concerning himself); once glorified, he recovers his divine attributes and divine functions.

The “kenotic torrent” found in Anglican theology between 1890 and 1910, no doubt stimulated, under the influence of T.H. Green, by Hegel, constitutes an independent, more cautious, and less speculative attempt to reconcile patristic theology* with the earthly realism of the man Jesus, as highlighted by scholarship on the Gospels*. Ch. Gore (1853–1932) accepts a mitigated kenosis, refusing to divide divine attributes and to posit a metamorphosis in God. According to him, the Word does not abandon his attributes but limits their use; in the act of his Incarnation, he restrains his omnipotence and refuses omniscience; he limits himself only in relation to the sphere of his individual humanity. But as Creator he retains the full use of all his attributes. Gore is thereby forced to posit two vital centers of consciousness in the Word according to his divine nature. The duality for which Scholasticism* had been criticized is here not distributed according to the two natures but conceived as a psychological division in the divine nature and hence in the divine person* himself. F. Weston (1871–1924) tries to harmonize the conception of the councils (council*) with a psychological idea of the person. Arguing against Gore, he asserts that there is in Christ only a single consciousness of self; he accepts, however, two volitional and intellectual faculties, one dependent on the other. Through the Incarnation the Word limits the use of his divine attributes so that they are always conditioned by the status of his humanity.

Kenotism also made its way into Russian Orthodoxy. V. Tareev (1866–1934) develops the idea that creation* itself is a kenotic action. But his most original ideas bear on the temptations (temptation*) over which Christ triumphs by ratifying his kenotic status; this very ratification brought about a deeper ordeal for his “faith*.” According to S. Bulgakov (1871–1944), there is a divine kenosis in the Incarnation only because there is a kenosis in the Trinity as a whole and a divine kenosis in creation. The kenosis in the Trinity consists of the mutual love of the divine persons, which goes beyond any individuation. The creation situates God in time* and involves for him a certain risk of failure. The kenosis of the Incarnation is located principally in God, in the Word’s will to love (it is the infinite* who limits himself). The Word ceases to be subjectively a divine hypostasis, while remaining such in his objective being. As incarnate Word, he becomes conscious of his divine filiation* only in accordance with his human and gradually developed consciousness of self. The Father and the Holy* Spirit partici-

pate in the eternal kenosis of the Incarnation, as well as in the historically accomplished kenosis that takes Christ to his death. It seems possible to strip Bulgakov's basic conception of its sophiological presuppositions and of the Gnostic temptation that leads him to think that the historical cross is merely the phenomenal translation of a metaphysical Golgotha.

4. Presence of the Theme in Philosophy

Nineteenth-century kenotism would probably not have existed without the impulse of Hegelian philosophy*. Hegel thereby returned to theology what he had borrowed from it. An intense kenotic schematism is at the heart of his system: the absolute Idea empties itself like the Word. It was Hegel who gave philosophical credentials to the term *Entäußerung*, the translation of kenosis in Luther's Bible*. In *The Phenomenology of Mind* the term reveals all its spiritual scope only in the representation of the Absolute Spirit, religion*. It evokes the dual movement of substance becoming self-consciousness and self-consciousness becoming universal being. The redemptive incarnation of the Word appears as the *Entäußerung* of absolute essence, which emptying itself of itself, leaves nothing unrelated to the accomplishment of its kenosis. The *Entäußerung* of Absolute Spirit implies a disappropriation of finite consciousness; but this abnegation does not estrange consciousness from itself. By stripping itself of itself, consciousness accedes in truth, according to Hegel, to its most authentic essence. One might, however, fear that Hegel reduces religious representation of kenosis to a sort of speculative allegory. Schelling* more fully preserves the positive content of Christianity. He offers an original conception of kenosis. The Incarnation reveals true divinity, and kenosis, as a divestment of the divine glory acquired in the course of the mythological process, removes from the Word only a fallacious glory. Unlike Schelling, Kierkegaard* does not identify incarnation and kenosis. His kenotic theory touches on the mode of the Incarnation, an incessant self-emptying of the Word as he places himself within the reach of created beings. It does not bring about an eclipse of divinity.

On the other hand, the Christ of Baron F. von Hügel (1852–1925) is immersed body (soul*-heart-body) and soul in human obscurity: kenosis obliterates his consciousness of his own divinity. Blondel* protests that his divine consciousness could at no point have deserted Jesus Christ and that exinanition is purely mercy and charity. It resides in the “stigmatizing sympathy” through which Christ experiences human suffering. Christ does not know himself as God otherwise than by identifying himself with human beings through love. Humanity, the humanity of all of us, serves as “a

screen for his,” which would otherwise be set ablaze and consumed by the flame of divinity. The divine union of the man Jesus is also a deadly embrace. But “the vessel of his humanity” is “dilated by divinity.” For S. Weil (1909–43), the divine attitude that dictates his conduct to the created being is thoroughly kenotic. The Creator has withdrawn in order to allow us to be. God has gone to an infinite distance. “This infinite distance between God and God, supreme rift... marvel of love, is the crucifixion” (Weil 1950).

5. General Assessment

Christology (Christ* and Christology) must take seriously the fact that God himself, in the Son, abased himself while remaining entirely God. In his total powerlessness, in the mortal distress of the Crucified One, is found undiminished the full divinity of God. God's humiliation shows the superabundance of his power; grandeur “allows itself to be perceived in baseness without being impaired in its exalted condition” (Gregory* of Nyssa, PG 45. 64 D). As God's renunciation of self, kenosis depends on sovereign divine liberty* (Hilary), which excludes any conception according to which the process is natural and Gnostic or logical and Hegelian. The problem of the true humanity of Jesus only arises when his true divinity is maintained; one cannot therefore deduce from kenosis that Jesus was ever in a really sinful condition. To link the extremes, reference may be made to the theme of “The sacrificial lamb since the creation of the world” (Rev 5:6–9 and 12, 13:8), which must not in any way be conceived as a heavenly sacrifice* independent of Golgotha but as the historical sacrifice offered on the cross considered from the point of view of eternity. The heavenly sacrifice of the Lamb binds together the world and God; in him, creation and redemption intersect. The cross “reveals a mystery* of divine life itself” (Temple 1924, 262). God alone goes to the very end of the abandonment of God. It is therefore appropriate to consider kenosis in three perspectives. Its ultimate presupposition is the “disinterestedness” of the persons (as pure relations) in the intra-Trinitarian life of love. Then, with the creation, a fundamental kenosis takes place because God, from all eternity, assumes responsibility for the success of creation and, in anticipation of sin*, takes into account the cross. Finally, in the sinful world, the redemptive Passion of Christ begins at the moment of his Incarnation. And since the will to redemptive kenosis is an indivisibly Trinitarian will (Bulgakov), God the Father and the Holy Spirit are deeply engaged in it (Balthasar* 1969).

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See also Anglicanism; Calvinism; Christ’s Consciousness; Hegelianism; Hypostatic Union; Johannine Theology; Lutheranism; Modernism; Orthodoxy, Modern and Contemporary; Pauline Theology

Kerygma. *See* Creeds

Kierkegaard, Søren Aabye

1813–1855

1. Life

In Kierkegaard’s lifetime, Denmark began a process of modernization and liberalization that brought into question the traditional sources of authority in church (church* and state) and state. The period of his youth also coincided with the “golden age” of Danish literature, a time of high idealism that was followed by a more materialistic and even cynical reaction. Kierkegaard himself defended the values of the older generation on many occasions. His critique of Hegel* has extensive affinities with the critiques developed by older Danish philosophers, such as P. M. Møller or F. C. Sibbern. A common theme is the absence from Hegel’s system of a distinctive sense of individual per-

sonality (human and divine) and an incorrect understanding of the relationship between logic and life. Yet Kierkegaard also flirted with Danish Hegelians (Hegelianism*), such as J. L. Heiberg, whose influence was particularly marked in Kierkegaard’s formalistic view of art. His own writings also reflected the doubts of the 1830s and 1840s and were themselves to culminate in an attack on the church/state establishment.

Kierkegaard’s father bequeathed him a melancholy but deeply religious outlook. A brief engagement (1840–41) to Regine Olsen seemed to promise him a normal life, but a combination of his sense of guilt and something on the order of a religious vocation led him to break the engagement and commit himself entirely

to his writing. After completing the pseudonymous books that made his reputation, he became involved in a bitter controversy with a satirical journal, *The Corsair* (1846), and this led to his increasing isolation. In the last year of his life (1854–55), he published a series of tracts bitterly attacking the established church for its compromise with worldly values.

2. Thought

Kierkegaard's works can be divided into four: the pseudonymous works, the religious discourses, the literary and other works published under his own name, and the extensive journals, published posthumously. Kierkegaard's influence is directly associated with the pseudonymous works. However, he both distanced himself from the views expressed in these works and asserted the distinctiveness of each pseudonym: it is therefore an open question as to how far his thought can be understood as offering a systematic view of things. Even the threefold schema of the aesthetic, the ethical, and the religious is only one way of organizing the complexity of his work. It should also be acknowledged that much of the impact of Kierkegaard's work is due to the parables, stories, and aphorisms that it contains and to its elements of satire, irony, and humor, all of which are used to disrupt the reader from a simple intellectual approach of its fundamental themes. Nonetheless, it is possible to group much of his work around two such themes: the problematic nature of human liberty*, and the qualitative transcendence of God*. The elliptical path of his writing around these two points makes it possible for us to see him as the forerunner of both Bultmann* and Barth*. It remains an open question as to which is decisive or whether they are both held in a tensile balance.

a) *Anthropology.* *The Concept of Anxiety* is a psychological exploration of original sin*. Seeing the prelapsarian state of human beings (Adam*) as one of innocence, he draws attention to the curious phenomenon of nothingness*, the correlate of the subject's potential freedom that has as yet no object. In anxiety at its own freedom—the openness of its future—the subject “grasps at finitude” and submits itself to all the sexual and other compulsions. Thus, although “subjectivity is truth,” as “Johannes Climacus” (one of Kierkegaard's pseudonyms) states, the subject exists in untruth, as a failed project. This failure, called “despair,” is analyzed in *Either/Or* as it appears in various forms of aesthetic existence, building on his dissertation *On the Concept of Irony*, where he had unmasked romantic idealism as a solipsistic flight from the claims of ethical reality. In *Two Ages*, the focus is on collective forms of failure: idle chatter, envy, association, cowardice, leveling—all the characteristics of an “age

of reflection.” Later, in *The Sickness unto Death*, the emphasis is on the inability of the self to synthesize its constitutive polarities: possibility and necessity, finitude and infinity (infinite*), time* and eternity.

Is there any way out of despair? In *Either/Or*, assessor William, proponent of the ethical viewpoint, argues for a transcendental act of self-choice in which the subject chooses himself “from the hand of God” in the entirety of his existence. Is such a choice possible? In *Philosophical Fragments*, it is argued that the recollection of a truth immanent in human existence—such as William's position seems to imply—is essentially Socratic and ignores Christianity's revelation of the incorrigibility of human error. In *Fear and Trembling*, a distinction is drawn, using the story of Abraham and Isaac*, between infinite resignation, in which the world is surrendered for the sake of eternity, and authentic faith, in which, by the power of the absurd, the “knight of faith” believes he will receive again what he has surrendered. Thus, the faith of Abraham is not that he consented to offer Isaac but that he continued to believe that God would restore Isaac to him *in this life*. Kierkegaard asks whether we can understand Abraham. In *Repetition*, a poetic youth who has left his fiancée reflects on Job as offering hope that a “repetition” might be possible, and that God might transform him, making him capable of marriage. Repetition is thus the idea that the subject's self-choice can never be a given, a constitutive datum of the self, but must be affirmed repeatedly—but can the subject himself ground such an act?

In the *Edifying Discourses* that accompany all these books and represent an immanent form of religiousness, the ultimate possibility of the human subject is seen as a voluntary act of annihilation that removes the obstacles to God's transfiguration of human finitude. Yet this psychological anthropology* requires a theological and dogmatic grounding.

b) *Theology.* Kierkegaard's theological sources are chiefly Lutheranism*, and, especially, Pietism*. In works such as *Philosophical Fragments* or their *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, he stresses that a true relationship with God is dependent on the redeeming activity of God himself, incarnate in human form. Indeed, it is only the revelation of the uniquely individual incarnation* of God that absolutely demonstrates our incapacity and our need of redemption. In faith, each believer becomes a contemporary of that event, historical knowledge and philosophical speculation being irrelevant to such contemporaneity. Faith also demands a qualitative leap by the individual, leading Kierkegaard to acknowledge his kinship with Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81) and David Hume

(1711–76) against Hegel. This leap cancels out all intrahistorical differences, so that the contemporary disciple of Jesus* (who literally saw and heard him) is no more privileged than the 19th-century believer is.

However, even faith—as a merely external religious confession or a merely passive state of inwardness (quietism*)—can itself be a way of evading the task of acceding to authentic selfhood. In his later works, Kierkegaard therefore increasingly emphasizes the importance of what he calls “reduplication,” that is, supplementing faith with works*, above all the active suffering witness of the authentic imitation* of Christ. Although respectful of Luther*, he is critical of how Luther’s teaching on faith undermines the ideal of discipleship. Kierkegaard also stresses the irreducibility of apostolic and kerygmatic preaching*, warning against the dangers of judging apostolic authority on the basis of such human criteria as poetic artistry or intellectual depth.

In his religious discourses, Kierkegaard offers sensitive studies of prayer*, spiritual trial, and the practice of Christian love. He counsels submission to God in patience, silence, and obedience. Those who aspire to this life must accept that they will become as nothing and give thanks for all things, even sufferings, willing the “one thing” only of God’s will for us in repentance. Although God is separated from humanity by an “infinite qualitative difference,” he cares for the believer as a father for his children, having a special providential care for each individual. The divine image in humanity is to be renewed through self-abandonment in worship. The lilies in the field and the birds in the sky (Mt 6:25–30) are repeatedly cited as “teachers” of faith. Among Kierkegaard’s religious writings, the short meditations for the Friday Communion* should also be mentioned: they provide a singularly powerful exploration of the Lutheran understanding of the Eucharist* as the offering of forgiveness by the present Christ*.

The Bible* is central to Kierkegaard’s spirituality. His treatment of Scripture is highly original, and he reworks or develops biblical themes in an imaginative and idiosyncratic fashion, as he tells the story of the Incarnation as the fairy-tale love of a king for a humble maiden, or has David criticizing Nathan’s parable on aesthetic grounds. Apart from the Sermon on the Mount, his most used text is the Epistle of James (despite Luther’s criticism of it), with its stress on works. He is critical of the scholarly approach to Scripture, both orthodox and revisionist (exegesis*), not only because of its tendency to reduce scripture to a merely human text but also because it lacks the passion that must fire an authentic engagement with the Word* of God. Scripture is a mirror in which we are to read our

own destiny, and we should read it as urgently as a lover reads a letter from the beloved.

Despite Kierkegaard’s statement of the absolute authority of faith, he was no mere dogmatist, and his work has a strongly apologetic element. He is committed to meeting his readers where they are and therefore, necessarily, to communicating the truth in forms that belong to untruth. His critique of the aesthetic attitude, for instance, is presented in a highly aesthetic form—so much so that these works are important documents in literature. Johannes the Seducer is a leading representative of this aesthetic attitude, and Kierkegaard could see his own literary activity as a kind of seduction, deceiving the reader in the cause of truth. Another model for such “indirect communication” was that of Socrates, the Socrates who compared himself to a midwife, assisting others to see the truth that was in them. In Kierkegaard’s case, however, such maieutic practice aims to show readers that, apart from faith, they are not in possession of the truth. He was himself insistent that his literary activity had been religious from the beginning, adducing as proof the publication of his religious discourses alongside the pseudonymous aesthetic works.

The importance of “indirect communication” to Kierkegaard cannot be overestimated. To present his teachings, as objective results, would be to falsify his fundamental project, for it is only in the process of appropriating the truth that the subjective passion that is a necessary precondition of faith can be fully aroused. The unique form of his served the awakening of such subjective self-concern and, in the later works, to call the subject from the concealment of hidden inwardness onto the stage of public witness. Kierkegaard had two reasons for using such indirect communication: the exigencies of an apologetic approach and the requirements of faithfulness to the principles of the incarnation. The God-man, as Kierkegaard argues in *Training in Christianity*, exists as a sign of contradiction: his humble and suffering human form is entirely incommensurable with the reality of his divinity. His truth can therefore never be directly assimilated into any human system, not even one that is theologically “correct.”

c) *Philosophy.* Kierkegaard’s main influence on modern philosophy* has doubtless been through Heidegger*’s adoption of his anthropological description in *Being and Time*: the “existentialist” themes of anxiety, guilt, repetition, nothingness, subjectivity, and the absurd are all anticipated in Kierkegaard. So too are the critique of totalizing systems of truth and the depersonalizing effects of mass culture.

At the same time, Kierkegaard made important con-

tributions to the critique of idealism, arguing in the *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* that all idealism is essentially skeptical. No philosophy can completely guarantee its own presuppositions but must accept the givenness of being. Idealism can therefore serve only to clarify the concept, not to determine the concept in its existence. Whereas a logical and a priori system may be possible, an existential system is altogether impossible, except from the standpoint of God.

Kierkegaard's most interesting contribution to philosophy probably comes from his interest in the boundaries between kinds of discourses: psychology, logic, faith, and so on. In this respect, we should read him not so much as seeking to demonstrate the falsity of Hegel's position as showing the inappropriateness of Hegel's method for dealing with religious issues. Wittgenstein's admiration for Kierkegaard is known and it is possible to see in Kierkegaard an early philosophical grammarian, when, for example, he points out the differing rules that govern some of the diversity of language games, especially those that concern God.

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GEORGE PATTISON

See also **Beauty; Fideism; Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich; Kant, Immanuel; Language, Theological; Marx, Karl; Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm; Rationalism; Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von; Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst**

Kingdom of God

A. Terminology: *Reign* and *Kingdom*

While Hebrew or Aramaic (*malekoût*) treat it as a single term, as does Greek (*basileia*) in certain contexts, the term *kingdom* encompasses various nuances through which English expresses different words: *royalty*, *kingdom*, and *reign* (the nuance expressed by *royalty* is of little importance in New Testament texts and may be ignored here). *Kingdom* is to be used for texts where the spatial connotation is predominant; for example, the phrase “in the *basileia*” (Mt 18:1, 4), or where a movement is implied of which the *basileia* is the goal—to enter into (for example Mt 7:21). *Reign* expresses the act of ruling, the exercise of royal power. This dynamic meaning, which appears fundamental, emerges quite clearly from a number of observations:

1) the verb *to reign* in the Hebrew text is more than once rendered by the noun in the Aramaic versions (e.g., Is 52:7 and the targum to this verse) (translations* of the Bible, ancient); 2) the Semitic noun is used in parallel with a synonymous *nomen actionis* such as domination (e.g., Dn 4:33); 3) the same phenomenon is borne out in corresponding terms in Greek (e.g., Rev 12:10); 4) there is a parallelism between the noun *basileia* and the corresponding verb (e.g., Lk 1:33).

Important as it is, the distinction between reign and kingdom cannot account for every usage: where the vocabulary concerns a gift, inheritance, or property, the term *basileia* is effectively used as an all-

embracing term for the totality of salvific good* that God intends for his own people. Two forms appear in the New Testament: *reign of God* (the usual expression) and *reign of the heavens* (an expression typical of Matthew, who is not, however, unaware of the other). This distinction does not affect the meaning, since *heavens* has here, as in some other texts (e.g., Lk 15:18), the status of a divine epithet. The expression *reign of God* seems to be original. As was his habit, Matthew appears to have shifted the accepted vocabulary in the direction of the developing rabbinical phraseology.

I. Old Testament

The expression *reign of God* is practically absent from the Old Testament. It is found as such only once (Wis 10:10—but see 1 Chr 28:5; 2 Chr 13:8) and rarely in equivalent forms (e.g., Ps 103:19; Dn 3:33; Tb 13:2). The thematic unity appears more substantial, however, when one considers the royal title (God is referred to as “king” around 30 times, the oldest text being without doubt Is 6:5), the affirmations in verb form (various verbs: *mâlak*, *mâshal*, etc.), and the various royal symbols or attributes (throne, etc.).

It appears that the perception of God as king cannot have begun earlier than the royal period: it owes its admission into the faith* of Israel* to the influence of the prevailing milieu, chiefly “Hierosolymitan,” perhaps in association with the building of the temple* where God henceforth “sat over the cherubs” (2 Sm 6:2). Despite the tradition of hostility to the monarchy in Israel, the human king was not generally considered to be in competition with the divine king. In keeping with the royal ideology common to the ancient East, the king was seen as God’s lieutenant, but there was no question in Israel of his being of divine descent; while he is sometimes referred to as “son of God” (e.g., Ps 2:7) (filiation*), this is solely in terms of the judicial reality of adoption. God’s reign is initially shown as being beneficial for the people of Israel, whose attentive shepherd he is; but it also encompasses creation* and other peoples, as appears particularly in the psalms* of the reign (Ps 47:93, 96–99). The eschatological dimension of divine royalty, which certainly cannot be ruled out from these psalms, is more clearly expressed in the great texts of Deutero-Isaiah (52:7, etc.), by which Jesus* was in all probability strongly inspired. After the exile, the former conviction of the actual and permanent reign was adopted and reinforced in the theocratic tradition represented by the “Chronist.” The tradition established by Deutero-Isaiah was consolidated in the texts that bear witness to the birth of apocalyptic* literature, above all in Isaiah 24–27.

II. Ancient Judaism

As in the Old Testament, the theme of the reign is expressed in ancient Judaism* by way of the predicates attributed to God and the verbs that express his actions. However, the noun *reign* now appears more frequently, albeit by no means as frequently as would be the case in the New Testament. The theme is presented above all in apocalyptic and related literature (Dn, *The Testament* [or *Assumption*] of *Moses*, etc.), as well as in ancient prayers (prayer*) (the Kaddish). At Qumran, the theme assumes some prominence in the *Scroll of War* (1QM) and in the fragments of 4Q on the *Songs for the Sabbath Holocaust* (or *Sacrifice*). As for the documents deriving from rabbinism, their dominant idea is that obedience to the law* is a matter of taking upon oneself the yoke of the reign and of recognizing this reign. These documents, however, are hard to date.

There is nothing uniform about the ideas of the reign: alongside a reign already in force, which one recognizes by submitting to it and in which one may participate through the liturgy*, there is recognition of a reign that has yet to appear and that will crown the history* of God with his people, with humanity, and with the cosmos*. At times the transformation by comparison with the present world* is emphasized to a point at which the reign to come is seen as a reality situated in a heavenly hereafter (particularly in *Testament of Moses* 10). More often, however, the perspective remains that of the earth—a renewed earth, of course. God’s sovereignty is emphatically established over all people, but the centrality of Israel is strongly accentuated.

III. New Testament

1. Jesus’ Preaching

The critics are almost unanimous in judging that the theme of the reign forms the heart of the historical Jesus’ preaching*. Jesus gives it an emphasis that goes well beyond that which it had in the Old Testament and in ancient Judaism, and which it was to have in the post-Easter Christian tradition*. Explicitly or implicitly present in the majority of the parables (parable*), the reign is the object of many maxims attested in all currents of the synoptic tradition (notably in the source of the *logia*) (Gospels*) and belongs to a large extent to the earliest layers of this tradition. The principal characteristics of this preaching are as follows:

a) *Reign as Activity*. The dynamic sense is fundamental; this is linked to a conception firmly centered on God himself. An eschatological reference—pre-

sented in this instance through an insistence on newness—seems very probable, even if this point is freshly disputed today by some of the most recent (in particular American) research (B.B. Scott 1981; M.J. Borg 1984 and 1994).

b) Salvation. Contrasting with the theme of judgment* and in tension with it, reign is the supreme category tending to salvation, employed by Jesus much more emphatically than, for example, the vocabulary of salvation* or of eternal life (life*, eternal). God assumes power in order to succor and reward the poor (Mt 5:3; see Mk 10:25) and the young, along with those who resemble them (Mk 10:14), as well as the little flock of disciples (Lk 12:32).

c) Bipolarity. It is generally accepted nowadays that, in its temporal aspect, Jesus' message regarding the reign is characterized by a polarity between the future and the present. The reign is an eschatological reality, a fulfillment (Scripture*, fulfillment of) of divine promises, and belongs fundamentally to the future; on this point Jesus does not reject the apocalyptic tradition. The future dimension of the reign is proclaimed in the Lord's Prayer* (Lk 11:2), for example, or in the *logia* of the "entry into the kingdom" (Mk 9:47; 10:25), or again in the Beatitudes (Lk 6:20f.). However—and this characteristic is almost unparalleled in ancient Judaism—Jesus also maintains that God is in the process of invading the world, that his eschatological work is under way and may be verified: Luke 11:20; Matthew 11:12; Luke 17:21; see Luke 7:18–23, 10:18, 10:23f.; Mark 3:27. It was perhaps because he was anxious to affirm both aspects that Jesus did not have recourse to the dualist vocabulary of ages ("this world"/"the world to come"), which implies a radical opposition between the two temporal spheres. The language of reign, with its dynamic overtones, allowed him, on the basis of the fundamental continuity of divine action, to express the idea that the future had already burst in upon the present and affected it with its eschatological character. The experience of the present reign, meanwhile, would doubtless have intensified the expectation of fulfillment. Several parables (e.g., Mk 4:26–29) appear to have as their message the paradox of the temporal bipolarity of the reign.

d) Christ and the Reign. The resolutely theocentric conception of the reign does not prevent there being a connection between it and the person of Jesus*. As far as the reign in its present dimension is concerned, the impact of God's coming may be seen in Jesus' words (word*) and salutary actions (especially in his exorcisms [exorcism*] and healing*). The role of God's

lieutenant or representative in his actions should undoubtedly be seen in the context of Jesus' close proximity to him whom he calls, with emphasis, his Father*. Did Jesus assign himself a similar role concerning fulfillment? The christological title of Son* of man seems at first sight to suggest as much. It may be remembered that in Daniel 7, he who rises up "like a son of man" receives investiture, and that the "Reign" of God is entrusted to him. However, criticism has thrown up almost insurmountable difficulties—at any rate, not surmounted yet—on this point. In actual fact, the connection between the maxims of the reign and the *logia* of the Son of man is never explicitly stated. Moreover, it is not clear that Jesus ever spoke of the Son of man; and even if one accepts that he did speak of him, one should not be too ready to assume that he identified himself with this figure. Besides, in the one speech in which Jesus speaks of his own person in connection with the reign to come (Mk 14:25), he offers no information that would enable one to conclude that he was expecting to play a defining role: he simply expresses the conviction that he will not remain in the thrall of death*, and that he will be a guest at the banquet of the reign. The very pronounced theocentrism of Jesus' teaching means that only for general reasons, namely the very reality of the Christology (Christ* and Christology) implicit in his message and the continuity between the present reign and the future reign, can one assume for Jesus a particular role in the coming and the life of the future reign.

2. Post-Easter Resumptions of the Theme

Even if it was not its sole focus, the "kerygma" of the post-Easter communities was centered on Christ, and in particular on the salvific events of his death and resurrection*. The announcement of God's reign was no longer foremost, but it did not disappear.

a) Gospels and Acts. The theme remains prominent over the whole course of synoptic tradition, even as far as its compilation is concerned. It is taken up differently by each of the evangelists, though it is very hard to attribute an absolutely coherent and precise position to each of them. However, it is at least possible to recognize characteristic emphases. In Matthew, for example, one may note the prominence afforded to ethics*: the entry into the Kingdom, which remains a strictly eschatological reality and should not be confused with the Church*, is linked to a respect for certain ethical demands (see Mt 5:20, 7:21, 18:3; see 5:3–12, 21:43). In the case of Luke and Acts, a dominant characteristic is the presentation of the reign as an object of preaching or teaching, with a tendency—as can be seen especially in some phrases from Acts (19:8, 2:31, etc.)—to

endow the term with a wide, vague meaning: the phenomenon of Christianity or the Christian religion (*see* Col 4:11). The relationship between the expressions concerning the reign in the two parts of Luke's work suggests that it may be one of the symbols by which the author emphasizes the continuity between Jesus' time and that of the Church. In John, only two statements concerning the reign (Jn 3:3, 5) are to be found. But the semantic connotations of the theme are quite widely present in the vocabulary of "eternal life," with which John makes clear connections (*see* 3:3 and 3:36), as indeed the synoptic tradition had already done (Mk 9:43–47, 10:17–31).

b) Pauline Corpus. The first impression here is that the theme of reign is ephemeral and merges into that of justification* or justice* (with which, moreover, a connection is made in Rom 14:17); the instances are relatively infrequent and above all seem largely stereotypical. By analogy with the *logia* of the entry into the Kingdom preserved in the synoptic tradition and in the compiling of Matthew, most of Pauline (in the broad sense) uses the theme present in the Kingdom as the eschatological dwelling of the righteous (1 Cor 6:9f.; Gal 5:21; 1 Thes 2:12; 2 Thes 1:5; Eph 5:5). Nonetheless, the presence of reign, linked to justification (Rom 4:17) and to the active power (omnipotence*, divine) (of the Holy* Spirit) (1 Cor 4:20) is not neglected, so that one finds again in Paul's writings the fundamental tension to be seen in Jesus. In spite of the lack of emphasis in his explicit references to it, the gospel theme of reign undoubtedly played a more important part in Pauline* theology than appears at first sight.

c) Specific Character of the Reign. Two distinctive characteristics recur within various theological currents of developing Christianity and deserve special mention: the christological application of the theme and its transcendental interpretation.

The christological application is revealed in the fact that the vocabulary of reign or kingdom is used in various ways concerning Jesus. The variety of epithets employed in the texts and the late character of most of the latter encourage us not to overemphasize the strictly messianic strand (though *see* Lk 1:33) but to accord full importance to the exaltation of Easter and the perspective of the Second Coming (Mt 13:41, 16:28, 20:21; Lk 22:30, 23:42; 1 Cor 15:24; Col 1:13; 2 Tm 4:1, 18; 2 Pt 1:11). Understood in the vast majority of texts as being God's prerogative, once reign is attributed to Christ there arises the problem of the relationship between the two forms of reign. Only Paul, however, considers this point explicitly (1 Cor 15:20–28). Christ's reign is temporary: at the "end" the

"Son" will submit to the Father and God will be "all in all"—it being understood that the emphasis is on God's universal sovereignty and not on the transitoriness of the Son's reign. It is generally considered enough to associate God and the Son in various ways (*see* Eph 5:5; Rev 3:21, 11:15, 12:10, 22:1)—in fact this is a distinctive aspect in the connection between Christology and theology*. The group of texts relating to the Son's reign present several assertions that call for speculation as to the relationship between reign and the Church (*see* especially Mt 13:41; Col 1:13; Eph 5:5). Generally speaking, it is not possible to identify the Church with the Kingdom of God, but it is legitimate to consider the Church as the community over which Christ's rule is exercised and which has received a call to participate in the fullness of God's reign.

As far as the oldest layers of the tradition are concerned, it is very hard to characterize the nature of the reign. Is it a matter of an eschatology* of restoration, the reign being exercised over an Israel that is renewed but that remains centered on the earth and thus retains its institutions? Or, does it rather belong to a transcendental, celestial, and strictly indescribable universe? The indications seem rather to argue for the *totaliter aliter*. In any event, the post-Easter resumption of the theme and its reinterpretation on the basis of Christ's exaltation at Easter were to favor a transcendental conception that is clearly to be seen in a number of texts, especially in the connection or even identification with what later Christian tradition would call "heaven." The second century saw a highlighting of Jesus' pronouncements on the entry or on inheritance; of the identification of reign with eternal life; and of its being set in opposition to punishment. Above all, it is overwhelmingly referred to as "heavenly." But these descriptions are already to be found in some New Testament texts. According to 2 Timothy 4:18, salvation is equivalent to entry into the "heavenly kingdom" of Christ, and "the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ" of 2 Peter 1:11, which can be identified with a heavenly hereafter that the elect will attain, in a kind of triumph, on the day of judgment. It is not impossible that a similar idea is expressed in Acts 14:22. Certainly the traditional image of the entry is to be found there—an image that does not in itself point to a transcendental conception. However, if one takes account of the beginnings of an individual eschatology to be found in the writings of Luke (especially Lk 16:19–31, 23:39–43), and if one brings into play the resemblance between Acts 14:22 and Luke 24:26, there is some reason to think of the entry into heavenly glory as taking effect from the very moment of death.

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JACQUES SCHLOSSER

See also **Church; Cosmos; Creation; Eschatology; Gospels; Jesus, Historical; Judgment; Messianism/Messiah; Parousia; Preaching; Psalms; World**

B. Historical Theology

In Jesus*'s announcement of the Kingdom* of God, and in the New Testament declarations that bear witness to the fact that Christ* crucified and raised to heaven truly inaugurates the perfect communion* of God* with human beings—the goal of creation* and of history*—the Christian tradition* has at all periods found a theme that it has been able to present with the help of the conceptual, cultural, and linguistic means at its disposal. Since these elements have themselves been modified in the course of this process, belief in the Kingdom also appears as a factor in historical change.

a) *Pre-Nicene Theology of the Kingdom of God.* The earliest Fathers* characterized the Kingdom of God by bringing together different elements provided by the New Testament declarations, including their purely narrative and allegorical aspects. Thus the announcement of the Kingdom of God, together with Jesus Christ's crucifixion and elevation, is seen as the axis of a history of salvation* that runs from the creation and original sin (sin,* original) to the judgment* and the fulfillment of creation in God (Irenaeus*, *Adv. Haer.*, PG 7, 431–1224). Jesus Christ, God's Word* made flesh, is the "*autobasilèia*" (Origen*, Tertullian*, *Adv. Marc.* 4, 33, PL 470–72), the "Kingdom of God himself" (Cyprian*, *De orat. domin.*, PL 4, 535 *Sq.*): in his life as in his death*, it is God who determines everything.

Christians attain the Kingdom of God through faith* and baptism*. They merge more closely within it by "becoming like" God through the practice of the

virtues*. This sense of participation is expressed especially in the state of virginity (Tertullian, *De virg. velandis*, PG 2, 935–62), in the "angelic life" directed toward the Kingdom of God, and in martyrdom* (Cyprian, *Exhort. de mart.*, PL 4, 677 *Sq.*). In this way Christians testify to the completely finite nature of all created reality and reject any mythical glorification of state authority* and of the Empire. They live among the nations, integrating themselves into social relationships as one people among others (*Epistle to Diognetus*, SC 33 *bis*).

The apocalyptic events announced in the New Testament were at this time interpreted as a process of purification, sanctification, and illumination. In opposition to the opinion of, for example, Dionysius of Alexandria (in Eusebius, *HE*, PG 20, 691–95), many Fathers then distinguished between a first and a second resurrection*, each heralded by a final period of calamity. These two resurrections framed the seventh week of the world*, during which Christ, after chaining Satan, would reign for a thousand years and prepare the saints for perfect communion with God (Victorinus of Pettau, Methodius of Olympus, etc.).

The idea of the Kingdom of God, so conceived from the standpoint of the history of salvation, takes its main conceptual framework from the Platonic doctrine of man's absorption into the divine mystery*, through a gradual succession of eschatological situations.

b) *Post-Constantinian Theology of the Kingdom of God.* The assertion of the essential identity of the Son and the Father*, and of the divinity of the Holy*

Spirit (Nicaea* [325] and Constantinople* [381]), brought about obvious changes in the theology* of the Kingdom of God. The eschatological significance of the Lord's first coming on earth was reinforced, so that the idea of an intermediate reign of a thousand years before the Last Judgment became less plausible (Jerome, *Comm. in Evang. sec. Matt.*, PL 26, 15–228; *Ep. CXX ad Hedibiam*, PL 22, 908–1006; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 20, 7, PL 41, 666–69). Henceforward, a number of narrative elements, which the pre-Nicene Fathers had accorded the status of historical reality, were now understood as a stock of images and metaphors applicable to the present-day experience of the faithful (see Augustine, op. cit., on the subject of the chaining of Satan).

So Christ's first coming inaugurated the sixth age of the world (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 22, 30, PL 41, 801–4), which was to be followed only by eternal fulfillment (the seventh age). Modifying the Neoplatonist theme of the “intelligible world,” Augustine* here develops his doctrine of the heavenly city, consisting of disciples living in communion with God, who, loving only him and seeking only beatitude*, fight against the earthly city*. The Church* that has existed since Abel (*Ecclesia ab Abel*) thus becomes the sacramental representative of the Kingdom of God, in which nonetheless the chaff may mingle with the good grain. The history of the world and the history of salvation are inextricably linked, without, however, merging. The different theological positions were distinguished at this time by the way in which they conceived the actuality of a Kingdom of God whose advent remained fundamentally postponed until the fulfillment of time. Cassian, as a monastic theologian, considers that it is above all through purity (purity*/impurity) of heart (soul*-heart-body) that the Kingdom of God is announced in the present (see *Collatio nona, De oratione* XIX, PL 49, 791 *Sq*); other Fathers emphasize its official representation. In the “imperial theology” inaugurated by Eusebius, the Christian emperors act as Jesus Christ's vicars for the Empire, and the Empire itself is elevated to the status of a Christian reality (see, e.g., *Orat. Eusebii de laud: Constantini in eius tricennialibus habitae*, PG 20, 1315–456). Some writers, moreover, boldly identify the Church with the Kingdom of God. Gregory* the Great, for example, takes Jesus' parables (parable*) concerning the Kingdom (e.g., Mt 13:41) as direct allusions to the Church (*Homil. in Evang.*, II, Homil. 32, 6, PL 76, 1236) at the risk of abandoning all critical distance with regard to the latter.

c) *Medieval Theology of the Kingdom of God.* While the patristic “imperial theology” found prolongment in

the Eastern Church, the *sacrum imperium* was similarly understood in the Western Empire as an initial materialization of the Kingdom of God, whose propagation, internal organization, and defense were the responsibilities of the emperor, as a new David—while to the pope* and the bishops (bishop*) fell the role of Moses in prayer*. An opposite understanding was to develop in the context of the Cluniac reform, under the banner of “liberty* of the Church”: the universal and cosmic order established under God's salvific counsel was represented in time* by the priesthood*. Thus it was the pope who held the fullness of power (*plenitudo potestatis*), and imperial or royal power played only a secondary role: it was necessitated by human sin, inasmuch as this threatened the temporal order (see Gregory VII, *Dictatus Papae*). Boniface VIII's bull *Unam Sanctam* (DH 870–75) is an intensified expression of this political and ecclesiological theology of the Kingdom of God. The medieval movement of return to evangelical poverty nonetheless reemphasized the difference between the Kingdom of God and all the forms of power exercised through history. One entered it by way of poverty, humility, and simplicity. In this regard the doctrine of Joachim of Fiore was spectacularly successful among the Franciscan “spirituals.” According to this view it was necessary to distinguish three ages of the world: the reign of the Father, characterized by the Old Testament economy of salvation and the ascendancy of secular powers; the reign of the Son, subject to the New Testament economy of salvation and to priestly domination; and finally the reign of the Spirit, which was that of the monastic community inspired by the Paraclete. Francis of Assisi was considered to be the herald of this third age and sometimes represented as *alter Christus*. The ideas of Jan Hus* and the Czech friars (Moravian Brethren) and the theories of Thomas Münzer and the Anabaptists* of Münster would be steeped in this theology of the Kingdom of God.

In the face of these arguments, Thomas* Aquinas—like other theologians of his time, who marked the high point of the Middle Ages—did not accept the theme of the Kingdom of God but rather developed an overall vision of reality based on the scheme of emanation from and return to God (*egressus/regressus*). The world thus conceived is characterized by a perfect communication with God, within which it is at the same time judged.

d) *Thematics of the Kingdom of God in Modern Times.* The tendencies of medieval theology survived until the modern period. Nicholas* of Cusa developed a speculative conception of the Kingdom of God: humankind and the world, in their history, were the ex-

pressions that God unfolded outside himself. Their relationship with God was inherent in the present moment but simultaneously encompassed all history: “There is only one heavenly reign, of which there is but one archetypal image [...] what Zeno says on the subject of truth* is the same as what Parmenides, Plato and all the others say of it; all had the same thing in mind, but expressed it in different ways” (*De filiatione Dei op.* IV, 83).

This assimilation of the Kingdom of God with the rule of the Spirit or of liberty* was to form an important theme in modern philosophy. For Leibniz* the existing world was the best of all possible worlds by virtue of a preestablished harmony based on divine rationality. In Kant*'s opinion the Kingdom of God represented the development of human society* according to ethical laws: this society—the Church—sprang from faith in revelation* but must raise itself to the level of a pure religious faith. In Hegel*'s view, finally, the doctrine of the reign of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit concluded the succession of forms that the Spirit assumed in its journey toward itself.

This conception of the Kingdom of God was also echoed in the utopias of Savonarola, Campanella, Thomas More, and Bucer*, whose tradition is in a sense continued in the ideas of the left-wing Hegelians, the Marxist theory of the communist society, and the utopian philosophy of E. Bloch. In this context the Kingdom of God is no longer the effect of God's unforeseeable grace* but rather a vision of what humanity can make of its own existence.

Luther* developed a doctrine of the two reigns that was distinct on the one hand from a Catholic and theocentric view of the Church and on the other hand from millenarian fanaticism. God's invisible spiritual government was based on justification* by faith, while secular government was based on the law*. Calvin* and Zwingli* developed a conception of Christian society that has bibliocratic and theocratic characteristics. The idea of the Kingdom of God also played a central role in Pietism*: biblical teaching, set out and put into practice in conventicles, allowed God's sovereignty to exercise itself over the world. Schleiermacher*, under the influence of Pietism, defined the Kingdom of God as “the free community, united in pious belief” (WW, III-2, 466), whose members developed their individuality as a living work of art. For A. Ritschl, finally, the Kingdom of God was the ethical (ethics*) community instituted by Jesus Christ, a conception that was used to glorify the bourgeois ideals of liberal Protestantism. Within Catholicism*, for its part, Ignatius Loyola and a number of Counter Reformation leaders identified the hierarchical Church with the reign of Christ, which was to be extended by throwing

all one's strength into planned missionary activity (*Spiritual Exercises*, no. 137–48, 365).

Within Catholic theology the doctrine of the Kingdom of God has been principally developed (following B. Gallura) by the school of Tübingen*. According to J. S. von Drey, the Kingdom of God is “that idea of Christianity which contains within it and draws from itself all others” (*Einleitung in das Studium der Theologie*, Tübingen 1819, 19). J.-B. von Hirscher envisages his “Christian morality” as a doctrine of the realization of the Kingdom. The rediscovery of the eschatological message of Jesus (J. Weiss), as well as the theologies of Barth* and Tillich*, helped to orient Catholic exegesis* (L. Cerfaux, J. Bonsirven, R. Schnackenburg, etc.) and ecclesiology* (M. Schmaus) toward the problematics of the Kingdom of God.

Building on this preparatory work, the Second Vatican* Council was able to define the Church as the Kingdom of God already present “in mystery” (LG 3) and also as the community that must at the same time, with (perhaps add “the cooperation of”) all its members, serve the Kingdom of God by the proclaiming of the Word* (LG 35), the giving of mutual assistance, and daily observance (LG 36). It was right, moreover, to distinguish between the growth of the Kingdom and earthly progress (GS 39). The theology of hope* since the Council, along with political* theology, liberation* theology and feminist theology (woman*), all oppose one or other implication of the Kingdom of God—universal salvation, liberty, justice*—to the fixed certainties of Church and society or to the traditionalism* of theology. These movements, however, often expose themselves to the risk of dissociating the Kingdom of God and the Church, or even of moving away from Jesus Christ, as a result of their ideological commitment and their drift toward political messianism. There is an opposite danger, too: the making absolute—from an apparently orthodox standpoint—of the received forms of Christianity.

e) Systematic Perspectives. If man is a paradoxical being who achieves fulfillment only beyond humanity, and so beyond the historical scope of all human powers, then the same must go for history, inasmuch as it constitutes the space in which human existence, being together, and being in the world are enacted. In terms of faith, the fulfillment of the human is attested as divine salvation. This salvation allows itself to be conceived negatively, for as long as philosophy highlights the fragility and insufficiency of all the other ideas that human beings advance of their end and fulfillment. As an all-inclusive promise guaranteed by Jesus Christ's death and resurrection, the Kingdom of God thus plays a defining role in humankind's historical practice; and

in philosophical terms it represents an asymptotic idea that can be approached only by way of successive negations. It follows that faith is alive in the Church only when, sustaining its hope and love* in the real expectation of the Kingdom of God, it rejects the limits and obstacles that history puts in the way of human salvation. This concrete action breaks the shell of certainties and established traditions, steering clear of fanaticism while it integrates the negative and critical dimension of the idea of the Kingdom of God, which emphasizes the relative nature of all the real progress achieved in this direction.

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See also Church; Eschatology; History; Life, Eternal; Millenarianism; Salvation

Kleutgen, Josef Wilhelm Karl. *See Philosophy; Realism*

Knowledge of God

It is a commonplace that the first theological fact is that God* is known by human beings and known because he has made himself known to them. But what does "knowing" mean in the case of knowing God? Several themes come together here to clarify the topic of an experience* that is not without analogies, though certainly without equal.

- 1) Biblical language indicates that the knowledge of God expresses its meaning primarily in a logic of existence. Before being theoretical, meaning

is practical, ethical (ethics*), and spiritual. Knowledge of God is a matter of conversion*, obedience, and recognition (Bultmann* 1933; Bergman-Botterweck 1982); it is articulated significantly in a symbolism of betrothal (Hos 2:22). Man is shown to us not as a rational animal but as a religious and moral subject. According to the Old Testament the one who knows God is the one who fulfills his law* and lives in the covenant* according to justice*. Knowledge is a way of being; it marks the existent in his

totality. And because it originates in a history*, its intelligibility is not articulated in a framework of metaphysical references but calls upon the construction of a logic of existence in history, a “metahistorical” perspective (Müller 1971).

- 2) The term *existence* refers to a general aptitude for experience, so that nothing fundamentally determines human beings that is absent from the conditions according to which they achieve knowledge of God. The logic of knowing brings liberty*, rationality, and emotion into play. Liberty, because the existence of God does not impose itself on human beings but solicits consent (see Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* IIa IIae. q. 2. a.1). Rationality, because that consent depends on the work of an “intellect in search of faith*,” *intellectus quaerens fidem*, and is accomplished in the work of a faith seeking its greatest understanding, *fides quaerens intellectum* (Anselm*). Lastly, emotion, because it is also as the Lovable Sovereign that God confronts the human person; rationality is thus indissociable from an *ordo amoris* (M. Scheler) in which the person plays the role of *animal amans*.
- 3) The primacy of conversion requires that human beings should not have known God from time immemorial, or at least that the manner of being that is implied by conversion is born of a rupture, rather than relying on continuities. But are human beings born in a state of total ignorance with respect to God? Or do the prethematic structures of their experience already represent an implicit confrontation with the mystery* of God and, as it were, a certain pre-knowledge? “Transcendental Thomism” (Rahner* 1976; Lotz 1978) has followed the second path; it remains possible, however, to read the native condition of the human person in terms of atheism* and/or of paganism* (Lacoste 1994). It is in any event the major task of the theology of religions*, of the philosophy of religion*, and indeed of philosophy* itself, to say under what conditions the human person is a being to whom God is not foreign. This task has particular urgency in Catholic theology*, insofar as the latter grants to the secular experience of reason* the intrinsic possibility of acceding to a “certain” (*DS* 3004) knowledge of God. However, not only in Catholic theology but in all Christian traditions (tradition*), man appears in his deepest self as an animal (animals*) in whom God is in question, hence as an animal in a hermeneutic (hermeneutics*) situation who always “pre-understands” God in some way (Bultmann 1952).
- 4) From the fact that the question is first of all existential, it does not follow that it does not have a theoretical dimension. In the Bible, knowledge of God is related to what Bertrand Russell calls “knowledge by acquaintance,” knowledge born of the familiarity between human beings and God within the space of the covenant. But it is also in terms of knowledge, of *gnôsis*, that God is spoken of from as early as the Pauline writings, so that knowledge also designates the right to use of God a language that can be called cognitive (knowledge of God thus also matching Russell’s knowledge by description). Knowledge of God is first a spiritual fact, but it also plays a role in the work of theologies. Divine knowability has as a privileged consequence the possibility of articulating a true discourse. And while the act of faith relies on a divine act of speech, the very conditions under which that act of speech asks to be understood today commit the believer to speak in his turn, and to speak with rigor; theological experience is nothing but a *theologal* experience that is capable of being articulated with complete precision.
- 5) The production of a theology is not only possible but also necessary, because faith deals with an act of speech. However, the *logos* here comes up against divine incomprehensibility as a critical factor present at every level. It is possible to speak logically of God (God is of no genus but may enter into many classes), and he may be spoken of through speculative concepts, but only with the reservation of excess: that is, reason can confront the God who is “always greater” or “always more God” only by accepting the status of an intelligence that is not comprehensive. The last word always escapes human beings. And what is said in terms of being* (Przywara) must also be said in terms of knowledge: it is not possible to posit a knowledge of the Creator by the created being without also positing an even greater lack of knowledge (see *DS* 806).
- 6) Knowledge, moreover, enjoys no particular privilege. Theological theories and theorems articulate knowledge and the knowable, but knowledge needs to be appropriated in a living way, beyond the simple conceptual appropriation of theoretical knowledge; and this vital appropriation may very well take place in the absence of a formal appropriation of words and concepts. In opposition to logics of experience that culminate in the enjoyment of knowledge (Hegel*), and to intellectualist theologies that attribute to the experience of Christian “Gnostics” greater richness

than to the faith of the humble (of the “Pistics,” e.g., in Clement of Alexandria and Origen*), the coherence of theological reasoning requires us to counter the insurmountable meaning of the faith of the simple or of children (spiritual childhood*). On the one hand, knowledge may exist when theoretical knowledge is weak, and it is also, on the other hand, called upon to raise up theoretical knowledge; if there is an expression of the theological in theology, there is also an assumption of the theological in the theological that imposes a bond between theology and sanctity (holiness*) (Balthasar* 1948). It is not a love of paradox that is the basis for attributing to Silouan or Theresa of Lisieux the status of Doctor of the Church.

- 7) Knowledge of God is the work of individuals, and the act of faith may even operate as a spiritual principle of individuation (Kierkegaard*). It is, however, not possible to account for it without recognizing its interpersonal and more specifically “communal” coordinates, hence without linking knowledge and “ecclesial being” (Lubac* 1938; Zizioulas). This link itself is both diachronic and synchronic. On the one hand, the act of knowledge is inserted into the history of a confessing, narrating, and interpretive community that guarantees the continuity of meanings through the discontinuities of time. On the other hand, the present community provides the living context for knowledge; in its word* and in its sacraments (sacrament*), it is primordially through the medium of the Church* that God gives himself to be known.
- 8) Knowledge of God is thus centrally attested in the liturgical action of the Church. In the liturgical celebration the sense of what it means to know God is played out in the most precise manner possible. On the one hand, God gives himself to be known by a people whom he assembles. On the other hand, the God who communicates himself gives himself sacramentally, while his proximity in no way undermines his transcendence but rather accentuates it. Finally, the gift of divine proximity finds its proper response in the language of memorial (*anamnesis*), praise* (*Eucharist**), and invocation (*epiclesis**), and this language appears to be the most appropriate one in which to express knowledge.

- 9) The liturgy* anticipates the *eschaton* in history and thus cannot be mentioned without also noting the strictly inchoate character of all knowledge of God in the time* of the world. Eternal life*, beatific vision*, these key concepts tell us that, in the final analysis, the knowledge of God is an eschatological event, which in history can only be anticipated or sketched out. Between a lack of knowledge to which human beings are not abandoned and a full knowledge that cannot be experienced this side of death*, a mediating term is thus supplied: sacramental knowledge and its preeschatological order. Here and now, the knowledge of God bears the stamp of the time before the end.

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See also Experience; Faith; Mysticism; Theology

Knowledge, Divine

Following the distinctions established by Pseudo-Dionysius* in the treatise *Divine Names*, divine knowledge classically designates an affirmative divine attribute (attributes*, divine); that is, an operation of God* that qualifies his intellectual life. Its use therefore posits that there is an action in God for which intellect or intelligence—that is, what allows human beings to have knowledge—is the created analogue (see, e.g., Origen, *Periarchon*, I. 1. 6).

a) *Divine Knowledge in the Typologies of Divine Attributes.* Two passages in Paul (Rom 11:33 and Col 2:3) couple wisdom* (*sophia*, *sapientia*) with Gnosis* (*gnôsis*), the latter translated by the Latin *scientia*, the French *science*, and English “knowledge,” sanctioning a distinction reinforced by the division of gifts in 1 Corinthians 12:8. In Chapter VII of *Divine Names*, wisdom is not identified with intellect (the latter may exist without the former, even though it derives from it, as demonstrated by the intellect of devils (demons*), of which it is a “waste”). This distinction of wisdom from knowledge, thematized by book II of the *Sentences*, dist. 35, was of capital importance for the whole of medieval theology*. But divine knowledge was often also assimilated to the wisdom of God, since, according to Augustine* (*Trin* XIV.I. 3), wisdom is properly speaking the knowledge of divine things. Treatises on divine attributes assign a definition and a function to knowledge following a dual typology. On the one hand there is the tripartite division wisdom/knowledge/intelligence (*sunesis*, *intellectus*, or *intellegentia*), attested by Isaiah 11:2 (*Sentences*, book III, dist. 35 then adds the distinction mentioned above that intelligence is a speculation whereas wisdom is rather a contemplation* and a delectation); on the other hand there is the triad power (omnipotence*, divine)/knowledge (sapience)/will (goodness), often reduced from the 17th century onward to the duality of divine knowledge and divine power. But the latter notion, probably by reason of the importance of what was at stake (in particular the question of the existence of evil*), gave rise to more theoretical developments than that of knowledge, which appeared less problematical and was therefore less frequently denied (explicitly or not) and less frequently worked through. In addition, the affirmation in the creed, doxologies, and blessings (blessing*) of the om-

nipotence of the Father* clearly manifests an imbalance between power and knowledge. The oldest mention in *DS* of divine knowledge refers to the Council of Rome of 382, which said that God the Son can do all and knows all in the same way as God the Father (*DS* 164), and repeated the same thing of the Holy* Spirit (*DS* 169). But it is not until 15 centuries later, in Vatican* I, that we find an explicit dogmatic* formulation of the infinity of divine knowledge (*DS* 3009), irreducible to a worldly order (§1 of the *Syllabus* condemned those who deny a very wise [*sapientissimum*] divine Being [*Numen*] distinct from the universality of things, *DS* 2901). The Church* confesses a God infinite* in all perfection, hence in intellect (*intellectu ac voluntate omnique perfectione infinitum*, dogmatic constitution *Dei Filius*, *DS* 3001).

The divine attribute of knowledge contains within itself two difficulties. What does “knowledge” mean when the concept is applied to God? To what does the postulated totality of divine knowledge extend? A third question may also express the problems: is the analogy* between divine knowledge and human knowledge valid, with the proviso that the former is unlimited? Like all his other attributes, God’s knowledge is marked by its infinity (Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, I. 12. 18–19). Divine knowledge is then characterized as omniscience or all-knowingness, understanding by these words (which appear to have been coined in the modern period, whereas “omnipotence” is much earlier) that divine knowledge or intelligence extends to everything and perhaps beyond (infinitely); that is, beyond what we ourselves can consider an object of thought: everything that is, everything that is not but is to come, the possible, indeed the impossible, God himself. But the development of the concept by the Greek and Latin Fathers very largely precedes the word, particularly with respect to prescience (Augustine). A. Michel (1941) recapitulated patristic treatment of the subject on the basis of the *Enchiridion patristicum*. The examination of various objects of divine knowledge is organized with varying degrees of difficulty depending on whether the theologies concerned borrow their concepts from Platonism* or Aristotelianism*.

b) *Biblical Treatment: From the Knowledge of Secrets to the Knowledge of Everything.* The Old Testament

frequently asserts that God knows what it is difficult to know: the secret thoughts of man (Ps 91:11), his sins and his offenses (Ps 69:6), the depths of the heart (soul*-heart-body) and the mind (Ps 7:10; Prv 15:11; 1 Kgs 8:39—repeated against indifferentism in the encyclical *Quanto conficiamur moerore* of 10 August 1863, DS, 2866), the person* even before he or she exists (Jer 1:5; *see also* Rom 8:29; 1 Cor 13:12), or events before they occur, which is known as prescience (Is 44:7; Dn 13:42). The knowledge that God has of human beings is always more than information: it expresses his interest in humankind (Ps 33:13), his tender love, or indeed his choice* (e.g., Gn 18:19). God sees what is hidden (Dn 13:42), the Father sees in darkness (Mt 6:4f.), the Son knows what is in man (Jn 2:25), and he knew in advance who would betray him (Jn 6:65). Nothing is invisible for God (Heb 4:13, which Vatican I relies on). But this lucidity on God's part is not enough to provide a conceptual foundation for omniscience. As for the pairing wisdom and knowledge, sometimes joined by intelligence, it is not infrequent in the Old Testament but is attributed to the one to whom God has given the gift of his spirit (e.g., Ex 35:31; 2 Chr 1:11f.; Eccl 2:26; Is 33:6; Dn 5:11), or to the spirit as given (Is 11:2), and is not predicated of God himself (commentators have not been unanimous in relating to God the counterexample, Jb 12:13). Unlike omnipotence, omniscience therefore does not seem as such to constitute a divine name* in the Old Testament, whereas Paul clearly mentions the “riches and wisdom and knowledge of God” (Rom 11:33 and Col 2:3).

1 Samuel 2:3 says of the Lord that he is the “God of knowledge” (*gnôseôn, scientiarum* [Bernard* of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* V. 4]). In Islam, omniscience is one of the 99 names of God. The three Old Testament passages that the treatises *De Deo uno* traditionally quote to confirm the omniscience of God are the following (the Vulgate each time translates *scientia*): Esther 14:15 (Vulg. = Greek Esther C, 25), “Lord, Thou hast knowledge of all things (gnôsis)” (*see also* 13:12 = C, 5); Ecclesiasticus 42:18 (Vulg. 19), “The Most High knows all that may be known (eidêsis)”; Job 21:22, “Will any teach God knowledge (sunesis kai epistêmè)?” (we might add Bar 3:32 and Jb 28:24). Except for the Pauline references already mentioned, the New Testament is rather preoccupied with the knowledge of Christ*, as in John 21:17. Similarly, in John 16:30 it is the omniscience of Jesus* that causes him to be recognized as Son of God (*see also* Jn 4:19, 25, 39); 1 Corinthians 2:10, for its part, confirms the omniscience of the Holy Spirit. However, it is not certain that the question of the knowledge of Christ finds a clear basis in the New Testament. Relying on Acts

2:23 (“this Jesus, delivered up according to the definite plan [*boulè, consilium*] and foreknowledge [*prognosis, praescientia*] of God”), one might propose the schema: there is prescience on the Father's part and obedience on the Son's part to what the Father knows. Acts also contains a single occurrence of *pronoia* in the sense of *providentia* (and not *cura*): in Acts 24:2 the pagan Tertullus speaks of the *pronoia* of the governor Felix. The “pre-thought” of Proclus was also translated by *providentia*.

c) *Does God Know Himself?* The argument according to which God knows himself is problematical in the framework of a Neoplatonic philosophy* that thinks of God as the One, and this for two reasons. On the one hand, since knowledge implies a distinction between the knower and the known, or the intelligence and the intelligible, and so produces a duality, it must be excluded that the One may know; it is the second hypostasis (*noûs*) that has the capacity to contemplate the One in itself and hence to know itself (*see, e.g., Enneads* V). There would thus be a contradiction between the transcendental predicate of unity and the operative attribute of knowledge; this is why Dionysius, although he holds that the wisdom of God knows itself, has no hesitation in saying that God has no intellectual activity (*Divine Names* VII. 2). Further, taking seriously the fact that God is infinite makes it impossible for his essence to be known, even by himself. For John the Scot Eriugena, the proposition “God does not know himself” is true if it is understood to mean “God does not know himself in his quiddity, for God is not an objectified *quid*,” not being any of the knowable existents (nothingness*). In this sense alone it is possible to say that “God remains unknowable both for himself and for any intelligence” (*De divisione naturae*, Book II. 589 B–C); and the intelligence is forbidden to inquire about the substance of God even more than about his name (Jgs 13:18). Furthermore, if God knew himself in his substance, he could define himself: his infinity would then be relative, not absolute (587 B).

On the other hand, God's knowledge of himself causes no difficulty in an Aristotelian context, nor later for natural* theology. According to the *Metaphysics* 7 and 10 (which also joins together *sophia* and *epistêmè*) and *De Anima* III. 6 (“if there is anything that has no contrary, then it knows itself and is actually and possesses independent existence”), the God of Aristotle, an act of intelligence (*energeia noûs*), knows himself, he is *noësis noëseôs* (*Metaphysics* 9, 1074_b 35), thought of thought: “And thought thinks on itself because it shares the nature of the object of thought... so that thought and object of thought are the same” (*Metaphysics* 7, 1072_b 20–22). Thus the *epistêmè* is

théologikè (even though Aristotle does not use the word) because it is the knowledge that God has of God; here is posited the central thesis of theological knowledge of the Middle Ages. Thomas strictly repeated the argument in showing that in the case of God, as pure act, the intellect (operating) and the intelligible (object of the operation) are identical (*ST* Ia. q. 14. a. 2 resp.; *CG* I. 45); for if God were intelligent without being himself the object of his intelligence, a distinction would have to be made in him between power and act. God's intellect is thus his essence, and God knows his essence (1 Cor 2:10) through his essence itself, which is the intelligible species of his intellection (*CG* I. 46–47). To know, for God, is to know first his essence, hence to know himself (*CG* I. 48); that is, to know what is fundamentally incomprehensible to us, God himself. We must therefore posit a (for us) unknowable knowledge, a (for us) incomprehensible comprehension. It is therefore not paradoxical that omniscience and incomprehensibility have always been linked, from Pseudo-Dionysius (*Divine Names* VII. 2–3) to Descartes* (*Letters to Mersenne* of April and May 1630).

d) Does God Know What Is Not Himself? It is a disputed question in Scholastic (Scholasticism*) theology whether, on the basis of *Physics* 8 and *Metaphysics* 7, the God of Aristotle knows the world. It is obvious that he does know it, since the *primum mobile* is known; but because his intellect is what is best and must think what is best, it could only think of itself. His thought is nothing but the act of thinking his own act of thinking (*a fortiori* the idea of omniscience was radically foreign to Aristotle, and to Greek philosophy in general, despite the fragment [21 B24 DK] of Xenophon of Colophon, whose interpretation is open to question). Thomas* Aquinas, following Themistius (*In Metaphysicam* 28. 28f.), asserts that the God of Aristotle thinks the world. In this debate, Hebrews 4:13 again provides the necessary reference for a positive answer. Thomas demonstrates it as follows: God could not know himself perfectly without knowing his power. Knowing power implies knowing what that power governs; that is, the existing things of which it is the efficient cause. This demonstration of the knowledge of God is mediated, at least for created things, by recourse to his power. In addition, every effect, pre-existing in God as in its cause, is necessarily known in him according to its intelligibility (as the intelligible is in the intellect). In this way we see that the knowledge of things other than the self is for God still knowledge of himself (*ST*, *ibid.*; *CG* I. 49; see also *De veritate*, q. 2). For God knows or sees the things that are outside himself only in himself and not in themselves. Augus-

tine claimed that God sees nothing outside himself (q. 46 of the *Eighty-Three Questions*) and God, “in thinking himself, thinks all things” (*CG* I. 49): Thomas adopts from Dionysius (*Divine Names* VII. 3) a formulation first used by Plotinus about the *noûs* (IV. 4).

Neoplatonism indeed made it easy to think that God knows everything in himself, since intelligence reaches the intelligible without going outside itself (*Enneads* V. 2). For Dionysius, relying on Daniel 12:42, it is as cause of all things that divine intelligence contains in itself in advance the notion of all things and hence knows all things in their principles (*Divine Names* VII. 2). The divine intelligence therefore knows not on the basis of existing things but on the basis of itself: “God does not know existing things by knowing them, but by knowing himself”—it is by anticipating the knowledge of the thing that the divine intelligence confers on it its essence (*ibid.*). The concept of cause thus has a dual function: not only does God give being to all things as their cause, but it is in the same way that he knows all things. Similarly, Augustine says: “It is not because they are that God knows all created beings... but it is because he knows them that they are” (*De Trinitate* XV. 13, based on Ecclesiasticus 23:20). Thomas, quoting Dionysius in *CG* I. 49, reiterates the argument (*ibid.*, a. 8; see *De veritate*, q. 2, a. 14): “God is the cause of things by his intelligence” (*CG* I. 51). It is thus through the same modality that God knows himself and knows what is not himself: he sees himself in himself, he sees truths in himself, and he still sees things in himself and not in themselves, by means of his universal causality. This entire schema fell apart with Duns Scotus and was ignored as long as it was thought that God produced representations themselves.

e) Objects and Modalities of Divine Knowledge. The plurality of objects of knowledge imposes on divine knowledge—which itself remains single—conceptual determinations and specific denominations. Alexander of Hales distinguishes between divine knowledge considered in itself, considered relatively (prescience and disposition), and finally, considered in relation to divine government (providence*, fate, predestination*, reprobation, election, tender love). Thereafter, Bonaventure*, among others, soon prepared a list in the *Breviloquium* (Ia. c. 8), which he chose to subsume under the heading of wisdom: knowledge of possible things; vision of what happens in the universe; approbation of what is good; prescience or foresight with regard to what will happen; disposition for what God will do; predestination of what is worthy of recompense; reprobation of what deserves to be condemned.

We cannot fully examine here these various objects,

all of which pose particular problems: the singular, for the knowledge of God has the same extension as his causality (*CG* I. 50); matter, the principle of individuation; evil, which God knows as limitation (in accordance with its nature); and the infinite, for “all infinity is in some ineffable way made finite to God” (*De civitate Dei*, book 12. c. 18). We will mention here only the questions of the contingent as contingent and the prescience of God. Among the things that are not, some have been or will be: God knows them through a knowledge called “of vision” (*ST* Ia. q. 14. 1. 9), for the present gaze (*intuitus*) of God extends through all time* (*see* eternity* of God). As for things that have never been or will never be, God knows them through a knowledge called “of simple intelligence” (*ibid.*), for these things have no being distinct from the subject that conceives them.

In modern times the invention of combinatorial analysis gave Leibniz* the means of thinking about this knowledge of simple intelligence in order to rationalize the divine choice of bringing into being the best of all possible worlds. Indeed, God knows not only all things but all possible relations between possible things or phenomena (compossibility). God “looks at all the facets of the world in every possible manner, since there is no relationship that escapes from his omniscience” (*Discourse on Metaphysics*, §XIV). For Leibniz (*Letters to Arnauld*), the divine calculus even takes into account the possible decrees of his will. These arguments were adopted in a Scholastic vein by the *Theologia naturalis* (p. I/1 §§141–311) of Wolff, important for the history of the treatises and the teaching of *De Deo uno* until the middle of the 20th century. For Wolff as for Leibniz, it is God’s intelligence, and not his power or his will, that is the source of the possibilities that power actualizes (he calls actualizable possibilities “existables,” §221).

It can thus be understood that divine knowledge extends to contingent futures; the basic scriptural reference is Ecclesiasticus 23:20 (= Vulg. 29), and commentaries on it by Augustine (*De Trinitate* XV. xiii; *see also De Genesi ad litt.* book V. 18) and Origen (*Super epistolam ad Romanos* VII), quoted by Peter Lombard in Book 1 of the *Sentences* (d. 38. c. 1), which organizes the entire subject of prescience around the initial dilemma with which the Middle Ages and the modern period were to pose the question: are knowledge and prescience the cause of things, or are things the cause of knowledge and prescience? What is at stake is the status of human liberty*: does God’s prescience not abolish it? It was intellectually necessary to maintain both that an action is free (hence contingent) and yet that God knows what man will freely choose. The Thomist solution refers again to the

eternity of divine knowledge (*ST* Ia. q. 14. a. 13). Later Scholasticism was divided between the hypothesis of physical pre-motion (that is, physically and not only psychologically determinative) and that of middle knowledge (*scientia media*), which works on the conditions required in order to maintain that the contingent is known in a way that is certain (God knows what a given free will would do in given circumstances); this kind of contingency (Mt 11:21) is called “futurible” (*see* Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism). Leibniz speaks of necessity *ex suppositione* and in this context distinguishes between a “necessitated” event (something that [an act of the] unconstrained human will is not) and a “determined” event (following the principle of sufficient reason). In every case the infallible knowledge that God has of free actions is characterized as “independent knowledge,” for it takes place a priori.

In relation to the Aristotelian conceptual system and to a modern determination of science, divine knowledge appears more as concrete knowledge-of-content than as rational knowledge-as-way-of-knowing (*epistèmè*, despite a few occurrences in the Septuagint in Job), to the extent that it never proceeds by discursive reasoning: it accommodates neither compound nor division (*Divine Names* VII. 2; *CG* I. 57 and 58; *ST* Ia. q. 14. a. 7). Thought of as *visio* or *intuitus*, the knowledge of God is a simple and immediate act: “God sees everything at once” (Augustine, *De Trinitate* book 15. c. 14). Intelligence, knowledge, wisdom, counsel, or prudence (that is, practical knowledge) are thus identified in God who knows everything according to a single and simple knowledge (*ST* Ia. q. 14. a. 1. ad 2). Because of its amplitude as because of its modality (knowing in its essence), this is called “comprehensive knowledge.”

The affirmation of the univocal character of knowledge continued to grow in strength during later Scholasticism to the point that in the modern period, comprehensive knowledge, reserved for God, became the conceptual model for all knowledge. Of course, for Descartes, “only God himself is perfectly wise, that is, only he has complete knowledge of the truth* of all things” (*Letter-Preface* to the *Principles*). In resistance to this dominant position, he asserts that “in God it is a single thing to will, to understand, and to create, with none preceding the others, *ne quidem ratione*” (*Letter to Mersenne* of 27 May 1630); this is why he firmly maintains the Augustinian distinction between conceiving (“touching with thought”) God and understanding him (“embracing with thought”); we are capable of the former, not the latter (*ibid.*). Descartes tirelessly repeats that the power of God, creator of our rationality, is incomprehensible to us.

But his principal contemporaries and successors were not afraid to think of human knowledge following the model of the knowledge of vision or of the beatific vision*. This is true of Spinoza, for whom knowledge of the third type makes it possible to know as God knows (*Ethics* II, prop. 40, note 2 and props. 45–47); and for Malebranche, for whom we see all things in God and who totally subjects divine power to divine wisdom (*Treatise of Nature and Grace* I, a. 1, add.); and for Leibniz, who articulates the univocal character of knowledge by making finite and infinite understanding totally homogeneous, subject to the principles of contradiction, of sufficient reason, and of the best. Finally, the “absolute knowledge” of Hegel enables man to accede to knowledge of a comprehensive type. Schleiermacher*, for his part, proposes the interpretation adopted by the principal current of Protestantism* in the 19th century: what is to be understood by divine omniscience is the absolutely spiritual character of divine power.

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f) Perspectives. Even though one major question, that of the divine knowledge of evil, has never ceased to be a subject of debate in Catholic theology (Nicolas 1960; Maritain 1963; Garrigues 1982; Sentis 1992), it seems that recent scholarship has undergone a displacement of the problem of divine knowledge. On the one hand, the theological repercussions of critical exegesis* of the New Testament have necessitated a renewed interest in the knowledge of Christ, itself interpreted most frequently, in a kenotic perspective omnipresent since the 19th century, as the “faith* of Christ” (J. Guillet, Balthasar*; see Christ*’s consciousness), implying a certain ignorance on Christ’s part. On the other hand, the concept of divine intellect, already criticized by Spinoza and Hume, then by Fichte at the dawn of the *Atheismsstreit*, and finally shattered in the Hegelian logic of the absolute spirit (see Brito 1991), is an unquestionable subject of embarrassment in more than one contemporary theology (e.g., the critique of God conceived as *noûs* in Pannenberg 1988). The notion of divine subjectivity is not absent from contemporary dogmatic* discussion, and the theory of predestination is not dead (e.g., in Barth*); nevertheless, a reelaboration, governed in particular by the concept of divine love* or divine charity, has preoccupied contemporary theology in the most fruitful manner. And this reelaboration is no doubt still incomplete enough for us not yet to have at our disposal well-developed theories of the modes of knowledge appropriate to love. Anglo-American philosophy, however, has shown continued interest in the problem of divine omniscience, either in denying the consistency

of the concept (A.N. Prior, *Philosophy* 37 [1962] 114–29; N. Kretzmann, *Journal of Philosophy* 63 [1966] 409–22; also Castañeda, 1989, and Hasker, 1989) or in maintaining the possible existence of a spiritual being who knows everything that it is logically possible to know while restraining his preknowledge of the future to preserve his own liberty and to leave human beings free (Swinburne 1977). Finally, omniscience cannot be attributed to the God of Process Theology, whose very being* is a “process” and one that he does not entirely govern.

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**See also Attributes, Divine; Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Eternity of God; Immutability/Impassibility, Divine; Intellectualism; Justice, Divine; Negative Theology; Omnipotence, Divine; Omnipresence, Divine; Predestination; Providence; Simplicity, Divine; Theology; Truth; Vision, Be-
atific**

Kuhn, Johann Evangelist von. *See* Tübingen, Schools of



Laity. *See* Lay/Laity

Lamb of God/Paschal Lamb

Of all the books of the Bible*, the Gospel of John is the only one to use the phrase “Lamb of God.” With the exception of the two passages concerned (Jn 1:29, 1:36), *amnos* for “lamb,” only appears in Acts 8:32 and 1 Peter 1:19. The term used in Revelation is *arnion* (28 times). Interpretation will vary depending on what one considers to be the completed form of the figure of the book, thus granting the christological titles of John 1:19–51 their full meaning, or, depending on whether one refers to the origins, adhering to a more archeological approach.

a) Baptist Origins. Lamb of God appears to be a christological title and should not be disassociated from other titles in the litany that accompanies the story of the four inaugural days (Jn 1:19–51), which are themselves referred to John the Baptist’s authority (1:19). He sees in Jesus* the one who “comes,” “the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world” (v. 19), then the “Lamb of God” (abbreviated form, v. 36). Then come the titles “Son of God” (v. 34, with variations “Chosen One,” or “Chosen Son”), “Mes-

siah*,” which means Christ* (v. 41), “Son of God” and “King of Israel*” (v. 49), and even the mysterious reference to the “Son of man,” in relation to the image of Jacob’s ladder (v. 51). Even the unknown Jesus (v. 31, 33) can be understood as a messianic feature, as can the insistence on the Holy* Spirit (v. 32 f.). Several authors (e.g., Brown and Schnackenburg) now share the view that this story contains an affirmation both of Jesus’ own baptist roots, and those of the Johannine community itself, which seems particularly attached to the memory of John the Baptist (*see* Jn 3:22–30, 4:1 f., 5:33 f., 10:40).

b) The Paschal Lamb. The reading that is most influenced by the last stage of the book consists in interpreting it through the Paschal Lamb, starting from the founding story of Exodus 12. This figure appears in 1 Peter 1:19: “You know that you were ransomed . . . with the precious blood of Christ, like that of a lamb without blemish or spot”; and in 1 Corinthians 5:7: “For Christ, our Paschal Lamb, has been sacrificed.” This theme is not neglected in the fourth

Gospel: the chronology of the Passion implies a coincidence with the sacrifice of lambs for the paschal dinner that very night (Jn 19:14), and the crucified Christ is identified with the Paschal Lamb, not one of whose bones would be broken (Jn 19:36; *see* Ex 12:46). Nevertheless, this interpretation does not fit well in the context of royal appointment in a baptist environment.

c) *Servant of Isaiah*. With 1 Peter 1:19, the catechism scene described in Acts 8:32 offers the second occurrence of *amnos*. Here, the “Servant” found in Isaiah 52:13–53:12 is presented “like a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and like a sheep that before its shearers is dumb,” (Is 53:7). It is therefore tempting to relate the “Lamb of God” to the Servant. Jeremias suggested that “lamb” could be explained as a pun involving the Aramean *talya* (lamb) and the Hebrew *talèh* (servant). The latter term bears traits of archaic Christology (*pais*: Jesus, “child” or “servant”), still employed by the Apostolic* Fathers (Clement 59, 2. 3. 4; *Didache* 9, 2 f., 10, 2 f.). However, aside from the fact that the possibility of word play has not yet been definitively established (Dodd), the reference to Servant presents the same difficulty as the mention of the Paschal Lamb. Referring to the beginning of Jesus’ ministry, it does not seem to match the pericopal context. Furthermore, the “Lamb of God” (Jn 1: 29) “takes away” (Greek *hairein*) sin, while the Servant of Isaiah 53:4 “carries” it (*pherein*), according to the perspective of the emissary victim (Is 53:5 f., 53:10).

d) *The Victorious Lamb*. Revelation gives the Lamb, called *arnion* (originally a diminutive of *arèn*, but as early as the Septuagint, the three terms—*amnos*, *arèn*

and *arnion*—seem equivalent), a certain number of characteristics related to royal power (Rev 7:17, 17:14). The same perspective can be found in apocalyptic* literature (Testament of Joseph 19:8; 1 En 90:6–19). Rather than the sacrificed lamb, we now encounter a young ram with budding horns, whose insolent spirit represents the vitality of the messiah-king. This suggestion, supported by Dodd, has not been unanimously accepted by exegetes. Nevertheless, given the current state of research, it at least seems the best suited to the context of the pericope devoted to the testimony of John the Baptist. Given that, through the theme of the Lamb, the apocalyptic aspect brings together royal symbolism and the tradition of sacrifice (*see* especially Jn 5:6, 5:9), exegesis* can take into account that process of reinterpreting Old Testament figures by means of which, as early as the New Testament, the first christological ideas were developed.

Thus, far from being incompatible, the various levels of meaning attest to the integration of the pericope of John 1:19–51 into the whole hermeneutic plan of the Gospel according to John.

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See also Animals; Apocalyptic Literature; Expiation; Messianism/Messiah; Passover; Sacrifice; Sin

Language, Theological

The problem of theological language, and the criteria for its coherence and validity, is not new in theology*. But the most important debate on the subject in our times has doubtless taken place in England, where the validity of religious language has been questioned by linguistic philosophy*. The latter is based on the premise that the traditional metaphysical problems are

not real problems but only follow from linguistic misunderstandings. Many statements in reality have a very different function from the one they appear to have.

a) *Logical Positivism*. Post-1945 linguistic philosophy was a reaction against the logical positivism dominating English language philosophy and, specifically,

the philosophy of religion* since the publication of *Language, Truth and Logic* (1936) by Alfred J. Ayer (1910–89). During the next five decades it was impossible to deal with these questions without including long introductions devoted to the nature of religious language. Logical positivism, which was born in Vienna in the 1920s, was in itself a reaction against metaphysical idealism. Its proponents maintained that all propositions were either analytical or synthetic and that all synthetic propositions were empirical—that is, based on tangible observation. A metaphilosophical problem thus ensues: are philosophical propositions empirical or tautological? What the Viennese were mostly interested in was giving an empirical content to the terms employed by the natural sciences*. If these did not come down directly to tangible observation, they had to be at least part of a theory consisting of propositions that could be verified or falsified through observation. This meant that scientific language had its basis in experience, while metaphysical language or a fortiori theological language did not. Therefore, the latter were languages devoid of meaning. As for the language of ethics or esthetics, it was a disguised way of expressing emotions: This language of values was meaningful without having any claims to truth*. Facts and values were strictly distinguished.

Theology was quickly called into question. In fact, its very existence became problematic: was it really a rational discourse whose statements were subject to verification or falsification? How was a discipline to be taken seriously if it did not state its solution to the problem of truth-value and the cognitive status of “religious language” to begin with? In reality, it was “religious language” and not “theological language” that was discussed—and this was misleading, since it was precisely the justification and truthfulness of theological statements that were at issue. It was only very late, for example, that interest in metaphor and symbol appeared. As for what constituted the essentials of religious language (such as rituals and gestures) for believers, as well as for liturgists, historians, and sociologists of religion, it was as if it did not exist.

As much as Ayer subsequently modified his version of logical positivism, he still denied the value of all claimed statements on the subject of God* (see his last important work of 1973). But in so doing, he based his reasoning much more on the distinction between fact and value, than on any contribution by the philosophy of language. In fact, all terminology in the debate on the cognitive status of religious language was, for the most part, prescribed by philosophers who had no subtle or innovative ideas with regard to language but who, carrying Hume’s legacy, were obsessed by the distinction between value and fact. According to

Hume, what *ought* to be cannot be deduced from what *is*; there is such a “logical hiatus” between fact and value that we can principally separate all things respectively concerning them in any statement.

These philosophers were more interested in ethics* than in theology, and in the context of this debate they evolved in the direction of moral noncognitivism. Ayer, for example, classifies into four categories what had previously been considered in ethics to be statements endowed with a value of truth: 1) term definitions, 2) descriptions of moral phenomena, 3) exhortations to good conduct, and 4) ethical judgments. Only the first of these categories is philosophically respectable, since it is analytical in the Kantian sense. The second category refers to “soft” sciences such as sociology and psychology. Exhortations, in their turn, have no relation to reality, but are “exclamations or orders whose goal is to lead the reader [*sic*] to such and such an action.” As for ethical judgments, they “express only sentiments.” This is how Ayer formulated his version of moral theory known by the name of emotivism.

The same criterion of verifiability is then applied to assertions about a transcendental God. The affirmations of believers express only what they are feeling and can by no means depict or represent what is, or what could be, in reality. As Ayer observes, not without malice, this analysis goes very well with the idea of negative* theology. After all, theologians are very fond of saying that existence and divine nature are beyond language. We must make Pascal*’s wager or Kierkegaard’s leap, but we must also stop thinking that theological statements speak of the reality of things. Ayer does not quote any theologian (it is unlikely that he never read a single one), but it is evident that a kind of radical fideism* would fit very well, at least on a superficial level, with the purely subjective theological statements. In fact, those theologians who wanted to keep up with the times felt obliged to adopt the perspective of logical positivism and to reject to a great extent the usual theological discourse. Instead of reaching into the heart of things and objecting to the reduction of all esthetic, ethical, and religious statements to a noncognitive status, many theologians between the 1940s and the 1980s instead tried to reformulate Christian theism in a way that would satisfy all of Ayer’s principles.

b) Logical Empiricism in Theology. We must cite here David Cox’s essay “The Significance of Christianity” (*Mind*, 1950), a remarkable document that is clearly symptomatic of theological reductionism. The word *God* is rightfully used only in phrases like “meeting God” but is considered improper any time it is

meant to designate a reality independent of the speaker's subjective experience*. We should not take the proposition "God is love*" as some sort of information; in fact, it means that one cannot call "meeting God" the meeting with some person who does not love one. The statement that "God created the world from nothingness" (creation*) means that everything we can call "material" can serve to benefit humanity. According to the author, this kind of reinterpretation allows Christianity to avoid "the exile to which metaphysics are relegated, and rightfully so, by logical positivists." Cox's example is obviously an extreme case of submission to the criteria of logical positivism, but many other theologians admire the fact that theological language does not claim to convey truth and loses nothing from being considered purely an expression.

R. B. Braithwaite, for instance, supported the idea that Christianity provided a fund of "stories" to help us to behave well while the question of their truthfulness or falsity was not posed at all (*An Empiricist's View of the Nature of Religious Belief*, 1955). The essence of Christian stories is to inspire "a disposition to *agape*." John Hick's theory of "eschatological verification" shows a bit more respect for the cognitive status of theological statements. For Hick, religious affirmations that are not susceptible to being verified experimentally will be so in the future world (*Faith and Knowledge*, 1957). Richard M. Hare, who had a great influence on the debate, maintained, for his part, that moral judgments as well as some religious judgments have a "prescriptive" meaning. To say that an act, for example, is good or bad, does not mean one attributes it a value of its own but that one recognizes that it is universally imperative to give it some standing or to avoid it in this or that case. For Hare, religious affirmations certainly do not represent reality; nevertheless, he suggests (*see* Flew and MacIntyre, 1955) that we regard them as quasi-metaphysical outlooks on the world (he even proposes a name for them, "blik").

It is understandable that the problem of religious language should arise in these terms. However, we shall see in retrospect that a dilemma of choice between factual usage and emotional usage of language cannot lead anywhere and dooms one to incomprehension, both in the area of religion and in the moral and esthetic area.

Some philosophers, such as Ian T. Ramsey (1915–72), while staying in the essentially positivist framework of linguistic analysis, made great efforts to explain the "strangeness" of religious expressions. Upon further scrutiny, theological propositions, even though lacking the realism that is usually attributed to them, are neither totally devoid of cognitive content

(as Ayer, Cox, Braithwaite, and Hare believed), nor do they offer direct information on the world (as traditional metaphysical realism was supposed to believe). As Ramsey rightly saw, to say that theological language is not concerned with reality is not the result of some extraordinary progress made by the philosophy of language, but it is a sign that the distinction between truth and value persists. Hence, the importance of some religious affirmations comes, for him, from what they can express or from their ability to create what he calls "revelation" situations. He attempts to show, by means of familiar expressions—such as "break the ice" and "it sticks out a mile"—that an everyday event can sometimes be a "revelation" and that ordinary relationships can suddenly become meetings that can change one's life. Ramsey supplies the perfect example of a fundamentally orthodox theologian who accepts the rules of logical empiricism and must, therefore, turn to everyday life to find cases of language escaping the distinction between truth and value. In any case his conclusions are perfectly valid: there is a kind of language usage that, although it expresses subjectivity, can reveal and transform a real situation.

c) Principle of Falsification. The volumes of essays coming out under the editorship of A. Flew and A. MacIntyre (1955) as well as Ramsey (1966), testify to an evolution of ideas leading, for example, from Flew's fierce antitheological position ("Theology and Falsification," 1949) to a more open agnosticism*, as demonstrated by R. W. Hepburn and Iris Murdoch ("Vision and Choice in Morality," 1956). According to the "principle of falsification," a proposition is devoid of meaning if it cannot be falsified, at least in principle, by an empirical observation. A proposition that cannot be falsified, cannot be verified either. Therefore, it has no cognitive status. If we apply this principle, as Flew does, to the theological propositions that speak of a loving God-Creator, we can say, still according to Flew, that the observable state of affairs—the order of nature—remains the same, whether we say that there is a Creator or not. We add nothing and take nothing out of this order by our affirmation or rejection. Therefore, the notion of a Creator is an empty one. The same is valid for the proposition "God is love," which is empty of meaning because it is obviously compatible with the most atrocious suffering. It is only by playing infinitely with the word *love* that we can avoid or circumvent the contradiction between God's love and suffering. In a famous formulation, Flew says that *suffering* is a word that has ended up a hundred times dead by virtue of its subtleties; it is a word that has gradually emptied itself of all empirical sense since it

excludes no state of things observable, and no specific kind of suffering.

In Anglo-American culture it is generally assumed that only empirically verifiable propositions are cognitive and that all others are either analytical (tautological) or noncognitive (emotive). Plenty of theologians have adopted this view. Among them, Don Cupitt, for example, is the most eloquent representative of the noncognitive and nonrealist theology. He views religion as a great collective work of art, a profound expression of the human spirit, and a spontaneous burst of creative faith that “cannot, strictly speaking, be attributed either to God or to the ego, for it precedes any distinction between them” (*Life Lines*, 1986). Hence, religion can comply with the criteria of logical positivism while at the same time being what Cupitt calls an esthetic expression.

d) Philosophy of Anti-Empiricist Religion. Other philosophers, such as Hepburn and Murdoch, while being interested in ordinary language, and therefore recognizing linguistic analysis, pay equal attention to poetry and prose (Murdoch was also a novelist). As the latter says in her 1956 essay, which was the first sign of a moral philosophical evolution allowing her to abandon emotivism and regain a certain realism, we must distinguish between “the man who believes that moral values are a type of activity that can be observed empirically and of which he approves, from the man who believes that they are visions, inspiration, powerful forces coming from a transcendent source that he is called upon to discover, and about which he knows very little at the moment.” But philosophers still had a long way to go before they realized that linguistic analysis was prisoner to the truth/value distinction and returned to metaphysics.

By the time Ayer arrived in Vienna, Wittgenstein (1889–1951) had already discovered that the members of the Viennese circle had not really understood his *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* and mistook him for a supporter of logical positivism. Indeed, in the beginning of his career Wittgenstein had been influenced a great deal by the works of Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) on the foundations of mathematics and logic. Russell was trying to restructure mathematics on a purely logical basis. To achieve this, he made use of a type of logic where the truth (or falsity) of a whole (e.g., “It is raining and it is Friday”) was fully determined by the truth of each of its parts (“It is raining” and “it is Friday”) considered *separately*. The truth of a whole is a function of the truths of its constituents. This inspired in Russell a concept of reality that he called “logical atomism”: reality is essentially constituted of atoms of perceivable observation, each of

which is certain and beyond doubt, all making up the basis for any knowledge. One can determine the truth or falsity of any statement by reducing the complex statement to its founding atoms and comparing them one by one, by means of observation, to “atomic” facts.

In the *Tractatus* Wittgenstein sought to demonstrate which type of propositions made sense within the limits of this logic and which didn’t. It turned out there were very few that made sense. And in any case, it was no longer possible to talk about ethics, esthetics, metaphysics, or theology. However, this did not make Wittgenstein much of an ally to the Vienna Circle. He believed that reality was above what could be said about it and that the *inexpressible* was far more important than the expressible. “The meaning of the world is to be found outside of the world” (§6, 41), but “whereof one cannot speak thereof one must be silent” (§7). This last remark from the *Tractatus* is far from being a warning to the positivists. On the contrary, “even if one has resolved all the scientific issues, one has not touched on the problems of life” (§6, 52).

Wittgenstein’s thought, which had grown roots in Cambridge since 1930, helped English philosophy to rid itself of the tyrannical truth/value opposition. In his view, whenever philosophers speak of knowledge, being*, subject, object, and so on, they should always consider first whether these terms have the same meaning in ordinary language—“the point is to bring these terms of metaphysical use back to daily use” (1953, §116). This is clearly reminiscent of the antimetaphysical project of logical positivism, and it has usually been understood in that fashion. But the truth/value distinction is no less metaphysical than the propositions that logical positivism attacks, and according to Wittgenstein’s principles, it does not resist being “transferred” to ordinary language. Instead of talking about language in the abstract, as he had reproached himself for doing in the *Tractatus*, it suffices to see how language is used in reality to define what can and what cannot be said, and to understand what is meant. Speaking is like playing a game or, rather, playing multiple games. Wittgenstein invented the expression “language games” (§23) in order to note that speaking is part of an activity, a “form of living.” It is about giving orders, obeying, describing, making attempts, telling a story, singing, joking, congratulating, praying (1953, §23). Although he did not write much on the usage of religious language (*see, however, Lectures and Conversations on Aesthetics, Psychology and Religious Belief*), his insistence on the “multiple kinds of language games” was deeply liberating.

John Wisdom (1904–94), who had already published some important work in the area of logical

atomism, wrote, under Wittgenstein's influence, several essays of philosophical theology. One of these, "Gods" (1944; in *Philosophy and Psychoanalysis*, 1953) is a fundamental text in the philosophy of religion. It basically discusses Hume's position and aims to show that Hume's concept of reason* is too narrow. Calling upon the authority of ordinary language, Wisdom draws his inspiration from Wittgenstein in criticizing a philosophical theory he finds inadequate. He shows very accurately that the kind of reasoning that is at work here does not correspond to the truth/value opposition. It is like in a trial (his favorite example): the facts may be known, but this does not necessarily mean that they will be reasonably interpreted; and it is not because one gets at this interpretation informally, instead of through deduction, that it will be arbitrary or entirely subjective. By this analysis of the real usage of language, Wisdom demonstrates to what extent our thoughts are richer and more complex than philosophical theories sometimes allow. His redemption of "informal reasoning" influenced some theologians (e.g., Renford Bambrough, who wrote *Reason, Truth and God*, 1969, and Basil Mitchell, author of *The Justification of Religious Belief*, 1973).

For Kai Nielsen, it was a "Wittgensteinian fideism" to try to avoid in this way working out the proof of the existence* of God by studying only the way of speaking about "God" in a religious context (*Philosophy*, 1967). However, there is one philosopher, D. Z. Phillips, who on first consideration might be considered an absolute fideist of Wittgenstein's type. Phillips is credited with the idea that religious language is such a different kind of play from all other forms of language play that it can only be understood by initiates; what makes sense in religious discourse can only be determined by believers; religious propositions cannot be criticized from the outside; and finally, religious beliefs cannot be affected by the evolution of the world. In this case, religion is a "language game" or a "form of living" that has its own rules of meaning and truth, and which the nonbeliever cannot enter. Nielsen did not accept this view in the name of an atheism* that sought to imply that he understood religious language too well to expose it as false.

It is not too certain, however, that Phillips was such a fideist in reality. He seems to be defending mostly the idea that since religion is necessarily related to birth, death*, and sexuality, the language of believers, at least in its fundamental forms (liturgy* and prayer*), is quite close to that of the common people. Once again the Wittgensteinian process lies in remembering how language is truly used in spite of what philosophical theories say. For Phillips, religious philosophy within the English academy has never really ceased to

be logico-positivist, and he sees it as his task to combat theological rationalism*, which consists in applying to beliefs and religious practices criteria that are not appropriate to them. Theological language must be rooted in the language of piety and Christian life without forgetting the more general concerns of humanity.

The work of J. L. Austin (1911–60), independently of Wittgenstein's later research, owes a great deal to the Aristotelian tradition at Oxford and has had a considerable influence. From the perspective of "linguistic phenomenology," Austin created a distinction between performative and constative statements (1962). Constative or descriptive statements are true or false; performative statements are "felicitous" or "infelicitous," but they cannot be either true or false. For example, the statement "I christen this vessel *Queen Elizabeth*" cannot be false but it can be "infelicitous" if this is not my business or if it is not the right moment to do it. Inversely, "I have christened this vessel" is true or false.

Austin distinguished three kinds of linguistic acts: locutionary, in which one speaks to describe what is happening; illocutionary, in which one tells something to somebody with a certain "force"; and perlocutionary, which is the indirect effect of the statement upon the listeners. He ended up believing that all statements were simultaneously locutionary and illocutionary, and by the time of his premature death he had even abandoned these distinctions except in an approximate sort of way, for the sake of restoring to contemporary philosophy the meaning of language that we see in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. In Austin's wake, John Searle (1969) examined the necessary logical conditions for accomplishing illocutionary acts, such as "to promise" or "to give an order." This allowed theologians to understand better that forgiveness, blessing*, and praise* have a different function from stories and descriptions (see A. C. Thiselton, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics*, 1992). But it is quite clear today that the theory of linguistic acts was only one more effort to evade the truth/value distinction.

By 1970, under the influence of Wittgenstein and Austin, English philosophers no longer treated the problem of religious language with their initial empirico-positivist aggressiveness; they were also open to Continental philosophy, particularly thanks to Paul Ricoeur. Well-acquainted with Anglo-American philosophy, Ricoeur expanded the deliberations on language by integrating Freud*'s contribution and the phenomenological tradition of Edmund Husserl and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Although he may not have marked English-language philosophy in general, his influence is still quite clear in the sphere of theology and the philosophy of religion.

e) *Beyond the Debate on Religious Language?* Today, analytic philosophy is far more interested in the issues of meaning, truth, and reference (Quine, Dummett, and Davidson) than in the issue of language. Philosophers of religion—and therefore theologians—are wondering if it is not time to stop questioning themselves on the cognitive status of theological language and start treating the more general problem of metaphysical and ethical realism. Janet Martin Soskice's book (1985) and the collected essays of J. Runzo (1993) approach the question without allowing logical positivism to direct their process.

This trend is evident in textbooks. In 1967 the index of *God-Talk* by John Macquarrie had more references to "language" than to any other concept; in 1982 the word "language" did not even appear in the index of Brian Davies's book *Philosophy of Religion*. We can therefore consider the matter of religious language, which lasted in English language philosophy from 1936 to 1986, to be closed. It is now part of history. This does not mean that it did not leave a trace on people's minds. It is impossible to doubt metaphysics for years on end without losing all dogmatism. Today English-speaking philosophers and theologians are very careful whenever they need to affirm something—which has nothing but advantages. On the contrary, for a philosopher like Soskice, what needs to be done is to put aside the distorted theories of language (and the rejection of metaphysics supposedly authorized by these theories) and reexamine the cognitive possibilities of metaphors, analogies, and symbols. In her studies on the referential aspect of metaphor, Soskice maintains that theists can reasonably claim to be speaking of God, but that this affirmation is linked to a more general strategy seeking to speak in a valid way of that which cannot be fully defined in other areas as

well. With the help of H. Putnam's work in particular, Soskice moves away from the empiricism that linguistic philosophy and the analysis of religious language never managed to get rid of, and moves closer to metaphysical realism.

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FERGUS KERR

See also Credibility; Deism and Theism; Existence of God, Proofs of; Hermeneutics; Knowledge of God; Narrative Theology; Nominalism; Philosophy; Religion, Philosophy of; Truth

Last Things. *See Eschatology*

Lateran I, Council

1123

The first three Lateran councils formed a continuity with the efforts of Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) to liberate the church* from any secular tutelage, especially from the German emperor, and with his active desire for reform, especially of the clergy. The “investiture controversy” had to be resolved during the pontificate of Calixtus II (1119–24). The antipope Gregory VIII was arrested and died in 1121. The Concordat of Worms was signed on 23 September 1122. According to the terms of this concordat, the emperor was to renounce the appointment of the prelates on the spiritual level (appointment “by the cross and ring”). He would respect the full freedom of election and consecration and would restore the goods of the Holy See and of other churches. The elected prelate would receive from the emperor, “by the scepter,” his worldly possessions (*regalia*), and would observe the commitments made toward the ruler. The edict of Worms was ratified by the “general council” that met in the Lateran between 19 and 27 March 1123 in the presence of at least two hundred bishops* and priests. Canons 3, 4, 8, and 123 refer to this question.

On the jurisdictional and disciplinary level, Lateran I strengthened episcopal power in several ways, notably in relation to the absolution of the excommunicated (can. 2), and canonical institutional and pastoral responsibility in churches served by monks (can. 12). It prohibited simony—all practices that consist in giving or receiving a spiritual good (for example, the sacrament*

of Holy Orders) in exchange for a worldly good, generally money (can. 1). It condemned the omission of any of the formal stages on the way to Holy Orders (can. 6), as well as the cohabitation of clerics with women other than their close relations (can. 7). It prohibited marriage* in the case of high-ranking clerics* and imposed separation to prevent this law from being violated (can. 21). It renewed previous prescriptions regarding the “peace*” and the “truce” of God*, the safety of travelers and pilgrims (cans. 14 and 15), the status of crusaders, and the protection of families and their property (can. 10). The council also condemned intermarriage (can. 9) and counterfeiters (can. 13).

Although previous councils (Clermont in 1095 and Toulouse in 1119) had inspired Lateran I, this council would serve as an example for numerous reforming synods* of Western Europe. Furthermore, canons 1, 4, 6, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18 and 20–22 were integrated into *Gratian’s Decree* (c. 1140).

• Acts: Mansi 21, 277–304.

Decrees: *COD*, 187–94 (*DCO* II/1, 409–25).

R. Foreville (1965), *Latran I, II, III et IV, HCO*, 44–72 and 165–79.

G. Alberigo (Ed.) (1990), *Storia dei concili ecumenici*, Brescia.

JEAN LONGÈRE

See also Church and State; Cleric; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Structures, Ecclesial

Lateran II, Council

1139

The Second Lateran Council was, like the first, known for abolishing a schism*, in this case the schism of the antipope Anacletus II (reigned 1130–38). Convened by

Pope Innocent II (reigned 1130–43), it brought together roughly a hundred participants, mainly from western Europe, between 2 and 9 April. Innocent II

opened the assembly with a solemn speech on the unity* of the church; he dismissed Antecletus's supporters, including Peter of Pisa (can. 30), who was nevertheless supported for several months and defended by Bernard* of Clairvaux.

The 30 canons of Lateran II are more developed than those of Lateran I. They are often upheld by the Acts of the Councils of Clermont (1130) and Pisa (1135).

Ecclesiastical* discipline was greatly stressed and a number of practices were condemned, including: simony (cans. 1, 2, and 24), secular investiture (can. 25), and the holding of churches or tithes by laity*, giving ecclesiastic responsibilities to adolescents or clerics* who had not received the required orders (can. 10). Monks and canons were forbidden to be lawyers or doctors for payment (can. 9). Episcopal seats could not remain vacant for more than three months (can. 28). The decision made at the Council of Pisa (1135) that annulled the marriage* of a major cleric or monk was reiterated (cans. 6 and 7) and was applied to cloistered nuns (can. 8). Proclaiming the annulment of a major cleric's marriage was supremely important in the legislation concerning ecclesiastic celibacy. Moreover, the

council defended the sacraments (the body and blood of Christ*, baptism* of children, priesthood*, and marriage*) against heretics—that is, the Cathars (can. 23). It warned against “false penance*” which consists of, for example, repenting for only one sin* (can. 22) and it renewed the prohibition of marriage between blood relations (can. 17).

In terms of social morality, the council aimed at limiting violence by encouraging truce and the peace* of God* (cans. 11–12). It also discouraged tournaments (can. 14) and issued condemnations of arson (cans. 18–19), brutality against clerics and violations of the right of sanctuary (can. 15), and the use of deadly weapons against other Christians (can. 29).

• Acts: Mansi 21, 423–546.

Decrees: *COD*, 195–203 (*DCO* II/1, 427–45).

R. Foreville (1965), *Latran I, II, III et IV, HCO*, 73–95 and 180–94.

G. Alberigo (Ed.) (1990), *Storia dei concili ecumenici*, Brescia.

JEAN LONGÈRE

See also Catharism; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Heresy; Lateran I, Council; Schism; Unity of the Church

Lateran III, Council

1179

On 7 March 1159, Orlando Bandinelli was appointed pope under the name Alexander III; a minority favored Octaviano of Monticello, whom Frederick Barbarossa would acknowledge at the Council of Pavia (1160) under the name Victor IV. This new chapter in the battle between church and empire was marked by the emperor's incursions into Italy, the exile of the pope*, and the support given to Alexander by most of Europe's rulers. The peace* brought about in Venice in July 1177 was a victory for the papacy; the agreement prepared for a general council* for ratification intended to guarantee the unity* of the church, which had been upset over the past decades by schisms* and a series of antipopes.

The Third Lateran Council opened with a speech given by Rufinus, the bishop* of Assisi, on universality and the unity of the church around Rome*. The

council's three sessions were held between 5 March and 19 March and brought together about 300 members—predominantly the bishops of Italy, but also including eight Fathers of the Latin East and representatives of central Europe.

To avoid schisms resulting from contested papal elections, it was decided that from then on, a pope could be elected only by members of the College of Cardinals and by no less than a two-thirds majority (cans. 1 and 16), a principle that was thereafter respected. Moreover, the elections of the “heresiarchs” (antipopes) were declared null and void (can. 2).

On a doctrinal level, Lateran III examined certain christological opinions attributed to Peter Lombard, who had taught in Paris before becoming bishop (1158–60) (Scholasticism*). Peter was reproached for his notions concerning Christ's humanity—as a man,

Christ “was not something.” Some concluded “that he was nothing,” and the name *Christological nihilism* was given to this odd position. Today it is thought to have been influenced more by Abelard*. Adversaries of Peter Lombard and Alexander III himself sometimes judged Peter’s christological teachings severely. But there were several Fathers linked to him and his thought who did not want his memory to be tainted by any reprobation, and so the council did not make any dogmatic decisions against him.

Without accusations of specific errors, Lateran III condemned the Cathars, those who protected them, and also armed groups that “destroy and devastate everything.” Bearing arms against them was authorized (can. 27). Two canons regulated and limited the relationships Christians had with Jews and Saracens (cans. 24 and 26). The council also wanted to broaden access to knowledge. Thus, each cathedral church was obligated to offer a benefice to a teacher so that he might teach for free; the council asked that the *licentia docendi*, or authorization to teach, be awarded free of charge (can. 18). Lateran III greatly helped to make the bishops’ right to monitor the group of priests in charge

in his diocese indisputable. It sought to preserve the heritage of churches (cans. 4, 9, 14, 15, and 17); it forbade nonresidence and amassing benefices (cans. 13 and 14), and provided for a priest* and chapel for lepers (can. 23).

Books on moral theology* from the end of the century would partly make the teachings of Lateran III known. In particular, its 27 canons would appear in the collections of papal decrees (*Compilationes* 1–5) at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries. They all appeared in *Decretals* by Gregory IX (1234).

• Acts: Mansi 22, 209–468.

Decrees: *COD*, 205–25 (*DCO* II/1, 447–85).

R. Foreville (1965), *Latran I, II, III and IV, HCO*, 116–58 and 210–23.

J. Longère (Ed.) (1982), “Le troisième concile du Latran (1179): Sa place dans l’histoire.” Paper presented during a round table session of the CNRS, Paris, 26 April 1980.

G. Alberigo (Ed.) (1990), *Storia dei concili ecumenici*, Brescia.

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See also Christ and Christology; Church and State; Cleric; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Structures, Ecclesial

Lateran IV, Council

1215

After the fall of Jerusalem* in 1187, the pope* was able to have the leaders of the West suspend their debates and focus on helping the East. The Third Crusade, a partial success, led to the seizure of Saint-Jean-d’Acre in 1189. The Fourth Crusade, called by Pope Innocent III (reigned 1198–1216) was, for political reasons and in spite of the pope’s opposition, turned toward Constantinople. The pope thought, incorrectly, that the attacks on Constantinople might favor unification between the Greek and Latin Churches and lead to renewal of the crusade on better foundations.

In the West there continued to be conflict between France and Germany, and between the emperor of Germany and southern Italy. Cathar heresy* ravaged southwestern France. South of the Pyrenees the reconquest gained ground with the victory of Las Navas de

Tolosa (1212). In Paris, spurred by the construction of Notre Dame Cathedral, there was intense theological activity, mainly pastoral in nature. In the end, the seven sacraments* were emphasized and teachers on the faculty were obliged to preach. It was first in Paris, then in Bologna, that Innocent III had been trained. Around 1205, the bishop of Paris, Eudes de Sully, promulgated synod statutes. Many of their canons inspired Lateran IV. As a group, they would guide all synod legislation for European dioceses in the 13th century. Starting in 1206 Dominic de Guzman preached, alone or with others, in the countries won by Catharism*. That same year Francis of Assisi gave away all his possessions and left for Gubbio. The first friars joined him in 1208.

Innocent III’s personality strongly marked the government* of the church. Despite defeats and devia-

tions, he never abandoned the idea of a crusade. He thought that the development of Cathar heresy resulted from a general decline in morals and from the pastoral passivity of clerics* and passion for profit, especially among the prelates. On 19 April 1213 he launched one bull to convene the Fourth Lateran Council and another to announce the crusade for which he claimed responsibility so as to avoid any drift toward temporal ends.

Attendance at the November 1215 council was high and much greater, in number and representation, than at the three preceding councils. At least 400 Fathers were present, including many from the Latin East. Heads of orders, abbots, and representatives from cathedrals and collegiate churches came in throngs. The leaders from the West all sent delegates.

Lateran IV opened with a canon, *The Catholic Faith*, which is often called by its first word, *Firmiter*. Thus it raised the dogmatic concerns from the first ecumenical councils. The first of the canon's three parts is on the Trinity* and Creation*. The second part concerns the mysteries of the Incarnation* and Redemption, emphasizing judgment* and eschatological sanctions. The third part focuses on the church* and questions of sacramental theology—especially on the Eucharist*, baptism*, and penance*.

Without naming them, canon 1 designates the Cathars and the Waldensians*. It refers to the Cathars by affirming the goodness of all creatures, even demons*, who were created good but became evil through their errors and who bring down man with them (liberty*). The canon refers to the Waldensians when it declares the priest the only minister of the Eucharist and affirms that baptism is necessary for the salvation* of children and adults. Canon 3, on preachers without a mission, among other itinerant preachers, involves both the Cathars and the Waldensians.

During the council an accusation of Tritheism was made against Joachim de Flore (†1201) in connection with a lost work in which he attacked Peter Lombard. But the thought of Joachim de Flore, represented in his other texts, was always orthodox with regard to divine unity*. It was rather because he attacked Peter Lombard that Joachim de Flore was condemned by Lateran IV (can. 2), a sentence that would scar his memory, even though his loyalty to the church was recognized and even though Pope Honorius III spoke in favor of him and his order (December 1220).

Canon 2 “reproaches and condemns the extravagant beliefs of the ungodly Amaury.” It does not, however, note any heresy in Amaury (Amalric) of Bène, undoubtedly to avoid a repeat of the notoriety that had surrounded the Council of Paris in 1210, which forbade teaching Aristotle's books on natural philosophy.

Lateran IV also focused on all the sacraments*, except for Confirmation*. In addition to favoring baptism for children (can. 1), it forbade rebaptism—a prohibition aimed at the Greeks, who had had “the temerity to do it” (can. 3).

The most famous decision (can. 21) concerns the obligation of every Christian to confess at least once a year to his or her parish priest and to receive the Eucharist at Easter. Many believers would respect these requirements until the 20th century. This same canon also invites the confessor to discernment, to pastoral prudence*, and to strict respect of the sacramental secret. Priests and believers must show reverence for the Eucharist (cans. 19–20). The council authenticated the word *transubstantiation* to denote the conversion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ*. This term was fairly new, having been used and discussed by theologians only since the middle of the 12th century. Coined independently from any Aristotelian influence, it would henceforth become part of dogmatic* vocabulary.

Because of pastoral concerns, marriage was forbidden only between blood relations (can. 50). In order to safeguard the liberty* of spouses and the unity of the couple, secret marriages were condemned (can. 51).

The council also took interest in church government* and the life of clerics. The diversity of rituals and languages in a single area was acknowledged to fall under the responsibility of a single bishop* (can. 9). The council instituted the practice of appointing preachers to help ordinaries (bishops and other officials) in their teaching work (can. 10) and establishing teachers in each cathedral to undertake the training of clerics (can. 11; *see also* Lateran III, can. 18). Monks were to have general chapters every three years (can. 12). Prohibition of new orders (can. 13) was to only slightly curb the development of new religious families, but the obligation to choose an existing rule was to bring the Order of Preachers (Dominicans) to adopt the *Rule of Saint Augustine* and to be considered canons.

Lateran IV sought to consolidate the dignity of the clergy. It condemned any disrespect of chastity and accompanied these condemnations with heavy sanctions. Clerics were prohibited from doing many things (cans. 14–18). Lateran IV once again denounced all forms of simony or greed for clerics (cans. 62–66). The council Fathers also made several positive recommendations. They called for simplicity of clothing and the worthy celebration of offices, and they insisted that close attention be paid to church cleanliness, the maintenance of holy oils and the Eucharist, and the choice and veneration of relics* (cans. 16, 17, 19, 20, and 62).

While the council acknowledged the patriarchates of the East and the eminence of Constantinople, after

Rome*, its centralized and pyramidal notion of the church was completely foreign to Orthodoxy* (can. 5).

Finally, the constitution “To liberate the Holy Land” (14 December 1215, can. 17) mobilized people and resources, set the times and place for meeting, specified protective measures concerning all crusades, and declared peace* for four years in order save all the forces for expedition. It renewed the indulgence* of crusades.

Innocent III had planned a trip to the East on 1 June 1217, but he died on 16 July 1216 at age 56. The Fifth Crusade would first capture Damietta (1218–19) and

then lose it (1221). All the canons of Lateran IV, except for canon 71, were included in the *Decretals* (1234) of Pope Gregory IX.

• Acts: Mansi 22, 953–1086.

Decrees: *COD*, 227–71 (*DCO* II/1, 487–577).

R. Foreville (1965), *Latran I, II, III and IV, HCO*, 227–386.

G. Alberigo (Ed.) (1990), *Storia dei concili ecumenici*, Brescia.

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See also Cleric; Hierarchy; Marriage; Ministry; Penance; Scholasticism; Structures, Ecclesial

Lateran V, Council

1512–17

The Fifth Lateran Council took place in Rome between 3 May 1512 and 6 March 1517 under Popes Julius II and Leon X. The context was essentially political—to oppose the activities of King Louis II of France, who, in order to secure his territories in Italy, had successfully assembled a small ecclesiastical gathering, first in Pisa and then in Rome. (Louis’s gathering was called a *conciliabulum* by the pope’s supporters). Even if the legitimacy of Lateran V was never questioned, historians have been harsh, referring to it as the “draft for the Council of Trent*” or even “the Council of the Indecisive.” Erasmus* even wondered if it could really be considered a council at all.

Lateran V had three set goals: peace* in Europe, reform “of the head and of the parts,” and the crusades in Turkey. But even though these issues were continually discussed during deliberations, it was unquestionably the church’s plans for reform that most occupied the council, and had done so even during the period of its preparation. Nearly everything cleared the way for Trent, including the meeting at Burgos in November 1511, which was summoned by King Ferdinand of Aragon; the *Libellus* of the Venetian Camaldolese Paul Giustiniani and Pietro Quirini; the major speeches delivered at the council by Giles of Viterbo, Cajetan, Pucci, and others—see N. H. Minnich’s *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517)*, 1993, IV—and, finally, shortly before the final session, the *De Reformandis Ecclesiae Moribus* by Giovanni Francesco Pico della

Mirandola. But it is true that even the council’s theological contribution seems to have been more a matter of urgency or current events—for example, the legislation on the state-owned pawn shops—than a grand and needed vision.

a) Ecclesiology. The council first wanted to react against the almost conciliarist* or Gallican* tendencies of the Pisa-Milan meeting. Its victory over the schismatic meeting is in itself an assertion of pontifical ecclesiology*, determined in the 11th session (1516): “The pope has authority* over all councils; he therefore has full power to convene, adjourn, and dissolve them” (see J. D. Mansi’s *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 32, 967). The ecclesiological doctrine of the council drew inspiration from the doctrine offered by the Dominican Cajetan (Thomism*) as early as 17 May 1513 (*Sacrorum Conciliorum* 32, 719–27). It could be called “curialist” (see O. de la Brosse’s *Latran V et Trente*, 1975). The monarchical structure of the visible church* was clearly stated here—a monarchy modeled after that of the Lord Jesus Christ, who reigns over Jerusalem* from above.

From this perspective, the council did not specially legislate on the responsibilities of bishops*, and did not need more than to reaffirm their dignity and their necessary independence before secular powers. The council also discussed their relationship to members of religious orders, but the pastoral problems posed by

the exemption of episcopal jurisdiction*, a privilege for regulars, was regulated in a much more practical than theoretical manner.

Although the Maronite Christians had actually been in contact with Rome since at least the 13th century, the union had never been officially acknowledged. Negotiations for acknowledgement began in 1514 and were ratified by the council, contributing to the pope's prestige. The concluding of a concordat with France was a similar success.

b) Doctrinal Work. Pope Leo X refused to have the council discuss the delicate question of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary*. He stuck to Pope Sixtus IV's constitutions of 1477 and 1483.

The Averroist school of Padua, represented by Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525), a teacher in Bologna at the time of the council, considered—contrary to Thomas* Aquinas—that the Christian doctrine on the immortality of the soul* could not be defended in philosophical terms (that is, in Aristotelian terms). In opposition to this, Lateran V referred to the decisions of the Council of Vienna* (1312) and reasserted the doctrine that the soul is the form of the human body, that it is immortal, and that it is individually infused in a multitude of bodies (see the 1513 bull *Apostolici Regiminis* and Mansi's *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 32, 842). In its pronouncement, the council was refuting the Averroist theory that purported the existence of a single intellectual soul that was the same for all people (even Pomponazzi himself was against this theory). The council's text continues by asking “Christian philosophers” to fight against arguments that back the mortality of the soul or the idea of a single intellectual soul for all men, and condemns the idea of “double truth*,” stating: “Any assertion opposing the truth of faith is false,” for “the truth cannot oppose truth.”

The council decree required a retraction from Pomponazzi, which he gave in 1518, but this did not end the

controversy that incited theologians like Spina, Javelli, Contarini, and Nifo to interpret the text. *Apostolici Regiminis* stated that clerics* could not study philosophy* or the liberal arts without having been trained beforehand in theology*. Lateran V, therefore, was wary of humanism*, whether it was Christian or not.

c) The Council and Humanism. Nevertheless, there were talented humanists like Giles of Viterbo, Alexis Celadoni from Greece, the astronomer Paul de Middelbourg, and Cajetan himself. Lateran V took place at the same time as the “Reuchlin affair,” in which the German humanist Johannes Reuchlin was reproached for recommending the study of Jewish books to Christians. The 4 May 1515 *Inter Sollicitudines* constitution (see Mansi's *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 32, 912–13), while offering congratulations for the invention of printing, which was seen as a “gift from Providence*”, foresaw the dangers involved for faith* and proper standards of behavior. It therefore organized censorship codes to be applied before books were printed.

In its final session, the council voted for a text on the need and importance of preaching* in the church, warning against scandalous sermons. Less than a year later, Luther* rose up against indulgences*, taking a first step toward a Protestantism* that would strive to base itself on preaching “the pure Word* of God.”

• Acts: Mansi 32, 665–1002.

Decrees: COD 593–655 (DCO II/1, 1211–1338).

P. Pomponazzi (1516), *Tractatus de immortalitate animae*, Bologna.

O. de La Brosse, et al. (1975), *Latran V et Trente*, HCO 10, Paris.

É. Gilson (1986), *Humanisme et renaissance*, Paris.

N.H. Minnich (1993), *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517)*, Aldershot.

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See also Conciliarism; Gallicanism; Humanism, Christian; Philosophy; Trent, Council of; Truth

Law and Christianity

A. Biblical Theology

In principle, every interpretation of the law of God in Christian theology* should be based on the teachings

of Jesus*. However, each New Testament text is understood as transmitting this teaching by way of an in-

terpretation on behalf of a concrete community. Modern research hesitates when it comes to recovering the thinking of Jesus from such discordance (Marguerat 1991). If, as some have thought, Jesus clearly challenged the Law of Moses, then Matthew “judaized” his teaching. On the other hand, if Jesus never abrogated that law, then it was Paul who betrayed him. Perhaps the terms of the debate are poorly posed. Paul’s teaching concerning “the law” is based on the cross, which opens up the messianic age. He emphasizes what is new, and the novelty is such that his position has nothing to do with whatever might shed light on the personal behavior of Jesus. Moreover, the disciples of Jesus may have been more ready to recommend a radical change in the system of the law because their master had encouraged them to do so by his own activity. On the other hand, during his trial no one accused Jesus of having transgressed “the law.” We should point out that when the New Testament mentions “the law,” the reference is generally to the Jewish Torah. Coherence is therefore to be found only through a study of the whole of the Torah.

I. Law in the Old Testament

1. Vocabulary

Originally, each of the different terms for “the law” related it to the specific authority* from which it emanated: to the priests, in the case of *torah* and *‘edout*; to the judges, in the case of *mishepat*; and to the king in the case of *choq* and *miçewah*. Later, the psalmist took pleasure in meditating lovingly upon all the names of the law in order to express its unity and to make it come alive for the whole people.

The primordial meaning of *torah* is an oracle given by a priest, after consultation, in order to settle a contested point (Hos 4:6; Is 8:20). In Deuteronomy, the word refers to a collection of statutes. In the Septuagint, this is translated as *nomos*, which is an equivalent rather than a direct translation.

‘Edout is a response obtained from God* positioned above the ark (Ex 25:22); in the plural, it refers to the prescriptions of God in the Covenant* (Dt 4:45). In another context, the stipulations of treaties of covenant in the Middle East are called *adey* in Aramaic.

Mishepat originally meant a judgment by the elders aimed at reestablishing peace* within a clan. In Israel*, the prosperity of the state depended on the king having respect for *mishepat*, which was associated with Moses (Ex 21:1 ff.) and God on Sinai.

An *choq* is a royal decree. 1 Kings 3:3 mentions the *chouqqot* of David; Micah 6:16 refers to those of Omri. It is said of Moses, as of a king, that he has given an *choq* to Israel (Ex 13:10, 15:25). In Ex

18:16–20, the term means no more than written statutes.

A *miçewah* is a royal order. Abimelek (Gn 26:11), the Pharaoh (Gn 47:11), and David (1 Kgs 2:1–43) give such orders; God imposes his *miçewot* (Gn 2:16, 3:11; 1 Sm 13:13; 1 Kgs 13:21, etc.). In the Septuagint, this is generally translated as *entole*.

The *devarim* are the words of the code in Exodus 34 and the Ten Commandments, the Decalogue* (Ex 20:1 and Dt. 5:22). In Deuteronomy, the singular form came to refer to the “Word of God.”

Underlying all these terms, what predominates is the unity of the law, which has its source in God. By contrast to the law codes of the Middle East, the laws in the Bible* are not gathered together under the names of kings: law comes from God through Moses according to the faith* of Israel.

2. Sets of Statutes

According to recent research (Crüsemann 1990), the statutes gathered in the Pentateuch are those that were promulgated on the authority of the King of Persia as the law of Israel at the time of the return from exile. They were compiled from two major traditions*, Deuteronomy and priestly writings, which had previously been rivals. The coupling of law and narrative* that structures the Torah encouraged the contemporary practice of the commandments by illustrating them through the examples of the patriarchs. Alongside the codes applicable in Judea, the stories of the patriarchs also offered a Jewish way of life that was more practicable in the eastern diaspora.

The legal sections comprise, first of all, the statutes compiled in relation to Sinai (Ex 20:1 to Nm 10:10, and Nm 28:1–30:17). Aside from the Decalogue, one can also distinguish the code of the Covenant (Ex 20:22–23:19), the code in Deuteronomy (1–6), and the law of sanctity* (Lv. 17–26); then comes the testament of Moses (Dt 4:45–30:20).

The code of the Covenant is probably the oldest of these. It states the consequences of belief in the one God in terms of life in the real world.

The code in Deuteronomy sets out a demanding program—one God, one sanctuary, one people, one law—constructed by compiling prescriptions that, in many cases, are restatements of the code of the Covenant, although in new formulations and with a new spirit (e.g., Dt. 15:1–11 and Ex 23:10 ff.; Dt 15:12–18 and Ex 21:2–11; Dt 15:19–23 and Ex 22:28 ff.). One of its characteristics is the concern for others, whether neighbors or strangers (Dt 15:12–18, 24:6 and 10–13, 17–22, etc.).

The law of sanctity is concerned with ritual and priesthood*, but also with marriage* and sexuality

(ethics*, sexual). YHWH invites Israel to reveal its sanctity to the world* through its practice of the Torah. One should note its parallels with the code in Deuteronomy (e.g., Lv 19:26 and Dt 18:10; Lv 19:27 ff. and Dt 14:1; Lv 19:29 and Dt 23:18), as well as its attention to the poor and to immigrants.

3. Forms of Law

There are purely imperative, “apodictic” laws, given as short sentences, which sanction death* (Ex 21:12 and 21:15–17), subject certain crimes to curses (Dt. 27:15–26), and prohibit certain forms of sexuality (Lv 18:7–17). Deuteronomy 27:1–11 gives us the context for such laws: a solemn festival where everyone reaffirms the clauses of the Covenant. These formulas are specifically Israelite and ancient. There are also “casuistic” laws, based on the exposition of a case (“if...”): the law codes of the Middle East have been shown to contain laws very similar to these.

II. The Torah in the Jewish World

Until A.D. 70, the Jewish world was multiform. The Jews of Qumran (probably the Essenes) are well known to us because of the discovery of their library from 1947 onward, while the tradition of the Pharisees is known through its transmission in rabbinical literature. The Sadducees were also important, but we know little about them.

1. The Torah of the Pharisees

Following the reception of the Torah on Sinai, within the framework of the Covenant, every Israelite had to confess the sovereignty of God on earth, to take upon himself “the yoke of the kingdom of heaven,” to enter into the concrete practice of the Torah, and to take upon himself “the yoke of the commandments.”

a) Written and Oral Torah. The Torah gives no more than general principles: it must be summarized; it contains contradictions that need to be reconciled; and, while it is perfect, it cannot regulate life once for all, so there is a permanent need for actualization. The Pharisees did not hesitate to say that “Moses received two Torahs” on Sinai (TB *Shab.* 31 a; TJ *Péah* 2, 6, 17 a), one written and one oral, which continue to complement each other. In this way, the masters secured the responsibility for stating practice for Israel here and now, through debate and majority voting.

b) The Torah in the Days of the Messiah. The Messiah will be a new Moses, but the Jewish sources avoid the idea of a radical change in the Torah. The tradition gives two answers to the question of the status of the

Torah in the messianic age: 1) radicalization—understanding and observance of the Torah will be perfect; 2) mystical renewal, for a precept* can hardly be the same both when human beings struggle against evil* and when the Torah existing in their hearts is practiced in liberty*.

2. The Torah at Qumran

The Rule of the Community (1QS) affirms that every novice must swear “to return to the law of Moses” according to “all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok” (5, 8–9; *see* CD 6, 18 f.). The law is to be rewritten, to become a more contemporary and coherent code. Thus, the Temple Scroll (11QT) promulgates new laws for Israel under the very authority of God. The Book of Jubilees is a rewriting of Genesis and Exodus that proclaims the “perpetual status” of the Torah. At Qumran, the law was also interpreted in the light of practice, as is shown, for example, in 4QMMT (*see* DJD X, 5): the Zadokites reproach the priests of Jerusalem* for abandoning the rules of purity at the Temple, in more than 20 detailed cases, under the influence of the Pharisees.

3. The Sadducees

This group venerated the Torah above all, although they did not reject the Prophets* or the Psalms*. Their exegesis* was literal: the Torah was clear in and of itself. As with the Pharisees, there were disputes about its content, but there were still more disputes about the authority and the obligatory nature of tradition.

III. Law in the New Testament

1. Paul and the Law

In Paul’s writings, *nomos* generally means the law of Moses. However, the term is never defined, and moral laws are never distinguished from ritual laws. It follows that he assumed that those receiving his letters were capable of perceiving the variations in the meaning of the term.

a) Impotence and Necessity of Law. The law cannot save: for Paul, as for every other Jew, it is God alone who saves human beings. A Jew should practice “the whole of the law,” but he knows that he can never succeed in this, and the days of penance* exist to remind him of it. Paul departs from this faith by radicalizing it (Gal 3:10; Rom 2:17–24, 3:19–23, 8:7 f.), passing from fact to the affirmation of principle. Through his experience* of Christ*, he understands the following paradox: in his effort to become righteous before God, he has made himself into an “enemy of God,” rejecting the dependence that is the truth* of the created being

and the glory* of the Creator. Paul reinterprets the whole of the history* of his people in this light, and understands the danger that threatens it. On the other hand, by displaying man's sin* to him (Rom 7:7–10), the law is man's "guardian" (Gal 3:23 ff.), revealing its truth to him and opening him up to the expectation of a savior (Rom 8:1–4).

b) "Christ is the end of the law" (Romans 10:4). In the light of the relationship between the Old Testament and the New Testament (1 Cor 10:1–11), all the events in which the law is present must be understood as manifestations of Christ. According to Romans 10:5, it is necessary to come to the end of the process of reasoning: human beings live only through Christ, and therefore the justice* that comes from the law, of which Moses speaks, today comes from Christ. The commentary that Romans 10:6 ff. applies to Deuteronomy 30:12 ff. confirms this: only Christ, who has descended from heaven and risen from the abyss, provides the justice that the Old Testament proclaims.

c) Messianic Age of the Spirit. Jesus inaugurates the messianic age. For Paul, the law has become internal and everyone practices the whole of the law in the Spirit: this is the "law of Christ." The "law of the Spirit" is to bring oneself into conformity with Christ: this is what Paul has done (1 Cor 9:21) and taught (Phil 2:5–8), and this is what baptism* gives (Rom 6:1–11). Paul sees the fulfillment of the law in love*, and can announce its commandment with every certainty from now on (Rom 13:8 ff.; Gal 5:14).

2. Matthew and the Law

Alone among the synoptics, Matthew makes the law into a central theme.

a) Jesus and Moses. Moses on Sinai received the whole of the Torah (see *Abot* I, 1): that was the traditional belief of the Pharisees, but Christ transposed this into the statement: "All thing have been handed over to me by my Father" (Mt 11:27). According to Matthew, one must learn from Jesus, for the law of Moses finds its plenitude in him (11:28–31): this is God's plan (11:26). Jesus presents himself as having authority over the law (7:29), which is a radical innovation. Jesus, the new Moses, has received this authority from the Father*. He has the power to command his apostles* to make disciples (see *Abot* I, 2), but they are to be from every nation; he also commands them to transmit the Torah (see *ibid.*), but in the form that they have received from him; finally, he has the right to assure them that "All authority in heaven and earth has been given to me" (Mt 28:18 ff.).

b) Fulfillment. Jesus came to fulfill the whole of the Torah (5:17), initially through his interpretation of it, but also through his life and his paschal sacrifice*, and, finally, through the inauguration of the messianic age. The Christian must invest the whole of his life in faithfulness to the Torah (6:33), in "perfect righteousness" (5:20). This is, first and foremost, a call to follow Christ; in this way, the happiness of the kingdom is assured (5:6–10). Its fulfillment goes so far as to radicalize the law: Jesus calls us to "do more" than the Pharisees (5:20) in these times, which are the times of the Messiah. The last two "antitheses" in the Sermon on the Mount (5:38–48) show that this "more" is love, which can even lead us to transgress the law (Mt 12:15–22, 15:1–20). Jesus invites us to pass beyond all hypocrisy (Mt 23) in order to achieve the conversion* of the heart. He restores the primary purpose of the law: righteousness and pity (Mt 9:13, 12:7). The imitation of God is the ultimate motif that he proposes.

3. James's Epistle and the Law

James polemicizes against justification* by faith separated from works* (2, 14–26). The law must be practiced as a whole (2:11); it is summarized in the Decalogue and completed in the "royal law" (2:8), which is the love of one's neighbor. The "law of liberty" (1:25, 2:12) dwells in the heart of the believer. According to James, it is "mercy" (*eleos*) that accomplishes the whole of the law and the triumph of judgment* (2:13).

4. Law in the Johannine Tradition

The law belongs to the Jews (Jn 8:17, 10:34, 15:25, 18:31), but John applies himself to demonstrating that Jesus fulfills it (5:16 f., 7:21–24), that he witnesses in its favor (1:45, 8:16–20), and that he interprets it better than his opponents (10:34–36), who are in fact violators of the law (7:17, 7:19, 7:24, 7: 51, 8:15).

a) "The Truth." John asserts in principle that while the Torah remains a gift from God, the truth brought by Jesus represents a full understanding of the Torah (1:17). Two expressions summarize this principle: to do "what is true," which, for the Jews, is to act according to the Torah, is, for John (Jn 3:21; 1 Jn 1:6), to recognize Jesus as the revelation* of God; while to "walk in the truth," which, for the Jews, is to be faithful to the Torah, is, for John (2 Jn 4; 3 Jn 3 and 4), to walk in the footsteps of Christ.

b) Commandments. Placed in relation to the will of the Father (Jn 4:34, 7:17), the commandments are concentrated in love (10:18, 12:25 f., 13:34). Jesus leaves his commandments to his disciples (14:15 and 15:10; see 1 Jn 2:3, 3:22, 3: 24; 2 Jn 6)—his new command-

ment of love (Jn 15:12; see 1 Jn 3:23). “Keeping” the commandments is “not burdensome” (1 Jn 5:3), for God, through his gift of faith, permits the Christian to vanquish evil and practice the commandments readily: this is a sign of the messianic age.

c) *Jesus As the Norm for Christian Conduct.* “I am the path” (Jn 14:6); “Whoever follows me will not walk in darkness” (8:12): the true disciple practices the *halakha* of the Master. It is through the law (*Abot* III, 19) that a Jew becomes a child of God, while for John it is through faith in his only Son (1:12).

d) *Jesus Is the Perfect Law.* In the Old Testament, the law is identified with Wisdom* (Bar 4:1; Sir 24:23) and with the Word (Ps 119:15–18): on this basis, John affirms that Jesus is Word and Wisdom incarnate. John attributes the Jewish teaching on the role of the law in the creation*, and on its preexistence, to the only Son (Jn 1:3, 14, 18). Accordingly, the diversity of interpretations of the New Testament should not lead us to overlook the point on which they agree: that the law finds its fulfillment in Jesus, the Messiah. This is why the christological reinterpretation that is presented to us in the New Testament—the Gospel understood as an oral and messianic Torah—has to be the foundation of all Christian action.

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MATTHIEU COLLIN

See also Casuistry; Covenant; Decalogue; Ethics; Faith; Jesus, Historical; Judaism; Judeo-Christianity; Judgment; Justification; Liberty; Pauline Theology; Priesthood; Purity/Impurity; Sacrifice; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Spirit; Violence; Works

B. Law As a Theological and Philosophical Problem

1. *Moses and Jesus: Continuity or Categorical Reversal?*

The problematic of the “law,” and the meaning, whether constant or variable, that this notion takes on at different points in the Bible*, may be summarized in the following question: should the parallel drawn in John 1:17 be understood as a synthesis or as an antithesis? The writer of the *Letter of Barnabas* (Apos-

tolic* Fathers), from around A.D. 130, clearly opts for the first solution when evoking “the new law of Our Lord Jesus Christ” (*Barn* 2, 6). With this interpretation of the gospel as the “new law,” the writer lays the foundation on which the primitive church* was to develop a doctrine of the law that Catholicism* continues to be influenced by. Conversely, one can find in Paul’s writings (Pauline* theology) a contrast between Christ

(that is, the gospel) and the law of Moses (2 Cor. 3:6)—and this is the approach that Protestantism* has restored to a place of honor. Thus, ever since it began, Christianity has contained the seeds of questions that, even today, do not receive a unanimous response from within the *oikoumene*.

2. Conceptual Approach

a) Concept and Vision of the Law. Following the fundamental biblical orientations we have just outlined, theology should first of all understand the law as the law of God*. It must determine what should be attributed to this divine law, with regard both to content and the tasks and functions that it once accomplished and still accomplishes today. There is also the question of the relationship between this divine law and the positive law expressed in the legislation of the societies* that history* has witnessed arising and disappearing. Do both types of law equally depend on particular situations and need to be brought up to date in line with the development of such situations? Or is it necessary to attribute to the divine law, or to part of it, a supratemporal validity?

b) Concept and Vision of Natural Law. In every case, law requires a founding authority. God is the authority in Holy* Scripture, while Plato and the Stoics, for example, prefer to invoke a “natural law,” a universal order inherent in the Ideas or the Logos that rule the world, and that human beings have knowledge of through their contemplation* of nature or in their own consciences* to the extent that they participate in this universal order. With the idea of creation, Christianity combines the two approaches, referring simultaneously to the divine authority of the biblical law and to natural law (see 4 a below). By contrast, Enlightenment critics sought evidence for what is best called a “rational law,” which the individual can arrive at solely by the exercise of his own will and intelligence. In opposition to theorists of positive law and supporters of utilitarianism*, who reject all suprahistorical norms, there have been several attempts—most notably in response to experience of totalitarian political systems—to restore such ideas as justice (see 4 f below) or human dignity to their rightful places as ultimate norms.

3. Law in the Catholic Tradition

a) Beginnings. The combination of the gospel, understood as the “new law,” with the philosophical tradition of natural law was reinforced in the primitive church by a number of internal and external controversies. On the one hand, the combination provided a

means of rejecting the Gnostics’ hostility to law—the antinomianism of gnosis*—as well as the diastases of Marcionism*. On the other hand, this same combination formed part of the extended attempt by apologists* to demonstrate that Christianity represented the true philosophy*. Accordingly, some fundamental elements of tradition* were put in place during this early phase of Christianity. Tertullian*, for example, interpreted the double commandment of love* and the second table of the Decalogue* as the natural law previously given to Adam* and saw Jesus as the bearer of the “new law” that extends the law of Moses by spiritualizing its ceremonial precepts.

b) Augustine. Augustine* assimilated the “eternal law”—a Stoic concept referring to God’s ordering reason*—to natural law and the law of Moses, but, following Paul, he related this single law to grace*. The law accuses human beings and convicts them of sin in order to make them open to grace, just as, conversely, grace places human beings in a condition to satisfy the demands of the law. Augustine made this idea more profound in his dispute with the Pelagians (Pelagianism*). In their view, grace entails the attribution of free will, the gift of the law, the example of Christ, and the remission of sins; with these, human beings are able to fulfill the law. According to Augustine, however, original sin entails the loss of free will—the “power not to sin” (see, e.g., *De civitate Dei* 22, 30)—and thus produces a fundamental distortion of the will, which henceforth “can no longer avoid sinning,” based on a real corruption of human nature. Such corruption cannot be healed by any human endeavor, but solely by grace (*gratia sanans*), that is, by the remission of sins and the infusion of the Spirit of love (Rom 5:5). Only grace, or the faith* that it produces, allows human beings to be just in the eyes of God, that is, to be sanctified: “Faith obtains what the law ordains” (e.g., *En.Ps.* 118, XVI, 2).

c) Thomas Aquinas. In his treatment of the law (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 90–108), Thomas* Aquinas distinguishes among the eternal law, human law, and the divine law, and then divides the divine law into the old law (Old Testament) and the new law (New Testament). It is human law, above all, that it seems possible to define as “a command of reason aimed at the common good, promulgated by him who has responsibility for the community” (q. 90, a. 4). However, this definition also applies, on a higher plane, to the divine law, to the extent that, along with grace (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 109–14), it constitutes an “external” aid through which God assists human beings to gain beatitude* and to make progress on the way of love, which leads them on toward their creator: “The external principle that makes

us act well is God, whether he instructs us by his law or sustains us by his grace” (q. 90, prol.). In the history of salvation*, the old law and the new law take the place of the natural law, which, in a broad sense, demands faith and, above all, love of God, but which can also be restricted to the commandments in the second table of the Decalogue, for they can be recognized by natural reason independently of divine revelation*. Just as human beings, because of the Fall, cannot attain beatitude through the natural law alone, so they are no more capable of attaining it within the framework of the Old Covenant, which, being incapable of bringing about grace, cannot be really satisfying; as a result, it fulfills the function of accusation, or death*. It is only through the new law, the New Covenant, that human beings can rediscover the grace (q. 106, a. 1) that they enjoyed in their primordial state, in order to fulfill the natural law. Grace is the new law as a conferred law (*lex indita*), a law of liberty* (Jas 1:25, 2:12), the law of the Spirit who gives life (Rom 8:2). Aquinas thus has a different vision than Augustine’s of the relationship between law and grace. Christ, as the pivot of the history of salvation, perfectly fulfills the law and, through the salvific action of his life and death, abolishes the old law. Of course, Christ is also a law-giver, in a secondary sense; but the new law consists principally of grace, and it is in this regard that Aquinas writes of Christ as the “founder of the New Covenant” (*auctor novi testamenti*; q. 107, a. 1, ad 3). Grace, acting through the new law, allows human beings to love God, to offer themselves to him in a “singular mixture of liberty and dependence” (Pesch 1967), and thus to return to their Creator.

d) Nominalism and Late Medieval Piety. Aquinas uses the term “new law” only in a derivative sense and refers to Christ’s law-giving function as a secondary matter. However, these references were sufficient to encourage later theologians once again to make the gospel, understood as the new law, into a way that human beings can and must take for themselves—with the assistance of grace, of course—in order to achieve salvation. As a result, there appeared within the theology of nominalism*, and in the forms of piety linked to it, some tendencies toward legalism that seem to have had little to do with either Augustine or Aquinas. Luther* could thus denounce the “Pelagianism” of Gabriel Biel (before 1410–95), who took up an idea that Aquinas had condemned in this form (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 112, a. 3) and taught that God does not refuse grace to those who do that which is in them (*see, e.g., Collectorium II*, d. 27, q. un. O). While the accusation of Pelagianism does not do justice to the whole of Biel’s theological thought, Luther, for his part, did not remain

content with reformulating the ideas of Augustine and Aquinas: taking Paul’s teaching as his primary guide, he developed an authentic and profound understanding of the gospel and its justifying action, which is independent of any law (*see* 4 a–c below).

e) Council of Trent. Reformation theologians formulated their conception of law primarily within the framework of the doctrine of justification*. The Council of Trent*, in turn, brought about a dissociation from the tendencies of the late Middle Ages that we have referred to above. Its decree on justification (13 January 1547), the first dogmatic definition of this doctrine, relates salvation to grace as mediated by the sacraments*, and not to human merit. However, it also teaches that human merit can cooperate in the action of divine grace by virtue of created grace (*gratia creata*), although it does not state precisely what role human liberty plays in this cooperation. (This question later gave rise to the conflict between Bañezianism and Molinism; *see* Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism). The council also rejected certain opinions that were central to the Reformation. For example, chapter 11 deals with “the necessity and possibility of observing the commandments” (*DH* 1536–39), and canon 21 lays down that “Christ Jesus was given by God to humanity...also as a law-giver who is to be obeyed” (*DH* 1571). This proposition clearly expresses a refusal to confess Christ exclusively as Redeemer, and, along with canons 18–20 (*DH* 1568–70), constitutes an explicit rejection both of Luther’s teaching on justification by faith alone, and of the distinction between law and gospel (*see* 4 b below, and Pesch 1995) that Jerome Seripando (1492–1563), the general of the Augustines, had sought in vain to have accepted at Trent.

f) Present State of the Discussion. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992, no. 1965) recognizes that “the new law, the law of the gospel” is stated “first and foremost in the Sermon on the Mount,” even though there may also be a question of grace in this regard (nos. 1949–86). Ecumenical dialogue has more to expect from new research on Aquinas and from the concern for direct interrogation of the sources over and above what has been handed down within the Thomist tradition. It is not by chance that this work of exhumation, conducted along the major lines that we have set out (*see* 3 c above), appropriately constitutes one of the structural supports for ecumenism (Kühn 1965, Pesch 1967).

4. Understanding of the Law in Luther and in Protestant Teaching

a) Universality of the Law: The Decalogue and Natural Law. Reformation theologians also made an asso-

ciation between the Decalogue and natural law, thus affirming the universality of God's will. This universalism* is attested in Holy Scripture, for example in Matthew's Gospel, in which the "pagan" Golden Rule is placed on the same level as the double commandment of love: "This is the Law and the Prophets" (Mt 7:12; *see* 22:40). It is also attested in the intermingling of a morality of faithfulness to Christ (e.g., Lk 9:57–62) with a morality of family* (e.g., Eph 5:21–6:9), and in Paul's restatement of certain Stoic themes (e.g., Rom 2:14 f.). Luther cites this text, as well as Romans 1:19–21 and 3:29, to affirm that "the Ten Commandments... are nothing other than the law of nature, naturally inscribed upon our hearts" (WA 16, 431, 26–28).

The Decalogue had this universal validity in Luther's view because it tallies with the Word of the Creator, as may be seen by comparing Genesis 2:16 f. with Exodus 20:2 f. Both these words of God to humanity contain promises* of life (Gn 2:16 and Ex 20:2) reinforced with threats of death (Gn 2:17 and Ex 20:3): one must fear God if one does not entrust oneself to his love. In this sense, the first commandment is to be contrasted, as "Do not be anxious about your life" (Mt 6:25), to the existential anxiety of humanity: it recalls us to our finite nature, and discharges our anxiety about infinity*. This bond of correlation between the first commandment and the Word of the Creator may be formulated as follows: without the first commandment, concern for the world would be blind; without concern for the world, the first commandment would be null and void.

Furthermore, this thesis means that Luther's doctrine of the law is structurally related to his theory of the three "estates," which represent fundamental forms of life, irreducible modes of being that the creative Word of God has assigned to humanity: the church; the economy, which includes marriage* and the family; and political organization. The church, understood as an "estate," does not mean the Christian church in particular, but the fundamental condition, prior to any economic or political determination, of each human being before God, which is inherent in creation (Gn 2:16 f.). These "estates" precede the commandments. Thus, the fourth commandment, for example, presupposes marriage and the family, while the first presupposes the church, conceived as an order of the creation (Bayer 1994).

In this sense, the Decalogue is universally applicable to every individual. It is on the basis of these commandments that God has willed life in the universe, created it, desired it, and preserved it. However, the commandments have a positive content only on the level of immanence: they have value only in the do-

main of "civil justice" (*iustitia civilis*). By contrast, they play no role in the justification of human beings before God. According to Luther, the rupture marked by baptism*—a rupture that, according to the Catholic tradition, obliges us specially to observe the law (*DH* 1620–22)—must be understood as a renewal of the intellect (Rom 12:2) that brings human beings into relation with the commandments in this world. Nevertheless, the law has no effect on justification.

b) Law and Gospel. Luther had learned from Paul and Augustine that respect for the law plays no role in our justification before God; but he had also had profound experience of this himself. He was thus capable of describing his reforming work as the discovery of the difference between the law and the gospel (WA *TR* 5, no. 5518). The law confounds human beings, judges them, and even kills them. Within the law, God comes to human beings with harsh and ineluctable questions, saying to Adam, "Where are you?" (Gn 3:9), or to Cain, "Where is Abel your brother?" (Gn 4:9). Such questions confound human beings; they see what they had no awareness of appearing in the light of day (Ps 90:8). They are revealed, alone, as human beings destined to die: "You are the man" (2 Sm 12:7). Human beings cannot say these things to themselves: they must come to them from outside, from an Other. Nevertheless, they are so clearly confounded that they pronounce their own condemnation at the same time (2 Sm 12:5). The externality of the law does not mean that there is any heteronomy.

However, while God speaks against human beings in the law, he speaks for them in the gospel, the decisive and definitive Word of God that acquits them, promises them life, and makes them live. It is to this promise that faith responds within human beings: and "faith alone justifies" (*sola fides iustificat*). The gospel is therefore not a new law. Even in the form of grace, it is not to be confused with the law (*see* 3 c above), for it is "something other," a second Word of God. It cannot be related to the word of the law by reference to some third term, such as the unique self-manifestation of God (*see* 4 d–e below), any more than one of these two words can be made to lead to the other. One cannot play tricks with the distinction between the law and the gospel: to neglect this distinction is, in reality, to recognize only the law, which no human being can fulfill and which therefore brings death.

It is not enough, however, to grasp this distinction between the law and the gospel solely on the level of knowledge. It is not to be confused with the distinction between the Old Covenant and the New Covenant, as may be seen by comparing Genesis 2:16 f. and Exodus 20:2 f. (*see* 4 a) above). On the contrary, it must be re-

alized again and again, at every instant, and particularly in cases of temptation*. Here, the techniques of homiletics or spiritual* direction are of no use, for what matters is the divine Word, through which God himself brings us either consolation or terror, death or life. The distinction between the law and the gospel thus evades the commands of our will: it takes effect and is a gift renewed on each occasion.

What can be said is that, if the gospel is a promise, then faith is power and permission. One must guard against the gospel becoming a law, to which faith responds as a positive act. It is this that Luther seeks to demonstrate when he distinguishes between the gift and the example in Christ. Christ must first be accepted as a gift, by which God freely accords all his goods to us, before he can provide a model for our actions. If we already possess all the divine gifts in Christ, our actions will no longer be aimed at justice before God, but will be entirely directed toward our neighbors.

c) Double Usage of the Law. In this perspective, Luther refers to a “double function of the law” (*duplex usus legis*), in accordance with the sacred terminology. The first function is the “political usage of the law,” that is, its application within the domain of civil justice (see 4 a above); the second function is the “elenctic or theological usage of the law,” which convicts us of our sins and thus recalls us to the distinct reality of the gospel (see 4 b above). In Luther’s view, it is this second usage that constitutes the “principal” (*praecipuus*) usage of the law, in conformity with the preponderant role that the doctrine of justification plays in his theology. A comparison with the Catholic tradition will underline the meaning that this second usage has in this instance: Luther could still accept natural law within the domain of civil justice, but he could not give it any role in relation to justice before God. He reached this intuition, which was so decisive for the Reformation, by following Paul and Augustine: the gospel is not a new law, nor a demand, but an acquittal and a consolation that makes real what it promises: *promissio* (Bayer 1971).

d) Law and the Regenerate in Reformation Doctrine. While the Council of Trent (see 3 e above) finally refused to follow Luther down this road, the internal development of Protestantism shows that divergences could appear even among those who fundamentally adhered to the Reformation project. This is what happened in the disputes over “antinomianism” and the “third usage of the law.” In these cases, what was at stake—depending on the position adopted with regard to the law—were different conceptions of the way in

which Christian ethics* should be formatted and applied. Have those human beings whom the gospel proclaims to be just already fulfilled the will of God in themselves (“Every healthy tree bears good fruit,” Mt 7:17 f.), or must they—can they—be exhorted and guided by the law to be made by this will? Conversely, can the law, through its exhortations and directives, guide human beings toward authentically Christian practice, or does it result in a pure legalism that no longer sees one’s neighbor as the primary criterion of a free act, in accordance with the double commandment of love? To put the question more crudely: does Christian practice have need of a law, or will the law always be a hindrance to it?

In the history of the church, the term *antinomianism* is used with reference to two controversies that arose during the age of the Reformation. While they should not be confused with each other, both were centered on the question of the power and form of the gospel, which could be obscured in two different ways. On the one hand, too much might be expected from the gospel, if one assigned it the functions of the law and thus deprived it of its specificity. On the other hand, too little might be expected from it, if one sought in some sense, through fear of enthusiasm and abuse of the liberty that the gospel accords and guarantees us, to come to its aid in order to support its action.

The first of these two dangers was awakened by J. Agricola (1499?–1566), who maintained that the gospel was not only the declaration of grace, but also a message of penance* and judgment*. Agricola, and others, inevitably misconstrued the role of the law by failing to distinguish between the law and the gospel and by attributing to the gospel the functions proper to the law, which are to accuse human beings and convince them of their sins, and thus to lead them to repent. Not only did they then fall into antinomianism, but, above all, and as an unforeseen consequence, they misconstrued the specific character of the gospel, its form as pure promise. This promise does not contain any ambiguity and is thus the source of all certainty.

Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) and his followers, the Philippists, originated the second danger, within the framework of a discussion of sanctification and the role of the law with regard to those who are justified. The question was debated in the chapter on the “third usage of the law” (*tertius usus legis*) or the “usage of the law among the regenerated” (*usus legis in renatis*). These terms appear not only in Melancthon’s writings (e.g., *Loci*, 1559; *StA* II/1, 325 f.), but also, and most importantly, in those of Calvin*. Contrary to Luther (see 4 b above), Calvin does not make the distinction between the law, which condemns, and the gospel, which acquits—the center and

principle of his theology. Instead, he subordinates this Pauline opposition to the unity of the divine Covenant. Thus, the gospel is reduced in practice to a new form of obedience to the law. It is no longer a pure message of consolation and acquittal: instead, consolation and acquittal are no more than aspects of the single Word of God, which also contains a requirement to fulfill the law by living in conformity with the divine will. The focus of interest is thus displaced away from justification and toward the sanctification of believers, which is understood as a distinct process, oriented toward the single Word of God, which in this case takes on the characteristics of law. Hence, the central function of the law is no longer to accuse human beings and convince them of their sins—even though Calvin still accepts this “elenctic usage,” which, contrary to the order established by Luther, he makes into the “first usage” of the law (*Inst.*, 1560, II, 7, 6 f.). Instead, the central function of the law is to give shape to Christian morality: this is the “third usage,” which constitutes the “principal usage of the law” (*praecipuus usus legis*; *Inst.*, 1560, II, 7, 12). The crucial question for theology is no longer how the human being condemned by the law can be regenerated, but how the regenerated human being can live in accordance with the will of God. Concrete ethical practice thus finds a distinguished theological legitimization.

By comparison, Luther’s ethics, in which the event is never separated from justification, is remarkably free. This theological liberty leaves every latitude to the gospel to accomplish its work of giving life and regeneration to humanity, with all that is entailed on the ethical plane. However, to the extent that Christians continue to belong to the old world, they remain under the command of the double usage of the law until they die, as is emphasized in Article VI of the *Formula of Concord* (1577), which basically reprises Luther’s position (*BSLK* 793–95 and 962–69, in particular 969, 16–37).

e) Monism and Dualism: The Dispute between Barth and Elert. The dispute over the Lutheran conception of the law found an echo in 20th-century Protestantism when the Calvinist theologian Karl Barth* reversed the order established by Luther as between the law and the gospel (Barth 1935). Like Calvin with his idea of the divine Covenant, Barth reduces the gospel and the law to the higher unity of the single Word of God, which he understands primarily from a christological perspective. Starting from the basic postulate that “God’s speaking to us is already, in itself and in every way, a form of grace” (6), he arrives at the thesis that “the law is nothing other than the necessary *form* of the Gospel, and its content is grace” (13).

This monistic approach was met with lively criticism by some Lutherans. W. Elert (1885–1954), for example, opposed Barth and the very principle of a “third usage of the law,” resolutely taking his stand with Luther in order to affirm, in a still more energetic manner, the validity of the conceptual coupling of law and gospel (Elert 1948).

f) Christological Revelation versus Natural Law. Emil Brunner (1889–1966), a Calvinist theologian who had been an ally of Barth’s in the early stages of his “dialectic theology,” opposed Barth’s christological monism from a different perspective. He reproached Barth for neglecting the other task of theology, which is to bring to light the anthropological repercussions of the Word of God. Brunner’s fundamental conception of humanity led him to take an interest in the justice that we are capable of realizing in this world. In order to apprehend this level of reality, notably in the face of Nazism (this was in 1943), he deliberately made use of the ideas of natural law and of order in creation.

5. Law and Gospel in Modern Times

According to Luther, what makes an authentic theologian is the capacity to distinguish between the law and the gospel (*see* 4 b above). Even Protestants have often lost sight of the precise content of this distinction, or have reduced it to a purely circumstantial preoccupation, related to the Reformation and Luther’s theology. Nevertheless, the problem affects relations between reason and faith, and between faith and politics; it underlies the condemnation of evil* and violence*, as well as reflections on the possibility of bringing them to an end, and, therefore, reflections on the future of humanity. It thus touches upon fundamental questions of anthropology*, ethics, and eschatology*.

It may be possible to clarify this problematic with the aid of the following assertion: that the modern age, by giving the gospel a universal meaning, has been an antinomian age, but has also increasingly returned toward a conception that may be called “nomist.” In its self-designation as “modern,” the new age was already betraying an “evangelical” trait: it was understood as a rupture without any equivalent, placed under the sign of liberty. However, within this enthusiastic generalization, the concrete christological determination of the gospel took on an abstract character. The christological formula “It is finished” (Jn 19:30) was replaced by the idea of a liberation already and forever accomplished. All human beings are by nature “emancipated” and “mature” (*naturaliter maiorennnes*), according to Kant* (*Antwort an der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?* 1784). This presupposes that the law has,

fundamentally, already been abolished: human beings in themselves are free, good, and spontaneous (Rousseau). It is in this sense that “modernity” is antinomian (see 4 d above).

However, what this new human being has been forever he still has to become. At the same time, the universal gospel of liberty obliges human beings to conform themselves to it and to give it a body. Not only are human beings liberated, as in the concrete promise of the gospel, but they are “condemned” to be liberated (Jean-Paul Sartre, *L'existentialisme est un humanisme*, 1946). One cannot be authorized to be free: one must liberate oneself. Here we see a form of “nomism” being outlined on the other side of antinomianism.

Antinomianism and nomism are two sides of the same process. In its secular or secularized forms, this process is understood as a rapport between law and liberty. With his concept of autonomy, Kant sought a position above and beyond antinomianism and nomism alike. Hegel* discussed liberty as “law and conviction,” and thus, in his turn, came up against the question of secularized liberty, in which one can see the post-Christian version of the problem of the law and the Gospel. In this sense, the importance that Luther attached to this distinction is still as topical as ever (Bayer 1992).

• a) **Conciliar or Confessional Texts**

BSLK.

CEC.

DH 1520–83 (COD 671–8).

b) Works by Specific Theologians

Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia IIae*, q. 90–114.

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OSWALD BAYER AND AXEL WIEMER

See also **Casuistry; Gospels; Justice; Justification**

Law and Legislation

The term *law* does not admit of easy definition. Viewed as the collection of norms that govern life within society*, law comprises everything that regulates human conduct, including, for example, moral precepts*, state statutes, church* canons, rules of family life, commercial habits, and customs. Viewed in narrower terms, law consists of norms formulated by political authority* and actualized by persons subject to its jurisdiction*. In the Western legal tradition, the principal responsibility for law has fallen to the state,

but other institutions have played key roles in its development, notably the church, with its canon* law. The religious history of Western law had four key periods.

1. Rome before and after Christianity

a) *Roman Law*. Until the conversion* of Constantine, Roman law reigned supreme throughout the West. It defined the status of persons* and associations, es-

tablished legal actions and procedures, proscribed delicts and crimes, protected the welfare of the state, and regulated commerce, private property*, inheritance, and the family*. Roman law established the imperial cult* and ordained its priests, architecture, rituals, and festivals. A refined jurisprudence emerged in the first century B.C. Cicero (106 B.C.–43 B.C.) and Seneca (A.D. 4–65), for example, cast in legal terms Aristotle’s methods of reasoning, rhetoric, and interpretation, as well as concepts of natural, distributive, and commutative justice*. Gaius (110–80), Ulpianus (†228), Pomponius (second century), and other Roman jurists drew classic distinctions between civil law (*ius civile*), custom, or the law of nations (*ius gentium*), and natural law (*ius naturale*). Civil law is the set of statutes and procedures that deal with actions, persons, and things in a particular community. The law of nations is the set of principles, customs, and rights common to several communities, and is the basis for treaties and diplomatic relations. Natural law is a set of immutable principles perceived by reason*; their authority is sovereign and they must prevail in instances of legal or diplomatic dispute.

b) The Church and Roman Law. The church initially stood largely opposed to Roman society. Christians could not accept the imperial cult or participate in the pagan rituals required for military service, commercial relations or civil litigation. Their ideal of liberty* with *nomos*—a term that was related as much to the institutional aspect of law as to the moral aspect of statutes—and of faithfulness to evangelical love* compelled them to form communities largely withdrawn from society. Ecclesiastical constitutions such as the *Didache* (c. 120) or the *Didascalia Apostolorum* (c. 250), rooted in the Decalogue* and the teaching of Christ* and his apostles*, set forth rules for church government*, liturgy*, ecclesiastical* discipline, charity, the family, and property. Following Christ and Paul, the clergy taught obedience to political authority up to the limits of what was authorized by conscience*. However, following Tertullian* and Ambrose*, the clergy also urged their Roman rulers to make political and legal reforms consonant with Christianity. From the late first century onward, such attitudes provoked severe imperial edicts and waves of persecution.

The conversion of Constantine in 312 and the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire in 381 blended Roman and Christian elements. The empire came to be understood as the universal Christian body (*corpus christianum*) on earth. The emperor, who reigned supreme throughout Christendom, was viewed as both pope and king. Roman law, particularly as codified in the *Corpus iuris*

civilis (534), was viewed as the pristine expression of statute (*ius civile*) and custom (*ius gentium*). However, according to Augustine*, Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), and other writers, secular law derived its authority and core content from natural law, now understood as the expression of the commandments of God* written on the hearts and consciences of all, and rewritten in the Bible*, particularly the Decalogue and the Beatitudes*. The *ius civile* and *ius gentium* were thus viewed as vehicles for establishing the basic precepts of moral and natural law. Knowing precisely which precepts should be established by secular law, however, was a problem theologians kept discussing from the late fourth century onward.

This syncretism of Roman and Christian beliefs allowed the church to imbue Roman law with its teachings. The *Codex Theodosianus* (438), and Justinian’s *Corpus iuris civilis* (482–565) and *Novellae* (565), incorporated Christian teachings on the Trinity*, the sacraments*, the liturgy*, the Sabbath*, sexual ethics*, charity, and education. Similarly, various heresies* were proscribed, especially Arianism*, Apollinarianism*, and Manicheanism*. However, the church was also subordinated to imperial rule. The emperors convoked councils* and synods*, appointed and removed clerics*, established and administered parishes, monasteries, and charitable foundations, and controlled ecclesiastical property. This “caesaropapism” was accepted with little resistance in the Orthodox churches of Byzantium until well into the 14th century. Eastern Bishops readily merged the Christian and the secular, leaving the legal affairs of the church to the emperor as Vicar of Christ and devoting themselves to Christian mystery* and liturgy. Caesaropapism met with more resistance in the West, where popes such as Gelasius I (492–96) and Gregory* the Great insisted on a sharper separation of the spiritual and the secular.

2. Papal Revolution

a) Autonomy of the Church. The second key period came with the papal revolution of the late 11th through 13th centuries, aimed at the emancipation of the church from the temporal power. The initiative was taken by Gregory VII (c. 1021–85) in the investiture dispute, and this resulted in legal and political autonomy for the church. The church now claimed to exercise jurisdiction over such persons as clerics, pilgrims, students, the poor, Jews, and Muslims, and over such subjects as doctrine and liturgy, ecclesiastical property and polity, patronage of benefices, marriage* and the family, education, charity, inheritance, oral promises, oaths, contracts, and all manner of moral or ideological crimes and delicts. The church predicated these claims

in part on its traditional authority over the sacraments, in part on the power of the keys bequeathed by Christ to Peter* (a key of knowledge and a key of power). It used the extent of its jurisdiction to translate its dogma* into legal terms.

The oldest canon law provisions were synthesized in the famous *Decretum Gratiani* (c. 1140), and then heavily supplemented by papal and conciliar legislation, not to mention juridical glosses and commentaries. By the late 13th century, canon law was preeminent in the West. Many private parties litigated their claims in consistory courts, and civil law appropriated the substance of canon law. Canonists such as Hostiensis (Heinrich von Segusio, †1271) or Joannes Andreae (c. 1270–1348), and civilians under their influence, such as Gandinus (13th century), Bartolus of Saxoferrato (1314–57) or Baldus de Ubaldis (c. 1319–1400), developed new doctrines of public, private, and criminal law, comprehensive rules for the resolution of conflicts of laws, and elaborate hermeneutical methods for their equitable application. They also developed concepts of legislation, adjudication, and executive administration, and many other concepts that still form the core of Western constitutionalism. They developed a good deal of the Western law of corporations and associations, as well as refined doctrines of popular sovereignty, representation and consent, and individual and corporate rights and liberties.

b) Theories of Law. This legal transformation brought new theories of law and authority by such Scholastic writers as Anselm*, Abelard*, John of Salisbury (c. 1115–80), Albert* the Great, and Thomas* Aquinas. Aquinas's synthesis proved to be the most enduring. For Aquinas, all law and authority are rooted in the eternal law (*lex aeterna*), the divine reason that ordains and orders all creation*. All human beings participate in this eternal law through the natural law (*lex naturalis*) that is within them (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 91, a. 2, and q. 94), that is, through intuitive knowledge (*synderesis*) of the core principles of practical reason (Ia, q. 79, a. 12; conscience*). These principles—doing good*, avoiding evil*, preserving self, living in a couple, having children, seeking truth*, living in society, and avoiding harm to others (Ia IIae, q. 94, a. 2)—must be adapted to particular circumstances by human statutes (*leges humanae*, q. 91, a. 3) of canon, civil, criminal, and customary law. Aquinas's theory of law met with sharp criticism by John Duns* Scotus, then by William of Ockham (c. 1285–1347) and other proponents of nominalism*, but it was dominant within Catholicism by the time of the Council of Trent* and Iberian Neoscholasticism, led by Vitoria (c. 1485–1546) and Suarez*.

3. Reformation

a) Protestant Reformers. The third key period for law came with the Reformation. Protestant reformers such as Luther*, Bucer*, or Calvin* taught that canon law obscured a true understanding of the Bible* and denatured the church by making a community of saints into a political corporation. The jurisdiction of the bishops had obstructed the church's mission of preaching the Word*, administering the sacraments, educating the young, and caring for the needy; moreover, it had usurped the role of the state, perceived as the representative of divine authority. To be sure, the church must have internal rules of organization, teaching, and discipline. The church must also criticize legal injustice and combat political illegitimacy. Nevertheless, the law is primarily the province of the state, not the church.

b) Effects of the Reformation. European law was transformed by the Reformation and Christian humanism*. The international rule of the Catholic Church and canon law was permanently broken, and Western Christendom was fractured into competing nations and regions, each with its own religious and political system. State rulers now assumed jurisdiction over numerous subjects previously governed by the church. Particularly in Lutheran and Anglican polities, inspired by the writings of Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) and Richard Hooker (c. 1554–1600) respectively, as well as by Roman prototypes, the state came to exercise considerable control over the clergy, organization, and property of the church.

These changes did not suddenly deprive western law of its religious dimension. Canon law remained an ineradicable part of European law and one of its principal legal sources. Moreover, in Catholic countries and their Latin American colonies, the papacy still held considerable sway over legislators and judges. In the Protestant countries and their North American colonies, a certain number of Protestant concepts shaped new law: new social statutes, new criminal law, new legislation on marriage and divorce, and new doctrines of rights and liberties. The idea that power corrupts helped to inspire such restraints as the separation of powers, limited terms, and the codification of statutes.

4. Enlightenment

a) Revolutionary Individualism. The fourth key period in the history of law was the Enlightenment. Hume (1711–76), Rousseau (1712–78), and Jefferson (1743–1826) offered a secular theology of individual-

ism, rationalism*, and nationalism. The individual was no longer viewed primarily as a sinner who has need of salvation*. For the philosophes, every individual was created equal in dignity, vested with the same rights to life, liberty, and property, and the same capacity to choose his own conception of happiness. Reason was no longer the handmaid of revelation*, and rational disputation was a sufficient source of morality and law. The nation was no longer identified with a national church or a chosen people. The nation deserved to be glorified in its own right. Its constitution and laws were sacred texts, reflecting the morals and mores of the national culture. Its officials were like priests, representing the sovereignty and will of the people.

Such ideas were revolutionary in their time, and contributed to the American and French Revolutions*; they had already been present in the English Revolution of 1688–89. Then, too, Western law underwent sweeping changes: constitutional provisions for limited government and civil liberties, separation of church and state, new criminal and commercial law, new laws of property and inheritance, shifts toward a definition of criminal and civil responsibility, abolition of slavery, and the gradual removal of discrimination based on race*, religion, or gender.

b) Influence on the Philosophy of Law. One can see the influence of the Enlightenment in many theories of law. Numerous writers, from John Locke (1632–1704) to Thomas Paine (1737–1809), postulated a mythical state of nature that antedated and integrated human laws and natural rights. Nationalist myths were grafted onto this myth* of origins to unify and sanctify national legal traditions. Thus, Italian jurists appealed to a utopian Roman heritage, English jurists to their ancient constitution and Anglo-Saxon roots, French jurists to the Salic law, and German jurists to ancient constitutional liberties. No one placed much faith in all of this, and three legal philosophies came to prominence in the later 18th and 19th centuries. Positivists such as Jeremy Bentham or John Stuart Mill (utilitarianism*) contended that the ultimate source of law lies in the will of the legislator and its ultimate sanction in political force. Natural law theorists, notably Kant*, sought the ultimate source of law in pure reason and conscience, and its ultimate sanction in moral suasion. Jurists of the German historical school, such as Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1779–1861) or Otto von Gierke (1841–1921), contended that the ultimate source of law resides in the customs and character of the people, and that its ultimate sanction is the condemnation of crime by the community. These three philosophies have persisted to this day, although they are heavily supplemented by

an array of realist, socialist, feminist, and other theories.

c) Influence on Legal Institutions. The ideas of the Enlightenment also led to the transformation and secularization* of legal institutions. Individualism was expressed in measures for the protection of privacy, and rationalism in the freedom of speech, press, and association; as for nationalism, it manifested itself in diverse ways in democracy*, fascism, and socialism. The clear separation of church and state in America and in certain European countries served to privatize religion, and to drive religious organizations from the political process. Increasingly, there are laws rather than law in the singular: each nation tends to have its own legal system, itself divided into several types of law according to domains of application. This tendency was offset somewhat, in the second half of the 20th century, by the growth of international law, and by the new social and political programs of liberation* theology, Catholicism after Vatican* II, and the ecumenical movement (ecumenicism*). However, this has not prevented a number of writers from announcing a worldwide law crisis.

Today, there are still many links between law and religion, and many forms of mutual interaction, ranging from the domain of concepts to that of institutions. In recent years these interactions have attracted a considerable body of interdisciplinary studies. It can be hoped that these studies will contribute to a better understanding of law and justice, and to preparation for the emergence of a common law of all humanity in the new millennium.

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See also Authority; Church and State

Lay/Laity

From the lexicographic point of view, the word *lay* and its derivatives fall into two main semantic domains. On the one hand, *lay* means “independent from any specific religious belief” (Robert *sv*). This is a modern sense, used in speaking of the secular state or secular education in order to indicate the *absence* of any religious reference in the political or educational system. There is another meaning, specifically connected to the structuring of the church* as a religious society*: here a distinction is made between the *laity*, members of that society who perform only the activities deriving from a shared belonging to the church through baptism*, and the *clergy**, who receive a specific status in the same society, a status from which derive acts of government*, teaching, and presiding over ritual celebrations. This second sense (a member of the laity is someone who “does not belong to the clergy”) has sometimes been transposed onto other religious societies, but it comes specifically from the Christian ecclesiastical tradition*.

Modern usage of the term in fact derives from this second meaning to the extent that it is rooted in the process by which the civil authorities of the Christian West attempted, from the late Middle Ages, to assert their independence in the conflict between the two powers, spiritual (the pope* and the church) and temporal (the power of princes conceived of as not clerical and therefore secular). From the 18th century on the conflict became increasingly violent. It conditioned the entire religious and political history of the 19th century and resulted in rather varied legal solutions, ranging from the legal separation of church and state to a series of concordats. The secular spirit, which claims absolute autonomy for temporal power and defines itself by rejecting any reference to the religious dimension of man (*see* Bedouelle and Costa 1998) is the latest manifestation of the conflict.

I. Historical Determination

The meaning of the term *lay* in the church was constructed in several main stages, which are themselves revealing of the theological and ecclesiastical problems underlying historical reality. It is not by chance that one of the major ecclesiologists of this century, Y. Congar, elaborated one aspect of his ecclesiological

analysis on this theme in a classic work, *Jalons pour une théologie du laïcat* (1953).

1. A Term Absent from the Biblical Tradition?

Lay comes from the Greek *laikos* (one who belongs to the people or comes from it: nonofficial, civil, or common, Liddell Scott *sv*). The absence of the term from the New Testament has often been noted. We must however remember that *laikos* is an adjective derived from *laos* (people), a term that is omnipresent in both Old and New Testaments (*see*, e. g., the key passages of Exodus 19:5 [frequently repeated in the New Testament, in 1 Pt 2:5, 2:9; Rev 1:6; 5:10; 20:6], and Lv 26:12 and Jer 31:33 [repeated in 2 Cor 6:16; Heb 8:10; Rev 21:3]; *see* Grelot 1970). And since belonging to the people* of God formally constitutes the Christian experience* (by comparison, the disciples of Jesus* were very early given by pagans the name *christianus* [Acts 11:26], which is precisely an epithet of belonging [-anus = supporter of] to *Chrestos*), it is probable that when it appeared in the vocabulary of the church, *laikos* carried this meaning. The *laikos* is then the one who belongs to the people of God, established as the heir of the covenants* and the beneficiary of the promise* of salvation*: “You too, laymen, Church elect of God, listen to this: Church means first of all people; you are the very holy Catholic Church, the royal priesthood, the holy multitude, the adopted people, the great assembly, the bride adorned for the Lord God” (*Didascalios* II. 26. 1). Hence, “our word ‘lay’ is connected to a word that in Jewish and then in Christian usage precisely designated the consecrated people in opposition to the profane peoples” (Congar 1953).

The term does appear in certain texts like Clement, *Ep. to Cor.* 40.5 and Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* 41. 8, which enumerate series of distinct functions in the assembly (high priest, priests, levites, laity), but we should not use that fact to infer categories linked to a later ecclesiological approach make the opposition between clergy and laity into a principle of analysis. Congar points out that we are, at this stage, in a context where the institution of the church is not yet seen “as an order of means for the calling of salvation” (*ibid.*, 21). Thus, even if the progressively greater emphasis on a hierarchy in both secular life and church membership became an element of Christian con-

sciousness from the third century onward, and led in particular to seeing in the *ordines* the structuring elements of the society (Hippolytus, *In Daniele* I. 17; Tertullian, *Ad uxorem* I. 7; *De monogamia* 12; *De exhortatione castitatis* 7. 3 and 14. 1–4; Methodus of Olympus, *Symposium* VII. 3), something that further led to the distinction proposed by Pope Gregory the Great between *pastores*, *continentes*, and *conjugati* (see *Moralia* I. 14; V. 13 and 30), we cannot yet speak of a systematic division in which the laity were defined only negatively in terms of their distinction from clergy or pastors*. Ecclesiological reflection has always instinctively sensed the foundational character of a baptismal and sacramental belonging to the people of God, whatever the specific status of each individual.

2. Canonical Divergence about Laity in the Medieval Period

It is still difficult to evaluate the importance of the pastoral, canonical, and ecclesiological orientations of the Gregorian reform. In a Western Europe that was becoming self-aware through a renewal of the dual legacy of ancient political thought and the Augustinian theological tradition (the two cities), the mutual relations of church and princes took shape in terms of a conflict of powers (spiritual and temporal). Generally, the division took place as follows: the church exercised its power in the person of the clergy (pope and bishops*); and the princes, who were laymen not clergy, became holders of temporal power. The task was then to determine in legal terms the scope of the two powers; and a new schema took shape according to which the laity did not exercise power in the church, because the clergy alone had that responsibility. This new ecclesiological approach, heavily conditioned by political and social circumstances, produced three results. In the first place there was an attempt to clarify and distinguish the respective domains of natural (political) society and church society, with an inevitable logical hardening of the opposition between what fell under the temporal (power of lay princes) and what fell under the spiritual (power of the clergy). Second, there was an attempt to justify clergy's specific character in relation to the laity, including, as this did, the massive introduction of a legal problematic of power within the life and the mystery* of the church. This is the framework in which we can locate the axiom of the decree of Gratian, *Duo sunt genera christianorum...*, contrasting the "clergy given over to the divine office, devoted to contemplation* and prayer*, removed from the affairs of the world*," to the laity, who possessed temporal goods, could marry, cultivate the soil, administer human justice*, carry on business, and offer gifts at the altar (c. VII, c. XII. q. 1; see commentary in

Congar 1953 and GVEDL I, 678). Finally, there emerged an ecclesial power that claimed the right to operate even over the "natural" structure of society, the church believing that its role included helping to construct a present world whose institutions were influenced by the ethical, social, and cultural implications of revelation*.

At this point we can evaluate the differences in which the two understandings of the laity specific to the churches of the West and the East developed. Because it had always existed in a preestablished civil and political society, the Eastern church had always spontaneously understood itself in its sacramental essence. Political power (the Byzantine *Basileus*) was thus understood as one component of the gift of the church as sacrament, and the king was recognized as having a particular priestly identity and therefore the formal right to intervene (see Dagron 1996). This represented a perspective of *integration* of the prince and of natural society into the mystery of the church. The Western church, on the other hand, was very early defined by the *separation* between the *sacerdotium* and the *imperium* (the donation of Constantine symbolizing, by the "gift" of the Papal States, this radical autonomy of the *sacerdotium*). It was not long before there emerged a situation of conflict between the two powers, which saw spiritual power constantly attempting to assert its supremacy over temporal power.

3. Crisis of the Reformation and Contemporary Rediscovery of the Baptismal Priesthood

The coming of the Reformation was as deeply connected to the secular powers and their claims to autonomy as to a radical critique of the church as objective mediation for salvation. It is therefore against the background of a new situation that we must understand the positions adopted by Luther*, and his assertion of the absolute primacy of a common priesthood* of the faithful in radical opposition to the ministerial priesthood. This crisis situation provoked in the Catholic Church a hardening of the opposition between clergy and laity *within* the very life of the church, in a theology that accentuated contrasts like that between the teaching church (the clergy) and the taught church (the laity), and which saw in the clerical state the preeminent representation of Christian identity.

The appearance of societies based on a recognition of the free individual as the subject of rights and duties; a critical rereading of historical sources (biblical, patristic, medieval); a renewal of evangelization in societies with a Christian tradition (Catholic Action*)—these factors enabled contemporary theology to take up in new terms the major ecclesiological notions, and consequently also the notion of lay/laity. To the work

of Y. Congar already mentioned, we should add that of M.-D. Chenu, H. de Lubac*, and H. and K. Rahner*, who have all had a profound influence on the *aggiornamento* of the church proposed by Pope John XXIII and formulated programmatically in the major documents of Vatican* II (particularly *LG*, chaps. II, IV, and V; *GS*; *AA*; *AG*, chap. VI; *IM*; *DH*; *GE*; as well as the *Messages of the Council*, of 20 October 1962 and 8 December 1965). The implementation of these major programmatic documents was continued in particular by the Roman synod* of October 1987 on “the vocation and the mission* of the laity in the Church and the world twenty years after Vatican II,” and the publication by John Paul II of the post-synodal apostolic exhortation *Christifideles Laici (CL)* of 30 December 1988. Current theological thinking is not really unanimous, but the various tendencies are rooted in a few major shared convictions.

II. Dogmatic Approach

1. Difficulties of a “Positive” Approach to the Notion of Laity

As history shows, the difficulty encountered in defining the reality of the *laity* comes from the use of a negative concept: formally, a lay person is any member of the church who does not belong to the clergy, that is, who has not received the sacrament* of ordination*. For this reason the customary tripartite division of the members of the people of God into priests, monks and nuns, and laity is formally inaccurate, since monks may be members of the clergy (if they are ordained) or lay brothers (if they are not). Basically, the notion of laity is a pastoral-canonical notion that makes it possible conveniently to make rules concerning the members of the people of God according to the way of life or ministerial activities that are specific to them. This is clearly evident in the procedure of the *CCC* of 1983, which begins by defining the *christifideles*, those “who, insofar as they are incorporated into Christ* by baptism, are established as the people of God” (can. 204. 1), and later asserts that “by divine institution, there are in the Church, among the faithful, sacred ministers who are of right (*in jure*) called clergy, and others who are called laity” (can. 207. 1; *see LG* 31).

The principal problem is thus one of ecclesiological methodology. Is it possible to begin with a practical given of a pastoral and legal character and give it dogmatic value in ecclesiology* without committing a kind of paralogism? It is on the basis of this question that we should understand the attempts of the several theologies* that try to define the laity *positively*: those of the canonists (Corecco 1990); of theologians intent on promoting specific features of certain charisms per-

taining to lay movements (G. Chantaine); of actual members of those movements (*Communione e Liberazione* and *Opus Dei* principally, as far as Europe is concerned); of the earlier theoreticians of *Catholic Action* who derived the apostleship of the laity from a mandate of the hierarchy*; and finally, of historians who, in a concern for “declericalization,” criticize the “bipolar structure” of the church (e.g., A. Faivre, *Ordonner la fraternité*, Paris, 1992).

Behind the apparent diversity of approaches, the point of departure is in fact always the same: it is the life of the church, essentially seen from the perspective of *functionality*, *activity*, and *powers*, that legitimates the questioning. As a consequence, some theologies of the laity may take on a combative or challenging aspect and be organized essentially in order to ask what the laity may or may not do, in reference to the presbyteral or diaconal ministry. This aspect is no doubt exacerbated by the current situation of a church that is experiencing not only a deep crisis of vocations but also considerable uncertainty about the identity of the ministerial priesthood. Similarly, to make the distinction between charism and institution (Congar) a constituent element of ecclesiology creates the danger of assimilating institution to ministerial responsibility on the one hand, and on the other, lay life to the spontaneous diversity of charisms, which leads to the desire for a “promotion” of the laity in terms of charismatic diversification (Corecco 1990; Chantaine 1987). This would represent a modern extension of the theology of the founding charisms of religious institutes. Last, another tendency that can rightly call on tradition and certain conciliar documents (particularly *LG* 31: “the secular character [*indoles saecularis*] is the specific and particular character of the laity,” repeated in *CL*), seems to wish to give a positive specificity to the Christian laity in entrusting it with a concern for the affairs of the world (*saeculum*), and in this way providing a contemporary version of the medieval division of powers, the clergy being concerned with affairs of the church and the laity with temporal affairs. This dichotomy, however, even very attenuated, does not seem capable of responding to the fundamental question of the *theological* determination of the status of the laity in the Church. The question, in fact, brings us back to that of the pairing baptismal priesthood/ministerial priesthood, and it is this pairing that structures the church in its very being.

2. Reconsideration of the Problem in Terms of the Sacramentality of the Church

To respond to contemporary ecclesiological requirements, a theology of the laity seems to be obliged to go beyond the canonical oppositions that define it nega-

tively in relation to the ministerial priesthood and to call on a theology of the sacramentality of the Church as it is defined in *LG* 1: “The Church being, in Christ, in some sense the sacrament of—that is, both the sign and the means of—the intimate *union* with God and of the *unity* of the whole human race [*intimae cum Deo unionis totiusque humani generis unitatis*]. . . . This assertion implies that the Church is inseparably what *signifies* (*sacramentum*) the communion* that it *is* (*unio or communio*).”

The fundamental and insurpassable form in which the Church signifies itself, in and by the acts of its members, is the common or royal priesthood of the baptized. Thus, all members (laity or clergy) receive through *baptism* the priestly existence defined in Scripture in Romans 12:1 (“I appeal to you therefore, brothers, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your *spiritual worship*”; see Rom 1:9, 15:15 f.). There is no more fundamental basis for a life of faith than this filial gift of one’s life to the Father* in and through the single priesthood of Christ, “sole Mediator between God and man.” Vatican II comments as follows: “Christ the Lord, high priest taken from among men (see Heb 5:1–5), has made of the new people ‘a kingdom of priests for his God and Father’ (see Rev 1:6, 5:9 f.).” The baptized, in fact, through the regeneration and the anointing of the Holy* Spirit, are consecrated to dwell in a spiritual home and a holy priesthood; to offer, through all the activities of the Christian, so many spiritual sacrifices and to proclaim the wonders of the one who has called them out of darkness into his own admirable light (see 1 Pt 2:4–10). This is why all the disciples of Christ, persevering in prayer and the praise* of God (see Acts 2:42–47), should offer themselves as holy victims, acceptable to God (see Rom 12:1), and should bear witness to Christ over the face of the earth, giving to all who ask an account of the hope that lies in them of eternal life (see 1 Pt 3:15)” (*LG* 10).

The problem is thus not to be a member of the *laity* (not the clergy), but to be *baptized* (*laikos* as member of the people [*laos*] of God): no longer a canonical definition by negative differentiation, but a positive recognition of the sacramentality of all Christian existence, both in the world and within the Church, of the sacramentality of the royal baptismal priesthood based on the one priesthood of Christ. Because Christian existence is given by grace* in a sacramental mode, it is itself called on to be totally sacramental: “pastors should recognize and promote the ministries*, the offices, and the functions of the lay faithful *which have their sacramental basis in baptism, Confirmation**, and for many in *marriage**” (*CL* 23).

At this point arises the question of the relationship between the two priesthoods (baptismal and ministerial). The major document of Vatican II formulates it in these terms: “The common priesthood of the faithful and the ministerial or hierarchical priesthood, although they differ in essence and not in degree (*licet essentia et non gradu tantum differant*), are nevertheless ordered together; in fact, each in its own way participates in the single priesthood of Christ (*suo peculiari modo de uno Christi sacerdotio participant*)” (*LG* 10).

Even though the document does not provide a formal solution with respect to the constituents of this essential difference, it appears to be a difference *in the order of meaning*: the two priesthoods (baptismal and ministerial) signify the same *res* (the one priesthood of Jesus Christ), but following two different registers of meaning (and that is enough to provide an *essential* difference, for two signs, as signs, do not differ in degree but in essence, even if they designate a single reality). Both signify the same Christ high priest but in two different aspects. The ministerial priesthood signifies Christ acting to save the world, the Lord taking the initiative to fulfill the purpose of the Father, founding and establishing the actions of salvation, the eternal Word* making himself the *means and bearer of salvation by grace*. Each time that the Church appears as the sacramental sign of Christ the Savior the ministerial priesthood signifies the gratuity of the grace given in this saving act. The baptismal priesthood, for its part, signifies Christ insofar as he realizes in us and recapitulates in himself his work of salvation, the Christ-Pleroma, the one who shapes us to himself as he offered himself to the Father “once and for all,” the one who contains all and in whom all things are brought together.

Understanding baptismal existence as a sacrament of the priesthood of Christ then makes it possible to articulate the condition of the laity in the Church following the theology of the “triple function” (prophetic, royal, and ritual). One might schematize it as follows:

a) Prophetic Function. To the extent that any baptismal life relies on the confession of faith*, everything that derives from confession, witnessing, and the proclamation of faith belongs fully to all the baptized. Only the function of authentication of faith in all its forms belongs to the ministry as *charisma veritatis* (Irenaeus*).

b) Royal Function. The royal function of the baptismal priesthood consists of the exercise of a liberty* moved by the charity that is the Holy Spirit and pertains equally to all the baptized. It sounds the basic note of the sacramentality of their Christian existence, in the in-

finitely varied forms required by the diversity of human needs and human distress. Only the critical function of bringing these charisms together in the service of communion belongs formally to the ministerial priesthood.

c) Ritual Function. The ritual function is the work of the whole assembly: "This entirely redeemed city, that is, the assembly and the society of the saints, is offered to God as a universal sacrifice* by the high priest who, in the form of a slave, went so far as to offer himself for us in his Passion*." (Augustine*, *De civitate Dei* X. 6)

Thus, every liturgical action is the work of all, with the ministerial priesthood, through the sacramental sign of presidency, manifesting in it the transcendent initiative of Christ the Head, the source of grace. In this perspective it is clear that the reality of the ministerial priesthood is totally subordinated to that of the royal priesthood as a means to an end, since the ultimate reality of the Church is the participation of all (through adoptive filial life) in the Son's eternal gift of himself to the Father in the Holy Spirit. We can imagine no more fundamental recognition of the dignity of the estate of a baptized lay person in the Church.

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DANIEL BOURGEOIS

See also Baptism; Cleric; Church; Ministry; Priesthood; Sacrament

Laying on of Hands

The laying on of hands (or of the hand: the usage is undecided) is a gesture used in several religions. The gesture has many meanings, however, so that its significance must be specified on each occasion by the context.

In the Old Testament the laying on of hands is used (under the name of *semikah*) in sacrifices* (Lv 4), blessings* (Gn 48:13–20), when bestowing a particular function on someone (Nb 27:15–23), or to exclude a troublemaker (Lv 24:14). Most authors acknowledge the existence of a *semikah* for the inauguration of rabbis: Ehrhardt (1954) considers that this usage can only date back to A.D. 70, but Hoffman (1979) disputes Ehrhardt's view.

As in the Judaism* of his time and in the pagan

world, Jesus* laid on his hands in order to heal (Mk 6:5), or to bless children (Mk 10:16). The early church* understood the laying on of hands as a complement to Baptism* (Acts 8:17, 9:17 ff., 19:6; Heb 6:2), as a means of designating someone to a function (Acts 6:6, 13:1 ff.), as an ordination* rite (1 Tm 4:14, 5:22; 2 Tm 1:6), and as a gesture of healing* (Acts 9:12).

The laying on of hands was widely used in the early church. The *Apostolical Tradition* (Rome*, v. 215) saw it as a rite of exorcism* used during the catechumenate (no. 20; see 19), as a gesture for invoking the Spirit (epiclesis gesture), to be performed by the bishop* after the water rite of baptism (no. 21). The ordination of bishops, presbyters*, and deacons* also re-

quired the laying on of hands (nos. 2, 7, and 8). This last passage specifies: "During the ordination of the deacon, only the bishop lays on his hands, because the deacon is not ordained to the priesthood*, but to the service of the bishop"; and regarding the widow: "There will not be a laying of hands, because she does not offer the oblation and does not have liturgical service (*leitourgia*)" (no. 10). The presbyters and the bishop also perform a laying on of hands during the eucharistic prayer (no. 4).

Cyprian* also mentions that the Roman Church performed the laying on of hands to reconcile heretics (*Ep.* 74:2, 2–3; *see* baptism*).

These practices were taken into the future, to the extent that the laying on of hands plays a role today in the rites of all the sacraments*, though with various meanings (exorcism, healing, blessing). It most often has a

pneumatological and ecclesiological value (Confirmation*, eucharistic epiclesis, ordination).

The laying on of hands is used by other Christian churches. Orthodoxy distinguishes between chirotony (laying on of hands for major functions) and chirothesy (for secondary functions).

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PAUL DE CLERCK

See also Liturgy; Sacrament

Legend. *See* Myth

Legitimate Defense

The question whether it is morally justified to kill in order to defend oneself is an important moral question in itself, and the answer that one gives is key in the ethics* of war*. Does justice alone warrant death, or does legitimate defense constitute a right that fundamentally justifies war? Christian notions of legitimate defense have shifted between Christianity's origins and the modern era.

The response of the Fathers* is typified by Tertullian*, following texts such as Matthew 5:39 and 26:52. He thought that Christians ought rather to be killed than kill, and that when harmed they should not seek revenge, even by means of a tribunal. No cause in the world, not even the protection of one's own life, could justify being tainted with the sin of killing.

Ambrose* and Augustine* agreed with this point,

but differed from Tertullian about war. Ambrose did not think it legitimate for a wise man to save his life from a shipwreck at the expense of an ignorant sailor; analogously, it is no more legitimate to save one's life at the expense of an assailant's life (*De officiis*). For Ambrose and for Augustine, who agreed with him on this point, the necessity of self-defense did not justify murder. Augustine wrote that he could not accept that people could be condemned to death to prevent them from killing others, unless the executioner were a soldier or a civil servant legally appointed to do so and not acting on his own behalf, but on the behalf of others (*Ep.* 47).

Tradition changed with Thomas* Aquinas, who found it legitimate to use force against an unjust assailant in order to save one's life (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 64, a. 7). Debating the issue led him to the doctrine of

“double effect” or “twofold intention.” Luther* would say on the other hand that “no Christian shall wield or invoke the sword for himself and his cause” (WA 11, 267). Maintaining order and waging war were matters for public authority* alone.

The Counter-Reformation refined and systemized Aquinas’s authorization. Vitoria (c. 1485–1546), along with many others, considered legitimate defense as a kind of private war (*bellum privatum*) and referred to discussions by the Scholastics* on what might justify self-defense in case of an attack (*De iure belli* 1, 2). Some accepted legitimate defense only as an emergency measure, to save one’s life, while others extended it to saving one’s honor and property. Vitoria thought that an individual could legitimately declare a “private war,” but only to defend himself and as the offense occurred. One could not wage a private war to seek revenge or to punish, although these are reasons a state can invoke to declare war, even if defense is its immediate object. Suarez* also thought that only the necessity to defend one’s life and property allowed for legitimate defense, but would not extend this right to dueling. The deliberate defense of one’s honor, with the possibility of killing one’s opponent, is not to be compared with the necessity to defend oneself against an actual act of aggression, and a challenge to a duel is not an aggression (*De bello diss.* XIII, 9, in *De fide, spe et caritate*).

For Grotius (1583–1645), legitimate defense was permissible only when faced with an actual assailant. The danger had to be immediate and certain. The assailant himself might be blameless, as, “for instance, a soldier acting in good faith, or one who mistakes you for someone else,” but this did not abrogate the right of legitimate defense. Grotius did not, however, go as far

as to allow killing an innocent person who would hinder one’s flight to safety. Certainly, “if we look to nature alone,” this might be accepted, but the law* of the gospel did not permit the killing of the innocent (II, 1, 3–5).

When the doctrine of human rights replaced the classical tradition of natural law in the 17th century, legitimate defense replaced justice as the fundamental cause for war, as in Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–94) or Emmerich de Vattel (1714–67). All men and all states, according to Vattel, had the absolute right to do what was necessary for their preservation. This notion slowly gained importance and is understood in the teachings of John XXIII on war, which was no longer seen as a means to reestablish justice. Therefore, there could no longer be any war of recovery or punishment, but only defensive wars (*Pacem in terris* 127). Similarly, the United Nations Charter speaks of the inherent right of individual or collective legitimate defense in case of an armed attack (Art. 51). Moral thought thus has now moved away from Ambrose and Augustine’s initial direction.

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DAVID ATTWOOD

See also **Intention; Love; Violence; War**

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm

1646–1716

During a long career as a jurist and counselor to the German princes (in Mainz and then Hanover), Leibniz wrote a great deal and published little. In addition to his administrative duties as a jurist, feudist, and historian, he devoted considerable time to science, espe-

cially mathematics, and to philosophical and theological reflection. In an era marked by changes in religion owing to the political adventures of the Germanic states, Leibniz, who was a Lutheran, entertained a lengthy and abundant correspondence with eminent

Catholics, Anglicans, and Calvinists. A German “patriot” above all (he invented the word), he refused any form of conversion* (even to become librarian to the Vatican), but played an active role in both the public and secret discussions regarding the union of the different churches*. The primacy of his religious concerns goes some way toward explaining his initial hostility toward Cartesianism, which he later compared to Spinozism. Nevertheless, it was in the midst of this hostility that he built his own system, renewing, by means of the concept of force, the notion of substance, reintroducing formality in method, responding with harmony to the issue of the union of soul* and body.

Moral responsibility was dependent upon the metaphysical basis of Leibniz’s system. Every simple, or monadic, substance possesses an inner force, which is its principle of action; the plurality of what is possible maintains contingency; the finality of the mind makes it capable of deliberately choosing the best. But that does not eliminate individual responsibility: although there are an infinite number of possible worlds, all our personal shortcomings are contained in the world that is called into existence by virtue of its great goodness, and with a view to the highest perfection (*Letter to Arnauld*). God* is to creatures “what the inventor is to his machine,” and to the mind “what a prince is to his subjects, or even a father to his children” (*Monadology* §84, 1714). The harmony of the “divine city of the mind” and its happiness are therefore ascertained through “the reign of final causes.” Leibniz did not attempt to avoid the “labyrinth” created by the question of the origin of evil*, however, and he suggested that evil was determined by three sources—metaphysical, physical, and moral—in order to make the theses of God’s omnipotence* compatible with his goodness and the existence of evil (*Essais de Theodice* and *Causa Dei*, 1710).

Leibniz asserted both the freedom of man, even if man is ignorant of the divine plan, and the confidence that will obtain through one’s reasonable certainty of having made the best choice. To existing proofs of the existence* of God (those described as cosmological and ontological) he added his own proof of divine reason*, as an argument against atheists and as the source of possibilities that implicated a will capable of choice: “His understanding is the source of essences, and his will is the origin of existence” (*Theodice* I, §7). God is duty bound to “act in perfection, obeying his supreme reason” (*Discourse on Metaphysics* §3, 1686). Leibniz was a champion of the univocity both of being and of knowledge. Like Malebranche, Leibniz believes that the perfection of the work is achieved through the simplicity of means; but the world, which remains contin-

gent, necessarily refers to a Creator, to whom one returns as “the final reason of things” through the principle of sufficient reason. Leibniz was the first to formulate this idea in his *catholic demonstrations* (1668–9). It takes on a twofold canonical form: Nothing ever happens without a reason 1) for which this thing exists; 2) for which it exists in this way rather than in any other (*Theodice* I, §44).

However, it is difficult to determine to what degree, for Leibniz, God himself is subject to the principle that allows us to have access to him, in the way that Descartes*’s God was subjected to a degree to the principle of causality in the form of the *causa sui*. The rational and reasonable unity of Leibniz’s thought emphasized the urgent nature of a meeting among the churches, something that had already been suggested for geopolitical reasons in Europe in the face of the Ottoman advance. Following in the path of Georg Calixt and the masters of the University of Helmstadt, and as a resident of a Catholic milieu, be it in Frankfurt or Mainz, in Paris or at court in Hanover, Leibniz encouraged exchanges in the form of meetings and correspondence: with Bossuet; with Nicholas Sténon, a Danish Protestant and anatomical scholar who had converted to Catholicism, become a priest*, bishop* and head of a mission* in Northern Europe; with Spinola, the bishop of Neustadt; with the Calixtine pastor Molanus, who was president of the Hanoverian consistory; and with Burnett, an Anglican. Leibniz’s interest in missions, to China in particular, came from the same source (Chinese rites*); he found among the Jesuits and the monastic models similarities with his own academic and religious projects. The union of churches was, in fact, not only a matter of circumstances; for Leibniz, it represented the precise application of his system, narrowed down to three main issues: 1) grace*, for there is a preestablished harmony between the realm of nature and the moral realm of grace; 2) pure love*—an issue where Leibniz’s definition and the use of classical distinctions (pleasure/interest, concupiscence/kindness/cupidity) were not favorable to Fénelon (“It is not possible to have a love of God above all things, separate from our own interest, since the pleasure which we find in the contemplation* of his perfection is essential to love” Leibniz wrote in his *Letter to Princess Sophia*); 3) the Eucharist*, for which he suggested in the 1670s a rational explanation, that of transubstantiation. As the extension is not primitive, the essence of the body consists of strength. It is not, therefore, unthinkable for a corporeal substance (the body of Christ*) to act in several places at once. Real presence, therefore, is a presence of force or virtue, at a distance, and transubstantiation amounts to a “real multi-presence” (*Letter to Arnauld*,

1671). It is the supernatural operation through which the bread and wine are converted into elements of the corporeal substance of Christ.

In his correspondence with the Jesuit Des Bosses, 30 years later, Leibniz would expound his theory of the “substantial link” to complete and complicate this first explanation, promoting the idea of the unity of the body without reducing the organism to the phenomenality of the *unum per accidens*. In transubstantiation, according to this new theory, God uses a supernatural application of a new substantial connection (that of the body of Christ) to the accidents of bread. Leibniz’s death brought an end to the correspondence and left the complex hypothesis of the substantial link unresolved. It was the last great attempt to provide a physical explanation of the Eucharist. It provided Blondel* with the subject for an important thesis.

Leibniz’s theories on human freedom, divine rationality, and the unity of substance allowed him to hope for a consensus on these debated issues. His system, or successive systems, have an ecumenical virtue. In the face of failure and incomprehension, Leibniz appealed to a universal Christianity: he offered to assemble—beyond the churches, which would retain their particular confessions of faith*—an elite body, an “order of charity” that would implement on a practical level the unification of Christians separated by dogma.

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See also Descartes, René; Ecumenism; Eucharist; Lutheranism; Quietism; Rites, Chinese

Leo the Great. *See* Chalcedon, Council of

Levinas, Emmanuel. *See* Infinite

Lex Orandi. See Liturgy

Liberalism

The terms *liberal* and *liberalism* commonly denote various currents of thought—political, economic, religious, and theological—that appeared at the time of the Reformation and solidified between the Enlightenment and the 19th century. They have in common an appeal to the concept of liberty*, but have never formed a homogeneous whole. In the history of theology, moreover, Protestant liberalism and Catholic liberalism represent two similar but distinct forms of a debate between Christianity and modernity, or between Christianity and the Enlightenment, in which liberty and authority* still to some extent maintain a relationship of fundamental antagonism.

a) Liberty and Liberties. Modern philosophy* did not invent the concept of liberty, but it did put it in the context of new structures of meaning. In its modern sense, the self asserts itself in the work of Descartes* by bracketing the authority of the philosophical tradition. Luther* affirmed the liberty of the Christian by curbing the pretensions of the Catholic Church's magisterium*. In Luther's century, scientific reason was also affirmed by Bacon, who did so by staking the authority of the real against that of the traditional discourses. Likewise during the same century, texts and testimonies—religious texts included—were subjected to the critical attention of philologists and historians (Christian humanism*, the appearance of a critical history* of the church* in the work of Valla, then Baronius, etc.). This period also witnessed the rebirth of the classical Greek ideal of the liberty of the citizen; and following the English political philosophers of the 17th century, absolute political power no longer appeared reasonable.

The ideas, as well as the ideals, of the Enlightenment hardly did more than radicalize (and popularize) the principles of a direction that had already been taken. Liberty of conscience, religious freedom, the

hope of a rational reshaping of social and political ties—most of these themes were already in place. Nonetheless, an acute awareness of belonging to a new age was the source of the 18th century's intellectual unity: the consciousness of representing a humanity that had reached adulthood and finally dared to know (*see* the manifesto published by Kant* in 1784, *Was ist Aufklärung?* Weischedel IX, 53–61), and self-consciousness as the consciousness of a break and “progress.”

Committed to the ideal of liberty and to various attainments of the French Revolution—the legacy of the Enlightenment—Catholics such as Chateaubriand set themselves up during the Restoration as defenders of freedom of the press and of opinion. When liberal revolutions* broke out all across Europe in 1830, Lamennais and his followers Lacordaire and Montalembert founded the newspaper *L'Avenir*, whose program called for six freedoms: 1) freedom of conscience or religion (and therefore a separation between church* and state); 2) freedom of teaching; 3) freedom of the press; 4) freedom of association; 5) freedom of suffrage (the extension of the electoral principle); 6) freedom of local administration (in the face of revolutionary and imperial centralization). This liberal Catholic school of thought enthusiastically advocated the freedom of nations (the Belgians, the Polish, the Irish). “Liberty as in Belgium”—a new state that enjoyed liberal institutions—became a watchword, and Pope Gregory XVI caused outrage when he urged the Poles who had revolted to submit to the czar.

b) Catholicism and Revolution. It is a remarkable peculiarity of Catholicism that its acceptance of the Enlightenment, or its refusal to accept it, has always been linked to an interpretation of the French Revolution. So liberal Catholicism initially found expression in a moderate interpretation of the Revolution, which dis-

tinguished the Constituent Assembly and its achievements (1789) from the Convention and the Terror (1793) (e.g., in the work of H. Maret and F. Ozanam), in the same way as conservative Catholicism (Maistre, Bonald) initially took the form of explicitly counter-revolutionary theories in terms of which the fall of the ancien régime was a theological event and the plain product of the forces of evil. Counterrevolutionary Catholicism was impelled by its own logic to develop traditionalist theological epistemologies (the heterodox parts of which would be determined by the church's magisterium). The logic of liberal Catholicism, on the other hand, led it to more limited theorizing: the search for a theological method that would link history and the "philosophy" of dogma* ("The dignity of human reason and the necessity of divine revelation," Maret, 1856), the defense of Christian democracy (Maret and Ozanam's *L'Ère nouvelle*, 1848), and the defense of the separation of church and state ("The free church in the free state"—Montalembert's speech at Malines, 1863).

The real theological problem was of course that of preaching the gospel* in a changed society* and a new culture. While in the *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) these changes initially (though not exclusively) took the form of a critique of Christianity by non-Christians or sinful Christians, liberal Catholicism took as its main aim the critique of Christianity (or its traditions* and institutions) by Christianity itself (or its evangelical message). A theology renewed through contact with the dominant philosophies of the time (the School of Tübingen*); concern with identifying the *particula veri* of the objections raised against Christianity (e.g., Monsignor d'Hulst's stance concerning Renan); and concern with ensuring that the theologian's theoretical work enjoyed sufficient independence within the church—all this does not add up to a "liberal" school in 19th-century Catholicism, but the distinctive signs of a trend are certainly there.

c) *Protestantism and Modernity.* The French Revolution has never been the object of fear and censure on the Protestant side, and the history of "liberal" Protestantism is one of continuity—the continuity of successive currents, each bringing a plan for the modernization or "revision" of Christian theology. Liberal Protestantism takes its place in this sequence of ideas after physico-theology, neology, and rationalism*, and also after Kant and Schleiermacher*. Moreover, it arose in its pure form after the left-wing Hegelians (D. F. Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, Feuerbach, etc.) or the "free" theologians (A. I. Biedermann, E. Zeller, F. Overbeck, etc.) had shown how far the criticism of Christianity could go—that is, to the point of

anthropological reduction, or of a demythologization that allowed none of the affirmations of faith to survive. In the face of this impoverishment, liberal Protestantism aimed to be Christian while being supremely scientific. However, when Harnack gave liberal Protestantism its catechism (his lectures on *The Essence of Christ*) he illustrated perfectly how the movement of which he was the last and most glorious representative came to redefine Christianity: its distinctive characteristic ceased to be faith* in Christ* and became the faith of Christ, which reveals God as the Father*; and under the influence of numerous criticisms of the development of Christian dogma, the traditional affirmations of the Christian faith came to seem (even to Harnack) to be no more than "products of the Greek spirit in the soil of the gospel." With its refusal of "Hellenized" forms of Christ, its refusal of "metaphysics" due to the moral implications of the Christian faith (A. Ritschl) and to the "dogmatic* method" in theology (E. Troeltsch), and its refusal even of the Jewish origins of Christ (Harnack again, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* [repr. Darmstadt, 1996]), liberal (or "cultural") Protestantism was full of good intentions for bringing about an *aggiornamento* (updating) of Christian discourse that would make it audible and credible in the context of a new culture. Rather than enabling a new access to the "essential," however, the path that it took was one that reduced Christianity to a form of bourgeois humanism.

d) *Refusals and Condemnations.* Within Catholicism the history of liberal tendencies, from the end of the Napoleonic Wars until the middle of the 20th century, is in part one of failure. In 1832 Gregory XVI (in his encyclical *Mirari Vos*) condemned Lamennais's liberalism, in particular the idea of freedom of conscience, which the pope saw as a "madness" deriving from indifferentism and extending to the freedom of the press. In Pius IX's *Syllabus* (1864)—a compendium of "modern errors"—liberalism, when not targeted specifically, is targeted indirectly "in all its forms: rationalism, or the human intellect's tendency to free itself from the authority of revelation* and the doctrinal magisterium; moral and religious indifferentism, or the tendency to reject moral norms and the demands of truth* in the name of the rights of the individual; laicism, or the rejection of the church's influence on the life of societies; and Gallicanism*, which was increasingly seen in Rome* as encompassing a tendency to conceive church organization after the model of parliamentary governments and to reduce the pope's* divine authority in favor of subordinate powers" (Aubert 1963). Prior to this, the repudiation of the conference

of Catholic scholars who met under Döllinger in Munich (1863) had censured the theologians' demand for freedom from the magisterium in matters of research. Finally, Montalembert was reprimanded for maintaining in his speech at Malines (1863) that the extension of civil and political liberties was conducive to the freedom of the church.

Moreover, the same period saw the establishment of the theological and philosophical project of Neoscholasticism. With its manifesto provided by J. Kleutgen (*Die Theologie der Vorzeit vertheidigt, Die Philosophie der Vorzeit vertheidigt*), under the papacy of Leo XIII it became an official project of the church. Despite this setback, theological liberalism came back in force only to be condemned still more forcefully: this time, however, it bore the name of modernism*. (With all the irony of history, the modernist crisis exploded with the publication of Loisy's "little book," *L'Évangile et l'Église*, conceived by its author as a refutation of the ideas advanced by Harnack in *The Essence of Christ*.)

Within Protestant theology, Barth*'s commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans* aimed to sound the death knell of liberalism, in the name of everything the latter rejected, which was indisputably a great deal (the eschatological meaning of the Christian experience*, the church's responsibility for theological work, fidelity to confessions of faith, etc.); a celebrated exchange of letters between Barth and Harnack (in Barth, *Fragen und Antworten, Gesammelte Vorträge* 3, 1957) summarizes the theoretical disagreements with the utmost clarity and concision. To the idea of a Christianity comfortably rooted in the culture of its time, "dialectical" theology opposed that of a humanity perpetually plunged into crisis—along with its time, its culture, and its religious sense—by God's Word*. To a theology that Barth regarded as entirely derived from Schleiermacher, and in which God* was always in danger of being the variable while the religious man, the moral man, and the scientific man were the constants, it opposed the absolute primacy of a God whose "unavailability" Bultmann emphasized, borrowing a term from Heidegger*. (Moreover, in the face of a liberal Protestantism that was politically and economically short-sighted, dialectical theology offered sustained attention to sociopolitical questions and exhibited a pronounced sympathy with the social Christianity exemplified before Barth, in Switzerland, by H. Kutter and L. Ragaz.)

e) Rehabilitations. The history of theological liberalism did not end with the modernist crisis, nor with the bracing violence of the dialectical theologians. 1) Recalled by Barth (whose masterpiece was a work of

"Church" dogmatics, *Kirchliche Dogmatik*) to the demands of ecclesiasticism, Protestant theology clearly could not however cut itself off from the demands of academia's scientific standards, the criticism of sources, and so forth—the strongest contemporary defense of the scientific nature of theology was, after all, the work of one of Barth's students, T. F. Torrance. For all Bultmann's continuing fidelity to the intuitions that guided the founders of dialectical theology, the same Bultmann was also the originator of a program—of "demythologization"—that one of his followers, F. Buri, could take with little addition as the basis for a "liberal neo-Protestantism." 2) Doubtless because liberalism had never assumed a violent form within it, contemporary Catholicism was able to break with a policy of blanket condemnation and do justice to the profoundly truthful aspects of the liberals' demands. Pius IX and even Leo XIII defended the freedom of consciences against totalitarianism—as distinct from the freedom of conscience, which they saw as making undue claims for the creature in relation to the Creator. In the political field the "coming together" that Leo demanded of French Catholics sanctioned the existence of forms of government derived from the Revolution, and Catholicism was ultimately able to accommodate many models of separation between church and state. In the economic sphere, the "social doctrine of the church" established under the influence of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (Leo XIII, 1891) enabled progressively more varied and less naïve stances to be adopted. In the field of biblical exegesis* a belated but effective liberation of critical work (in the encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, 1943) simultaneously brought a healthier atmosphere to theological circles and produced brilliant intellectual results. Despite the persecutions that followed the modernist crisis and continued until just after the Second World War, innovative thinkers who took no part in the Neoscholastic revival, from Newman* to Lubac and Congar by way of the young Blondel*, were attended to and frequently thanked. Finally, the Second Vatican* Council, in its texts and often in its decisions, had the distinction of putting an end to the Catholic fear of modernity and of designating as a perpetually urgent task an *aggiornamento* of ecclesiastical concepts and practices, something that had previously been regarded as a perverse temptation.

Some problems remain, while additional ones have emerged. There are voices in theology, particularly from the United States, that object that liberalism is the child of a situation that has passed: if we are now in the age of postmodernism* (J.-F. Lyotard, et al.), then theology should be striving toward a "postliberalism" (G. Lindbeck, et al.). The Hegelian criticism of the Enlightenment (that it presented only an impoverished

aspect of thought, “understanding,” *Verstand*, and that it lacked true “reason*,” *Vernunft*) is more in evidence today than formerly. While the opposition between liberty and authority seems more and more to have been founded on misunderstanding with regard as much to the essence of liberty as to that of authority, tensions still remain to which no precise and satisfactory theological answer has been found. In Catholicism and Protestantism alike there is lacking a detailed theology of the Church’s teaching; and in Catholicism the freedoms conceded to biblical scholars appear sometimes not to be extended to the exegetes of the magisterium’s texts. In any event, one thing is clear: theology must go beyond liberalism and the Enlightenment, but it must also go as far as them.

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See also **Gallicanism; Modernism; Rationalism; Ultramontanism**

Liberation Theology

a) Origins. Liberation theology arose in Latin America in the years immediately following Vatican* II. The council (and some texts that followed it, such as Paul VI’s letter *Octogesima adveniens* of 14 May 1971 to Cardinal Roy) had accorded social and political change a greater meaning than official Catholic theology generally gave them, and had insisted upon the social dimension of salvation* (Sigmund 1990; earlier, Lubac*’s *Catholicisme* of 1938). At this time, moreover, the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia of Latin America had lost confidence in the concepts of “development” and “progress” on the European or North American model, which had led to the adoption of the market economy and liberal democracy* (and sometimes even of Protestantism*, Sigmund 1990). The conference of Latin American bishops met at Medellín in 1968 and adopted several elements of what was to become liberation theology—the most im-

portant being the idea of the church*’s “preferential option” for the poor. Finally, the political* theology inspired by J. B. Metz had considerable influence, as did discussions in Latin America on European (and North American) theology (see Hoffmann, *Glaubensbegründung*, FTS 36, 1988).

b) Concept of Liberation. In the sense in which it became common parlance, following a book by Gutierrez (1971) that was its first structured manifesto, *liberation* has a fourfold meaning. 1) The term alludes first of all to the Exodus, in other words, the idea of a salvation achieved within history, whose content may be expressed in terms of the disappearance of social evils and the construction of a just society* here on earth (Miranda 1974, Assmann 1976). Liberation theologians have taken great pains to prove that Jesus*’ preaching* did not abandon this Old Testament theme

in favor of a “faith*” whose “inwardness” might obscure social and political needs. 2) It assumes a theory of secularization*, borrowed in part from European and North American thinkers (F. Gogarten, H. Cox), that defines it as liberation, itself defined as the negation of all alienation. 3) Next, it assumes that this process of liberation will be multiplied by the destruction of capitalist society and the appearance of a classless—in other words, just—society. 4) Finally, it assumes an idea that derives from Rahner* (e.g., “Theologie der Freiheit,” *Schr. zur Th.* 6, 215–37): in every person there exists, as a sign of his or her receptiveness to God*, an a priori tendency to free the self from all natural or societal constraints.

c) Relationship with Marxism. No liberation theologian is Marxist in the strict or orthodox sense of the word, and most owe to L. Althusser an (inexact) interpretation of Marx (*see* Marx* 4) that enables them to dissociate the supposedly “scientific” aspects of Marxism from its supposedly purely “metaphysical” aspects. At any rate, all are indebted to Marxism (and to Hegel* by way of Marx) for a dialectical vision of history in which no progress is conceivable without struggle (Segundo 1973–74; there are parallels in Dussel’s liberation *philosophy*, 1985). They maintain, moreover, that it is possible to take the side of the oppressed, violently if need be, without compromising the Church’s mission, insofar as the oppressors behave in a clearly “idolatrous” way. Finally, they take a central theme from Marxism: that of the “priority of praxis,” making theology into either a reflection of Christian praxis or a Christian commentary on a theoretical consideration of political praxis (Gutierrez, Segundo; philosophical groundwork in C. Boff 1987).

The views of liberation theology on the question of revolutionary violence* are not unanimous. Most authors refuse to identify the peaceful revolution* preached by Jesus with the revolution demanded by Marxism. The latter is held to be justified in some cases, and the traditional theory of the just war* is often invoked to justify it. Sometimes, too, Jesus’ opposition to violence is played down, on the basis that the historical conditions of proletarian revolution did not yet exist in his time (Segundo).

Once Marxism and socialist revolution ceased to be the paramount subjects of debate in Latin America, in particular after the failure of Nicaragua’s experiment, in which liberation theology had been heavily involved (*see* Berryman 1984), the latter evolved so as to concern itself more with ecclesiological questions—the experience of the “base communities,” of course, was not without ecclesiological lessons—and more concrete political, social, and economic programs (Sigmund 1990).

d) Reactions from Rome. During the 1980s liberation theology was several times on the receiving end of criticisms formulated by Pope John Paul II and Cardinal J. Ratzinger (prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith). It was rebuked for accepting the idea that violence was necessary for the progress of history, for reducing doctrine to the mere expression (historically and culturally limited) of a religious impulse, for transforming the history of the church into a simple by-product of relations of production, for accepting the concept of class struggle and taking sides in that struggle, for identifying the poor in the Bible* with the victims of capitalism, and finally, for making the theologian into an “organic intellectual.” A work by L. Boff (1982) crystallized Rome’s anxieties and led to his being disciplined. In it the author defended an ecclesiology* of a conciliarist character (conciliarism*) and called for a redefinition of papal supremacy (Sigmund 1990). Boff was reproached above all for offering a political reading of theology (as opposed to a theological reading of politics); for constantly opposing “charisma” and “power”; for seeing the present structure of the church as an obstacle to the proclamation of the gospel; and for applying Marxist categories to the relations between clergy* and laity, accusing the former of appropriating the means of spiritual production and depriving the latter of them. However, John Paul II did not discourage the Latin American bishops, who at Puebla (1979) reiterated and amplified the declarations they had made at Medellin. Then in 1988 the encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* offered acceptance to themes originating in liberation theology: while defending the “right to economic initiative,” it also defended a “preference for the poor.”

Going beyond the use of Marxist theories, it may be noted that liberation theology is first of all astonishingly *modern* in its relativistic approach to the metaphysical, mythical, doctrinal, and mystical dimensions of Christian experience*, and often reveals the influence of liberal Protestantism* upon the Latin American intelligentsia. While liberation theology is frequently criticized for its collectivism and its utopian ideals, it is rarely remarked that it often still lacks a conception of religious and Christian acts which fully integrates their social meanings. The influence of Rahner means that the liberation theology is still somewhat tempted by the belief that the content of revelation* is external to history and indifferent to its concrete manifestations—and thus peculiarly insensitive to historical and dialectical processes that are held to be all powerful in a social order considered a priori as secular. An insufficiently perceptive approach to the links between sociohistorical exteriority and religious interiority explains why it took a long time for liberation theology

to concern itself with ecclesiology and a specifically theological doctrine of social realities.

Nonetheless, it should be added that right from its first manifestos, usually misunderstood, liberation theology had the means to avoid the pitfalls into which critics saw it falling by the sheer force of theoretical gravity. So, for example, in the work of Gutierrez, to whom we will give the last word: "The growth of the kingdom is a process that is historically fulfilled in liberation, insofar as the latter signifies a better realization of mankind, which is the precondition of a new society. But it goes further than this: because it finds fulfillment in historical events that bring liberation, it exposes their limits and ambiguities, announces its full accomplishment and in effect impels it to total communion. We are not dealing with an identification. Without liberating historical events, there can be no growth of the Kingdom" (1971).

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See also Catholicism; Liberty; Market Economics, Morality of; Marx, Karl; Property

Liberty

A. Systematic Theology

The Christian concept of liberty was essentially developed through a confrontational relationship with Greco-Roman antiquity, in particular with the ancient concepts of necessity (*anagke*) and destiny (*moira*). Paul integrated liberty into the Christian message, as the perspective of salvation*.

1. Concepts

In linguistic terms, Greek initially had an adjective *eleutheros*, "free," which referred to a man who did not depend on any master; *eleutheria*, "liberty" in the philosophical sense, was eventually derived from this. The Latin term *libertas* was understood in the same sense, and in Rome* there was certainly never any notion of guaranteeing individual civil rights. The words *free*, *liberty*, and *liberate* were linked above all to the

polis (city*) as an urban entity, and to the status of citizen.

Starting with the philosophical usage of the term, we may distinguish a series of concepts of differing content. First, the Greek word *ekon* (related to "autonomous"), referred to individual liberty and signified that a man is not subject to, or bound by, any external power. Second, Socratic liberty consisted in "doing what is best" (Xenophon) and found its most fitting characterization in the principle of autarky (*autarkeia*), or self-sufficiency. Third, Aristotle understood man as a being capable of making choices, and therefore interpreted liberty as freedom of choice (*proairesis*), by contrast with the will (*boulesis*). Fourth, Augustine* distinguished *voluntas*, a fundamental faculty of human beings, from freedom of decision (*liberum arbi-*

trium). Finally, since Kant*, liberty, as a transcendental reality, has been linked with the faculty of acting spontaneously, outside any external determination (causality as liberty, liberty as autonomy).

As for the Christian concept of liberty, it has a double meaning, with reference to “divine liberty” and “human liberty.” It is the task of every type of Christian theology* to determine exactly what relationship can bring these two meanings together.

2. Divine Liberty

a) *The Bible.* No detailed conception of liberty appears in the Bible. The Greek notion of *eleutheria* has no exact equivalent in the Old Testament, yet God’s liberating action* is attested throughout its text. Liberty never appears independently of such divine action, and is therefore always to be understood as liberation. Since the departure out of Egypt constitutes the symbolic act of birth for the people of Israel*, the Exodus provides the central reference for the biblical idea of liberty: “I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery” (Ex 20:2). In Deuteronomy, God’s liberating action appears for the first time by contrast with juridical or profane uses of the word (Ex 21:8, 21:30), and within the theological category of redemption (*pdh*, meaning “to set free” or “to liberate”: Dt 7:8, 9:26, 13:6, 21:8, 24:18; Mi 6:4): “You shall remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the Lord your God redeemed you” (Dt 15:15). The decisive factor here is that Israel understands God’s intervention as an act of power for which there can be no corresponding human compensation. Finally, the witness of the prophets* connects the salvation of the people, associated with the desired end of the exile, with the definitive liberation of the last day (Is 35:10 and 51:11; Jer 31:11).

Liberty also appears as God’s liberating action in the New Testament. The coming of the kingdom*, in the life, death, and Resurrection* of Jesus*, may be interpreted entirely as a free decree and free gift from God. In Jesus Christ, God reveals the plan of universal salvation by which, through his unfathomable, free, and gracious will, he has destined human beings to enter into communion* with him (Eph 1:3–14). In this regard, the family of words *eleutheros*, *eleutheroo*, *eleutheria* are used in the New Testament to express no more than a part of the history* of God’s liberating action toward humanity. Thus, we see in Paul’s writings the development of an outline of a theology of liberty in which liberty appears as a gift from Christ* (Gal 5:1 and 2:4). Liberty is probably not a truly crucial concept in the Pauline corpus, yet it does have a concep-

tual function. Paul’s idea of liberty, which he understands as a salvific universal good*, attests to the gratuitous character of salvation, which frees humanity from all powers, including the power of death* (Rom 8:2, 8:19, 8:21). Liberty thus acquires an eschatological dimension.

b) *Early Church to Contemporary Theology.* In the course of their debate with Greek philosophy* on the subject of liberty, the theologians of the patristic period based their arguments exclusively on the biblical conception. It was first and foremost from a theological perspective that they developed the theme of liberty. Irenaeus* took a decisive step in Christian thought when he established that God alone is absolutely free, that he has “by himself, freely, and on his own initiative, made and ordained all things, and that his will alone is the substance from which he has drawn everything” (*Adv. Haer.* II, 30, 9; see IV, 20, 2). In the writings of the Greek theologians, divine liberty is rooted in the omnipotence of God the Creator, who integrates reconciliation and redemption in a unique plan of salvation.

Augustine, by contrast, thought of liberty as the bestowal and power of God’s grace*. This was followed in Western theology by speculations on God’s will that were to shape conceptions of liberty. Thus, to begin with, Thomas* Aquinas related God’s will to his intellect: God’s will is his essence, which has total liberty to act effectively (*CG* I, 72; I, 73). Next, nominalism* provided the pure outline of a theory of God’s unconditional liberty. Hence, in the writings of William of Ockham and others, while the determination of God’s will depends entirely on *potentia absoluta*, a divine power that is limited to ordaining purposes (*potentia ordinata*), its absolute lack of any limitation is an authentic theological and metaphysical mystery.

Luther*, in his debate with late medieval theology and humanism, rediscovered the biblical theme of liberation and placed God’s grace at the heart of his salvific action. The idea of liberty was thus entirely absorbed into the overriding theme of justification*. God alone has freedom of decision, which is exclusively “a divine name” (*De servo arbitrio*, WA 18, 636). This idea is expressed still more clearly by Calvin* (*Inst.* III, 19, 1).

Following on from German idealism, in particular as expounded by Hegel* and Schelling*, as well as from the philosophy of Kierkegaard*, it fell to Barth* to give God’s liberty a central place in recent Protestant theology. Barth defines “the being of the living and loving God” as “his being in liberty,” and thus repositions the question of liberty as an aspect of the definition of the divine essence; as a result, Barth is

able to perceive the origin of God's liberty in his grace and love* (*KD* II/1, 340, 394). Eberhard Jüngel drew on Barth for his meditation on God's being in his coming into the world, from a Trinitarian perspective, and on the basis of his self-determination as love. Within Catholicism*, Karl Rahner* has discussed the subject of the essence of the transcendental God as an occasion in a "forgiving self-communication" of God that "must be understood as an act of supreme and personal liberty" (*Grundkurs des Glaubens*). Consequently, it has become possible to expound the classical doctrine of grace in the form of a doctrine of liberty. This approach has also been taken up within liberation* theology, which proposes a radical identification between God's action, in its history alongside humanity, and the abolition of the unjust structures that weigh down upon human communities.

3. Human Liberty

a) *The Bible*. Human liberty is not explicitly addressed in the Old Testament: humanity is subject to the power of God, who alone can deliver humanity from slavery and captivity. Emphasis is placed on the contrast between slave and free man, with the result that human liberty is hardly ever evoked except in the context of the freeing of slaves (Ex 21:2, 21:5; Lv 19:20, 25:10; Dt. 15:12 f.). It is also primarily in this juridical and social sense that liberty appears in the New Testament (1 Cor 7:21, 12:13; Gal 3:28, 4:22; Eph 6:8; Col 3:11).

Nevertheless, Paul is also capable of interpreting this contrast between slave and free man in a christological and eschatological sense, thus opening up a new and specifically Christian perspective that was to have a profound influence on the concept of liberty: "For he who was called in the Lord as a slave is a freedman of the Lord. Likewise he who was free when called is a slave of Christ" (1 Cor 7:22). Within the Christian community, those contrasts that prevail in the world* are abolished: the slave "called in the Lord enjoys the same rights as the free man. As an eschatological good, the gratuitous gift and bestowal of Jesus Christ (Gal, 5:1, 5:13, 2:4), liberty is universal. For the Christian called by Christ, liberty takes on a concrete form as liberty in relation to sin* and the power of death: "We know that our old self was crucified with him in order that the body of sin might be brought to nothing, so that we would no longer be enslaved to sin. For one who has died has been set free from sin" (Rom 6:6–7). It is, however, the work of Christ alone, and humanity plays no part in it at all: "having been set free from sin, you have become slaves of righteousness" (Rom 6:18). As a human being is freed from the

power of sin, so liberty appears ultimately as liberation from the law* and from any piety based on works* (Rom 7:5 f.). This does not, of course, imply arbitrary judgment or licentiousness, for love is the law of liberty (Rom 13:18; Gal 5:14). Liberated by Christ, Christians receives the Spirit in faith* and thus become free human beings (Gal 3:14), because they accomplish God's will.

b) *Early Church*. Early Christian thinkers attempted to establish a fitting relationship between divine grace and human liberty by finding a balance between the tradition of Greek philosophy, biblical texts, and the proclamations of the church. Clement of Rome linked human behavior to God's commands, thus making a connection between liberty and the love due to God. According to Irenaeus, human beings can participate in the perfect liberty of God provided that they opt freely for God and for self-integration into the order that he has created (*Adv. Haer.* IV, 34, 2). Clement of Alexandria and Origen* emphasized the free decision (*proairesis*) of human beings, to the point of accentuating the antinomian nature of liberty. Eastern patristics reached its final summit in the thought of Maximus* the Confessor, who associated human liberty, conceived as self-determination, with divine grace in the work of divinization (*theosis*) of humanity. Human beings, whose will tends toward salvation, attempt in their liberty to develop the seed of goodness that they carry within themselves (*Ambigua ad Iohannem* 7; PG 91, 1081–84). Liberty is thus presented as a process of assimilation (*homoiosis*), a realization of God's image (*eikon*); and the principle of liberty has been inscribed within nature since the creation* (*Amb. Io* 42; PG 91, 1345). It is in their movement of love toward God that human beings are realized as human (*Amb. Io* 45; PG 91, 1353).

c) *Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. The question of the relationship between divine grace and human liberty was explicitly conceptualized for the first time in the dispute between Augustine and Pelagius (Pelagianism*). Augustine, drawing on his experience of an unmediated encounter with God, turned away from the Eastern vision, centered on the history of salvation, and put the emphasis on the primacy of the will (*voluntas*). For Augustine, the will is the fundamental faculty and active principle in the spiritual nature of humanity, and it exerts itself as free will in the act of deciding (*De spiritu et littera* V; *De libero arbitrio* I, 12, 26; II, 19, 51; III, 3, 7). Since, in the final instance, every will is turned toward God, liberty is fulfilled in decisions for or against what is demanded of the will. Consequently, evil* proceeds only from the free will

of human beings, and to the extent that the will is consciously turned away from God (*CD* XII, 6). God gives the will its importance by inclining human beings to love him. Human liberty thus finds its fulfillment in the capacity given to the sinner to love God. Liberty is so fundamentally connected with divine grace that human beings appear to be incapable of winning this grace by themselves, and can do no more than receive it (*Re tractationes* II, 1).

From Augustine onward, the theme of Christian liberty was always discussed in terms of an unbreakable dialectical relationship with grace. Within early Scholasticism*, Anselm* of Canterbury helped to elaborate a definition of liberty that went beyond Augustine's conception in a fundamental sense: for Anselm, the freedom of the will is defined on the basis of its end, designated by reason* and freely chosen by the will (*De libertate arbitrii* III). Finally, Thomas Aquinas investigated the metaphysical bases of liberty. Because the source of liberty is in God himself, human beings fulfill their liberty by attaching themselves to God; indeed, in each of their actions, liberty is implicitly related to God, and it thus takes on its material form in the concrete decisions of the will (*ST* Ia, q. 83). The voluntarism* that Aquinas thus laid the foundations for was developed later by John Duns* Scotus; William of Ockham reprised his approach without going beyond it.

d) Reformation. The problem of liberty cropped up in the dispute over what free will is capable of in itself, in the face of the salvation that comes from God. The humanists saw Luther's doctrine of justification as a mortal threat to human liberty. Erasmus* understood free will as "the effective action of the human will that permits human beings either to attach themselves to that which leads them to eternal salvation, or to turn themselves away from it" (*Discourse of Free Will*). Obscured by sin, yet not extinguished by it, the will is corrupted; but the grace that remits this sin makes the will free once again to open itself up to eternal life*, and sustains it constantly in its effort (*ibid.*). Luther, replying to Erasmus, declared that, on the contrary, he relied entirely on Christian revelation*. In the confrontation between God and human beings, it is absurd to speak of free will: "for if I can obtain grace through my own effort, what need is there for the grace of Christ?" (*De servo arbitrio*, WA 18, 777). It is certainly not the case that the human will does not exist; but it is so corrupted that it cannot do anything other than "those things that are contrary to the will of God" (WA 18, 709). Following Paul, Luther maintains accordingly that human beings are justified only by God's grace, independently of their works.

However, Luther occasionally speaks of human liberty in positive terms. In his view, it is the fruit of the liberation effected by Christ: it therefore arises from faith, and signifies that the Christian enjoys sovereign liberty and is subject to no other person. When faith is combined with charity, human beings discover the liberty of becoming slaves, bound by love to their neighbors: in this sense, Christians are servants zealously subject to all (*Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*, WA 7, 21). Faith in justification gives Christian liberty the capacity of being exercising as spontaneity.

e) Modern Times. A purely human conception of liberty, intended to be affirmed and delineated in contrast to Christian liberty, has emerged in modern times. This fundamental will to liberty expresses the ethical demand of the era, defined in an exemplary fashion by Kant. The idea of human liberty thus finds appropriate expression in the concept of autonomy: liberty is the capacity to determine oneself as a being endowed with reason. Against the idealist interpretation that Fichte and Hegel developed later, Kant shows that human beings can represent liberty to themselves only as the untraceable origin of their unconditioned self-realization (*Critique of Practical Reason* I, §6). In this sense, the principle of autonomy serves to bring to light a logic of absolute obligation inherent in human liberty, which for Kant also constitutes the foundation of human dignity (*Fundamentals of the Metaphysics of Morals*).

Since contemporary human rights ethics* is organized on this foundation, Christian thought, if it is to be topical, can be asserted only through a fertile dialogue with the modern concept of liberty that has been developed on the basis of such rights. Christian liberty must be capable of being expounded as the promise* contained in God's grace, and that grace as the advent of a meaning that does not annul human liberty, but fulfills it. For Christianity, the dignity of the human person, and therefore the liberty of that person, are grounded in the grace that calls us to supernatural communion with God.

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See also **Anthropology; Grace; Justification; Sin, Original**

B. Moral Theology

a) Christian Liberty. In the New Testament, it is chiefly through the Pauline epistles that the question of liberty is addressed (but note significant occurrences in James and John 8). The term appears in the synoptic Gospels hardly at all. Yet contemporary interpretations of Jesus*'s message that relate it especially to expectations of Israel*'s renewal (e.g., E. P. Sanders) warn us against putting too much weight on this terminological divergence. The Old Testament has its own vocabulary for speaking of Israel's liberation, for example, *redemption* or *salvation* (see 1 Macc 4:9–11). The kingdom* of God was a social transformation that must loosen the hold of the powers, political, demonic, moral or natural, that held Israel in bondage. Thus, the "sons of the kingdom" are free from taxation (Mt 17:26); a "daughter of Abraham" is "loosed" from her infirmity (Lk 13:12). Political liberty ("salvation from our enemies") was included in the "putting away of sins" for which Israel looked (Lk 1:71 ff.). This gave Christian understandings of liberty psychological as well as political elements. Here, it found a certain affinity with the Stoic paradox that "every good man is free" (Philo), which made liberty into a moral reality, although Christian thought never discounted its social aspect, something Stoics tended to do.

A perennial observation of political philosophy* distinguishes two sorts of liberty: "negative" or "formal" liberty, and "positive" or "material" liberty. The first is the slave's dream of overcoming constraint, the second is the condition for self-realization, the ideal of the aristocrat. The one lacks any goal other than the removal of restraint upon choice; the other requires no act of negation to bring the goal of self-realization within view. Both these ideas have a theological value: the first, because the imprisoned cannot free themselves entirely on their own (see Lk 4:18), so that it would be false, from a Christian point of view, to ad-

mit no need of deliverance, in the name of positive liberty alone (Jn 8:32–36); and the second, because liberty is not only an escape from constraints but an entrance into a new life (Gal 5:1), a life of liberty that has its own law* (Rom 8:2; Jas 1:25 and 2:12). A purely negative liberty would afford no stability, but would open the way to enslavement. A paradoxical dialectic thus aligns the liberty of the believer with a "slavery to righteousness" (Rom 6:18). The notion of freedom as untrammelled will (Aristotle, *Pol.* 1317 *b*: "to live as one likes") is rejected for something closer to the Roman republican ideal: "to be a slave of the laws...in order to be capable of being free" (*legum servi...ut liberi esse possimus*, Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 146). That the service of Christ* is perfect liberty became a patristic commonplace (e.g., Ambrose* of Milan, *De Spiritu sancto* 44, 60). It could claim antecedents in Seneca (*De Beneficiis*, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*), as well as in Paul.

Life in liberty is a life available for others, even, paradoxically, "to serve" others (Gal 5:13). It is social, not solitary. Much of the polemic about liberty in Christian history has been concerned, therefore, with the "liberty of the church*" (*libertas ecclesiae*), the self-ordering of the Christian community in sole obedience to its Lord. In the modern period, theological ideas of liberty have clashed with contractarian ideas of a state of nature in which the individual could be considered as free from all social commitments. Rousseau's famous dictum in *The Social Contract* that "man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains" seems to be a direct echo of Ambrose's formula, *ut qui nascimur in libertate moriamur in servitute* ("in order to be born in liberty, we die in slavery," *Ep.* 7, 32), but the sense is opposite. For Ambrose, man was born into a state of liberty, but the Fall has deprived him of it. Yet within the social bonds of the Church, the individ-

ual is a free partner, the member of a brotherhood. The sign of individual liberty is baptism*, undertaken singly and voluntarily by each believer, the ambiguities surrounding infant baptism notwithstanding. Without the community, the believer could have no focus for this act of self-determination; without the believer's act, the community would not know itself as a community of liberty. In the Church, distinctions are abolished (Gal 3:28; Jas 2:1 ff.). The natural structures of social order remain in place, however, and this opens the way to the idea of a free obedience, of wife to husband, child to parent, and so on, which is rendered intelligible within the context of mutually serving love (Col 3:18 ff.; Eph 5:21–6:9; 1 Pt 2:12–3:7).

Obedience is key in monastic life (monasticism*), but it is not always free of danger. Losing its dialectical relation to liberty, obedience can be presented as abnegation of personal judgment, since one submits oneself to the judgment and authority of another (*ambulantes alieno iudicio et imperio*, Reg. Mag. SC 105–7 7; see Reg. Ben. SC 181–86 5). By contrast, the idea of liberty in the Holy* Spirit (2 Cor 3:17) contributed to the formulation of the idea of democracy* in Europe. The Pentecost experience (Acts 2:18), interpreted in the light of Joel's oracle that men and women slaves would prophesy (Jl 2:28 ff.), was one of liberty of utterance for every believer, not confined to any order of ministry. The New Testament term *parrhesia* (Acts and John especially) refers to the liberty of speech born of confidence, especially in the proclamation of the gospel.

b) Slavery. The early Christian attitude to slavery has often been a matter of controversy, not because the facts are in doubt but because the interpretation of them is complicated. Ever since the great debate over the abolition of slavery in the 18th and 19th centuries, there has been a distinct idea of slavery as an institution that could be present in, or absent from, any given society, and that could be challenged on its own terms, apart from other economic or social practices. Such an idea was lacking in early Christianity. The dependence and subjection in which a slave was placed were seen as comparable to other forms of dependence and subjection, such as that of women, children or subjects. All of them reflected what early Christians took to be the core reality of subjection, namely the moral and psychological impotence of sin. Their talk about slavery was more wide ranging than ours and more fluid, passing easily from one manifestation of dependence to another. Their vocabulary lacked a clear distinction between “servitude” and “service,” encouraging a tendency to paradox. Where moderns are tempted to accuse early Christians of evading the real point about slavery, they

could be imagined to reply that moderns take formal economic and legal structures too much at their face value, thereby falling into an unhistorical abstractness that is sometimes not free of self-righteousness, given the forms of dependence that persist in the modern social world.

Presented with the propositions that are supposed to have defined ancient slavery, such as that the slave was a property of his master (*Lex Aquila*, 286 B.C.), or that friendship was impossible between slave and free, early Christians never hesitated to deny them categorically (e.g., Gregory* of Nyssa, *In Eccl. Hom.* 4 SC 416). In this, however, they merely associated themselves with positions taken by the Stoics on this subject (Stoicism*, Christian). The Stoic paradox that every good man is free, and every bad man a slave, was intended as more than a psychological truth* metaphorically expressed; it was meant to expose a social reality underlying legal appearances. Common humanity bound slave and free together in equality; to refuse to respect human nature was to fall victim to delusion (Philo, Seneca). Sociolegal slavery was an unreal fiction that had no purchase except on the mind enslaved to passion*. The legal sphere of bodily slavery lay beneath serious philosophical notice.

Christians attached themselves to this approach, adding distinctive arguments. Slave and master alike were servants of Christ, or “freedmen” of Christ. As such, their relation to each other was determined by a higher obligation that each owed independently. It had to be reconceived, therefore, in terms of free mutual service. While the formal roles remained the same, the content was changed. The slave who saw his master as a brother recognized him as one to whom he was bound in trust and love (1 Tm 6:2); the master conscious of his own slave status recognized in his slave one who had a right to his “justice and equity” (Col 4:1). Slavery to Christ excluded slavery to human beings; this conviction could support an ambition on the slave's part for emancipation, but it at least demonstrated that one could heed Christ's call to liberty in any condition of life (1 Cor 7: 20–23). The major difference between Stoic and Christian approaches was that liberty took a concrete form in the church, where social barriers were broken down. Within that context, Paul refused to acknowledge any legal obligation to return the fugitive slave Onesimus to his master, while claiming the authority to require Philemon to renounce the right of punishment that Roman law accorded him (Phlm 4–20).

The assertion that the church knew no distinction between slave and free was maintained in the patristic era (Lactance, *D.I.* 5, 16, SC 204 and 205; Ambrose, *Ev. Luc.* 9, 29, SC 45 and 52). The rite of manumission could be performed with legal effect before a bishop*,

at least after Constantine's legislation of 321. Emancipation was praised as an act of mercy*. Yet the integral role of slaves in the agrarian economy made slaveowning inevitable, and in the fourth century churches as well as lay Christians owned slaves. Preachers urged humane treatment, including the protection of the sexual dignity of slaves and the integrity of their marriages*. Access to the monastic life was open to slaves without their masters' permission; the same principle, however, was not maintained in relation to ordination*. There was a deep reluctance to take any step that might result in someone's becoming a slave (Augustine, *Ep.* 24, BAUG 46 B); yet it was recognized that there were worse plights into which one suffering from economic calamity or war* might fall. The conception of slavery as being, like all other forms of subjection, a providential discipline of God (providence*) for punishing sin formed the basis for a later denial that slave status could be inherited (Wyclif, *De dominio civili* I, 32–34).

The disappearance of slavery in Europe (effective in most regions by the end of the 12th century) has sometimes been credited to the influence of Christian criticism (e.g., Leo XIII). While Christian attitudes were a significant factor, an essential precondition was the evolution of alternative economic patterns. The re-

appearance of slavery in the colonial context was based on Roman law*, which permitted the enslavement of captives in war, reinforced in some humanist circles by Aristotle's doctrine of "natural slavery" (race*), which theologians denied.

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See also **Democracy; Religious Freedom; Society**

Lie. See **Veracity**

Life, Eternal

Belief in eternal life is a key element of the Christian faith*. In the Church*'s oldest documents, the Apostles' Creed ("I believe in...the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting") and the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople ("I await the resurrection* of the dead and the life to come"); indeed the expression "eternal life" seems to be associated with "Credo" and "amen," and appears as an epithet for God* him-

self. Indeed, knowledge* of God and sharing in eternal life nourish one another. From the standpoint of the eschatological realities (purgatory*, hell*, heaven), eternal life corresponds to heaven (or "paradise"). On a biblical as well as a theological level, statements of faith concerning the beatific* vision, the resurrection of the dead and the kingdom* of God demand a consideration of eternal life. This calls into play both

the collective and individual dimensions of eschatology*.

1. Biblical Sources of the Theme of Eternal Life

a) Old Testament. In the Old Testament, God is the Living Being above all others and the source of life (Psalms 36, 10). If he withdraws his breath, creatures return to dust (Ps 104:29). Eternal life is thus an exclusive property of God (Dt 32:40; Dn 12:7). While not in direct opposition to time*, eternity* (*'olam*)—which, incidentally, is very rarely attributed to God—denotes a life that encompasses all time, from the furthest past to the most distant future. In the Garden of Eden man could have tasted immortality (the “tree of life” in Gn 2:9), but as a result of his disobedience he was subjected to death*, just like every other earthly creature. The idea of an eternal life following the sleep of death in Sheol* does not appear until late in the Old Testament. For that we have to wait until the “apocalypse” of Isaiah (Is 26:19) and especially Daniel: “Many of those who sleep in the dust will wake, some for eternal life, others for opprobrium, for eternal horror” (Dn 12:2).

b) New Testament. Even though the concept of eternal life may already denote a form of earthly life, the New Testament unquestionably proclaims it as a promise* for the hereafter. In other words, it interprets the mystery* of Christ*, who in his death and Resurrection* abolished the law of sin* and death, as a promise made to all humanity.

- 1) As for what lies beyond death, Jesus’ clearest statements before he “returned to his Father*” are to be found in John’s Gospel: “There where I am, you will be also.” (Jn 14:3); “Eternal Life, it is for they who know you, you the only true God, and he whom you have sent, Jesus Christ” (Jn 17:3). According to Paul, faith* in Christ implies faith in an eternal life: we should be the most wretched of people if we put our faith in Christ only for the duration of this life (1 Cor 1:9). “For now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face” (1 Cor 13:12).
- 2) However, in many New Testament passages, eternal life is not only the object of a hope* for the hereafter, but is already anticipated for all those who have a share in God’s reign. In the Gospels especially, the terms “eternal life” and “God’s reign” are practically interchangeable. One enters the kingdom of God as one enters eternal life (*see* Mk 9:43 ff.; Mt 5:20, 19:29, 25:34). John establishes close connections be-

tween eternal life and the Word* of life received in faith (3:15, 3:36), the Eucharist* (6:54), and brotherly love*: “We know that we have passed death in life, since we love our brothers” (1 Jn 3:14).

- 3) The New Testament concept of eternal life belongs essentially to a doctrine of salvation*. Because humanity is under the yoke of sin, there is no continuity between earthly life and eternal life. Paul interprets the existence of a human being saved by grace* and glorified (Rom 5:8, 5:21, 6:22) as a new creation*. By faith, the believer already shares in the life of the risen Christ, even if it is not yet clear what he really is. By way of baptism*, the believer’s life is a death and a burial with Christ (Rom 6:3f; Gal 2:20; 2 Cor 6:9), as well as a complete participation in the life of the risen Christ: “I live but it is no longer me, it is Christ who lives in me” (Gal 2:20). This new life, which is a promise of eternity, remains nonetheless “Hidden in God with Christ” (Col 3:4).
- 4) Finally, the New Testament uses a variety of images to illustrate the hope of a joyful eternity. The image of heaven itself is the first, and as in the Old Testament denotes “the abode of God.” The concrete images of the meal and the wedding feast (Lk 22:29 f.) deserve particular emphasis. In the New Testament the basic elements of human existence, bread (John 6), water (John 3) and wine (John 2), take on an anticipatory symbolic value. Eternal life is described in the Apocalypse as a celestial liturgy* in which the elect will take part in the eternal wedding of the Lamb* (19:6) in a new heaven and a new earth (19:6 ff.).

2. Historical Landmarks

Belief in eternal life has been unceasingly taught by the Fathers* and the church’s dogmatic* tradition. And, since the latter cannot proclaim eternal life without using whatever cosmological images are current at the time, the progression which led “from the closed world to an infinite universe” (A. Koyré) is also reflected in the history of theological doctrines.

The Fathers and the doctors of the Middle Ages, who in their theory of final destinies employed a cosmology hardly different from that of the Bible*, acknowledged (as an inadequate creed and with constant reference to Augustine*’s formula *Ipse Deus post hanc vitam sit locus noster*, “It is God who will be our place after this life”) the existence of “places” surrounding the world. Eternal life was thus associated with a “place,” heaven, located above the sky, by contrast with hell, which was situated beneath the earth, and

purgatory, which was considered as an intermediary. When man, who is composed of a soul* and a body whose union was the work of the Holy* Spirit, died, his soul was supposed to separate from his body. While the latter decayed in the earth, waiting to be brought back to life by the soul on the last day, the soul appeared before God. If the soul had believed and acted according to the principle of charity during this life, it entered heaven immediately to enjoy eternal beatitude*, which was the Love that repaid love. If it had not believed in this sharing to come, and had gone astray, it was cast into hell, there to undergo eternal punishment. At the end of time, when Christ returned and the world came to an end, the general resurrection would ensue and souls finally reunited with their own bodies would be able to love God without hesitation or anxiety, just as they were loved by him.

Having discovered the infinite nature of the universe and the difficulties that follow from it, the modern period has ceased to assign a location to the hereafter, even symbolically, since it can no longer recognize the existence of “places” beyond the world. Because of its biblical origin the vocabulary of places continues to be used, but the images of a “heaven” beyond the firmament and a “hell” have tended to disappear in favor of states or modes of being. So recent theologies* of the “history of salvation” (particularly in the work of Protestant thinkers such as O. Cullmann) define the hereafter in chronological terms. Three successive stages are distinguished, corresponding to earthly life, the sleep of death, and the resurrection:

- 1) From birth to death, the eternal life promised in Christ’s Resurrection has already begun, but has not yet triumphed over death.
- 2) After death a second period begins: the believer has escaped the mortal state but is not yet alive with the definitive life of the kingdom; since immortality is not a property of human nature, the just await Christ’s return, living with him in a kind of sleep (like the just of the Old Testament in Sheol or the “bosom of Abraham”).
- 3) The third period corresponds, finally, to the coming of God’s kingdom, where God will be “all in all.” It coincides with the resurrection of the dead for an eternal life of blessed communion* with God.

Contemporary theology also has an existential current, which in eschatological terms tends to remove the hereafter from a cosmological and temporal framework. So, while the differences are respected, this world and the hereafter, the present and the future, must be considered as simultaneous. For R. Bult-

mann* eternal life is not linked to a place or a time to come, but is rather a quality of Christian existence. The person who lives by faith in Christ has already died and risen. (“You are resurrected with Christ himself and by him,” Col 2:12). And without denying an eternal life after death, a writer such as Tillich* considers it an inexpressible reality: the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the bold image of the “spiritual body” constitute a set of symbols that can evoke it, but nothing more.

3. Theological Consideration

a) Concept of Eternal Life. Whereas the Platonist tradition conceives access to eternity as a natural return to immortality beyond death, Christian thought sees eternal life as a free gift, a sharing of divine life. Thus it is not a return to a former life, but a new creation, a life totally renewed and received from God. It responds to spiritual death on a more profound level than freeing people from biological death; and between man’s earthly life and his eternal life there exists the same distance as exists between the animal (psychic) body and the spiritual body of which Paul speaks (1 Cor 15:42 ff.). This is an imperfect comparison, however, inasmuch as the concept of human life denotes, as a single whole, both the carnal and the spiritual dimensions of existence. So, insofar as man defines himself in terms of spirit and liberty*, eternal life expresses the fulfillment of the moments of eternity that man already experiences in his earthly life; but insofar as he is spirit present in flesh, it conveys the fact that this fulfillment is inconceivable unless it is the whole man, body and soul, who receives an eschatological vocation from God.

b) Time and Eternity. Eternal life denotes something more than an endless duration, something that could be conceived entirely outside the context of salvation. On the contrary, the concept of eternal life is meaningful only in relation to the mystery of sanctity* and blessed life which is the very mystery of God—the mystery, that is, of a “living” God. Scripture, moreover, envisages the possibility of an “eternal death” (Jn 5:29) that is the opposite, not of earthly life, but of eternal life. And while it is a free gift offered to those whom Christ’s death and Resurrection have justified, eternal life is not a reward that comes as it were from the outside, without respect to the spiritual destiny of the faithful. These axioms, then, make it impossible to define eternity in terms of the absence of time. On the contrary, the eternity promised to humanity “occurs in time as its proper fruit, come to maturity” (Rahner*). While immortality merely denotes the emancipation of

temporality and the endless continuation of a spiritual existence, eternity is a part of the history of human destiny and brings it to perfection. It is the visitation of earthly time (*chronos*) by “vertical” time (*kairos*—that is, the irruption of God’s grace*) that enables the former to give birth to eternity (*aiôn*). In order to suggest that eternal life is not alien to our temporal destiny, Scripture and theological tradition frequently employ symbols of unending joy. The beatific vision*, for example, evokes the kind of rapture we experience when confronted with beauty*; and the metaphor of the wedding anticipates the bliss that humanity will enjoy in communion with the exchanges of the three divine Persons* in a Trinity* whose life is itself supremely joyful.

c) Eternal Life and Historical Responsibility. A remarkable feature of the modern period is the nominal Christian, who confesses the God of Jesus Christ without believing in the promise of a hereafter beyond death. This attitude is in part a reaction to a certain type of Christianity, historically dated, that linked the expectation of another world to a devaluing of life in this world (the “valley of tears”) and to the refusal of historical responsibility. Thus Christian salvation, reduced to a matter of the individual sinner’s reconciliation with God, was understood first and foremost as a remedy for the mortal finitude intrinsic to the human condition. Faced with this confusion between the condition of a sinner and that of a created being, however, Christian eschatology objects that the created state, far from being an evil to be overcome by obtaining eternal life, is on the contrary a promise of eternal life. Eternal life does not impose meaning on this present life from without. Far from being experienced as a means of escape, the hope of eternal life gives the history of human liberty, and the ethical choices that determine an eternal destiny, their whole value.

d) Communion with God and Personal Identity. By eternal life we mean the culmination of a communion with God that is begun in this life by participation in the risen Christ. “Your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ, your life, appears, then you will also appear with him in full glory” (Col 3:3 f.). And while it is a communion with God, eternal life cannot be properly conceived without an awareness also of the promise of a new communion between human beings in the image of the life of the Trinity, this latter being understood as a perfect communion of divine Persons as completely united as they are wholly distinct. The “heaven” of popular devotion and the “eternal life” of theology both refer to the perfect fulfillment of the Church in coincidence with the kingdom of God. As the concept of the resurrection of the

dead expresses (better than others), the personal identity of each individual will be preserved for all eternity. Nonetheless, the relationship of communion between the elect, freed from the limits inherent in the spatiotemporal condition and the obstacles entailed by the sinner’s withdrawal into himself, will attain the greatest possible transparency. Glorified alongside the Father, the blessed will take part in the celestial liturgy of the sacrificed Lamb*; and the faithful who pursue their earthly pilgrimage are already a party to their intercession (the communion of saints). In the same way that the communion between the elect does not do away with their personalities and therefore the relationships of otherness between them, of *I* and *Thou*, so the sight of God does not bring about the dissolution of the glorified subject like a drop of water in the ocean of divinity. The elect merely participate in God’s eternity and in his knowledge of himself. They remain creatures “before God” in adoration and praise. The divinization of man coincides with the culmination of his personal destiny. There is certainly a knowledge of God “face to face” (1 Cor 13:12), but God does not cease to live in an “inaccessible light” (1 Tm 6:16). And it is precisely because the eternal life of the blessed is nothing more than a sharing in the eternity of God himself that it is not absurd to maintain, as does the Latin tradition, that there are levels of beatitude measured by the degree of charity shown in this life; and that there is a progression in the discovery of God’s unfathomable mystery—a living eternity that therefore cannot turn into an eternal boredom.

e) Disparity between Eternal Life and Eternal Death. Eternal life is intimately connected to Christ’s victory over sin and death—it is a promise of eternal bliss. It is not easy to see, therefore, what an eternity of woe might involve. However, some scriptural texts do envisage a kind of resurrection, or, more accurately, survival of woe (see Mt 25:31–46; Jn 5:29). The Book of Revelation, moreover, introduces the idea of a “second death” (2:11; 20:14), which in contrast to the first and temporal death is an eternal death, and thus the opposite of eternal beatitude. It is clear that the resurrection of the dead coincides with a judgment* that may lead to eternal damnation (Mt 25:46). This possibility has to be upheld, since without it, the free decisions made by human beings would lose their infinite seriousness. At the same time, however, care must be taken not to put the assertions of eternal life and eternal death on an equal footing. Certainly, the church’s official theology has always refused to incorporate apocatastasis* into its official doctrines and foresees the possibility of eternal woe for some. It is advisable, therefore, to maintain the discretion that the subject of the “last

things” demands, while preserving an asymmetrical approach. In other words, because of the victory of God’s merciful grace manifested in Jesus Christ, the church proclaims ceaselessly that all the just who have died in Christ will obtain eternal life; but, as far as the eternal perdition of a specific number of sinners is concerned, the church does not consider itself qualified to make an equivalent pronouncement.

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See also **Beatitude; Death; Eschatology; Eternity of God; Kingdom of God; Resurrection of the Dead; Vision, Beatific**

Life, Spiritual

I. Definitions

The term *spiritual life* is relatively modern. Earlier ages seem to have used both words in a much more restrictive sense than in modern usage. Life, in the sense of “way of life” (Greek *bios* or *politeia*), could hardly be characterized so generally as to apply to all Christians, although the expression “way of life belonging to Christians” (*ho bios ho Khristianon*) is found (Clement, *Paedagogus* 1, 13). There was, however, a wealth of terminology used to characterize the pursuit of monasticism: “single [literally: monadic] life,” “godlike life,” “angelic life,” “philosophical life.” The term *spiritual*, if used at all, tended to refer to the clergy. In its modern use, the expression *spiritual life* shares many of the determinants of the expression *spiritual* theology*: a vagueness as to dogma* and the sacraments*, combined with a sense that what is important about religious profession is the manner of life. Such appeals to “spirituality” suggest disillusionment with the traditional categories of theology, and a

yearning for some deeper meaning to life, characterized by the “spiritual.” It is legitimate to explore what resources Christian reflection can offer for such a quest, without yielding to its exclusions.

As with *spiritual theology*, *spiritual life* may be analyzed from two distinct points of departure, depending on the way in which one understands *spiritual*. This term can refer to the Holy* Spirit, or to the spiritual element (*pneuma*) in human beings. The latter point of departure leads down a path much trodden in the world in which Christianity first developed, for it is based on philosophical analysis of the person*. Since the text of the Bible* read by Christian circles (as by earlier Hellenistic Jewish circles) was that of the Septuagint (ancient translations* of the Bible), they regularly used *pneuma* to refer to spirit, instead of the more normal Greek *nous*. However, the equivalence remained: the spiritual life, the life proper to the *pneuma* (*bios pneumatikos*), was therefore the life that is proper to the *nous*, the contemplative life.

II. Scriptural Foundations

Both the word *pneuma* and the Hebrew word *rouach* that it translates have the original meaning of “breath” or “wind,” and have the meaning of the life that God* breathed into the first human beings (Adam*). The spiritual is the life that is a gift of God: this life is not just a series of natural processes (although there is no suggestion that it does not include these), but something given by God, which will return to him after death* (Eccl 12:7). Spirit is something powerful, in contrast to the frailty of flesh: it is this contrast between the powerful and the frail that is implied in the well-known contrast between spirit and flesh, not the contrast between the immaterial and the material (Is 31:3).

The spiritual life in this sense is a life lived in dependence on God: a life exemplified by the prophets*, and also by the “poor,” for whom in their poverty the only source of strength is God (*see* the use of the term *poor* in the Psalms*, esp. Ps 71 [72], 81 [82], 108 [109], and 131 [132]). The “poor in spirit” whom the Lord blesses are those who have no source of strength save God (Mt 5:3).

I. New Testament

This notion of spiritual life, a life lived in communion* with God, is developed in the New Testament as the life that grows out of faith* in Jesus Christ.

a) The Kingdom of God. In the synoptic Gospels, this life is spoken of in terms of the kingdom* of God, the coming or imminent presence of which Jesus* proclaims. Life in the kingdom is life in accordance with God’s will, a life in which barriers among human beings, and between human beings and God, will have been broken. Several sayings of Jesus, and also his response to the repentant thief (Lk 23:42), suggest that the kingdom (and life within it) become reality as a result of the Crucifixion, in which these barriers are finally broken down (something symbolically suggested in the rending of the Temple* veil: *see* Mt 27:51 and par.). It is perhaps for this reason that in the main theological traditions of the New Testament, the notion of the kingdom of God is displaced by the notion of the life that Jesus has released: “eternal life” in the Johannine tradition, “life in Christ” in the Pauline tradition.

b) Eternal Life. For John, eternal life is a present reality in this world, in communion with Jesus; but it is a present reality that transcends death, because of the power of Jesus’ Resurrection*. To enter into eternal life it is necessary to be “born again” (Jn 3:3), to be

born of “water and the Spirit” (Jn 3:5), an evident reference to baptism*. Possession of eternal life is dependent on a eucharistic eating of the body and blood of Christ (Jn 6:56): “Whoever feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him. As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father, so whoever feeds on me, he also will live because of me. This is the bread that came down from heaven.... Whoever feeds on this bread will live forever.” Eternal life, for John, is synonymous with knowledge* of God: “And this is eternal life, that they know you the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent” (Jn 17:3)—eternal life is thus mostly contemplative.

c) Life in Christ. Paul’s understanding of life in Christ is the same, but he expresses it in different language. Entry into life in Christ still takes place through baptism, but, whereas John sees baptism in terms of rebirth, Paul sees it primarily in terms of sharing in Christ’s death and Resurrection (Rom 6:3 f.): “Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life.” This imagery of death and resurrection does not apply simply to our initiation into this life, but to our continuing in it: Paul speaks of “carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies” (2 Cor 4:10). Participation in the Eucharist* is a means of sharing in this life (1 Cor 10:16 f.): “The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ? Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread.” Paul brings out how life in Christ is essentially life in the Church*, and that participation in the Eucharist constitutes belonging to the Church, which is the body of Christ. This sacramental life in the Church is also characterized in terms of the Spirit: within the Church, the Spirit dispenses his gifts, which are different for each member, but to all are forms of love (agape). However, the Spirit is still more intimately involved in the living of this new life in Christ. It is the Spirit who realizes our status as adopted sons and daughters of the Father, brothers and sisters of the Son. It is through the Spirit that we can make our own Jesus’ way of addressing God as “Abba” (an intimate, though not familiar, form of address); it is the Spirit that overcomes our frailty and enables us to enter into a communion with God that transcends anything human (Rom 8:26 f.): “Likewise the Spirit helps us in our weakness. For we do not know what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit him-

self intercedes for us with groanings too deep for words. And he who searches hearts knows what is the mind of the Spirit, because the Spirit intercedes for the saints according to the will of God.” This Trinitarian (and cosmic: *see* Rom 8:19–23) understanding of life in Christ as a life of prayer* through the Spirit is a powerful illustration of the way in which reflection on the spiritual life can issue in dogmatic clarification.

d) Fruits of the Spirit. One feature of the spiritual life as depicted in the New Testament is that it is not simply seen in terms of the perfection of human life. The Christian lives a life that is not his own. As Paul puts it, “I have been crucified with Christ. It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me” (Gal 2:20). The virtues* of the Christian life are therefore not something that we can develop by ourselves, but something that blossoms within us. So Paul speaks, not of virtues, but of the “fruits of the Spirit”: “love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control” (Gal 5:22 f.). Similarly, love, in which is summed up the essence of the Christian life according to the command of Christ (Mt 22:37 and par.), is presented by Paul as the greatest of the gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor 13).

2. Imitation of Christ

Imitation* of Christ, as modeling one’s life on the features of Jesus’ earthly life, is not such a prominent feature in the New Testament and the early church as would later become. Imitation of Christ *is* an ideal, but more as following Christ, or imitating what was involved in the Incarnation* of the Son of God. When Jesus speaks of giving his disciples an example (Jn 13:15), it is that they should “wash one another’s feet”: that they should love one another (Jn 13:35). When Paul speaks of the example of Christ that Christians are to imitate, it is the example of Christ in his becoming human and accepting the human lot—“though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that you by his poverty might become rich” (2 Cor 8:9)—or his humility in becoming man (Phil 2:5–11). The example of Christ to which Peter* appeals is that of innocent suffering in his passion* (1 Pt 2:21–25).

In all these cases, instead of a model against which one measures oneself, Christ is presented as an example, in the following of whom one shares in his grace*: “in order that you by his poverty might become rich”; “work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who works in you” (Phil 2:12, immediately following the hymn to Christ’s *kenosis**); “by his wounds you have been healed” (1 Pt 2:24). In following Christ, one is tracing the movement of God’s coming down to the level of

the human in order to raise the human to the level of the divine: Christ as an example is not that of an exemplary man, but of God living a human life. All these ideas are merged in the prayer of Ignatius of Antioch, when he begs the Christians of Rome* to let him, in his coming martyrdom*, be an “imitator of the passion in my God” (*Rom.* 6:3).

III. Martyrdom

This plea by Ignatius holds together two themes that have been powerful in shaping the Christian understanding of the spiritual life: martyrdom and deification. Although persecution was by no means systematic imperial policy during the first centuries of Christianity, it was a perennial threat, and most early Christian communities experienced persecution at some stage. Martyrdom thus became the ideal of Christian living: not that all Christians expected to become martyrs (and they were discouraged from courting martyrdom), but that all Christians were expected to live such a life that, if they were faced with the choice between apostasy or death, they would choose martyrdom. The martyr became the archetypal saint, that is, one who fulfilled what was potentially the vocation of every Christian, who in baptism had been called to be holy.

The accounts of martyrdom (the *acta martyrum*) became the earliest form of hagiography. A strong apocalyptic sense pervades them: the Christian martyr (like the Jewish martyr before him) is seen as fighting on the front line in the war between good* and evil*. The persecuting power of the Roman state is only the tool of cosmic powers of darkness, which are the real enemies of the martyrs. The martyrs are soldiers of Christ, on active service, and all Christians are seen as being in training for this struggle. The language of warfare and athletic contest is used to describe the Christian condition (*see*, notably, Eph 6:10–17; 2 Tm 4:7 f.; Heb 12:1 f.; 1 *Clement* 5, 1; Ignatius, *Polycarp* 1, 3 and 3, 1). Already in the second century, there developed alongside the challenge of actual (“simple”) martyrdom, the ideal of spiritual (or “gnostic”) martyrdom (*see* Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* IV), which is manifest in “the perfect work of love” (*ibid.*, IV, 4, 14, 3).

When, with the Peace of the Church, martyrdom ceased to be a threat, the ideal of martyrdom was fulfilled by the growing popularity of monasticism*. The monk stepped into the martyr’s shoes: monasticism became a seedbed for holiness* and preserved the sense of living in the last days, on the brink of the final struggle between the forces of good and evil. Monasticism thus came to replace martyrdom as the ideal of the spiritual life.

IV. Monasticism

1. Monasticism As the Archetypal Form of Spiritual Life

Within monasticism, there developed a rich understanding of the spiritual life. The idea of struggle with evil powers, with demons*, was inherited from the concept of martyrdom, and is a prominent feature of the early monks, the “Desert Fathers.” A great deal of reflection was devoted to understanding the nature of demonic warfare. Alongside this, however, there developed an understanding of the spiritual life as the development of the spiritual in the human, which drew on the resources provided by classical philosophy. The notion of the eight temptations—in its later Western form, the seven deadly sins* (asceticism*)—is part of this development. Although monasticism might seem a specialized and minority form of Christian life, from the fourth century onward it was held up as the exemplary form of Christian life, working out in a strikingly clear form ideals that applied to all Christians, whether monastic or not. According to John Chrysostom*, those who live in the world*, although they have wives, must live the same life as that of monks (*Hom. 7 on Hebrews*). The contemporary Orthodox Church still holds that there is no essential difference between the requirements of the monastic life and those of life in the world.

2. Stages of the Spiritual Life

Within monastic circles, there developed an understanding of the spiritual life as the fulfillment of the new life implanted in baptism, although monastic conversion—the turning from the world to join the monastic community—was seen as the practical starting point. It was a life with a beginning, a middle, and an end, and notions of development, or of stages, were readily applied to it.

a) Spiritual Growth. The analogy of human growth was widely used, with a progression to eventual spiritual maturity, although the idea of growing out of spiritual infancy was not readily entertained. Closely associated with the notion of growth was the theme of the spiritual senses (spiritual theology), their discovery, reawakening, and use. The idea of progression in the spiritual life as a journey was also common. This journey was often seen as making one’s way back to paradise, or as an ascent: these two themes were often associated, since paradise was often thought of as a mountain. The spiritual life was also seen as a passage from earth to heaven (the monastic life was regularly called the “angelic life”), by a ladder, as dreamed of by Jacob (*Gen 28:12*) and alluded to by the Lord (*Jn 1:51*).

b) Pilgrimage. The one who embarked on this journey was a pilgrim, *peregrinus*, an alien who was no longer at home where he was sojourning. The radical dispossession that lies at the heart of the monastic life was readily evoked by the imagery of the pilgrim, who travels light and has no time for nonessentials. Sometimes the spiritual journey became a literal journey, as with the Celtic monks whose detachment from the world took the form of tireless traveling. Already by the sixth century, the heyday of the Celtic *peregrinatio*, others saw such wandering as a form of self-indulgence, and a way of escaping any discipline: Saint Benedict thought them the worst kind of monks and called them “gyrovagues.”

c) Spiritual Ladders. Ladders became popular as images for the spiritual life in monastic circles. The longest chapter in the *Rule* of Saint Benedict (chap. 7) discusses the “ladder of humility.” Unusually, the discussion concerns the construction of the ladder, and not just its ascent: the sides are our body and soul*, and the rungs the degrees of humility. These 12 rungs give a good idea of the essential qualities of the monastic life, as Benedict saw it. They are: fear of God, lack of self-will, subjection to the superior, patience with the difficulties and contradictions involved in obedience, confession of sins and thoughts to the abbot, being content with the meanest and worst of everything, sincere inward humility, strict adherence to the *Rule*, silence, abrogation of laughter, brief speech when necessary, and external humility in one’s behavior. There is no progression, as such, in this list: they are all ways of establishing and preserving humility and obedience, the essential virtues of the monk. Having made this ladder, the monk will be able to ascend it and come to that “perfect love of God that casts out fear.” Six centuries later, Bernard* of Clairvaux expounded Benedict’s ladder in his treatise *De Gradibus Humilitatis et Superbiae* (On Degrees of Humility and Pride), making it much more a ladder that traces an ascent, from humility through love to contemplation*, and complementing it with a ladder of pride that leads from curiosity by various stages to contempt of God. In the East, the most influential monastic “ladder,” *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, which is read in Orthodox monasteries each year in the course of Lent, is that attributed to John of Sinai (seventh century), of whom we know nothing save his having written this work, for which he is usually named John Climacus, or John of the Ladder. This is very much more elaborate than Benedict’s ladder, with 30 rungs to his 12, and is clearly arranged in a progression, leading from the break with the world (renunciation, detachment, exile), through the fundamental virtues needed for the monas-

tic life (obedience, penance*, remembrance of death, sorrow), to a detailed analysis of ascetic struggle, with all its temptations, a struggle that bears fruit in the virtues of simplicity, humility, and discernment. Having reached this stage, the monk is able to engage in contemplation, and to progress from stillness (*hesukhia*) through prayer and dispassion (*apatheia*) to love.

d) The Three Ways. Rather simpler than the ladder is the division of the spiritual life according to the three ways. In the later Western terminology, these are the three ways of purgation, illumination, and union. Although similar ideas can be traced back at least as far as Origen*, they first clearly emerged as a triad in the writings of Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite (early sixth century). For Dionysius, this triad of purification, illumination, and union (or sometimes perfection) is valuable in expounding the operation of the sacraments and the ministers of the sacraments. This remained the case in the Orthodox tradition, as can be seen from *The Life in Christ* by Nicolas Cabasilas (14th century). God, through the sacraments, overcomes the effects of the Fall by purifying and illuminating those human beings who respond to his call, and leading them to union. The sacraments are central to this process, as is the sacramental community, which itself imitates a process typified in the celestial hierarchy of angelic beings. In the Western tradition, the triad was interiorized and individualized: it is a threefold path leading from a state of sin and alienation from God to a state of union with him. The purgative way is concerned with the overcoming of vice and the fostering of virtue. It takes place in response to God's call, but consists of practices that are within human control. It is a matter of acquiring self-control and openness to God. The prayer characteristic of this way is vocal prayer, and meditation on Scripture and the truths* of the faith. On the illuminative way, there is growing experience of the grace of God. The soul is now settled in virtuous habits, and meditation yields to stillness as the mind is opened to the illuminating effect of divine grace (this stage is sometimes called "prayer of quietude"). This leads ultimately, for some at least (spiritual theology, III 2 b), to the way of union, where the soul comes to contemplation, that is, a simple openness to God in which the soul is filled by grace and united with God (prayer*, V 2 b). Unlike in Pseudo-Dionysius's use of the triad, where these three phases, even though they are progressive, allow for overlap, the Western "three ways" impose a more rigid progression. Instead of a continuous synergy between the soul and God, as in the Eastern conception, there is a movement from apparently purely human activity to

purely divine activity that is theologically unsatisfactory. Despite these limitations, the definition of the three ways trodden by beginners (the purgative way), proficients (the illuminative way), and the perfect (the way of union), attained almost canonical authority in the West from the High Middle Ages until the 20th century.

e) Spiritual Direction. According to Father de Causade (1675–1751), "God still speaks today as he spoke in earlier times to our fathers, when there were no directors and no methods" (*L'abandon à la providence divine* 25). Although Causade envisaged a golden age when God revealed himself directly, without any need for spiritual* direction, the institution of spiritual fatherhood is in fact very ancient. Paul himself speaks of being a father to those whom he has brought to the faith (1 Cor 4:15). Spiritual fatherhood is perhaps first clearly glimpsed in the Christian tradition in the *gnostikoi* of Clement of Alexandria (see *Quis dives salvetur*; Which Rich Man Shall be Saved 31–34): it lies behind his characterization of Christians as *nepioi* ("little children") throughout his *Paedagogos*, and the qualities of a *gnostikos* are the subject of *Stromata* VII. However, the institution of spiritual fatherhood coincides with the growth of monasticism in the fourth century. The Desert Fathers were the pioneers of monasticism, but they also fulfilled an important role in relation to the society* that they had rejected, as sources of spiritual wisdom* and guidance. Many of the stories about them concern people who come to ask them for personal guidance: "Speak a word to me." Within the monasteries themselves, especially in the East, one of the basic relationships into which the monk entered was that which he had with his spiritual father or *geron* (elder). A monk would regularly visit his *geron*, not simply for confession but for the revealing of his thoughts, and strict obedience to his *geron* was required. The *geron* was a senior monk (or nun), and not necessarily a priest*. This institution continued and even underwent periods of revival, notably in 19th-century Russia, (where the *geron* was called a *staretz*), and in Byzantine and Slav monasticism. A similar role, although much more closely related to the sacrament of penance, was found in the West.

There are two fundamental documents about the nature of spiritual fatherhood: the letter called "The Shepherd" by John Climacus (often printed as chap. 31 of his *Ladder*); and the first *Letter* of Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022). From these closely related works there emerges a rounded picture of the *geron*, who is held to fulfill in relation to his spiritual children the role of physician, counselor, intercessor, mediator—which entails, especially for Symeon, personal

experience of the grace of the Spirit—and sponsor, that is, one who assumes responsibility for, and bears the burdens of, his spiritual children (see Gal 6:2).

V. A Way of Affirmation?

The dominance of monasticism in reflection on the spiritual life has given the traditional account of this life in Christianity a markedly ascetic turn. It is a way of detachment, of dispossession: in short, a way of negation. There have, however, occasionally been attempts to construe the spiritual life affirmatively, to see it in terms of attachment and the enjoyment of created things. An example of this can be seen in the priest and poet Thomas Traherne (c. 1636–74), especially in his prose meditations *Centuries of Meditation* (first published in 1908). For Traherne, attachment and the fulfillment of desire are positive principles in which we reveal our likeness to God (*Centuries* I, 44 f.): “You must want like a God, that you may be satisfied like God. Were you not made in his image? He is most like God that is sensible of every thing. Did you not from all eternity want some one to give you a being? Did you not want one to give you a glorious being? Did you not from all eternity want someone to give you infinite treasures?” It is significant that such a way of affirmation develops its own ascesis, since selfishness deprives us of enjoyment. Such a way of affirmation, explicitly called such in contrast to the way of negation, is sketched out in the works of the Anglican lay theologian Charles Williams (1886–1945), who was probably influenced by Traherne, and is also explored by T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) in *Four Quartets*, especially “East Coker” and “Little Gidding.”

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See also Asceticism; Contemplation; Mysticism; Prayer; Spiritual Theology

Liguori, Alphonsus. *See Alphonsus Liguori*

Limbo

The classical Latin word *limbus*, meaning “border,” has come to mean both the Old Testament Sheol* from which Christ delivered the just from the Old Covenant* and that part of hell* inhabited by children who have died unbaptized (baptism*).

a) *Limbo of the Fathers.* There is theological consensus about the eschatological destiny of the just who have died before the Resurrection* of Christ. “Paradise” and “hell” are christological realities that could not exist before the salvation* of the world has been realized. The eschatology* of Israel* was valid until Easter: the dead survived in Sheol; or again, they rested and were “carried by the angels to Abraham’s bosom” (Lk 16:22). But since the salvation bestowed by Christ also applies to those who did not know him, the icon of Easter Saturday represents the Son of God* breaking down the gates of Sheol to open the kingdom* of God to the just of the Old Testament, to whom a verse from 1 Peter 3:19 says that he went to preach (*ekèruxen*). The “limbo of the Fathers” was therefore deeschatologized. It is now nothing more than a superseded reality. Bonaventure* specified that the limbo of the Fathers really was an infernal place, but that it was a hell in which, paradoxically, hope* lived (*Commentary on the Sentences*, IV, Dist. 45, Art.1, Q. 1).

b) *Limbo of Children.* Gregory* of Nyssa devoted a treatise to children who had died prematurely, Ephraim placed little children in his paradise, but it was not until the advent of Augustine’s theology* of original sin* that the fate of children who had died unbaptized became a topic of urgent theological concern. In the terms chosen by Augustine*, the question had only one possible answer: children who had died without baptism were damned. In 418 the anti-Pelagian Council of Carthage formally ratified this theory. “If anyone says that the Lord said ‘in my Father’s house are many rooms,’ (Jn 14:2) in order to make us understand that in the kingdom of heaven there will be an intermediary place—wherever it is situated—where will live as blessed the children who have left this life unbaptized, without which sacrament one cannot enter the kingdom of heaven, that is, life eternal, let him be anathema. For, since the Lord said ‘unless one is reborn of water and the Spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of

God’ (Jn 3:5), what Catholic will doubt that whoever has not deserved to be the co-heir of Christ belongs to the Devil?” (*DS* 224).

Once this thesis was accepted, it became necessary to decide on the infernal punishments reserved for these children. They could have chosen an extremist position, which consisted of dooming these children to the “tortures of the fires of hell” as did the Pseudo-Augustine in *De Fide ad Petrum* (PL 40, 774). A middle position was also available, and—along with Augustine himself—that position prevailed. It entailed reserving for those children the gentlest punishment* possible: “The punishment of those who have added no sin to the one they contracted originally will indeed be the gentlest of all” (PL 40, 275). The chief movement in medieval Latin theology would thus endeavor to diminish the infernal tortures incurred by children who had died unbaptized. The accepted solution came from Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* (II *Sent.*, Dist. 33, C. 2): the punishment they had to undergo was that of *damnus*, an everlasting banishment from the beatific vision*, and they did not undergo the punishment of the senses—that is, the physical tortures endured by the damned in their resurrected bodies.

In 1201 Pope Innocent II stated what became the accepted opinion. “The punishment undergone as a result of original sin is the deprivation of the vision of God. The punishment undergone as a consequence of actual sinning is the torture of everlasting Gehenna” (*DS* 780). Henceforth, since a new word, *limbo*, existed, the concept of an intermediary place, which had been condemned by the Council of Carthage, could in fact be traced. Thus, regarding the children in limbo, Bonaventure confirmed that “in some ways they hold the middle ground between the blessed and those who suffer eternal damnation” (*Commentary on the Sentences*, II, Dist. 33, Art. 3, Q.1). It would be only a step to conceive, as did Thomas* Aquinas, the notion of a limbo that was in fact a place of natural beatitude* (*Quaestiones Disputatae de malo* 5). That notion would be taken up again by Duns* Scotus (*Commentary on the Sentences* II, Dist. 33).

Faced with these theological elaborations, the magisterium*’s formal statements showed less zeal to know and to describe. The Council of Florence would define the disparity among the torments of Hell

(DS 1306). In opposition to the Jansenist Council of Pistoia, Pope Pius VI emphasized that the existence of limbo was not a “Pelagian fable” (DS 2626—the only formal document in which limbo is mentioned by its name). By the end of the Middle Ages, the question of the fate of the children who had died without baptism had ceased to center on the certainty of their damnation, and theology as a whole endeavored thenceforth to envisage the conditions for their salvation.

Durand de Saint-Pourcain (c. 1275–1334), J. Gerson (1363–1429), and then Cajetan (1469–1534) developed a theory destined to influence all future discussions: the intercession of the parents would in fact amount to a “desire for the sacrament*” (*votum sacramen*). Karl Rahner* would specify that the “Church’s desire” (*votum Ecclesiae*) is allied with the “parents’ desire” (*Schriften zur Theologie* 2:7–94). H. Schell would propose an interesting hypothesis: the death of unbaptized children would be the equivalent of a quasi-sacrament insofar as, like Christ, they do penance* for sinners (*Kath. Dogmatik* III:2, Paderborn, 1893, 478). One point at least seemed to have been gained: even if it was still possible in 1972 for Jacques Maritain to propose an imperturbable readoption of the theory of Thomas Aquinas, today the limbo of the children hardly exists anymore outside the domain of historians of Latin theology.

• a) Limbo of the Fathers

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b) Limbo of Children

- V. Bolgeni (1787), *Stato dei bambini morti senza Battesimo*, Macerata.
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See also Descent into Hell; Life, Eternal; Salvation; Vision, Beatific

Literary Genres in Scripture

Before belonging to the biblical field and to the history of exegesis*, the concept of literary genre derives from the field of universal literature and more precisely suggests the idea of comparative literature. By its very nature, any literary genre—any “category of literary or artistic work defined by a group of rules and common characteristics” (Larousse, 1987)—runs through literatures separated in time and space and is thus recognizable wherever it may be found. In this sense it derives

from the principle of classification, with its requirements for signposts and relative stability in its conception. In its theoretical development, the notion of literary genre and its system of categorization or classification have their roots in Plato (*Republic* III) and Aristotle (*Poetics*). Closer to our time, in Goethe (*Notes and Remarks for the East-West Divan*), that is, in our cultural sphere, the universalism of the notion has been relativized. But whatever the theories, the

definition of genres also belongs to spontaneous common practice: for example, in sorting the mail or reading the daily newspaper, where in one case we spontaneously recognize and distinguish a bill, a death announcement, and a love letter, and in the other, an editorial, a weather report, and a news item. Sometimes confused with literary form, literary genre has, however, been fairly clearly distinguished from form in the history* of the last two centuries and particularly in the history of biblical exegesis.

Marked by the school of the history of forms (*Formgeschichtliche Schule*) that emerged in Germany in the early 20th century, whose indebtedness to Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) must be mentioned, the concept of form is more dynamic than that of genre (*Gattung*). It is used to “designate the literary aspect of a particular Gospel element, but also, and even especially, the various transformations undergone by the materials that were transmitted in the early church* between the death* of Jesus* and the composition of the first written Gospel*—in this sense the term is almost synonymous with *formation* (“Formes, méthode de la critique des,” *Encyclopedia Universalis, Thesaurus*, 1996, col. 1316). Two exegetes were influential in this development: Martin Dibelius, with *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen, 1919), and Rudolf Bultmann*, with *Die Geschichte des synoptischen Tradition* (Göttingen, 1921).

There is, however, an organic link between the two concepts, even if it is sometimes difficult to specify, because the sense of each term varies depending on the literary critic or the biblical exegete.

In some ways, critical biblical exegesis, beginning in the second half of the 18th century and pursued most vigorously in the course of the 19th, considerably overloaded the concept of literary genre because of the truth* that was at stake, particularly the historical truth implicated in the reading of the Bible. The reliance on distinctions, and hence on the diversity and multiplicity of literary genres, is closely dependent on questions that the reading of the Bible raised for modern rational and critical consciousness. This explains the suspicion that such a reliance incurred on the part of ecclesiastical, and particularly Catholic, authorities* in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, until it was accepted and even recommended by Pius XII in his encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943).

In the biblical framework we can distinguish three possibilities for the determination of literary genres: by explicit designation in the biblical text, by implicit definition, and by the more or less extrinsic contribution of an exegesis, properly speaking, of the text. Explicitly designated are, for example, the parable*, when Jesus is said to “speak in parables” (Lk 6:39,

8:4–10); the song (Is 5:1) and the oracle in the prophets* (Am 3:10, 3:13); the psalms* (various as they are) in the collection that bears that name; the proverbs in the book of Proverbs, and so on. Implicitly defined are genres that arise from the context, such as the parable that the prophet Nathan recounts to King David whose unjust conduct he denounces (2 Sm 12:1–15); the prophecy when it is placed in the mouth of a person designated as a prophet or occasionally performing that function (Caiaphas in Jn 11:47–52); wisdom* in the books that fit into this genre. But in all these cases, subclassifications are often necessary.

It is more difficult to establish a literary genre by means of critical exegesis, an operation that can follow two methods or techniques: that of the “recognition” of a genre on the basis of other cultures in which that genre has been identified and recognized, and that of a genre peculiar to the biblical corpus, which is therefore established on the basis of the text. In both cases, even if rigorous analysis and precision are the rule, things are always relative, subject to verification or revision. It is easy enough, particularly because of the historical improbabilities and narrative exaggeration, to recognize, for example, the characteristics of the tale in the books of Jonah and Judith, following the laws of the genre in any literature, as long as we specify that it is an edifying genre appropriate to the biblical context. On the other hand, it is more difficult to speak of myth* or mythic narrative* with reference to the first four chapters of Genesis, for example, or to the gospel accounts of the infancy of Christ* (Matthew 1–2 and Luke 1–2), even if it is possible to recognize in them mythic elements characteristic of the ancient Near East. At this point the culture of the exegete enters into play. He has seen the concept of myth vary over the course of almost two centuries between the Hellenistic legacy, conceptions of ethnography, and the history of religions, psychoanalysis, and biblical studies themselves. This determination is also complicated by the fact that, in the Old Testament corpus (from Genesis to 2 Kings) and in the Gospels, literary genres designated as such are applied to elements of books taken from a historically synthesized whole that, in principle, abrogates all distinctions.

This is why literary genre cannot be reduced to the static condition of a classification, however universal and generally understood it may be. The study of the Bible, and not only the history of its exegesis, requires a constant refinement of concepts insofar as, in both Old and New Testaments, any literary element reveals a particular situation, a precise need, and a specific function. Hence, if any designation of a literary genre by the exegesis of the text always implies the possibil-

ity of a revision, it at least makes possible the discovery of the complexity of a text that is itself the product of a rich history.

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See also Bible; Book; Bultmann, Rudolf; Exegesis; Hermeneutics; History; Holy Scripture; Myth; Narrative; Parable; Truth

Literature

There are two main reasons for considering "theology* and literature." On the one hand, the sources of the theology belong to the history of literature, and theology itself belongs to the history of written language. On the other hand, literary creation can have theological relevance. This second reason has two aspects: first, a work of literature may have genuinely theological ambitions; and second, theology may attempt to interpret its concerns in the mirror of literary works.

a) The Bible As Literature. The Word* that Christianity claims to represent is set out in writings made up of many literary* genres: narrative claiming historical truth, saga, poem, proverb, and so on. Among these writings, some have literary value (Psalms, Song of Songs, etc.), some are written in awkward language (a large part of the New Testament matches this description) but possess a highly developed literary structure. Postbiblical Christian writings also fall into several categories: the language is often mediocre, but Augustine* is one of the greatest prose writers in Latin. The liturgy*, on the other hand, very early on produced numerous works, and Christian hymnography (like its Jewish counterpart, for that matter) includes some fine literary compositions. Old translations* of the Bible* are often of mediocre literary quality (e.g., the Greek of the Septuagint and the Latin of the *Vetus latina*), but the exercise has also produced great works: the German Bible of Luther*, the King James Version in English, the French Psalms of Clément Marot, and, more recently, the English Psalms of P. Levi. Among the most fruitful studies that

the biblical corpus has recently stimulated, the contributions of literary historians and theorists occupy a privileged place (e.g., Frye 1982).

b) Spiritual Literature. Spiritual, or mystical, literature abounds in fine writings in prose (*The Cloud of Unknowing*, the works of François de Sales) and verse (Jacopone de Todi, Hadewijch of Anverd, John of the Cross, the French translation of John of the Cross by Cyprien de la Nativité). We may add that major Christian thinkers (Montaigne, Pascal*) are also major writers, and that theology written in modern languages since the 16th century has included first-rate prose stylists (Newman*, the Calvin* of the *Institutes*). We should mention the apologetics of G. K. Chesterton and the theological writings of C. S. Lewis, two masters of the English language. Moreover, some theologians have chosen to use literary fiction (e.g., the novels of Newman, *Callista* and *Loss and Gain*, and the *Fragments of Tegel* by Bonhoeffer*). The literary history of religious feeling and religious thought is a very rich history, showing a large Christian contribution to the literatures of the world. Bremond's great virtue was to have demonstrated this fact persuasively.

c) Literature and Theological Intentions. Alongside works with an edifying purpose and great literary value, such as the sermons of Bossuet or the religious discourses of Kierkegaard*, there is a great deal of fiction that conveys theological themes. The purest example may be found in the fiction of C. S. Lewis or of his friend J. R. R. Tolkien. On occasion, the literary

form of the fairy tale or the science fiction story is used either to rewrite biblical events or to “sub-create” (Tolkien 1947) worlds with a history rich in spiritual teachings. In some cases, a work is theological in an anonymous or pseudonymous way (see Lacoste 1990): in Lewis (*Chronicles of Narnia*), the Christ figure is a lion named Aslan; in Tolkien, elves and goblins embody the traditional figures, angels*, demons*, and others, of Christian narratives (see Lacoste *FZPhTh* 36 [1989]). In addition to these extreme examples, the literary appropriation (or the expression in literature) of Christian themes and episodes is very widespread: Racine’s biblical tragedies, literary versions of the martyrdom of the Carmelites of Compiègne (in works by both von Le Fort and Bernanos), theatrical hagiography in Corneille’s *Polyeucte*, embellishment of a biblical episode in Victor Hugo’s “Booz endormi,” Milton’s eschatological epic; a substantial part of Western literature was written with reference to the Bible and to the history of the church*, and there is at least one major literary work that occupies an important place in theology: *The Divine Comedy* of Dante*. We might add that some works were written with this context in mind, although they had no Christian theological purpose: e.g. “Moïse” by Vigny or *Port-Royal* by Montherlant. Other works reflect a philosophy of religion*: for example, Lessing’s *Nathan the Wise*. Some works refer to the Bible while violently challenging Christianity (e.g., Kazantzakis).

d) *Literature, Images of Experience, and Creation of Languages*. Other literary works lend themselves to a theological reading because of the realities that they mirror, as well as because of the manner in which they perform that function. Whether exploring the logic of spiritual experience with Christian novelists (Dostoyevsky, Bernanos, Pater, Graham Greene, Flannery O’Connor), the logic of a wholly atheist world with novelists unconcerned with Christianity (Stendhal, Flaubert), or the logic of evil* in Thomas Mann’s *Doctor Faust*, the novel is often the best key to a theological hermeneutics of modernity. Poetry, which may take on the appearance of a confession of faith* (e.g., in Claudel and Péguy), or the expression of theological positions (e.g., the mixture of Scotism and nominalism found in Hopkins), is important in any event, because as Heidegger* says, it “makes being more present,” presents reality better than reality shows itself to us outside the mediation of language: eucharistic meanings in Hölderlin and Trakl, the feeling of praise* in Pessoa, prayer* in Rilke, repentance in Apollinaire, or a sense of the cosmos in Hugo, are all reflected in poetry. It can also, as with Celan, express human distress in the face of horror, and attempt to do what Adorno

said was unthinkable, to write poetry after Auschwitz (see Dupuy 1994). Everything can be made into poetry. Any poem, in a sense, can provoke a theological or philosophical commentary. And every poem can provide new words with which to speak of God.

e) “*Literary Theology*.” Theology’s interest in literature is recent but extensive. It has several sources and several aspects. 1) The existence of secular universities, in which biblical and Christian works are subjected to the same protocols of reading as any other work, has made it necessary to investigate the specifically literary character of the biblical sources of Christianity: the multiplicity of literary genres in the sources of Christianity has provoked, among others, structural readings and narratological analyses (e.g., Frye 1982). In the same context of secularization*, there have also been explorations of the strictly “religious” ways of reading a work (Griffiths 1999). 2) The influence of Henri Bremond (1865–1933) made possible a revision of the history of French literature, in which spiritual works receive the literary attention they deserve, and it has also made it possible to build bridges between literary and religious experience; to Bremond we may add Charles Du Bos (1882–1939), an exemplary reader of Claudel, Bérulle, Pater, and the English poets, as well as a commentator on Bremond’s *Prière et Poésie*. 3) The influence of H.U. von Balthasar cannot be overestimated and has led to the recognition that the best modern theologians were often men of letters. It was often through the mediation of Balthasar, both his books and his translations, that Hopkins, Bernanos, Péguy, and others were admitted into the club of theologians. 4) The question of language has been subjected to profound reexamination in recent philosophy* and theology, and this has led to a reevaluation of the image, metaphor, narrative—of everything that cannot be reduced to expression in strictly propositional terms. The recognition that all religious language is metaphorical (see J.M. Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, Oxford, 1985) has led to a better understanding of the language of parables*, of biblical symbolism, and of the narrative formulation of theological ideas (narrative* theology). We might also note the defense and illustration of liturgical language by K. Pickstock (*After Writing*, Oxford, 1998), an original response to the critique of “phonocentrism” by Jacques Derrida. 5) The liturgical reform that came out of Vatican* II has given rise to literary and theological endeavors: the composition of new prefaces and the translation of biblical passages for liturgical use, among other things, have led to collaborations between men of letters and theologians: the poet Patrice de la Tour du Pin, for example, was in-

volved in the French translation of Paul VI's missal. 6) At the same time, the interest taken by men of letters in theology has given rise to fruitful undertakings: the poetry of P. Levi (1931–2000), for example, attempts to speak of Christmas and Good Friday, and the poetry of C. Campo (1923–77) is saturated with Christian themes. More generally, the persistence of a poetry interested in the “religious” (Rilke, T. S. Eliot, Kathleen Raine, among others) has helped to make poetry a *sui generis* “theological locus.” 7) Finally, by developing the concept of the “world of a text,” the hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur has given us the means to link reading and existence, text and world, in a manner that has as much resonance in theology as in philosophy. Biblical* theology now has more resources than ever before to draw attention to the “habitability” of biblical texts. A new discipline is in the process of development under the combined impetus of all these factors, “literary theology,” which seeks “to demonstrate the possible opportunity for a renewal of the language of faith, not by using writers but by listening to them” (J.-P. Jossua).

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Liturgical Cycle. *See* Liturgical Year

Liturgical Year

This notion appeared in the 18th century, a period in which the West clearly distinguished secular time* from the time of religious practice. In this perspective the liturgical year designates the particular manner in which numerous Christian churches* live the time of the year and organize over its course the unfolding of their celebrations. It expresses theologically the specific style according to which Christians are aware of living within the time of salvation* unfolded by God*.

a) *Liturgical Year until the Fourth Century.* The New Testament clearly shows that, as early as the time of the apostles*, the church celebrated every Sunday*. Had it begun at this time to celebrate other days in addition to Sunday? Or did Christians first give up all the festivals customary among the Jews, and then after the apostolic age establish a Christian festival of Easter by strongly emphasizing the paschal character of the Sunday closest to the Jewish Passover? For lack of clear

indications in the New Testament, past historians tended to incline toward the former hypothesis. Today, however, it is the latter that seems most probable, although it is still not certain. In fact, it makes it easier to understand the argument over Easter that first arose within the Church of Rome at the time of Pope Victor (c. 189–200), and then caused serious conflict between the Asian churches (in Asia Minor) and the Roman Church (joined by most other churches). The Asian churches celebrated the Christian Easter on the same day as the Jewish Passover, that is, the 14th day of the month of Nisan, whatever the day of the week: hence the name *quartodecimans*. The other churches, by contrast, celebrated Easter (or had come to celebrate it) on the Sunday following 14 Nisan, and thereby established a coherence between the weekly celebration of Sunday and the annual celebration of the Christian festival of Easter. On either side, as far as we know, these churches certainly had the same celebration of the death* and Resurrection* of Christ*, the same celebration of the paschal mystery*, even if their respective approaches to Christology* and to redemption, Pauline in the one case and Johannine in the other, had a different coloration. After a while, Easter was celebrated on Sunday everywhere, including in Asia Minor.

By the second century at the latest there was a paschal vigil, with preparatory fast, which celebrated both the death and the Resurrection of Christ. By the late second century, there was a celebration on the 50th (*pentekostè*) day after Easter, a festive time whose song is the alleluia and which brings eschatological joy into the time of the church. It was not until the fourth century that there developed the Liturgy* of the paschal triduum (from the night of Maundy Thursday through Easter), the 50th day of the paschal time was celebrated as the day of the descent of the Holy* Spirit, and the 40th as the day of Ascension.

By 240 the preaching* of Origen* in Jerusalem* indicates that there was a period of 40 days in preparation for Easter (Renoux 1993). It therefore does not seem (against Talley's hypothesis) that Lent derives its origin from a fast coming immediately after the Epiphany. In any event, this time became the exclusive (or privileged) time for patristic catecheses* and for the preparation of adult catechumens for the sacraments* of Christian initiation.

b) Christmas and Epiphany. Christmas was certainly celebrated in 336 in Rome, and the festival is probably earlier than the Peace of the Church (edict of Milan, 313). It is possible that its date was set during the winter solstice to oppose the pagan celebration on that day of the birth of the sun god (the invincible Sun, *sol in-*

victus). In another part of the Mediterranean world, in Egypt, the baptism of Christ was celebrated on 6 January. In the course of the fourth century the two festivals came to be celebrated in the East as well as the West, although the gospel events commemorated did not exactly correspond. The Roman liturgy celebrated the Nativity of Christ on 25 December, and on 6 January principally the adoration of the Magi and the revelation* of the Savior to the Gentiles (and secondarily the baptism of Christ). The Byzantine liturgy celebrates both the Nativity and the adoration of the Magi on 25 December, and the baptism of Christ on 6 January. The Roman liturgy of Christmas is strongly influenced by the dogma of the two natures of Christ, as it was defined at the Council of Chalcedon*, whereas the piety of the faithful, from the 13th century onward, was gradually colored by the devotion of Francis of Assisi to the Infant Jesus in the manger, which gave Christmas an importance comparable to that of Easter.

c) Complete Liturgical Year. The celebration of Easter, on the one hand, and those of Christmas and Epiphany on the other, have since Christian Antiquity been the two high points of the liturgical year. Times of preparation or prolongation were spread around those points. In addition, and independently of the two cycles, there was the ordinary time of the year, in the course of which each Sunday was celebrated in its own right, and throughout which the Holy* Scriptures were read in the liturgy in a continuous or semicontinuous manner. Several new elements appeared in the fourth and following centuries:

- 1) The importance in the year of baptismal and monastic declarations of intent: the former considerably influenced the development of the 40 days before Easter (Lent) as well as the Easter vigil, and the latter later took on great importance in the Byzantine year.
- 2) The passage (particularly for Easter) from a celebration of the mystery* taken in its unity to a celebration, that was in a sense historical, of the detail of the events lived through by Christ. This displacement appeared in Jerusalem in the late fourth century, according to the pilgrimage narrative of the Spanish woman Egeria (late fourth century), then in the following century in the unfolding of the liturgical year in the various sanctuaries of the Holy City, as we know it from the Armenian lectionary (the fifth century Jerusalem lectionary, which was adopted in its entirety in Armenia).
- 3) An eschatological element of varying importance depending on the times and the liturgies. In

Western liturgies this was prominent in Advent, placed as much at the end of the year as in preparation for Christmas, and perhaps even more so, in the broad patristic perspective of the two advents of Christ, the first in humility and the second in glory*, that formed the framework for the time of the church. From this point of view, the theme (proposed by Bernard* of Clairvaux) of an intermediate advent in hearts and the emphasis on Christmas might make less perceptible how the history* of salvation strove toward its final end.

- 4) The beginning of the year differed in East and West, depending on particular liturgies. In the Roman liturgy it began at Christmas, and subsequently on the first Sunday in Advent.

d) In the Churches from the Reformation there was sometimes preserved, in particular with respect to the organization of eucharistic readings, a liturgical year inherited from the Middle Ages. This was the case for Anglicans* and Lutherans*.

e) The liturgical movement, which began in the 19th century, showed the importance of the liturgical year for the Christian life. Among many writers, two Benedictines warrant particular mention: in France, Prosper Guéranger (1805–75), restorer of the monastic life at the abbey of Solesmes, with his *Année liturgique* (completed after his death by Dom Lucien Fromage); in Germany, Odo Casel (1886–1948), a monk of Maria Laach, whose numerous writings emphasize the presence of the mystery of salvation in the Divine Liturgy, particularly at Easter. Their work was bound up with the action undertaken by Pope Pius X to reform the liturgical year by restoring the primacy of Sunday over saints' days.

f) The liturgical reform of Vatican II gives a prominent place to the liturgical year, which is the subject of an entire chapter of the conciliar constitution on the liturgy. This chapter emphasizes the commemoration of the history of salvation, centered on Easter, the celebration of Easter and Sundays, the baptismal and penitential aspect of the liturgical year, and the subordinate position of the cult* of the saints in relation to the commemoration of the mysteries of Christ. The implementation of this program, which included the Roman missal and the lectionary of 1970, as well as the Liturgy of the Hours (formerly the breviary) of 1971, was particularly noteworthy for a very substantial increase in biblical readings in the Mass, as the council had demanded. From now on the biblical readings would be spread over a liturgical cycle of three years. This lectionary has been very warmly welcomed in English-language Protestant Churches.

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PIERRE-MARIE GY

See also **Cult of Saints; Passover; Time**

Liturgy

Liturgy here denotes the Christian worship* considered as a whole, particularly in its historical forms and in relation to the tradition* of the church* and the rules of its discipline. Reference should be made to the article **Cult** for the theological interpretation of the acts through which human beings express their religious relationship to God*.

1. Meanings of the Word Liturgy in History; Equivalent Terms

a) The word *leitourgia*, in Christian Greek as earlier in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, had various uses, but it did not serve to designate Christian liturgy in its totality, as has become the case in the

modern West. In the Byzantine tradition the term *Divine Liturgy* became the specific name for the celebration of the Eucharist. In the West the term began to be used after the Protestant Reformation, when there was an attempt to find a neutral term permitting the avoidance of the two denominational designations of *Mass* (Catholic) and *Communion* (Protestant). In the 17th and 18th centuries *liturgy* took on a general sense among Catholics, Anglicans, and then, more gradually, Protestants* as a whole. Once this general sense was established, a series of derivative terms appeared: *liturgist* (specialist in the liturgy), *liturgical* (liturgical* year; liturgical law; liturgical science—with different connotations in the German *Liturgiewissenschaft* and the English *liturgiology*). Thereafter, the scope of reference of the word *liturgy* was expanded by reference to its etymology, which made it possible to emphasize a dimension of public service, service of the people* (*laos*) of God in its religious practice.

b) The historical equivalents are many. In the Latin Middle Ages two general terms corresponded to the modern meaning of the word *liturgy*. The first was *ecclesiastical offices* (*officia ecclesiastica*), already attested in the seventh century by Isidore of Seville, who received and transmitted the culture of late antiquity. The second term was *divine service* (corresponding to the German *Gottesdienst*). Theologians and jurists (the latter under the influence of Roman law) also used the expression *cultus Dei*, it being understood that the Latin word had, until the beginning of modern times, a very broad scope (like the French *cultiver* and the English *worship*), and that only the object (of God, divine) gave it a religious sense. The Renaissance borrowed from antiquity the expression *rites and ceremonies*, from which come expressions such as *religious ceremony*, *ceremonial*, *ritual*, and especially the use of the word *rite* to designate all the liturgical practices of a particular church, especially in the case of Eastern churches.

2. Liturgy and Various Aspects of Theology

a) *Liturgy and the Theology of the Sacraments.* Around the 12th century Western theologians distinguished within the liturgy an essential kernel made up of the seven sacraments*. In the course of the centuries that followed, this sometimes meant that the importance of the liturgy as a whole was lost sight of. Vatican* II, by contrast, attempted to restore a global vision.

b) *Liturgy and Mystery of the Church.* In New Testament Greek the word *ekklessia* designates, depending on circumstances, the local* church community or the

universal Church, or even the liturgical assembly as such. The liturgy thus must be the action of the Church (Congar 1967; Pottie 1988), an action in which, of course, roles are sacramentally diversified.

c) *Liturgy as Locus Theologicus.* This is one of the fundamental reference points in Catholic and Orthodox theology*, and it holds for the faith* of all Christians as it does for the work of theologians. In this respect Catholic theology refers to a formulation sometimes attributed to Pope Celestine I (*DS* 246), according to which liturgical prayer (prayer* III 1) expresses what should be believed: *lex orandi, lex credendi*.

d) *Liturgy and the Praying Life of the Christian in the Church.* It seems clear that there are quite profound differences in this domain between Orthodoxy*, the approach of the Protestant Reformers, and the current expression of the Catholic vision.

In the Orthodox perspective liturgical practice is closely bound to the experience* of the Christian mystery* on the one hand, and on the other, to the identity of a concrete church community, from which it has never been dissociated.

Various 16th-century Protestant Reformers attempted to distinguish what came from the New Testament from later accretions. The latter were all considered as optional, even if the manner of experiencing them might strongly color the identity of various communities.

Over the last few centuries there have been tensions in Catholic liturgical theory and practice between law*, spirituality, and sacramental dogmatic* theology. Following the liturgical movement growing out of the work of Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805–75), Vatican II and its liturgical reform sought to restore unity between spiritual life* and liturgical practice, and to resituate the experience of the church so that it would be seen less in its institutional reality than in its mystery and its sacramental reality. This movement seems often to have encountered genuine interest on the part of Protestant churches.

3. Liturgical Books and Liturgical Law

According to their conceptions of the Church and tradition, different Christian perspectives have different positions of principle on the relationship of each celebration to traditional practices and to the books used in the celebration. At one extreme there is a feeling that the books or the rules provide merely a convenient outline for the celebration as it may be organized in any particular place, and at the other a concern for conformity in the greatest detail to what is provided by custom or the prescriptions of the liturgical books. In

history* and practice, the liturgy has been performed from memory and by custom for centuries and, to a large extent, by using books, but it has gradually given an ever larger place to written material—to liturgical books and written rules—as well as to the desire to conform to the practice of the principal churches, especially those of Rome* and Constantinople. In the West liturgical books were divided first according to the role of each person (bishop*, priests*, deacons*, cantors) in the liturgy, and then, because of the growing importance of the private mass and the individual recitation of the divine office, according to complete liturgical actions (missal, breviary).

In the Catholicism* of the West the liturgical reform of Vatican II relaxed uniformity and attributed some degree of liturgical responsibility to the bishops of the various countries.

4. Liturgical Languages

In the early church the principal languages used in the liturgy were Greek, Syriac, and later also Latin. Latin replaced Greek in the Roman Church in the third and fourth centuries, and it remained for centuries the language of culture and the liturgy, even as it gradually ceased to be understood by the majority of worshippers. In the 16th century, the liturgical use of spoken languages was adopted by the Reformation churches, while the Council of Trent* maintained the nearly exclusive use of Latin in the liturgy of the Catholic Church. Vatican II left it to the bishops of the various countries to choose the languages to be used in the cel-

ebration, as has traditionally been the case in the Eastern churches.

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1)

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2)

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3)

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4)

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PIERRE-MARIE GY

See also **Architecture; Cult; Images; Music; Prayer**

Local Church

By *local church* is meant the Church present in a particular place. The definition, significance, and role of the local church have evolved in the course of history*, and differ from one Christian family to another. The universal Church is the communion* of local churches.

a) The New Testament uses *Church* (*ekklèsia*) in the singular as a name for the One Church of Christ* (Mt 16:17 f.; 1 Cor 12; Rom 12:4 ff.; Eph 4:4 ff.;

1 Pt 2:4–9, etc.), and in the singular or plural to denote the local churches: the church of God* at Corinth or Rome (1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1, etc.), the churches of Asia, or the domestic churches (1 Cor 16:19; Rom 16:3–5; Col 4:15; Phlm 2). Diversity was not simply a matter of territory: it could also be theological (pagan-Christian or Judaeo-Christian communities), or based on differing church structures. The question of the unity* of the local churches within the One Church of Christ was raised from the outset, and resolved by means of

visits, synods*, or joint assemblies (such as the “council of apostles” in Acts 15), and later by a common reference to the canon of Scriptures.

b) Within the triadic structure of ministry* instituted by the early church*, the bishop* was responsible for the local or territorial church. He was assisted by presbyters* and deacons*, to whom he could delegate some functions. In the empire under Constantine, when Christianity had become the state religion, the local church was an ecclesiastical district: there were eparchies (provinces) in the East and dioceses (from the Greek *dioikēsis*, which originally denoted an administrative region of the empire) in the West. The word *parish* (*paroikia*), at first synonymous with the local church governed by a bishop, was used to denote either the diocese or the various locations within the diocese where Christian communities lived. Alongside the diocesan local churches there began to appear the religious orders, which were not in any sense local churches, but which enjoyed an “exemption” under canon law removing them from episcopal jurisdiction*—an exemption destined to become an ecclesiological problem in the 13th century. The monasteries themselves would sometimes be regarded as *ecclesiolae in Ecclesia*, but this expression had no canonical authority.

c) Vatican* II confirmed that

A diocese is a portion of the people of God which is entrusted to a bishop to be shepherded by him with the co-operation of the presbytery. Thus by adhering to its pastor and gathered together by him through the Gospel and the Eucharist in the Holy Spirit, it constitutes a particular church in which the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church of Christ is truly present and operative. (*Christus Dominus* 11).

The terminology is certainly “hesitant” (H. Legrand 1983), since dioceses are referred to either as local churches or “regional” churches. The ecclesiological vision is clear: the diocese or local church is the place in which the Church of Christ is actualized. However, it attains completeness only in communion* with the other local churches: together they comprise the Catholic Church. Unity is maintained by the college of bishops, the pastors of the local churches answerable to the bishop of Rome*, and finally, the pope*. He has power of jurisdiction and magisterium* over the local churches, collectively and individually.

d) The Orthodox churches have a similar approach, but insist on the autonomy of the local churches. In the celebration of the Eucharist (*sunaxis*), each local church is a full expression of the one Church of Christ. The bishops ensure the unity of the local churches. A

centralized authority with power of jurisdiction exists at the level of the autocephalous churches (indeed this is what defines them), but not at the level of the Orthodox Church as a whole.

e) In Protestant* terms the local church is the parish. Wherever Christians celebrate the Word* and the sacraments* together there is a church: thus local churches are not defined in terms of the bishops, whose power was strongly contested by the Reformation. In some denominations (Anglicanism*, Lutheranism*, etc.) the overall direction of local churches is achieved by means, on the one hand, of a consensus between the direct representatives of the local churches gathered as a synod*, and by the bishops or presidents of the regional or national church structures on the other (the Episcopalian synodal system). In other traditions (for example the Calvinist tradition), such direction takes place on a synodal basis (the Presbyterian synodal system), while in yet others the autonomy of each local church or parish is central and it alone has authority (Congregationalism*).

f) The fragmentation and loss of identity of local structures in all areas of society* has not been without consequences for local churches. Alongside the geographical structure of parishes, there exist sectional communities (academic, hospital, and professional chaplaincies, Catholic Action, etc.). Shared spiritual choices give rise to new, sometimes interdenominational, incarnations of the Church. The unity of this multiplicity of incarnations of the Church is a question raised within each Christian family and between the different churches. It represents a new ecclesiological challenge, which calls for a new form of the ministry* of *épiskopē* to serve the communion of these different churches coexisting in the same place.

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Loci Theologici

Catholic theology gives the name *loci theologici* to the various fields from which theological knowledge may develop its understanding, and to the various sources it uses: Scripture, tradition*, the Fathers* of the Church, the magisterium*, the liturgy*, and so on. The problematics developed around this expression are essentially the work of the Dominican theologian Melchior Cano (1509–60), whose treatise *De locis theologicis*, published in the historical context of the Council of Trent*, enjoyed a following for several centuries and exercised a decisive influence on the history and teaching of theology.

a) Melchior Cano and the Reform of Catholic Theology. The renewal of Catholic theology in the 16th century was the result of struggles between various tendencies—Thomism*, Scotism, nominalism*, Augustinianism*—and especially of the challenge represented by the radical work of Luther*. It was characterized by a renewal of the Scholastic method in the Spanish schools brought by the return of humanism* to Latinity and classical culture, and by the weight granted to arguments drawn from the authority* of the church* (*see* the Council of Sens, held in Paris in 1528). For example, Ignatius of Loyola composed “rules to follow in order that we never depart from the true feelings that we should have in the Church militant” (*Spiritual Exercises*, Rule 11, no. 363). Spain was experiencing at that time a revival of Thomism whose most brilliant representative was Thomas of Vio (Cajetan, 1470–1534), and for which the Dominican school of Salamanca was the standard-bearer before the creation of the Society of Jesus. There, the great theologian Francisco de Vitoria (1483–1546) taught Dominique de Soto (1494–1560) and Melchior Cano. In this school the treatment of each theological question required the successive exploration of the various fields that were later named *loci theologici*. These methods, transmitted to the early

Jesuits Laynes and Salmerón, were later used at the Council of Trent.

Cano was a professor at the University of Salamanca, bishop* of the Canary Islands, and an active architect of the decisions of the Council of Trent. A contemporary historian judges him harshly: “an intellectual wrapped up in doctrine and devoted to the power of scholarly language”; “major architect of the policy of repression and the closed mind” (A. Milhou, *Histoire du christianisme*, Paris, 1992). Along with the Grand Inquisitor Fernando de Valdès, he took an active part in the Inquisition: against illuminism, sometimes against the Jesuits, and even against the Dominican Bartolomeo Carranza (confessor of Charles V and Philip II, provincial of the Dominicans, theologian at the Council of Trent, and archbishop of Toledo).

Cano, whom Gardeil calls “the founder of the theological method,” bitterly criticized decadent Scholasticism*, primarily for its lack of rigor. For example, he stigmatized those who transformed the opinions of a school into indisputable dogmas* and the contrary opinions into heresies*. Vitoria had launched a movement, and Cano was to codify it. J. de Maldonat (1533–83) was the faithful propagator of the Salamanca method of Cano and defined the ideal of theology as the union of sacred letters with the Scholastic method.

b) Sources of the Notion of Locus Theologicus. Although Cano’s work was without precedent, the key notion of *De locis theologicis* was not radically new. Cano obviously referred to the idea of *loci dialectici*, repertoires of arguments for eristic controversies codified by Aristotle in the *Topics*, on the basis of the most general notions (logical predicates: genus, species, difference, particularity, and accident). But it was less from Aristotle himself than from the *De inventione dialectica* of Rodolphus Agricola (1527), and through him the *Topics* of Cicero, that Cano drew in importing

the notion into theology. Because theology relied on particular propositions of diverse origins and because it made broad and precise use of the argument from authority, the topics of Cicero and Agricola were more applicable than those of Aristotle to a study of the principles of faith. Indeed, those principles had to be connected to one another in order to be able to reach more general conclusions.

The notion of *locus theologicus* was current at the time of *De locis theologicis*, but it designated the governing positions of theology or of a theologian, or else the commonplaces of theology, or the *loci* of the Protestant theologians (see Lang 1924, c. II, §2–3). Melancthon, for example, had written a *Loci communes rerum theologicarum* (1521, revised in 1559, *Loci praecipui theologici*). This was an exposition of the principal themes found in the heart of Scripture: the fallen human condition, sin*, justification*, faith*. The way in which Cano understood it, on the other hand, and in accordance with the spirit of the *Topics*, the notion designated the repertory of fields from which the arguments (*loci arguandi*) of the discipline of theology could be drawn. He defined them as the “domiciles of all the theological arguments, where theologians will find support for all argumentations, either to prove or to refute” (*De locis theologicis* I. III). A sketch of Cano’s doctrine had already appeared, curiously, in a speech delivered at the Council of Trent in 1547 by B. Carranza, although it is impossible to say which of the two “enemies” influenced the other. They both referred to a passage from Thomas* Aquinas (*ST* Ia. q.1. a. 8. ad 2) in which *locus* appears incidentally applied to theology, with the sketch of an enumeration. Vitoria had noted it. But it was less to this passage than to the theological practice of Thomas that Cano often referred, taking him as a model in the use (invention) of *loci theologici* (*De locis theologicis* XII. c. III). The originality claimed by Cano cannot, however, be questioned, because the systematization of theology that he proposes on the basis of the *loci theologici* is specific to him.

c) *Organization of De locis Theologicis*. Published in 1563, one year after the close of the Council of Trent and three years after the death of Cano, the 12 books (out of 14 planned) of *De locis theologicis* are presented by the author as a systematic and original work. The enumeration of the ten *loci theologici*, however, should not be considered an exhaustive decalogue (I. III). He divides and subdivides them as follows (I. III and XII. III):

A) The *loci proprii* are those that rely on *authority* and are divided into fundamental *loci*, which

contain the entire revelation*: 1) the authority of Scripture; and 2) that of the (oral) traditions of Christ* and the apostles*, and *declarative loci*, concerning only the preservation, interpretation, and transmission of the revealed content, themselves distinguished according to whether they provide absolutely *certain* principles; 3) the authority of the Catholic Church; 4) the councils (especially the general councils), 5) the authority of the Roman Church (magisterium of the pope), or *probable* principles; 6) the ancient saints, that is, the Fathers of the Church; 7) Scholastic theologians and canonists.

B) The *secondary loci* call upon reason* and might correspond to the use of the *social sciences* in theology; they are: 8) natural reason, 9) philosophers and jurists, 10) history*, documents, and oral traditions.

According to Cano the work of the theologian is to practice both *invention* (that is, the search for intelligible elements in revealed phenomena) and *judgment*. The art of theology lies in the combination of the two: neither in pure invention and discussion for the love of discussion (the academy), nor in the conclusion alone (the Stoics). *Invention* discovers its arguments in the ten *loci theologici*. Theological judgment, for its part, should train itself to use the *loci theologici* with relevance, by appreciating the nature and the probative force of each authority for each particular question. It may well be, for example, that human history, although an inferior *locus theologicus*, is a more certain authority (a more effective *locus theologicus*) than reference to a verse of Scripture with too vague a meaning. The “theological notes*” designed to qualify certain propositions from the point of view of their agreement or disagreement with Catholic faith function as a way of evaluating the theological questions and conclusions. When those conclusions are unanimous, whether they come from the church, a council, the pope, or saints, they belong to the faith with the same right as the content of Scripture and the apostolic traditions (XII. V).

The second part of the work, beginning with Book XII, would have set out the way of using *loci theologici* depending on interlocutors and contexts: Scholastic argument (XII), explanation of Scripture (XIII), controversies with heretics, Jews, Muslims, and pagans (XIV).

d) *Aspects of the Theology of De locis Theologicis*. The book is a fairly accurate representation of the Tridentine theology that Cano strongly helped to shape.

The systematization by means of *loci theologici* gave two distinctive characteristics to almost all Catholic theology of the succeeding centuries: a central reliance on authority *and* a necessary reliance on copious erudition (scriptural, patristic, magisterial).

As for Scripture, Cano deals with its inspiration, its inerrancy, and the church's determination of the canon (canonicity being distinguished from authenticity). He defends the value of the Vulgate. On tradition, formulations very close to those of Trent cannot conceal the fact that his theory says a bit more than the conciliar documents, which fundamentally remained rather cautious (see Ratzinger in Rahner and Ratzinger, *Offenbarung und Überlieferung*, Freiburg, 1965). Cano speaks most frequently of traditions in the plural, considering them in objective fashion as "transmitted things," and stressing that they constitute a *locus theologicus* independent of Scripture, since the Church is older than Scripture. Against the *sola scriptura* of Luther's disciples it seems that we can attribute to Cano the paternity of a theology of the two sources of revelation (*partim...partim*, an expression that was, however, withdrawn by Trent), which long remained a dominant model (see Holstein 1969).

It is probably with reference to the certain declarative *loci*, which specify the various forms of the authority of the church, that Cano presented his most influential arguments, once again more because of their systematic character than because of their content. The authority of the Catholic Church is that of the entirety of the body of the visible Church, which cannot be mistaken in its faith (*in credendo*), whatever the period of time. Inerrancy is also attributed to the pastors* and the doctors in their teaching (*in docendo*). Cano hierarchizes the authority of the councils according to their representativeness: the general councils, ecumenical and sufficient in size, represent in fact the entire church and thus have an authority equivalent to that of the church if they have been called and confirmed by the pope. A council's decision is infallible if it bears the character of a universal and definitive obligation, even if its subject does not belong to faith while being sufficiently linked to revelation for the church to guarantee its validity. Finally, the authority of the pope is linked to that of Peter*, and to his inerrancy as guaranteed by Christ. Pontifical inerrancy is thus a truth of faith limited to the public exercise of the authority of the pope; and against the supporters of absolute and universal inerrancy, Cano says that the pope "does not need our lies and does not need our adulation" (Lang, quoted by Sesboüé 1996).

e) *Influence.* *De locis theologicis* went through 30 editions up to 1890. The historical context of Cano's

work and the gradual discrediting of the Scholastic method in philosophy* and theology justify its success. Together with the breadth and the composition of the book, this explains its influence. Without radically contrasting the style of medieval *Summas*, which gave a privileged place to speculative argumentation, to that of the treatises (and particularly of treatises *De locis* based on Cano's model) and manuals that flourished after the Council of Trent, the true birth of positive* theology can be dated from *De locis theologicis*. The place given by Cano to authority, and that reserved for Scripture and the ecclesiastical magisterium, followed by the argumentation of the Fathers of the Church and of theologians, as well as his appeal to history, shows in fact his concern to support dogmatic proof with positive data. Cano himself does not use the term (it was in use earlier, found in Jean Mair in 1509 and, in 1556, in Rule IX of the Constitutions of Ignatius Loyola), and, because of his attachment to the speculative method, he can only be considered as the initiator *per accidens* (Gardeil 1926, col. 740) of positive theology.

The expression became general by the end of the century as a means of characterizing a manner of teaching that emphasized more the affirmation of revealed phenomena than speculative questioning. It was only gradually that a distinction was established between positive theology, which was concerned with establishing the whole matter of the theologian's study, and speculative or Scholastic theology, which limited itself to rational argumentation on the basis of what positive theology had established. But the priority given to the positive establishment of doctrine, to the qualification of any given thesis by the theological note that specifies the degree of assent due to it, before showing the speculative reasons for it and drawing from it possible theological conclusions (contrary to the order followed by Thomas in the chapters of *CG*, as Cano notes, *De locis theologicis* XII. XI), presages the abandonment of the Scholastic method as the principal means of teaching.

Two independent, if not contradictory, consequences may be attributed to the influence of Cano's theology of *loci*. The first is the gradual narrowing of focus of theological science onto the problems of critical history, whether sacred history or the history of the church, which gave to the 10th and final *locus* a growing importance. In the 17th century Petau and Thomassin, by a return to the Fathers of the Church and a copious historical erudition, developed an important erudition that had started in the preceding century. The new importance granted to authority was strengthened by that which the Enlightenment gave to reason alone, and by the influence of Enlightenment thinkers on the theology of the Reformed Churches.

The 19th century, with the school of Tübingen* and Newman*, saw the apogee of the positive method (Hocedez 1949–52) and of a theology taught according to the order of its *loci* (*De locis theologicis* was modernized by J. Berthier in his own *De locis theologicis*, Turin, 1900). This occurred under the pressure of the nascent social sciences and of Protestant theologies, whose “scientific,” exegetical, and patristic argumentation was often directed against the speculations of the Catholic tradition. The idea of a history of dogmas and the idea of a development of dogma certainly have an important source in Cano.

The other influence is to be sought in the evolution of the notion of the pontifical magisterium and in the increasing role that the pope was led to play after Trent, by means of bulls, briefs, and constitutions. Although the specific notion of magisterium was not developed until the 18th century, the political organization of the church along the lines of modern states, the universal regulation by means of different forms of censure (defined by Benedict XIV, 1740–58), and the debate on the indefectibility (before the infallibility* defined by Vatican* I) of the pope and the councils, as well as on the relative superiority of the former or the latter (Jansenist polemic), together form a bridge between Trent and Vatican I. The reestablishment of Catholic universities in the 19th century went along with the spread of Roman teaching by means of encyclicals (*Mirari Vos*, 1832), by the recall of the magisterial tradition (first edition of the Denzinger), and by the concern to attribute theological notes and dogmatic notes to old and contemporary teachings.

Although for historical and pedagogical reasons emphasis had been placed on the positive ground of theology and on the authority of the various sources of teaching, this change of perspective was not accompanied by a new conception of theological science. Cano remained an Aristotelian and could define science only by the deduction of conclusions. His successors did not take up the challenge. The development of a doctrine of science adapted to the new reality, such as Thomas Aquinas had accomplished in his time by his

reception of Aristotle, did not take place. Cano and the succeeding centuries long maintained the coexistence of a “positive” theology of sources, derived from the new requirements of thought and a “scholastic” theology that had retained a medieval status (Tshibangu 1964, 330). This unstable balance, finally upset in the contemporary period, perhaps partly explains the now chaotic evolution of “theological science.”

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CYRILLE MICHON AND GILBERT NARCISSE

See also Hermeneutics; Notes, Theological; Revelation; Theology

Logos. *See Word*

Lombard, Peter. *See* Lateran III, Council

Lonergan, Bernard John Francis

1904–84

Bernard Lonergan, Canadian Jesuit, philosopher, and theologian, taught at Montreal, Toronto, and the Gregorian University in Rome*. His work is dedicated to an ever more adequate understanding of both human intelligence and the mysteries of Christian faith*.

a) Writings on Thomas Aquinas. In *Grace and Freedom: Operative Grace in the Thought of St. Thomas Aquinas*, Lonergan traces the development of the theology* of grace* from Augustine* to Aquinas*, sets out the relations between operative grace and cooperative grace, and presents an analysis of Aquinas's theory of causation, operation, divine transcendence, and human liberty*. This work convinced Lonergan that what was needed to reach up to the mind of Aquinas was not simply historical, philosophical, or theological reconstructions of Aquinas's work. For any of these reconstructions to be accurate, profound changes are needed within those who work on them.

From Augustine, Lonergan learned that conversion* to Jesus Christ involves intellectual and moral dimensions, as well as the religious dimensions. The psychological and phenomenological narratives of Augustine's intellectual conversion to truth, his moral conversion to good*, and his religious conversion to God* revealed in Christ Jesus ground experientially the shift toward theory in Aquinas. This threefold conversion becomes in Aquinas the division of the virtues* into intellectual, moral, and theological virtues (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 55–67; IIa IIae, q. 1–170). To understand the systematic breakthrough in Aquinas's theology, Lonergan realized that he had to undergo what he later termed an “intellectual conversion.”

Lonergan's *Verbum: Word and Idea in Aquinas* sets out the basic terms operative in Aquinas's cognitional theory, and also how these terms are derived from the

human experiences of questioning, understanding, and judging. Insight into images generates understanding, and this understanding expresses itself in concepts. Human understanding is not content with thinking, however: we want to know what is true, so questions of truth emerge, and only when we grasp the sufficiency of the evidence do we reach judgment, and therefore truth or falsity. Lonergan shows that what Aquinas terms “the light of active intellect as a created participation in divine light” is in fact our human capacity to raise ever further questions.

b) Studies on Human Knowledge and Theological Method. In *Insight: A Study of Human Understanding*, Lonergan transposes the cognitional theory that he learned from Aquinas into contemporary contexts. The book is an invitation to the reader to appropriate his or her own acts of experiencing, understanding, and judging. The first part sets out *insight* as activity, showing how attention to acts of understanding enables the reader to correlate the methods of the sciences in such a way as to arrive at a coherent and open understanding of the world*, designated as “emergent probability.” The second part builds on the reader's own self-appropriation as a knower, showing how developmental and dialectical methods operate in cognitively grounded metaphysics, ethics*, and natural theology*. The work demonstrates how human understanding does in fact consist in related and recurrent operations, and that failure to attend to these operations has led to the dialectical contradictions in modern culture, philosophy*, and theology. The program of the book is succinctly stated by Lonergan (*Insight*, p. xxviii):

Thoroughly understand what it is to understand, and not only will you understand the broad lines of all there is to

be understood, but also you will possess a fixed base, an invariant pattern, opening upon all further developments of understanding.

From his discoveries in *Insight*, Lonergan advanced to *Method in Theology*, where he shows that his notion of transcendental method can restructure how theology is done. Transcendental method is neither Cartesian (Descartes*) nor Kantian (Kant*), but is a set of related operations of understanding yielding cumulative and progressive results. After treating human good, meaning, and religion, the book develops the notion of functional specialties in theology. There are three types of specialties. 1) Field specialties continually divide and subdivide the fields of data to be investigated, as in the field of biblical studies. 2) Subject specialties classify the results of the investigations in order to teach those results, as when departments are separated into areas such as Hebrew history*, early Christian antiquities, and so on. 3) Functional specialties differentiate the successive stages in the process from the data to the results of the investigations.

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MATTHEW L. LAMB

See also Augustine of Hippo; Bible; Ethics; Knowledge of God; Mystery; Nature; Theological Method; Thomas Aquinas; Thomism

Lord. *See Christ/Christology; Name*

Love

If God* reveals himself to humanity as love, or agape (1 Jn 4:8), it would follow that he makes himself known through love: we know God by loving him and by loving our fellow human beings. But we also know a love that is independent of the love of God. Human beings love themselves in their search for happiness; they love others by inclination, desire, or passion. Are

these two radically distinct and incompatible kinds of love? Or does love of God presuppose a strictly human love if it is to be understood by human beings? Is charity—the love inspired by grace*—a transformation of natural love or does it require a total rupture with that love? To answer these questions we must know what love itself is. Is it the search for self-satisfaction by

possession of the other or, on the contrary, dispossession of oneself, ecstasy?

I. Metaphysics of Love

1. *An Essential Trial for Human Beings*

a) *Unsuitable Love.* Amorous passion is not the only form of love. Compared to indefectible maternal love it is in fact the most fragile and vulnerable form. But passion is an event that, by its unpredictability, has the nature of a revelation. One discovers that the meaning of one's existence does not depend on oneself but on another who bursts into one's life without warning. The beloved object does not correspond to the expectations, tastes, and interests—that is, to the constitution—of the ego. On the contrary, the beloved exceeds the ideal image a person could make of his or her happiness. In this way, the beloved breaches all propriety. This disparity serves as the essential mechanism of tragedy, poetry, and the novel, in which love is most often connected with its forbidden forms: adultery, social incompatibility, incest, misalliance (Tristan and Isolde, Romeo and Juliet, Phaedra and Hippolyte, Swann and Odette).

b) *Ecstatic Quality of Love.* Passion works a transformation, an alienation of the subject. In that it arises from hope (Stendhal, *De l'amour* [*On Love*] chaps. 2 and 3) that is, from the subject's representation of the happiness the beloved object could bring him, passion would seem to be derived from self-love. But the egoistic point of departure, which leads the subject to try to possess the other, functions like a lure to bring the subject out of himself or herself and make the very existence of the ego depend on the other: without you I am nothing. The totality of meaning is gradually transferred to the other ("crystallization"): the object is not lovable because of his/her value (qualities); on the contrary, love is the first cause on the basis of which the subject places value and meaning.

The lover sees the beloved with new eyes. Instead of being considered as a dangerous illusion, as blindness, this alteration should be recognized as deep wisdom*. In the trials of love, in the pure pathos of devouring fire, the subject acquires essential knowledge of sacrifice and the gift of self without discursive or logical mediation. In the detachment from self, self-renunciation, putting one's destiny in the hands of the other, abandoning one's self to the other, the subject can give meaning to his or her existence.

c) *Oath of Fidelity.* If passion arises out of emotion, out of the contingency of a physical upheaval such as

sexual desire, it prolongs itself in a willed act that engages the totality of being. The truth of love does not lie in the satisfaction extorted by possession but in the generosity of heart that gives emotion a value of essence. The oath of fidelity which love immediately calls forth is not a guarantee of inalterable emotion. Rather, it attests to the will's full assent to that gift of oneself that transports the subject beyond all self-interest and self-satisfaction.

Love acquires a value that not only exceeds the ego, but also the me-you relation. It tends to diffuse and transform the world*, regardless of the obstacles the world might place in its path.

2. *Love and the Meaning of the World*

a) *Cosmic Principle.* Traditional forms of wisdom make love the unifying principle that presides over the formation of the world. The most ancient ritual practices associate sexuality with the renewal of the seasons and the fertility of crops. Empedocles taught that love assembles the elements in such a way that they "constitute a unique order" (Fr. B. 17), whereas hatred separates them. Here love is participation in a universal movement of nature rather than an individual sentiment. In the cosmic myth* related by Aristophanes in Plato's *Banquet* (189 d-193 d) the love that moves a man to unite with a woman manifests the aspiration to return to an original unity, lost and forgotten since the occurrence of separation.

b) *Ruse of the Life-Wish.* But if the meaning of love is extended to the dimension of the world, it no longer has meaning for the subject who feels it. It is as if love were the phenomenon of an obscure fundamental force that toys with the helpless individual in its power. The sentiment that moves the individual to discover his or her ipseity through the choice of a singular, unique, irreplaceable object would be an illusion employed by the cosmic principle to achieve its own ends of self-realization. This "metaphysics of love" (Schopenhauer, *The World As Will and Representation*) leads to pessimism. If love is an individualization of the sexual instinct by which the life-wish indefinitely repeats itself, then the individual has no other truth than dissolution in the species, death*. The sacrifice to which the individual consents, believing it has meaning, is in reality a return to nothingness*: that is, the affirmation of absence of sense. The only escape from this fatality is to renounce the illusion of meaning and so to renounce love.

Love has no meaning because it is not the source of any [real] fertility. The reproduction of the same obstructs all future, all novelty, all possibility. It is not, strictly speaking, procreation. If the difference be-

tween the sexes, between lover and beloved, is reduced to an illusion and dissolved in cosmic unity, love is not the ecstatic élan toward the other, it is the indefinite return to an impersonal self. But this is not an explanation of love, it is simply its denial.

3. *Eros and Transcendence (Plato)*

a) *Sons of Poros and Penia.* Diotima, whose comments are related by Socrates, (*Banquet* 201 e-212 a) understands love (Eros) as an intermediary, (*metaxu* 202 a *Sq*) a demon (*daimôn*) born of the union between Penia (penury) and Poros (resource) (203 a-d). To love is to desire something one lacks (200 a), so love is deprived of beauty (201 b) and poor like its mother (203 c). But it is not enough to think of love in negative terms, as lack. Lack has its term in satisfaction. Need can be satisfied by fulfillment, but the same is not true of love, which does not seek possession. And yet this radical dissatisfaction is not any kind of impotence, because love is activated by its father's inventiveness (203 d-e).

b) *Transcendence.* The person who loves recognizes in the other all the beauty* or value that he himself does not have, and yet he does not seek by fusion to become that which he is not. His aim is not to be beautiful (or learned): it is to contemplate the beauty in the other, as that which in this other exceeds all communication. By uniting with the other he does not appropriate the other's beauty, but maintains it in its constitutive alterity. Love is made possible only by the transcendence of the Beautiful.

c) *Fertility.* This is why love is in itself operational and can only be thought in its works (ergo, 199 a, developed starting from 204 c). The object of love is not to obtain something from the beloved, because love is already in itself in relation with that which is beyond essence, the Good* (206 a, see *The Republic* 509 b). Its object is rather "to give birth in the Beautiful" (206 b), that is, to be made fertile by the transcendence that, in enlightening it, gives meaning to being. The interest of lovers' conversation is not their reciprocal satisfaction but the creativity by which they, mortals, give birth to the absolute novelty of the immortal (206 e *Sq*).

If love has a universal, divine sense (206 c) valid as well for physical love as for love of thought, it is because, born of the difference between same and other, it is creative—it produces the unpredictable, the new.

4. *Friendship and Being (Aristotle)*

a) *Unity of the Community.* Whereas the Platonic Eros is animated by a perpetual motion of going be-

yond self, the Aristotelian *philia* (*Nicomachean Ethics* I. VIII and IX) is inscribed in the stability of a community of which it forms the bond and maintains the unity. Man is destined by nature to live in a city* (*Politics* I, 1253 a 2). This is not only because he is endowed with language and can discuss with other men what is just and unjust, but because he is united to others by a form of familiarity and friendship (*NE* 1155 a 22). Unlike Eros, *philia* is not the exclusive choice of another, it is the relation of mutual affection and benevolence (1155 b 32) that naturally unites those who live together (1157 b 7) and who, consequently, resemble each other (1159 b 2).

However, just as there are several forms of community, there are several kinds of friendship. When people unite out of self-interest or for pleasure, they do not seek out the presence of the other for its own sake. Friendship is perfect only between virtuous beings because they prefer loving to being loved, desire the Good for their friends without expecting anything in return (1156 b 9), and thus draw their pleasure from friendship alone (1159 a 27 *Sq*).

b) *Ethics.* Aristotle resolves the contradiction between self-love and love of one's fellow human being. True friendship presupposes that one be disinterested and renounce egoism (1168 a 32). Nonetheless it is founded on a proper understanding of self-love. Because he who prefers the Good over all things and consequently sacrifices his own interests to the welfare of his friend, in reality loves that which is best for himself; so he loves himself by attaching himself to the higher part of the soul* (1168 b 28–1169 a 35).

Friendship is "intimately connected with virtue" (1155 a 3) because it is beautiful in itself (1155 a 28) and because perfect friendship is necessarily accompanied by virtue (1156 b 7), but also because one cannot "live well" without having friends (1169 b 3–1170 b 19). For human beings, "living well" means "living well together," so friendship is "the greatest good for Cities" (*Politics* II, 4, 1262 b 9).

c) *Friendship As Experience of Being.* Friendship is not only an ethical and political value, it is an experience of an ontological nature. Aristotle repeatedly emphasizes the pleasure procured by association, intimacy, and presence of friends, particularly when they are virtuous (1157 b 7; 1157 b 17–18; 1158 a 4 *Sq*; 1171 a 1; 1171 b 14; 1172 a 7). The incapacity to live together spoils friendship, whatever the feelings of benevolence and inclination toward the other. Aristotle gives the justification for this physical proximity by explaining why a happy man needs friends. He develops the idea that a friend is an alter ego (1170 b 7). I

need another who is at the same time me, not so I can withdraw into self-satisfaction and find myself in others, but in order to contemplate (1170 a 2) or rather feel (1170 a 31) in or with him that which I cannot fully feel in myself, for lack of distance and communion*. For a happy man, what is most worthy of being felt is the “good life” that is his—in other words, life-in-act, the fact that his life is not drudgery but an activity having its end in itself, a praxis. We enjoy being alive because we rejoice at our friends’ being alive. Aristotle goes further: what we enjoy in the presence of friends is supremely desirable Being itself (1170 b 8) through the shared feeling of existence.

II. Revelation of Love

Though Aristotle thinks the perfection of the relation that can exist between free and equal human beings, he cannot conceive of the possibility of friendship between beings as dissimilar as human beings and gods (1158 b 35). But Thomas* Aquinas, defining charity as “a sort of friendship of man for God,” (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 23, a. 1, resp.) speaks of a commerce or intimacy (*conversatio*) between man and God. That God could consider human beings as friends (Jn 15:15) is the revelation* that changes the meaning of love.

1. Old Testament

a) God’s Love for Humanity. Love of God for human beings is manifest in the creation* by the role given to them (Gn 1:26–29) and renewed in the covenants* concluded with his people (Noah, Gn 2:18; Abraham, Gn 12:3, Gn 15 and 17; Moses, Ex 19). God loves his people by grace, without judging them on their merits. He helps them in times of affliction and delivers them from slavery in the land of Egypt (Dt 4:37; 8:17; 9:4–6; 10:15). God recalls his eternal love and unfailing fidelity to the Covenant (Dt 7:7–9) at times when he suffers the infidelity of his people (Jer 31:3; Sg 3:17; Mal 1:2). This is why the love of God (Hebrew *chesed*, Greek *eleos*) takes the form of mercy* (Is 54:8).

This fidelity resembles the love and tenderness (Ex 3:14; Ps 103 (102):4, 103:8, 103:13) of a father or mother for their children. They give birth to their children, cherish and nourish them, bring them up, and forgive their escapades and rebellion (Is 1:2, 49:15; Jer 31:20; Hos 11:1, 11:3 f.). But the violence* of love and the exclusivity of election place God in the position of a husband jealous or betrayed because his wife has prostituted herself (Is 54:5, 62:4–5; Jer 2:2, 31:22; Ez 16). The marriage* of Hosea with a harlot is the symbol of the marriage of God with Israel* (Hosea 1–3).

The Psalms* invoke the mercy of God in asking for his help or forgiveness (Ps 51 [50]:1; 89 [88], 89:2, 89:3, 89:25, 89:29, 98 [97]:3, 145 [144]:8). They express the desire and expectation of being loved by God (Ps 89 [88]:50, 119 [118]:41), as well as confidence in his eternal love (Ps 136 [135]).

b) Love of Human Beings for God. As a counterpart of the love of God for his people should correspond, according to a commandment* that sums up the entire law*, the love of human beings for God (Dt 6:5; Hebrew *ahaba*, translated in the Septuagint by *agape*, quite rare in Greek), manifest not only by observance of precepts* but by the heart’s disposition to receive the Word* (see Psalm 119 [118]). The fear that goes with the love of God is not slavish submission; to fear nothing but God means to have no object of fear on earth (Dt 7:18).

c) Love of One’s Fellow Human Beings. God also commands love of one’s fellow human being, (Lv 19:18) who is not only the child of Israel, but the stranger, “for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt” (Ex 22:20, 23:9; Dt 10:18 f., 19:33; Prv 25:21 f.).

d) Love between Man and Woman. The Old Testament grants an important place to love between man and woman*: it is as “male and female” that God created humanity in his image (Gn 1:27); the history of the people of Israel is traversed by couples* united in love: Adam* and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Rachel, Samson and Dahlila, Boaz and Ruth, David and Bathsheba. The Song of Songs celebrates carnal union.

2. Synoptic Gospels

a) Love As Center of the Law. The preaching* of Jesus* is inscribed in the Jewish tradition* that centers the precepts of the law around the two commandments of love (most often *agape*). The commandment to love God (Deuteronomy 6) is “the greatest commandment”; but Jesus immediately associates it with its likeness, the commandment to love one’s neighbor (Mt 22:36–40; Mk 12:28–31; Lk 10:25–28; Lv 19:18). Recalling that love is the essential of the law—in a context in which there is an attempt to test him—Jesus shows that his doctrine is not meant to be original. But he insists on the actualization, in the heart and in practice, of the already well-known sense of the “law.”

b) Love of Neighbor. This recentering of the law on love entails displacements in the order of ethical prior-

ities. Love for God has no sense unless it is translated into love of one's neighbor, which is the touchstone of justice*. We do not honor God through respect for ceremonial and cultural precepts but by helping those who are in need (Mt 12:1–8; Mk 2:23–28; Lk 6:1–5, 13:10–17). Human beings will be judged by their love for their fellows, and particularly for the least of these (Mt 26:31–46).

Love and the works of mercy it brings forth are addressed to the poor and downtrodden, the prisoner, the sick, and the stranger. Forgiveness should also go out to those whose behavior is judged reprehensible: publicans and sinners (Mt 9:10–13; Mk 2:15 ff.; Lk 5:29–32). The great parables* of mercy (Lk 15:1–32) show the gratuitous nature of the gift of forgiveness and the joy that accompanies it.

c) Love for One's Enemy. The commandment to love is radicalized when it is extended to one's enemy (Mt 5:43–48; Lk 6:27–35). In the Gospel of Matthew Jesus underscores the opposition between his own teachings and the tradition as kept by the Jews. The new way comes not to “abolish [them] but to fulfill [them]” (Mt 5:17), to bring the precept back to its original meaning by pushing it to its most extreme case. It is incumbent upon the one enlightened by the law, the Jew, to be better than publicans and pagans. These last do not have the law and yet they love their friends. Jesus believes that the commandment to love as a simple movement of the heart would not be immediately universal. The Samaritan is not a pagan; he knows the law and, showing more love than the priest* or the Levite (Lk 10:29–37), accomplishes it better than those at whom it is directly aimed.

d) The Chosen One. The major revelation of the synoptic Gospels is the name* given to Jesus by God at his baptism (Mt 3:17) and transfiguration (Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7): “The Chosen One” (Lk 9:35). This citation from Isaiah 42:1 (repeated in Mt 12:18) makes Jesus the Servant who must face suffering (Isaiah 53) in order to liberate Israel (Isaiah 54). This parallel allows for the interpretation of his Passion (announced in a passage close to the account of the transfiguration in Mt 17:22–23; Mk 9:31; Lk 9:44) and Resurrection* as a manifestation of the love of God.

3. Letters of Paul

For Paul, “the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord” (Rom 8:39) is not so much an object of teaching or preaching as a mystery* “which surpasses knowledge” (Eph 3:19). We do not participate in this love by conforming to precepts, no matter how legitimate and

useful they may be, but by giving ourselves over to the Holy* Spirit, whose fruit is love (Gal 5:22).

a) The Event of Love in Christ. In fact it is in the very event of Christ's coming, his death and Resurrection that love radiates and gives itself to be seen by those whose eyes have been opened by the Spirit. It is no longer a matter of the *sign* of God's love but of its absolute *advent*. God not only sent the Liberator to save his people, he delivered (both gave to the world and abandoned into the hands of sinners) his own *Chosen One*. The Son offered by the Father* offers himself in turn. He abandons himself, renounces himself to the point of dying on the cross (Phil 2:7–8; Rom 5:8). Love is the condition, the meaning, and the fruit of this sacrifice*, which is the decisive event of the passage from the old to the new for the world, for the Jewish people, for all humanity (Eph 2:15, 4:22; 2 Cor 5:17; Col 3:9).

b) Theological Virtue. By the Spirit we participate in the death of Christ and so are introduced into the mystery of his life (Rom 6:8–11). We cannot think of our death in Christ without being incited by love (2 Cor 5:14), because sacrifice* inspires love. This spiritual life* in communion* with Christ rests on a bringing together so that now “faith*, hope*, and love abide” (1 Cor 13:13). These are known as the “theological virtues*” because in their diversity and complementarity they structure the constitution of human beings in their relation to God. It is as an element of that structure that love becomes charity: the Vulgate, which translates *agapè* as *dilectio*, uses the term *charitas* in the letters of Paul. However, the term *charity*, which came to mean compassionate beneficence in French (*charité*), may be preferable to *love*, despite the theological usage. Love exists only in its relation to the other two virtues, and is often named together with them (1 Thes 1:3, 5:8; 2 Thes 1:3; 1 Cor 13:7; Gal 5:6; Rom 5:1–5, 12:6–12; Col 1:4 f.; Eph 1:15–18, 4:2–5; 1 Tm 6:11; Ti 2:2); faith brings us to discover love in God, which in turn is diffused in the heart of the believer and expands his or her faith to the dimension of hope, which is confidence in the love of God already manifest in its fullness (Rom 8:35–39).

c) Primacy of Love. But the greatest of the three virtues is love, (1 Cor 13:13; Col 3:14) not because faith represents an imperfect certainty, but because it is by love that we believe and hope (1 Cor 13:7; Rom 5:5). Love is the source of all values. Generosity, the gifts of the Spirit, liberty*, respect for the law, all of these have value only because they derive from love and produce love (1 Cor 13:1 ff.; Gal 5:14; Rom 13:8 ff.). Not only does love communicate life, it is life.

4. The Johannine Texts

The Gospel* of John is the gospel of love. Jesus came into this world to bear witness to the love of the Father for Jesus himself (3:35, 10:17) and for all human beings (3:16).

a) *A New Commandment.* Jesus gives his disciples a new commandment of love: “that you love one another just as I have loved you” (Jn 13:34). The measure of love that one must give to others is no longer the love one bears for oneself, as in Leviticus 19:18. The radical exigency of love consists of giving what one does not have, being for the other as Christ was for his disciples. This is possible only if the Spirit (Jn 14:16, Jn 26) creates new human potentialities. Moreover, the reciprocity of this love (each other) supposes a community of those who love in Christ (Jn 17:20).

b) *Trinitarian Love.* The love which human beings have for one another should be a reflection of the love of Christ for them because the source of this love is the Son’s love for the Father (Jn 15:9) as expressed in the priestly prayer* (17:1–26). The Son offers himself out of love for his Father, but he knows that the sacrifice to which he consents demands in return the same love from his Father. At the time of the Passion it is love that unites the Father and Son (17:10, 17:21). Love manifests the Trinitarian dimension of God; it is, strictly speaking, the Spirit.

c) “*God Is Love*” (1 John 4:8). This statement, which decisively brings together the entire revelation, is not a deification of love (which would have a purely anthropological import), nor a simple evocation of a loving God. God is not a loving ego, he is the very event of love such as it is manifested in the Passion and the Resurrection. God did not keep the beloved for himself: he gave him, and thus included the world itself in his love. In loving Jesus all the way to the cross, he loved humanity like his Son and introduced humanity into his mystery, so that, abiding in his love, it pursues his works.

III. Developments

1. Love of Self and Love of God

a) Saint Augustine* (*De civitate dei* XIV, 28) radicalized the opposition between love of self and love of God, which are at the origin of the two cities, the earthly city (born of “love of self unto contempt for God”) and the heavenly city (born of “love of God unto contempt for self”). In *The Confessions* he de-

scribes the spiritual journey of one who has renounced a vain love oriented toward pleasure (III, 1) for an ever greater love of God (XIII, 8).

b) This opposition is an essential theme of Protestant* doctrine, which perceives only one rupture between the order of grace* and the order of nature*. Luther* (thesis 28 of the Heidelberg dispute, April 1518, WA 1, 365) criticizes the love that consents to go out toward an object only to the extent that it recognizes a value, in other words, where it expects satisfaction in exchange. The love of God for man is totally gratuitous because it is not conditioned by the certainty of being accepted. It is pure gift.

c) *Eros and Agape.* Taking an even more severe position within this Protestant tradition, A. Nygren states the radical difference between love that comes from God (agape) and purely human love (Eros). The romantic exaltation of love is a form of self-complacency, a deification of the human that leads to self-destruction and death (Tristan and Isolde). Agape, on the other hand, is received as a grace in filial obedience.

But however relevant the opposition between *amor hominis* and *amor Dei*, it can hardly be validated by the terminological opposition between *eros* and *agape*. Eros cannot be reduced to the search for satisfaction; as Plato reminds us. True Eros consists in giving one’s life for those one loves (*Banquet* 179 b Sq). And it is not out of the question that love for God can also take the form of Eros. Nonetheless, Nygren rendered service to contemporary theology in proving untenable the contradiction between *Eros* and *agape*, thus giving contradictors the opportunity to suggest more precise topologies and more subtle conceptualizations (D’Arcy 1945; Lotz 1971).

d) *Eros More Divine.* Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite (*Divine Names* IV, 12) went so far as to assert that “*Eros* is a term more worthy of God than *agape*.” Thomas Aquinas took the idea and made it his own (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 26, a. 3), arguing that the attraction exerted by God and passively endured by man in love (*amor* = *eros*) is stronger than the motives man draws from his own reason*. Love can indeed be motivated by concupiscence (when we seek satisfaction for ourselves) but this does not preclude the existence of a “love of friendship,” where the object is loved for itself and the lover wishes its good (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 26, a. 4).

e) *Self-Love out of Charity.* While self-love that deflects the subject from alterity and keeps him from loving God and his fellow human being is the source of

sin*, love of God, charity, commands a form of self-love (*ST IIa IIae*, q. 25, a. 4). After loving God for love of self, man “loves himself for God alone” (Bernard* of Clairvaux, *Traité de l’amour de Dieu*, chaps. VIII-X [Treatise on the love of God]). Sinners do not really love themselves, because they mistake what is truly for their own good; the good do love themselves because they want to conserve the inner person in its integrity (*ST IIa IIae*, q. 25, a. 7; see I 4 b above).

2. Mystical Love

a) *Ecstasy*. If the furthest extreme of love is the void it produces, the self-dispossession, then Eros is indeed its most divine manifestation. Eros is in itself a kenosis* in that the lover must abandon the images he has drawn over his personality, and reveal himself in his nakedness. If I am nothing without you I have to go through this nothing in order to reach you. The asceticism* of destitution, pushed in this way to the extreme of nothing, characterizes both mysticism and eroticism. The common error is that of thinking of mysticism, like eroticism, in terms of union and possession, whereas their common ecstasy is separation from self, dispossession. To intoxicate oneself with divine love is to “forget oneself,” “hold oneself for nothing more than a discarded vase,” “in a way, to lose oneself as if one did not exist any more, to lose the feeling of self and be emptied of oneself, almost canceled out” (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Traité de l’amour de Dieu* X, 27).

b) *Indifference to One’s Own Happiness*. What is reduced to nothing in the ego is the will, inasmuch as it seeks satisfaction. To this end it must renounce all objects, renounce all desire. In the Song of Songs passion is put to the test of the night (Sg 3:1–3). One wanders without finding anything, the beloved escapes, the Lovable does not let itself be confused with phantoms. “Charity... makes a void of all things in the will, seeing that it makes us love God over all things?” (John of the Cross, *Ascent to Carmel II*, 6). The soul* “totally destitute, desiring nothing” (ibid. II, 7) is in imitation* of Christ, who at the moment of his death was “annihilated and reduced as to nothing” (ibid.). This passage through death is the affirmation of life, because death was vanquished in death by love: “Oh death amorously vital, oh love vitally mortal!” (François de Sales, *Traité de l’amour de Dieu* VII, XIII). Fire is simultaneously the erotic and the spiritual metaphor of this vivification in annihilation (see the liturgy* of Pentecost: *Et tui amoris in eis ignem accende*; John of the Cross, *Vive flamme d’amour*, stanza II, verse 1).

Once the will is liberated of all self-interest, all expectation of personal happiness, the soul experiences “pure love,” “without the mixture of any motive other than that of loving, solely in itself, the sovereign beauty of God” (Fénelon, *Explication des maximes des saints* [Explanation of the maxims of the saints], Art. II). God’s love for us being both source and end of our love for him, our love is a reflection of its gratuitous origin. Consequently, love for God cannot be conditioned by the expectation of happiness, even that of salvation*. This is love experienced in a historical present where the individual simultaneously exists in the element of hope (major lesson to be drawn from the quietist crisis), and this is quite different.

To construe hope as primarily a logic of interest is a fundamental misunderstanding. Hope is that relation to the future in which the promises* of God are engaged, and these promises (and all they imply in terms of anticipated realization, centered on the Resurrection of Jesus) bring forth the action of graces and love on the part of the believer. “Pure love,” correctly understood, is lived in the fullness of a theological experience. Perhaps it must be said that hope is lived in that experience as a truly “erotic” transcendence toward God. And perhaps that transcendence is the secret of all hope, a secret that would let hope be not just a way of being-in-time but also being eternally.

c) *Absence As a Mode of Presence*. Pure love accomplishes the precept of virtuous friendship: “love the friend for himself” (see I 4 a above). But Christianity introduced a radical difference: when the friend is God, the intimacy, the “living together” that is the act of love and source of pleasure, is a mode of presence characterized by infinite distance. The closer God comes to human beings in his love, the more he makes felt his inaccessible grandeur. “When he loves, all the actions of his love are infinite. He comes down from heaven to earth to look for the creature of clay that he loves, he makes himself man and clay with him, he gives his flesh to be eaten. Such are the prodigious feats of love by which the infinite* surpasses all affection of which men are capable. He loves in God, and nothing is incomprehensible in this love” (Fénelon, *Lettres et opuscules spirituels* XXXI). Claudel describes an “essential absence” that unites the lovers in presence itself (*Le soulier de satin*, IVe journée, sc. VIII).

3. Ethics of Love

a) *Principles of Moral Virtues*. Pure love has been criticized (by Bossuet) because the disinterestedness of love, the abandon, the state of prayer may plunge

the will into indifference, leading it to forget good and evil* and enter into a state of passivity that could turn it away from action. The other extreme is a busy involvement in what is useful, to the extent that the quest for meaning is forgotten. Authentic love is in itself ethical because it is the rectitude of the heart, the virtue that commands man to the good. That is why it is “the principle of all good deeds,” and all the moral virtues are enclosed in it.

b) Law of Love. A work cannot be said to be good if it is not accomplished by love. Conversely, all that is done by love accomplishes the law (Rom 13:8). There is no need to fear that love might be mistaken in its conduct or remain idle in the face of a suffering person. The Christian is liberated by love from all external prescription that does not flow from an internal movement of the will (Rom 7:1–7). *Ama et fac quod vis*. But this liberty is not license, precisely because it is conditioned by a love whose demands are superior to those of the ancient law. Love institutes a new law (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 107, a. 2, resp.), which is not written but rather introduced into the heart by grace (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 106, a. 3).

c) Love and Respect. It is common practice to oppose the rigorism of Kantian moral law to this ethic of love. Kant* does in fact warn against a morality derived from the love of men. Because this love cannot “be commanded,” moral action would be abandoned to the arbitrariness of each individual’s subjective dispositions, which ruins duty in its principle (*Critique of Practical Reason*, AA t. V, 83). But this love is definitely not the love of which Scripture speaks: it is a pathological love, a philanthropy that operates, or does not, according to passing moods. However, Kant admits a practical love (*ibid.*) that is “good will” put to the accomplishment of duty. It remains the case, however, that this love itself cannot be the principle of duty; it is simply an ideal that completes the duty. The discipline of the law then remains the only standard. Duty toward one’s fellow man is not the consequence of love for him, but of respect, and is primarily addressed to the law. Nevertheless, morality is not confused with legalism, that is, a purely external conformity with prescriptions. The common point between respect and love is that neither is subordinate to the principle of personal happiness, and therefore they are not conditioned either by hope for advantages or fear of punishment. The law, like pure love, demands that the will void itself of all objects (or matter).

4. Conclusion

It is always possible to explain the ecstatic dimension of love as a ruse of self-love, to explain mystical love

as a sublimation of the sexual instinct, and annihilation before the other as delectation in oneself, as if love were nothing but a cultural valorization of self-satisfaction, self-esteem, vanity (La Rochefoucauld). It is true that the flame that consumes is in itself a purely subjective mode of experience. For love to be truly distinct from egoism the other must exist and precede me by his love. There is no love without revelation of the other. But how can we be reassured without falling into the aporias of subjective confinement? Here, whatever form it takes, love demands that we resolve its ambiguity and make a decision: it is for the will to say what love is. Consequently, the general definition of love supposes a form of generosity: we have to give it credit and consent to absence as an essential mode of being*. This is the confidence of the lover who by oath gives infinite sense to the finitude of his emotions; the confidence of the Socratic philosopher who desires thought within the heart of nonknowledge; the confidence of the believer who accepts to be loved by someone he does not see.

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YVES-JEAN HARDER

See also **Communion; Faith; Hope; Trinity**

Lubac, Henri Sonier de

1896–1991

a) Life. Born in Cambrai on 20 February 1896, Henri de Lubac became a novice in the Society of Jesus in 1913. Between 1915 and 1917 his Jesuit training was interrupted by the First World War, in which he received head wounds. During the first half of 1920, while he was in Canterbury undergoing the six months of training known as the *juvenat*, he became "entranced" by Saint Augustine's *Confessions* and by the last three books of Irenaeus's *Adversus Haereses*. There he also read, "in a state of wonderment," the article "Jésus Christ" by L. de Grandmaison (1868–1927) and the thesis "L'Intellectualisme de Saint Thomas" by P. Rousselot (1878–1915). From 1920 to 1923 he completed his required philosophy* studies on the Island of Jersey where he formed firm friendships with C. Nicolet (1897–1961), G. Fessard (1897–1978), Y. de Montcheuil (1899–1944), A. Valensin (1879–1953), and P. Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955). A dozen years after Pius X's condemnation of modernism* (1907), which affected the intellectual climate in theological colleges, Lubac and his companions were forced to endure P. Descoqs's highly Suarezian* instruction. On the other hand, they enjoyed the courses taught by J. Maréchal (1878–1944). In 1922, in Aix-en-Provence and in the company of Auguste Valensin, Lubac met M. Blondel*, whose *L'Action* he had read in its 1899 edition. In 1924 he began his theological studies in Hastings, continuing them after 1926 at Fourvière. After his ordination as a priest in 1927 he began to teach fundamental theology at the Institut Catholique in Lyons in 1929. From 1931 on he also taught a course there on the history of religion.

On friendly terms with J. Monchanin (1895–1957), a priest in the diocese of Lyons who read Sanskrit and was preparing for a journey to India, Lubac independently studied Buddhism by studying the volumes held in the Musée Guimet. In 1935 he began an extra course on Buddhism at the Jesuit Faculty at Fourvière. He renewed his contacts with Teilhard, made the acquaintance of P. Claudel (1868–1955), and befriended H. U. von Balthasar*, a Jesuit and a theology student at Fourvière with Daniélou. In 1938, at the request of Y. Congar (1904–95), Lubac published his first book, *Catholicisme*. In the early 1940s he stopped his courses at Fourvière and took a stand alongside P. Chaillet (1900–1972) and G. Fessard in a "spiritual war" against Nazism. In the Free Zone, the three of them created the *Cahiers du témoignage chrétien*.

Inspired by an idea of V. Fontynont, he founded the collection Sources Chrétiennes (SC), for which J. Daniélou (1905–74) was the correspondent in the Occupied Zone. From 1924 on, at J. Huby's suggestion, Lubac began an investigation into the problem of the supernatural*, which was to challenge the then-current interpretation of Thomas* Aquinas's concept of "pure nature." E. Gilson (1884–1978) would confirm this topic's "centrality." Lubac's *Le Surnaturel* (The Supernatural) was published in 1946 and would soon become the subject of a polemic linked to the debate over the "new theology." In 1947 Lubac was appointed group leader of the periodical *Recherches de sciences religieuses* (Studies in religious sciences), but in 1950, in the wave of Roman suspicion that displaced several French theologians, he was relieved of this post as well as of his chair at the Institut Catholique.

Lubac took advantage of the health problems that followed his war wound to read in Migne's folio editions all the ancient and modern authors who interested him. He became a great expert on the medieval Latin writers and tried to elucidate the caesura of the Renaissance. Having already written a book in 1950 on Origen's understanding of the Scriptures, between 1959 and 1964 he published his *Exégèse médiévale*, whose importance for recent developments in hermeneutics* has been acknowledged by P. Ricoeur.

When it appeared in 1953 (although it was made up of texts written before 1950), Lubac's *Méditation sur l'Église* (Meditations on the Church) played somewhat the same role in his life as the *Apologia* had done in Newman's. In August 1960 John XXIII completed Lubac's rehabilitation by calling on him to become, together with Congar, a consultant to the theological commission that was doing preparatory work for Vatican* II. Although this labor initially caused him some unease, Lubac was to become one of the most respected experts at the council*. After it was over, it pained him to notice a certain breach of trust that only accentuated his own solitude, even within the Society of Jesus. He upheld the *Communio* enterprise and drew up several commentaries on the Vatican II documents *Dei Verbum*, *Gaudium et Spes*, and *Lumen Gentium*. But above all he pursued wide-ranging research, as witnessed by his publication in 1979 and 1981 of the two volumes of *La Postérité spirituelle de Joachim de Flore* (The Spiritual Heirs of Joachim de Flore), in which he criticized the eschatological utopia. Pope John Paul II elevated him to the rank of Cardinal in 1983. Lubac died on 4 September 1991.

b) Aspects of Lubac's Complete Works. Although several of Lubac's writings might be regarded as "occasional theologies," to use Lubac's own phrase, Balthasar was correct in saying that he is the author of an "organic body of work." Moreover, his early *Catholicism* supplied most of the themes he would later tackle. In the above work he shows the social, historical, and inner character of Christian dogma*. By means of a method that has become famous, his expositions are peppered with quotations drawn from the inexhaustible wealth of a tradition* in which the author felt at home. He has the style of a writer and his reflections respond to the needs of the time. In both tone and content he disconcerts those readers accustomed to textbook-style theses.

In his *Corpus Mysticum: Essai sur l'Eucharistie et L'Église au Moyen Âge* (Corpus Mysticum: An Essay on the Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages) Lubac demonstrates that until the middle of the 12th century the expression *corpus mysticum* (mystical

body) was applied exclusively to the Eucharist*. Its later application to the Church makes the sacramental realism (sacrament*) of the Pauline doctrine of Christ*'s body all the more evident. This was the source of the famous definitions that Lubac's *Méditation sur l'Église* would expand: "The Church creates the Eucharist... the Eucharist creates the Church." Behind the historian of dogma could already be glimpsed one of the forces inspiring Vatican II's ecclesiology*. All the same, it was thanks above all to his *Supernatural* (1946) that Lubac was to profoundly change the field of theology. Battling with the critics, he would supply, with his *Le mystère du surnaturel* (1965) his most polished synthesis on the subject.

Lubac had to rediscover the deep meaning of Thomas Aquinas's texts by going back through four centuries of Thomist commentaries, all of which had been based on a misinterpretation by Cajetan (1468–1533) that had subsequently been passed on by Suarez. According to these authors, Thomas Aquinas was supposed to have defended the idea of a finality proper to man according to nature*, and to which his supernatural finality had been appended. From this derived a theology that, by allowing a "separate philosophy" to deal with everything that had to do with the life and history of man, confined itself to speaking only about the *extrinsic* fringes of that reality.

Even if, as he confessed, other problems had caused him more toil (especially those involving the history of religions), it is indeed in the natural desire for God, innate in man created (creation*) in his image*, that the guiding thread to all Lubac's works should be sought. Such is the "paradox" of man, a spiritual but finite creature whose unique finality is supernatural. "Whence comes his sort of lurching gait, his mysterious limping, which is not only the lameness of sin*, but primarily and more radically that of a creature created out of nothing, who, strangely, approaches God" (*Mystère du surnaturel* 149). Lubac's truly humanist feelings are revealed in many works that find in that "paradox" the essential key to understanding. *Pic de La Mirandole* (1974) is a model of the type. Lubac's enterprise, in conjunction with works by Rahner*, Balthasar, M.-D. Chenu (1895–1990), Y. Congar, and others, allowed theology to return from an "exile" that had forbidden it all contact with living thought. He himself confronted that thought through the "Western atheism*" of P. J. Proudhon (1809–65), Marx*, and A. Comte (1798–1857) (*Le drame de l'humanisme athée*, first published in 1944, went through seven editions during Lubac's lifetime) as well as through "Eastern atheism," and particularly through Buddhism. Lubac's specific contributions to the Christian intellectual current of his own century can be summarized as a theol-

ogy of the call that opens onto the mystery* of the Church as *convocatio* and as *congregatio*.

c) “*New Theology*.” Under this term, used for the first time in the *Osservatore romano* by P. Parente, the representatives of neo-Thomist orthodoxy fustigated everything to do with efforts to change theology in postwar France. M.D. Chenu’s little book, *Une École de théologie: Le Saulchoir* (1937) was the first to be put on the Index for having dared to make an appeal for theology’s practical function as opposed to the hypertrophy of its speculative function. The controversy flared up again with an article by Daniélou in *Les Études* of April 1846, “Les orientations présentes de la pensée religieuse” (Current directions in religious thought). There Daniélou boldly advocated a return to the sources of Christian thought, scriptural, patristic, and liturgical (Fathers* of the Church, liturgy*), in order to enable it to make contact again with contemporary thought. M. Labourdette answered him in *La Revue thomiste*, an answer that in turn received an immediate response in *Le Bulletin de l’Angelicum* in R. Garrigou-Lagrange’s (1877–1964) “La nouvelle théologie: Où va-t-elle?” (Where is the new theology going?). The latter attacked in particular a book by a young companion of L.H. Bouillard, *Conversion et grâce chez Thomas d’Aquin* (1944). Following in the footsteps of Garrigou-Lagrange, the Dominicans of Saint-Maximin claimed to be defending the Thomist notion of grace* and attacked the investigative methods of the Jesuits of Fourvière. B. de Solages, dean of the Institut Catholique of Toulouse, came to the defense of the latter for “the honor of theology.”

Already suspect, Lubac was soon at the center of a polemic because of an article in *Recherches de science religieuse* (1948) devoted to the question of the development of dogma (Newman*). C. Boyer, dean of the Gregorian University, could not rest until he and Garrigou-Lagrange had obtained the condemnation of a mythical “School of Fourvière,” of which Lubac was supposed to be the leader. As early as 19 September 1946 Lubac had managed to get the “new theology” mentioned negatively by Pius XII himself in a speech at the close of a General Congregation of the Jesuits. The encyclical *Humani Generis* (1951), although it attacked no one directly, was considered a victory by the conservative wing and brought a temporary halt to the renewal of theology.

Although the “new theology” can today be viewed as a “chimera from a fable,” in line with Y. Congar’s retrospective judgment, the debate of the years

1938–50 is perhaps not definitively over. During that period, the adversaries of renewal, moved by their antimodernist phobia, were wrong to scent doctrinal relativism* everywhere. By their recourse to the “symbolic theology” of the Fathers, the supporters of renewal were, on the contrary, right to refuse to restrict themselves to a “theology of conclusions” that paid no attention to the historical aspect of dogma. But according to Guardini’s observation, dogma will always be like “an arc flashing between two poles.” A rigorous effort must therefore be made so as to be able to distinguish an authentic development from its corruptions. Besides, scholarship cannot do without a sense of Christian mysticism* or personal contact with the great spiritual traditions. Lubac’s works bequeath us an extraordinary testament to that fact.

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OLIVIER DE BERRANGER

See also Aristotelianism, Christian; Balthasar, Hans Urs von; Blondel, Maurice; Dogma; Fathers of the Church; History; Humanism, Christian; Newman, John Henry; Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm; Philosophy; Spirituality, Ignatian; Supernatural; Thomism

Lulle, Raymond. *See* Positive Theology

Luther, Martin

1483–1546

Martin Luther was the initiator of a vast religious movement known as the Reformation, the ecclesiastical, cultural, and political consequences of which can still be felt to this day.

a) Education. After studying at the faculty of arts at the University of Erfurt in 1505, Luther entered the convent of Augustinian hermits. There he experienced an inner crisis: he was haunted by a Christ* perceived above all as a judge and underwent the experience* of the permanence of sin* and the impossibility of producing proof of a perfect obedience to God* that might enable him to subsist before him.

During his studies at the faculty of arts and then of theology*, Luther was confronted with the *via moderna* and with nominalism* represented by Gabriel Biel (†1495), who had himself been inspired by the ideas of William Ockham (†1349), John Duns* Scotus, and the earlier Franciscan tradition (Bonaventure*). Through its conception of God not as a Supreme Being* but as will, through its insistence upon revelation* as the sole source of his knowledge*, through its criticism of the use of Aristotle in theology and, in form more than in content, through its concept of salvation*, this movement had a lasting influence on Luther. He was also influenced by Saint Augustine*, particularly by his anti-Pelagian treatises, and this would lead Luther to campaign vigorously against the idea that man can, through his own efforts, prepare to receive grace*. (According to Lortz, Luther's Augustinianism* enabled him, by criticizing nominalism, to overcome "a Catholicism* that was not Catholic" but neo-Pelagian. But Ockhamism was never condemned by the magisterium*, and Luther's attacks were such that they encompassed all of Scholasticism* in one reprobation.)

German mysticism* also played a role in Luther's intellectual development. Like Tauler, Luther located the root of sin in will and self-affirmation; and in his insistence upon humiliation he expanded upon Tauler's discourse on the *ad nihil* reduction—that is, on the annihilation of man. Luther's readings were always selective, not exempt from misunderstandings, and sensitive to convergences before they discovered differences. If, like Augustine, Luther spoke of sin as the true corruption of man, in fact he went even further. After conversion*, he contended, there subsists in man more than a "remnant" of weakness. Sin, according to Luther, is a reality that is permanently present in human will itself. As for grace, which Augustine considered to be an innate gift conferring upon man new strength and qualities, Luther saw it rather as an attitude of God. Moreover, Augustine's Neoplatonism is absent from Luther's ideas, with the exception of a few references in the first lecture on the Psalms*. As for German mysticism, Luther followed neither its speculative orientation nor its concept of man deemed capable "in the fine point of his soul*" of apprehending God.

Humanism* no doubt had a greater impact upon Luther than is generally admitted, given his confrontation with Erasmus*. Proof of this is to be found in the preference given to the Fathers* of the Church regarding the later tradition*, Luther's aversion for Scholastic theology, the importance given to the Bible*, the critical examination of the texts, the use of ancient authors, and the influence of humanist rhetoric.

b) At the Heart of Luther's Interpretation: Holy Scripture. In his first lecture on the Psalms (1513–15), Luther interprets the text according to the traditional schema of the four senses of Scripture, but new inter-

pretations were developing. In opposition to the medieval exegete Nicolas de Lyre, who vouched only for a literal sense, Luther resorts to a literal-prophetic sense to explain the Psalms. Moreover, he refines the tropological sense by establishing a link between the biblical text and the existence of the believer—whatever is said of Christ is applied to Christians. The faithful therefore appropriate Christ—his life, his work, and his death. The schema of the four senses would be abandoned with the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (1515–16); allegory would never totally disappear, but Luther thereafter concentrated on the literal sense. Especially when controversy arose, only the literal sense carried authority in Luther's opinion. He would not limit himself, however, to a purely philological commentary, but always sought out the fundamental idea of the text, the "scopus" in relation to the actual situation of the faithful. The interpretation of Scripture is set within a broader perspective, as a function of the message of salvation clearly proclaimed in the Letter to the Romans. The love* of God is revealed through Jesus Christ; because of Christ, God awards grace to the sinner, independently of his works* and merits. From that moment, Jesus Christ becomes, as Savior, the key to a global interpretation of the books in the Bible. He is the center of Scripture, "its mathematical point" (WA. TR 2, no. 2383).

When the experience of "seeing the gospel" was challenged by the ecclesiastical authorities, Luther proclaimed that the primary authority* lay within Scripture, and denied that in its interpretation the last word should be granted to the magisterium. Scripture is sufficiently clear, in his opinion, to be understood by all Christians. It is not the book* as such that is the Word* of God. Scripture is, in fact, a "good shout" before being a text. It is a living message, first entrusted to the apostles*, then handed down through the ages, but it always refers back to the apostolic message. To be sure, when confronted with heretical distortions of preaching* one had to have recourse to what was written, and the written word also comprised a sort of counterweight to the ministers, allowing the faithful to maintain a critical distance toward those ministers. Luther affirms that "Scripture provides its own interpretation" (WA 10, III, 238, 10). This principle was in opposition both to Rome*, which granted too much power to the magisterium, and to various spiritualists, who sought to include the Spirit. The Spirit comes to readers through Scripture, and not from outside Scripture. Luther also emphasizes the clarity of Scripture: ordered in relation to the center that was Jesus Christ, it suffices to inform man of what needs to be known of God and of salvation. Traditional ecclesiastical customs can certainly be maintained if they do not contra-

vene the biblical message; and the doctrinal and dogmatic tradition of the ancient church will be useful, as a secondary authority, in helping one to read the Scripture.

c) *God's Justice.* In his lecture on the Letter to the Romans and in various theses, Luther attacks the concept of man in which man sees himself as an autonomous subject called on to produce a certain number of acts in order to fulfill himself as a person*. When Luther speaks of sin, he does not mean a moral shortcoming, but more radically a human tendency to affirm oneself in the sight of God, to wish to live according to one's own justice* and not that which God wants to deliver; through his criticism, a vision of original man would be born, in which the founding instant was a relation to an exterior reality, Christ. (See, in particular, the commentaries on the *Magnificat* of 1521 and the theses on man from 1536.)

Scholastic theologians, according to Luther, did not really think through the idea of sin and man as sinner; they merely added the need to obtain help from a supernatural source—grace, that is, which insofar as it is innate has become an inherent quality of the soul, "like the whiteness of a wall," according to Luther's critical expression. However, in Luther's view the will of the sinner is strictly incapable of accomplishing acts that lead to the attribution of grace, and grace cannot become a quality of the soul. (Luther rejects the concept of "habitual" grace.) Only a new relation to God brought on by his Word of pardon can make man just in the sight of God and capable of accomplishing just deeds. The justification* of man by faith* does not depend on qualities or accomplishments peculiar to man, for one, nor is it acquired once and for all, by virtue of the permanence of sin. Christians, according to Luther, will be both sinners and penitents by virtue of what they are in themselves, and they will become just through the divine pardon imputed upon them through the justice of Christ.

But although Luther criticizes the Ockhamist idea that justification occurs when God extends his grace as a new quality to those who "do what is within their power," is this not nevertheless bound to another Ockhamist concept, which posits that man might be just because God, in his *potentia absoluta*, would accept him as such outside of any infusion of grace, through a simple imputation of justice? The objection is not exact, for the Lutheran concept of imputation does not base salvation on divine omnipotence* alone, but on the accomplishment of the law* through Jesus Christ and his merits. To the abstract sense of the Ockhamist imputation Luther opposes his principle of the *propter Christum*, "because of Christ." In later autobi-

ographical texts, Luther evoked what was for him the liberating discovery of the exact meaning of Paul's characterization of the gospel as "the power of God for salvation to every one who has faith" (Rom 1:17). This is when he understood that the issue was not the punishing justice of the God, who aims at the works of man, but the (passive) justice by which the just live from the gift of God—that is, justice by faith (*see* in particular WA 54, 186, 8–9; the date of this liberating experience is debatable: either 1514–15 or the spring of 1518).

d) *Conflict with Rome and the Question of Authority in the Church.* The 95 theses against indulgences* that Luther wrote in October 1517 quickly made him known to the general public. For Luther, indulgences led to a deceptive sense of security: the faithful received them not only as a temporal penalty due for sin, imposed upon penitents after they had confessed their sins and received absolution, but also as a dispensation of authentic contrition and a guarantee of salvation. He also rejected the idea of a "treasure" constituted by the supererogatory merits of Christ and his saints, and which the church could dispose of as a sort of celestial bank account in order to give benefits to those faithful who were less well endowed in sanctity. The only treasure that the church can and must transmit is the Word of God. And as for indulgences, which Luther did not impugn as such, they encompassed only the canonical penalties imposed by the church on earth, and not the penalties of purgatory.

The question of indulgences led back to the pope*, evoked in over a third of Luther's theses. Was it not the pope who gave them authority? Luther did not set himself up as a revolutionary against traditional authority, but aimed to bring about a return to the standard of the Scripture. Referring to the 15th-century canonist Nicolas de Tudeschi, Luther affirmed as early as 1518 that "the pope, as well as the council*, can err" (WA 1, 656, 32)—and during the Leipzig Disputation, which would pit him against Johann Eck in 1519, Luther would say that the church had no need of a leader on earth, for Christ alone was its leader. When confronted by the pope's legate, Cardinal Cajetan, Luther refused to recant unless he were proven wrong by biblical arguments, and he affirmed that "truth* is master even over the pope" (WA 2, 18, 2). The debate with Cajetan also centered upon the certainty of salvation. According to Scholastic theology, it was only in the form of a *conjecture* that individual believers could affirm their salvation, when they managed to discern signs of Christian life in their existence: no one could know with *certainty* whether they were in a state of grace. However, according to Luther, salvation is granted to

man from without, through the promise* of God, and this is the basis for certainty. It is only if a believer has the benefit of a personal certainty of salvation that a justifying grace can be of use to him during the absolution of sins.

e) *Sacraments and the Church, Faith, and Works.* In 1517–18 Luther published numerous treatises. Some, in German, were addressed to laymen; others, more technical and written in Latin, were instead intended for theologians. The most important were published in 1520: *Von den guten Werken (Of Good Works)*, *Von dem Bapstum zu Rome: Widder den hoch berumften Romanisten zu Leiptzck (On the Papacy at Rome: Against the Most Celebrated Romanist in Leipzig)*, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation (Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation)*, *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium (A Prelude Concerning the Babylonish Captivity of the Church)*, and *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmensche (Of the Liberty of a Christian Man)*.

In dealing with the question of the sacraments*, Luther emphasized that only the believer can make a salutary use of them. Thus he challenged the Scholastic distinction between sacraments of the Old Covenant*, which had effect only *ex opere operantis*—that is, on the basis of the faith of those who made use of them—and the sacraments of the New Covenant, which had effect simply by virtue of their celebration, *ex opere operato*—provided the faithful did not raise any obstacles thereto by consciously opposing an *obex*. But Luther placed an emphasis on the inner attitude—the *opus operantis*—of those who made use of the sacraments, with the understanding of course that faith itself was a work of God. Luther also reacted against the medieval tendency that led people to increase the importance of sacraments in relation to the importance of the Word that was preached, for Luther regarded the Word as a means of salvation: grace was communicated not only through the sacraments, but also through preaching.

Luther further reduced the number of sacraments to two: baptism* and the Eucharist*, which he viewed as the visible form of God's promise and the only sacraments possessing a biblical legitimacy. It was for that reason that he would fight against what he considered to be the principal error of the Roman Church: the error was neither the Communion under one species (even though the practice diverged from the biblical account of the institution of the Eucharist), nor was it the doctrine of transubstantiation (a useless Scholastic hypothesis), but the doctrine of the Mass as sacrifice* and as a deed of man offered to God, which prevented one from perceiving that there was a promise of God,

the gospel calling for faith. Several liturgical consequences resulted from this theological presupposition, including the spoken recitation of the story of the institution and the suppression of masses destined for particular purposes—private masses or low masses in which the faithful did not participate.

The question of the Church was then inevitable. Excommunication from the Church of Rome, affirmed Luther, does not deprive the believer of communion* with the Church of Jesus Christ. The gift of grace is not linked solely to the sacraments bestowed by the Church of Rome. The pope, and the council, were capable of error; between priests* and laymen there was only a difference of function. Assertions of this nature called to question the traditional tripartite power of the Church of Rome (sanctification, magisterium, and jurisdiction*) in favor of the unique and exclusive power of the Word of God. The Church, according to Luther, is a communion of faith that extends to the entire earth and is not identified with the organism of the Church of Rome. It is not the fact of belonging to a visible community which makes one a Christian. The two types of Christianity could certainly not be dissociated, for they are linked as body and soul are linked. But where spiritual communion is concerned, Christianity has only one leader, Christ, for Christ alone can infuse faith. To be sure, Christ can use messengers, but strictly speaking he has no representative or vicar on earth. He communicates with mankind through the Gospels and the sacraments. When preaching, baptism, and Holy Communion are in keeping with the Gospels, the true Church is present.

What, then, is a Christian? The major criterion is faith, which Luther describes as trust, a connection to Christ, an attachment to the Word, something he opposes to a purely intellectual belief, to moralism, and to sentimentalism. Faith exists because God speaks: “The soul can do without everything except the Word of God” (WA 7, 22, 9–11). God’s Word reaches man in two forms, as a law and as the gospel. In Scripture there are texts whose purpose is to accuse man and make him aware of his sin (the Ten Commandments, e.g.); others, on the contrary, announce God’s pardon (the Gospels, therefore). Only this distinction can keep faith from moralism, by revealing man’s powerlessness on the one hand, and on the other, by emphasizing the miracle* of grace.

Attached by faith to God alone, Christians are supremely free, both with regard to the conditions in which they live and to the accusations brought by the law of God. They are free, too, to approach God directly, in trust. All believers, from this point of view, are priests. Sincere faith, however, must necessarily be proven by the good deeds that it will inform and direct.

These deeds are not addressed to God to obtain his grace, since salvation is granted freely to man; they are addressed to one’s neighbor, in conformity with the vocation, or call, that God entrusts to each man.

In June 1521 Rome ordered Luther to recant within 60 days. He asked to be convinced of his “errors” by means of scriptural arguments. On 3 January 1521 he was excommunicated. Authorized to appear before the Diet of Worms in April, he made his famous reply: “Unless I can be convinced through the testimony of the Scripture and through evident reason—for I believe in neither the infallibility of the pope nor in that of the councils, since it has been established that they have often made mistakes and contradicted themselves—I am bound by the biblical texts that I have mentioned. For as long as my conscience is the captive of God’s Word, I cannot and will not recant, for it is neither safe nor salutary to act against one’s conscience” (WA 7, 838, 3–8).

f) Pastor and Inspirer of Evangelical Churches. Luther’s influence began with his translation of the Bible. The New Testament was published in 1522, and the Old Testament was completed in 1534). The translations met with considerable success, continuing right up to the 20th century. Luther’s commentaries and preachings (some two thousand sermons have been preserved) have also played an important role, as has his advice for the establishment of an “evangelical” worship. In these writings, Luther asked that the weak be taken into consideration, and that before changes were introduced there be a convincing argument, and above all that a distinction be made between the necessary, the articles of faith, and the relative, something that had the right to vary according to the different liturgical usages and ecclesiastical structures*. In comparison with others, the first liturgical formularies that Luther published in 1523 were fairly conservative, even though they had been purified of anything that might suggest a sacrificial concept of the Mass.

Luther contributed to the development of liturgical music by composing 36 hymns, including the famous “Ein fester Burg ist unser Gott” (“A Mighty Fortress is Our God”). He was also aware very early on of the necessity of educating the young, particularly in faith (1529, *Small and Larger Catechism*).

After 1525 Luther asked the prince elector to act in the capacity of a “provisional bishop” (*Notbischof*) by undertaking an inspection of the parishes by jurists and theologians in order to bring some order to the pastoral cure and to solve financial problems. In this way the territorial church was born, where political authority would exercise a greater power than Luther had originally envisaged. It has often been supposed that Luther

wanted a total separation of the religious domain and the sociopolitical domain; in fact, even though it was not up to the preachers themselves to establish new institutions or elaborate a political program, Luther considered that they must be vigilant, must remind those who governed of their duty, must instruct all the states in Christianity of “that which is useful and salutary,” and, when needed, must voice their criticism. The aim was to sharpen people’s consciences*, thus to address individuals, and to take a stand on the various institutions of society—schools (which must be promoted), systems of trade, marriage*, law*, and political institutions—to ensure that they served the concrete needs of mankind and conformed to the will of God.

Through his correspondence (2,650 letters in his own hand) and numerous occasional writings, Luther also practiced the *cura animarum* (cure of the soul), and gave pastoral directives, providing enlightenment on the attitude to be adopted in times of plague, taking up the defense of baptism for children, giving indications on prayer*, consoling or reprimanding, and giving counsel to those authorities who wished to introduce the Reformation.

g) *Doctrinal Conflicts*. The controversy with the theologians of the traditional church was unrelenting (see in particular *Against Latomus*, *Reply to Ambrosius Catharinus*, and the *Articles of Schmalkalden*). The polemic was above all about justification by faith, about the church and the sacraments, and about the papacy. In 1518 a doubt was born in Luther’s mind: since the pope established new articles of faith and did not want to conform to Scripture, perhaps he could—as an institution (not as a person)—be the Anti-Christ announced in 2 Thessalonians 2:3–4. Luther remained uncertain about this until 1521. Meanwhile, his struggle against the papacy grew increasingly bitter.

In 1522 controversies also arose opposing Luther to partners who had been close to him but who had become more radical, or more nuanced—Erasmus, for example. Thus, in the treatise *De servo arbitrio* (1525), Luther once again denied that the will of man could prepare him to receive grace and cooperate in his salvation. In everyday things man disposes of a certain amount of freedom of choice; but with regard to God or the realities that concern salvation or damnation, free will does not exist (WA 18, 638, 9–10).

Luther also set himself against those he qualified as “fanatics” (*Schwärmer*), and challenged the Old Testament justifications to which they resorted in order to remove images* from the churches (Karlstadt’s point of view) or to implement a sort of theocracy where the impious would be excluded (Thomas Münzer). Luther also stigmatized these “fanatics” for conduct that, in

his opinion, led to an immediate experience of the Holy Spirit in a way that relativized the Bible and the Word preached. Finally, he reproached them for once again allowing themselves to be in thrall to the idea of justification through deeds, by making Christ an example to follow rather than the Savior proclaimed by the gospel of the justification by faith.

Between 1525 and 1529 Luther was in opposition to Zwingli* over the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, in particular in *That These Words of Christ “This Is My Body” Still Stand Firm against the Fanatics* (1527) and the treatise, *Confession of the Lord’s Supper* (1528). Since Christ, from the time of his ascension, can no longer be present on earth in his humanity, argued Zwingli, Holy Communion has only a symbolic meaning. Luther refuted this affirmation by vigorously upholding the idea of real presence: the bread *is* the body of Christ. The ascension, in fact, did not shut Christ away in a given place, but placed him “above and in all creatures.” Luther referred to Ockhamist distinctions to assert that there exist several types of unity, and that there is one thinkable unity, a sacramental unity, between the bread and the wine of Holy Communion, on the one hand, and the body and blood of Christ on the other. Real presence, in his opinion, prolonged Incarnation*. It was Christ himself, in the way in which he brought about the work of redemption, who offered himself to the believer and thus founded his certainty. Along with the Word, this sacrament is one of the paths chosen by God to communicate salvation.

From 1527–28 on, Luther also entered into conflict with those who would be called the Antinomists. According to their spokesman, Johann Agricola, true penitence cannot be achieved through preaching of the law, as Luther had affirmed, but only through preaching of the gospel, and law no longer concerned the Christian. For Luther, however, to preach the gospel without the law is the same as losing the gospel as a form of “good news.” The law, to be sure, does not justify, but it impels all humans, Christians included, for as long as they remain sinners, to receive the gospel—that is, forgiveness. To fail to distinguish the law of the gospel prohibits one in fact from acknowledging the redemptive role of Christ. Luther does concede, however, that penitence, in the full sense of the term, is compelled by faith, and that for those who simply remain under the law there is nothing left but despair.

h) *God, Christ, and Man: History in Luther’s Theology*. The majority of Luther’s writings—more than one hundred volumes, or roughly 60,000 pages, in the Weimar edition—were occasional works. He was more a commentator on the Bible than a systematician.

His ideas were not always presented in the form of a doctrinal body, but, using a theological process that was always centered upon Christ and the Bible, he placed his emphases differently according to the time and circumstances.

The existential implication of the theologian is primordial in this case. Indeed, only those who allow themselves to be judged and liberated by the Word of God can truly apprehend the mysteries* of faith. One receives the liberating gospel through an unceasing effort of reading and interpreting Scripture. The idea that reason* could, by analogy, trace a path from the Creation* to the Creator via a purely theoretical process is therefore excluded. Luther insists in his theses of the *Heidelberg Disputation* (1518) that the true God can be known only in the flesh of the Crucified. And to a theology that speaks of God without this reference (a “theology of glory”) Luther opposes a “theology of the cross” in which the power of God is revealed in his weakness: God reveals himself by concealing himself, and it is through his death that man will live. Only those who renounce speculation and adopt the paradoxical revelation chosen by God, only those who renounce the glory of deeds to live in a faith experienced in the shadow of the cross, can obtain knowledge* of God.

Luther’s God is a person who speaks and to whom one speaks. The unceasing activity of the Creator is emphasized (WA 7, 574, 29–31), and if Luther insists upon the sovereignty of God in relation to the world, he can also describe his transcendence in terms of a hidden presence within the very depths of the creature’s being. God, above all, is love, the very nature of which is to create and to give to those who deserve nothing. But, given the sins of man, the biblical text also speaks of the wrath* of God, a wrath that must serve to remind the believer that God’s love cannot be taken for granted, but that it is the victory of God through Jesus Christ over that which accuses man—wrath and the law. Wrath and law are, in their way, the “improper works” of God, and they cause man to flee toward the heart of God.

Despite certain reservations with regard to the vocabulary used, Luther adopted the Trinitarian and christological dogma of the early church. They were truly fundamental from his soteriological perspective: if Jesus Christ was not truly God, man would not be saved. And how could man attain faith, his only means of salvation, without the divine work of the Holy Spirit? In a very Western way, Luther also insists upon the unity between the three Persons of the Trinity*, in such a way that he might be accused of modalism*. But if faith is born when man discovers the face of the Father* in Jesus Christ, Luther also knew how to express, in various ways, the encounter between Father

and Son. As a theologian of Incarnation he insisted, contrary to Zwingli in particular, upon the close union of Christ’s two natures. To establish Christ’s presence in the Eucharist, Luther sets himself up as a theoretician of the communication of idioms*; and the same theory enables him to say that divine nature also plays a part in the suffering of Jesus* the man.

As for redemption, the Lutheran position is also traditional, and has similarities in a number of ways to Anselm*’s in the *Cur Deus homo*. But although it was in our place that Christ satisfied the law and submitted to its accusations, his act of substitution did not elicit the love of God, for that love was primary and was made evident through the sending of the Son. The Christ of reconciliation was, moreover, the Christ who liberated man from the evil power, classically, of death* and the devil, to which Luther added the law and the wrath of God. Christ’s work of “satisfaction” and redemption, finally, was not confined to the past. Christ did not extend grace, but stood “before the Father as a comfort [to man] and an intercessor” (WA 20, 634, 18) and gave himself to the believer as his justice.

“Justification by faith alone” is at the heart of the Lutheran message, affirming that only man’s faith in Christ will render him just before God. What is more, faith for Luther took on a full meaning that the Scholastic tradition had not ascribed to it. Faith was in fact interpreted as the act of reason that acquiesces to revelation, and any process of this kind must be completed by the love for God. But, for Luther, faith immediately implies one’s entire person. It is not only knowledge, it is also trust. This existential concept is one of the reasons why Luther reacted against everything that in theology and in the practice of the Catholic Church could turn grace into a sort of supernatural force transmitted by the sacraments to take root in the soul as a quality: one cannot speak of faith and grace without insisting upon the Word, that of Christ and of his witnesses. To insist upon mediation—of Christ, of the witnesses, of the Word, including its sacramental form—was also a way of forewarning against the numerous forms of mysticism and spiritualism. Luther’s theology granted considerable importance to the immediacy of a relationship founded on belief, but it did not give rise to absolute individualism, and did not reduce Christianity to a pious interiority.

Luther did not speak only of faith or inner realities. He also often evoked the works of God in Creation and in history, and he called on believers to cooperate. In the face of an ascetic piety, Luther restored value to the human body and to everything that comprises life on earth, marriage in particular. Christians are not permanent in the world*, however good that world may be through the will of God the Creator. Aware of the real-

ity of evil*, confronted with the incessant activity of Satan, man remains a stranger on earth and aspires to the sudden arrival of the "last day." Luther often evoked the devil, and this was more than a mere medieval legacy for him. He viewed history* as the uninterrupted struggle between God the Creator and Satan the destroyer. Satan attacks the worthy institutions willed by God, destroys civil society* through sedition (the peasant uprising), usury, and war*. But Satan also intervenes in the realm of faith, perverting the preaching of the gospel or attacking its witnesses. In accordance with the Lutheran distinction between the two reigns, the struggle against Satan is waged on two levels: on the one hand, through temporal institutions, law, and constraint; on the other hand, through the message of the gospel and the lives of Christians themselves. It is to his acute awareness of the permanence of evil that Luther owes his eschatological expectation, free of any millenarianism*. There will be no perfect state, either in the church or in secular society. Progress will never be anything more than relative. Only on the last day will one witness the appearance of Jesus Christ and the total destruction of the powers of the devil.

- The standard Weimar Edition (WA), Böhlau, 1883–, comprises four sections: (1) Writings (treatises, commentaries, preachings, etc.): Vols. 1–59, 61–63; (2) Correspondence, 18 vols. (WA.B); (3) *Tischreden* (Table Talks), 6 vols. (WA.TR); (4) Deutsche Bibel (German Bible) series, 12 vols. (15 vols.) (WA.DB).

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MARC LIENHARD

See also Baptism; Ecclesiology; Erasmus, Desiderius; Faith; Grace; Holy Scripture; Indulgences; Law and Christianity; Lutheranism; Mass, Sacrifice of the; Nominalism; Pope; Scripture, Senses of; Word of God; Works; Zwingli, Huldrych

Lutheran Church. *See* Lutheranism

Lutheranism

1. Concept and Origin

The term Lutheranism denotes the totality of Christians, churches*, and Christian communities whose life and faith* are distinctly marked by a new understanding of the biblical message of salvation*, as formulated and defended by the 16th-century Reformation in Wittenberg and especially by Martin Luther*. This movement arose, of course, in the context of the social, cultural, and political upheavals of the time, and was influenced by them. Essentially, however, it was a spiritual phenomenon, which signaled the revival of the biblical message of salvation at a time when it appeared that this was no longer being preached in a satisfactory way. This reorientation was conducted through an appeal to apostolic testimony, as definitively preserved in Holy Scripture*, but at the same time it claimed a continuity with the teaching and doctrine of the early church. The adjective *Lutheran* was initially used by the opponents of the Reformation, while its supporters (especially Luther) accepted the term only with reluctance, since it seemed to accord a central importance to the person of the reformer. The term is nonetheless perfectly justified, on both a historical and a theological level.

2. Fundamental Beliefs

This new understanding of the biblical message of salvation is expressed in three fundamental beliefs, all closely interlinked.

a) God's Disinterested Condescension toward Mankind Is the One Path to Salvation. In Jesus Christ, God* himself approaches mankind and takes it back into communion with him. Therein is salvation. Mankind does not need to lift itself toward God. Through the virtue of the Incarnation* the meeting between God and man takes place in the finite sphere—that is to say, in the audible words of the preaching* of the gospel and in the material nature of the sacraments*.

b) Justification of the Sinner Is the Center of the Church's Message and Doctrine, and the Heart of the Christian Existence. In Christ*, God mercifully welcomes the sinner, in other words, the person stricken by judgment*. Whoever believes wholeheartedly in this event is justified by God and at the same time in-

troduced to another life. This is the “principal element” or “center” of the Christian message, to which all Christian proclamation and teaching must conform.

c) Law and Gospel Are to Be Distinguished and Put in Order. The Word* of God is on the one hand a word of command and judgment (law*), and on the other hand a word of absolution and regeneration (gospel). These two things should be clearly distinguished, but not dissociated. They must be distinguished in order to ensure the gratuitous nature of salvation; and they must be put in order or linked with one another in order to prevent the gospel of God's grace* being understood as the granting of a “just grace.” These fundamental convictions are linked to a particular vision of the Church, which is seen as a “communion* of believers” and a “creature of the gospel” (*creatura evangelii*). This means that the Church is born of and lives by the gospel, which leads people to God, and thereby also unites them by means of preaching and the sacraments (baptism* and the Eucharist). In these two ways, people receive the gospel, which gives rise to the Church. The ecclesial ministry* conferred by ordination* is not eliminated, however, since it is instituted by God. As a ministry of preaching and administering the sacraments it is the instrument of the proclamation of the gospel.

The Lutheran understanding of the world and society*, and Lutheranism's activity in the cultural, social, and political spheres are linked by three guiding principles: 1) a positive attitude toward the world, seen as the good work that God will not abandon, even in the face of the destructive power of sin* and evil*; 2) the idea that an earthly profession (work*) is the framework that God assigns the Christian within which to realize and bear witness to his “sanctity,” in other words, the liberty* that is accorded him in faith to serve his neighbor; 3) the doctrine of the two rules (or of the two orders of sovereignty) by which God fights evil in the world: the spiritual rule, which God exercises through the Holy* Spirit, causing the gospel to be proclaimed through Word and sacrament, and, second, the worldly rule, which God assumes by way of civil authority. This doctrine should not be interpreted as implying a separation between the two kingdoms of God, as Lutheranism has done at certain periods and in certain situations.

3. Church Doctrine and the Confession of Faith

On the level of principles as much as in practice, church doctrine plays a more important role in Lutheranism than in the other Protestant churches. Lutheran confessions of faith appeared at a very early date, modeled on the *credo* of the early church. First came the *Augsburg Confession* (1530), which was followed by other confessional writings; all were finally collected in the *Book of Concord* (1580). This attachment to the creeds of the early church (the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople, the Apostles' Creed, and even the apocryphal Athanasian Creed) and to the Lutheran confessional writings is proclaimed in the constitutions of all the Lutheran churches. The church's creed is clearly subordinate to the authority* of Holy Scripture, which is accepted as the "only rule and measure." For all that it is seen as historically determined, the confession of faith retains a sense of permanent obligation within the churches, serving above all to guarantee the authenticity of church teachings. The *Augsburg Confession* is the first and principal confessional writing, and is recognized in almost all Lutheran churches. The others, which have not been so widely accepted, can mostly be understood as interpretations of, and complementary to, the *Augsburg Confession*. Among these texts, Luther's *Little Catechism* (1537) has been particularly influential, especially in terms of religious teaching and parish activities. In fact, the Lutheran credo has not evolved since the completion of the *Book of Concord* (1580), a fact that today more than ever appears to pose a problem. When new developments arise in response to specific circumstances (e.g., in Indonesia) the church strives to preserve "substantial agreement" with the historical creed. The relationship between Luther's own theology* and Lutheran confessional writings is a complex one, and not without occasional tensions. Indeed, while Lutheranism is inconceivable without Luther, in practice the doctrine officially professed by the churches is most often given priority.

4. Institution of the Church

The Lutheran Reformation initially and for a long time saw itself as a movement of renewal within the Catholic Church. The reformers had no intention of founding their own church. But insofar as the existing church was not prepared to tolerate such a movement within itself, it was inevitable that this movement should form itself into a separate church. This development took place under the then-prevailing sociopolitical conditions in the various countries of Europe. It displayed two characteristic traits: on the one hand, the universal—one might say "ecumenical"—aim of the reforming movement, for which the new vision of the biblical

message of salvation was a matter for the whole of Christendom; and on the other hand, the belief that the transformation of the movement into a church would be a merely provisional step. However, the end of the religious disputes and the conclusion of the Peace of Augsburg (1555) heralded another outcome—sealed by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648)—in which the Lutheran Reformation's universal, ecumenical project foundered. Breaking with the established church, Lutheranism set up its own churches. In Northern Europe whole countries went over to Lutheranism in this way. In Germany various regional churches arose and found a place within the established sociopolitical landscape. Elsewhere, Lutheran communities and churches developed in opposition to the established political power.

The Lutheran Reformation's reservations concerning this new church it was producing, and its own original intention rather to set up a movement of renewal within the one Church, have nevertheless remained strong features of Lutheranism. They find expression today in energetic ecumenical activity (see 8 below).

5. Spread of Lutheranism

In Germany, Lutheranism's period of growth ended, for all intents and purposes, as early as 1580—at the latest in 1648 (Treaty of Westphalia). The same may be said of the Scandinavian countries, where Lutheranism became the official or dominant religion, and of the countries of central and eastern Europe, where it remained a minority faith. Emigration from Germany and Scandinavia in the 18th and 19th centuries led to the founding of Lutheran churches, first in North and South America, and then in Australia. During the 19th and 20th centuries missionary activity gave rise to Lutheran churches in Asia and Africa. Today there are around 58 million Lutheran Christians in the world. In quantitative terms Lutheranism is undoubtedly strongest in the Scandinavian countries, with 21 million followers, and Germany, with 15 million. There are 8.7 million Lutherans in North America, 5.5 million in Africa, 4.5 million in Asia, 1.6 million in central and eastern Europe, and 1.2 million in Latin America.

6. Lutheranism's Internal Diversity

A fundamental unanimity in the understanding and confession of faith enables Lutheranism to assume the most varied forms: state churches, multitudinist churches, and free churches; episcopal, synodal, and congregationalist structures; an elaborate liturgy* derived from the classical mass, or a sparse liturgy chiefly focused on preaching. At present, however, there is a clear tendency toward frequent and regular

celebration of the Eucharist, and toward a development of the episcopal ministry. This diversity of forms of worship and ecclesial structures is made possible and justified by the Lutheran conception of the Church and its unity*. For Lutherans the necessary and sufficient condition of this unity lies in a fundamental agreement on the understanding of the gospel and its proclamation by Word and sacrament. Thereafter, the particular form of worship and ecclesial organization is only a secondary question, to which different responses are permitted. Both this conviction and the practices that result from it are not without danger, however. They can lead to indifference and to an unrestrained pluralism in liturgical and organizational matters, which could endanger the ecclesial community. Both these attitudes were alien to the Lutheran Reformation: on these subjects, too, it was clearly aware of the limits within which diversity could be tolerated, and strove to maintain as much coherence as possible.

7. Church Union

During the second half of the 19th century rapprochements developed, at both a national and a regional level (in Europe and North America), between Lutheran churches and groups that previously had often been cut off from, or even in conflict with, one another. At the beginning of the 20th century these attempts at internal unification spread to Lutheranism as a whole, leading in 1947 to the creation of the Lutheran World Federation. Almost all Lutheran churches—with the exception of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod in North America, and a few free churches—now belong to this organization, which encompasses some 55 million Christians. For a long time the Lutheran World Federation saw itself as a purely federative structure, whose constitution did not envisage the eucharistic Communion of the member churches. However, consciousness of the universal solidarity of Lutherans has recently grown to such an extent that the federation now officially regards itself as a “communion of churches,” united in the communion of pulpit and altar.

8. Ecumenical Commitment

In its early period Lutheranism retained a strong ecumenical focus inherited from the Lutheran Reformation (which saw itself as a movement of renewal within the established church and did not aim to found a new church). At that time Lutherans were in regular discussion with representatives of the official church, and also with members of the Swiss wing of the Reformation and the Church of England; they even attempted to establish links with the Eastern Orthodox churches. By and large these ecumenical efforts lapsed

over the following centuries. At the beginning of the 19th century, united Lutheran-Reformed churches were formed in Germany; these however were rejected by large sectors of Lutheranism. The churches, and a number of well-known Lutherans, have since played a part—sometimes a leading one (as in the case of Archbishop Söderblom, for example)—in the 20th century ecumenical movement, and the Lutheran World Federation has set itself in its constitution the objective of encouraging Christian unity*. The interdenominational dialogue that opened up in the wake of Vatican* II gave a new impetus to these ecumenical efforts. From the outset the Lutheran churches and the Lutheran World Federation have been among the chief promoters of this dialogue. Since then a huge network of national and international exchanges has arisen, in which the Lutheran churches take part. Some of these exchanges, as for example the discussions between Lutherans and the European Reformed churches, have already led to the creation of a communion of churches (Leuenberg Concord, 1973). Others, such as the dialogue with the Anglicans, have at least come close to this goal.

The nature of this ecumenical commitment is determined by the Lutheran conception of the Church (*see* 2 and 6 above): the communion of churches, and thus the unity of the Church, is essentially a communion in the profession of the one apostolic faith. Consequently the ecumenical efforts of the Lutheran churches are particularly focused on this communion in the apostolic faith. This means that Lutherans give priority to *doctrinal* dialogue with the other churches, and that they are more reserved about the ecumenical initiatives that have been developed in other directions. More so than in the past, it is nonetheless accepted today that this communion in the confession of the apostolic faith may be achieved even when the churches present and formulate their confessions of faith and their doctrines in different ways. In this sense the goal of the ecumenical movement, especially from the Lutheran perspective, is understood as “unity in a reconciled diversity.”

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HARDING MEYER

9. Intellectual History of Lutheranism

Toward the end of the 16th century Lutheranism crystallized into what has been called "Lutheran orthodoxy*": a theology meant to develop and consolidate (especially under the pressure of its polemics with Catholicism*) the ecclesial and doctrinal structure that issued from the Reformation. The emphasis was then placed both on the preservation of the Lutheran heritage and on its systematization, which was not possible without considerable modifications and reorientations, both in the field of theology and in that of spiritual doctrine. A theory of the literal inspiration of the Scriptures thus arose (also incidentally to be found in post-Tridentine Catholicism) which had a different emphasis to that of the Reformers. Further, the "doctrinal texts" came to be isolated from their historical context and regarded as immutable norms that were, moreover, in perfect agreement with one another. A systematic theology worthy to be called Scholastic was finally developed, under the influence of Melancthon and within his circle. Associated with a learned metaphysics betraying Aristotelian origins and above all the considerable influence of Suarez* (Pedersen 1921, Wundt 1937, Courtine 1900), it was notable for abandoning (in the work of J. A. Quenstedt, J. Gerhard, and many others) the kerygmatic and homiletic style characteristic of Luther's great reformist writings.

The end of the 17th century, for Lutheranism as for all Christian denominations, was a period of crisis (see Pelikan 1989, 9–59, e.g.), which broke up what could have been seen as an untroubled marriage between Christianity and a kind of modernity (that of Luther's existential faith, or of the Cartesian metaphysics of the subject, etc.). Lutheran theology was to offer two concurrent (and not entirely antagonistic) responses to this crisis: Pietism* and theological rationalism*.

Pietism was a movement of spiritual regeneration

that influenced every Christian denomination; within Lutheranism it was associated with various elements peculiar to the Reformation and which orthodoxy had in part obscured: a personal understanding of the Christian faith, a return to Scripture as a living source of faith, a refusal to reintroduce the metaphysics implemented by Melancthon, a justification of universal priesthood* against any tendency to set up a church of ministers, and finally a vision of the Church as communion*. In other respects, however, its "modern" understanding of man and the world led Pietism astray from its reformed heritage: the devout man, the regenerate individual, assumed such importance that the objective elements on which Christian faith and life are based were largely obliterated. In this way the church found itself viewed above all as an assembly or gathering of the regenerate. Sacramental life was in danger of breaking down because the emphasis was placed on the dignity of the person receiving the sacrament and on the transformation to which his or her life bore witness; the significance of confessions of faith was played down, and denominational links were loosened. Even in the area of justification, there was less interest in the God who gives grace, and in the faith that receives that grace, than in the justified man and the effects of justification on his life. Zinzendorf produced a commentary on the *Augsburg Confession*, admittedly, and the majority of Lutheran Pietists remained orthodox, to judge by the beliefs they confessed. However, the "affective transposition of doctrines" (Pelikan 1989, 119–30) in which they all engaged, combining quietist influences (e.g., in the work of the great hymnographer G. Teerstegen [1697–1769], a disciple of the Huguenot P. Poiret), recollections of Rhineland*-Flemish mysticism, and a desire for a God "who can be felt in the heart," and so on, represented a genuine shift: in a Lutheran context, which was its environment of choice, Pietism was more pietist than Lutheran. Moreover, there arose a Pietist critique of Luther (by P. J. Spener and G. Arnold, e.g.), which accused him of carrying out a reformation in the doctrinal sphere, but not in that of piety.

The influence of modern thought was more strikingly present in the Enlightenment's effects on Lutheran theology. In the complex history of theological rationalism, in both the broad and the strict sense, any connection with the original inspiration of the Reformation seems to disappear among authors who nonetheless present themselves as its heirs and followers, but who are often impelled by the image of Luther the liberator to liberate themselves from Luther himself (see *TRE* 21, 571). In this way the Reformation came to be understood as an emancipating force, paving the way for the Enlightenment, and as a refusal of all the restraints (priestly, "su-

pernaturalist,” and institutional) that hampered the autonomy of the rational subject. Man’s immediate relationship with God offered an argument against mediation through the church and against the constraints imposed upon faith by dogmas and confessions. As well as a decline in the liturgical and sacramental elements of the Christian faith, faith itself was now barely considered except on an ethical level, with the result that practical reason served as the yardstick for all religious life or discourse (Kant* would have the last word on behalf of this trend). Preaching consequently took on a strong moral and pedagogical focus. Everything supernatural* was expunged. Theological rationalism (like Pietism) was admittedly to bear fruit in the biblical field, where it made a great contribution to the development of historico-critical research (J. S. Semler, etc.); but in so doing it accorded its method power over any Christian document—including the confessional texts of the Reformation—and denied the church any authority in the matter.

In reaction against Enlightenment theology (and against the state’s hold over the church), the 19th century witnessed a Lutheran revival (neo-Lutheranism) that took up the polemic begun during the previous century by supernaturalist theologians, and also attempted to find a middle way between Schleiermacher*’s theology (in which a kind of neo-Pietism may be discerned) and the demands of a confessional theology. Exemplified above all by the Erlangen School (A. von Harleß, G. C. K. von Hofmann, F. H. R. von Frank) and widely disseminated by the *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, this current opposed the ruptures of rationalism with a system of thought based on a principle of organic development. Moreover, by bringing about a return to confessional dogmatic* theology, it attempted to give an important place to the Lutheran orthodoxy of the 17th century (see the *Dogmatik* by H. Schmid, the “Kirchenschmid” [1843], the most widely read German theology manual of the period). This movement was not limited to academic work, but formed part of a process of awakening felt throughout the Christian world, both in theology and in the daily life of the church (see *TRE* 10, 205–20), and linked in Germany to great evangelical preachers such as the Blumhardts, Johann Christoph (1805–80) and his son Christoph Friedrich (1842–1919). Lutheranism thus opened out to encompass new dimensions, thanks to the development of a lively and varied missionary project, as well as intense social and diaconal activity. Ecclesiology* aroused new interest, from a nonindividualist perspective: the rehabilitation of the ministry of the church, and the reestablishment of the divine service in its full sacramental dimension.

The 19th century, however, was also the century of

Hegel* (who incidentally gave the annual commemorative speech for the *Augsburg Confession*, at the behest of Berlin University, in 1830) and his theological following (F. C. Baur and the Protestant school of Tübingen, etc.). It appears to have culminated, in the work of its greatest scholar, A. von Harnack, in the triumph of a “liberal” or “cultural” Protestantism/Lutheranism, which, of the sources of Christianity, kept only a portion of the New Testament texts, and retained virtually nothing of the content of the Christian faith but Jesus’ revelation* of the fatherhood of God.

The tendencies of neo-Lutheranism and a return to Luther also ran through the 20th century in various ways. Studies of Luther; a theological response to Kierkegaard* (a Lutheran who died an apostate from Danish Lutheranism, famous among many other things for his polemic against Luther on the subject of the Epistle of Saint James, but with obvious Protestant loyalties); the resumption of some fundamental Reformation ideas in the shape of “dialectical theology” and its rejection of liberal Protestantism; the development, in the mature works of Barth* (a Calvinist who owed much to Luther), of a theological project with a neo-orthodox structure; denominational realignment necessitated by the demands of ecumenical dialogue; and often a liturgical realignment too: these are among the influences and impulses that have shaped contemporary Lutheranism and given it its living face, visible as much in the internal debates that trouble it as in its participation in the debates common to all Christian denominations.

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HARDING MEYER AND JEAN-YVES LACOSTE

See also **Anglicanism**; **Calvinism**; **Congregationalism**; **Ecumenicism**; **Family, Confessional**; **Luther, Martin**; **Methodism**; **Protestantism**; **Puritanism**

Lyons I, Council of

1245

The First Council of Lyons belongs to the series of general or pontifical councils of the Middle Ages (*see* Lateran* I). Post-Tridentine canonical tradition regards it as the 13th ecumenical council.

Pope Innocent IV, having established himself at Lyons in 1244, convoked a council in the city with the aim of settling the problems of Christendom—the chief of these being the disagreement between the Roman Church and the emperor Frederick II, whose desire for hegemony was threatening the pope in Italy.

Around 150 bishops* and prelates came to Lyons, along with abbots, princes such as the Latin emperor of Constantinople, and ambassadors, including representatives of Frederick II. After a preparatory sitting on 26 June 1245, the council held its first session on 28 June. The pope asked the council to find solutions to the five woes or “wounds” of the church: the moral corruption of clerics* and laity*; the plight of the Holy Land; the weakening of the Latin empire in the east in the face of Greek reconquest; the threats of the Tartars (Mongols); and, last but not most important, the persecution of the church by Frederick II. The second session (5 July) dealt largely with the imperial question. During the third and final session (17 July), despite the opposition of some bishops and ambassadors, the emperor was found guilty by the majority, and was excommunicated and deposed.

Frederick II's deposition was the principal achievement of the council. The theological dimension and the desire for reform were almost entirely lacking. The history of the council's decrees is confused: some texts that had not been composed in the context of the council were nonetheless associated with it by Innocent IV. Apart from the bull for Frederick II's deposition, two groups of documents are generally considered as official texts. The first comprises 22 canonical decrees or constitutions concerning ecclesiastical trials (1–3, 6, and 8–17), elections (4–5), the powers of legates (7),

the punishment of hired killers (18), and excommunication (19–22). The second consists of five constitutions, more extended, that address the first four wounds of the church mentioned by the pope at the opening of the council: measures were agreed against the corrupt management of church properties and against usury (1); assistance was promised to the Latin empire of Constantinople (2); the fight against the Tartars was encouraged (4); and steps were taken to restart the Crusade (taxes, measures against Jews, and a prohibition on the sale of strategic goods to the Saracens) (3 and 5). The 22 decrees were adopted almost wholesale into the *Sext*, Boniface VIII's canonical compendium (1298).

Lyons I is remembered chiefly as marking a new stage in the assertion of pontifical “theocracy,” as well as for its acknowledgement of the sudden influx of Asian peoples into the church's domain, which initially gave rise to fear before being seen as a new opportunity for evangelization.

• Acts: Mansi 23, 605–86.

Decrees: *COD* 273–301 (*DCO* II/1, 581–633).

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Matthieu Paris, *Chronica majora* (council told through witness accounts), Ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series 57, 4, London, 1877 (2nd Ed. 1964), vol. 4, 410–4, 430–78.

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JEAN COMBY

See also Church and State, Political Theology

Lyons II, Council of

1274

The Second Council of Lyons, like the first, belongs to the series of general or pontifical councils of the Middle Ages (*see* Lateran* I). Canonical tradition regards it as the 14th ecumenical council.

Pope Gregory X was elected in 1271 after the see of Rome had been vacant for three years, during which period he had witnessed at Saint-Jean d'Acre the death throes of the Christian settlements in the Holy Land and the intrigues of the Latin church against the Greek Empire, the latter having been reestablished in 1261. He immediately decided to convoke a council at Lyons. The council would have three aims: to relaunch the Crusade, to reunite the Greek and Latin churches, and to reform Christian morals.

With the ground prepared by reports sent to the pope*, in particular those of the Franciscan Guibert of Tournai, the Dominican Humbert of Romans, and the bishop* of Olomouc, Bruno of Holstein-Schauenberg, the council brought together an impressive number of prelates. Some sources speak of five hundred bishops and several hundred other prelates. Thomas* Aquinas died on the way there, but Bonaventure*, the minister general of the friar minors attended, as did Peter of Tarentaise, the former archbishop of Lyons, and cardinal and future Pope Innocent V. Besides the six official sessions (7 and 18 May, 4 June, 6, 16, and 17 July) the council witnessed some memorable events: the arrival of the representatives of the Greek Church and a first common celebration of the Eucharist (24 and 29 June); the welcoming of Tartar ambassadors and the baptism* of one of them (4 and 16 July); and the death and funeral of Bonaventure (15 July).

Gregory X was overoptimistic in thinking that the council had realized its proposed aims. The constitution *Zelus fidei* reorganized the Crusade, introducing a tithe spread over six years and offering indulgences* in return for unsolicited gifts. The highly unpopular decimations were not reintroduced; and the last settlement in the Holy Land, Saint-Jean d'Acre, fell in 1291.

The council made a large contribution to canonical legislation: its 31 decrees were almost all incorporated into the *Sext* (1298), and several saw some application. The constitution *Ubi periculum* (can. 2) regulated the election of popes by introducing the conclave. The traditional election procedure for ap-

pointments to offices and benefices, and the conditions of ordination* were more strictly defined (can. 3 and *Sq*). Clerics* were reminded of their duty of residence (can. 14) and the prohibition of the accumulation of benefices (can. 18). Religious orders created without the consent of the pope were to be disbanded (can. 23). There were measures concerning the safeguarding of the dignity of worship and the church, and devotion to the name* of Jesus* was encouraged (can. 25). The prohibition of usury (lending with interest) was repeated, and usurers were refused religious burial (cans. 26–27). Excommunication (cans. 29–31) was again discussed.

Lyons II is remembered as the council at which the Greek and Latin churches were briefly reunited. The desire for reunion which had existed prior to Gregory X's pontificate arose in the context of complicated political and religious circumstances. The emperor Michael VIII Paleologus, who had restored Constantinople to Byzantine rule (1261), judged that reconciliation with the Roman Church would preempt a reopening of hostilities by the Latin barons, and was prepared to make the necessary concessions, though these were refused by the Byzantine patriarch, the bishops*, priests*, and monks. The popes' reason for welcoming the reconciliation were of a more religious kind, but they wished to impose the Roman point of view without discussion. The union was proclaimed at the fourth session of the council on 6 July, when Michael Paleologus's representative read out the Byzantine emperor's profession of faith. This was not a text worked out jointly by Latin and Greek theologians, but a form of words imposed and revised several times by various popes, in particular Clement IV, who had died in 1268. The emperor professed the *Filioque**, and recognized that "the holy Roman Church has sovereign and entire primacy and authority* over the whole Catholic Church." He furthermore accepted a number of points of doctrine and discipline contested by the Greeks, regarding eschatology* and sacramental theology: immediate retribution after death*; the fire of purgatory*; the seven sacraments (including Confirmation*, administered by a bishop, and extreme unction); the permissibility of unleavened bread for the Eucharist*; the concept of transubstantiation; the lawfulness of second and third marriages after

the death of a spouse; and the condemnation of the repetition of baptism upon moving from one church to another. The emperor insisted, however, that the Greeks should not in any respect change their traditional liturgical formulae. The whole assembly sang the Credo in Latin, and then in Greek, inserting the words, *ex patre filioque procedit*.

The constitution *Fideli ac devota* on the Trinity* (can. 1) was the only official trace retained by the council of this reconciliation between the two churches. This was no more than a reminder of the Latin theology* of the *Filioque*: "The Holy* Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father* and the Son, not as from two principles, but as from a single principle, not by two spirations but by one single spiration."

The Greeks were then asked for a straightforward capitulation. The emperor Michael attempted to impose by force a union, which was universally refused in Constantinople. The patriarch Joseph was deposed and replaced by John Bekkos, who accepted the Latin theology before himself being disgraced. Michael died having been twice excommunicated: by Rome* for having failed to bring about the union, and by the Greek Church for having wished to impose it. The union was immediately denounced (1283). Lyons II had ultimately succeeded only in widening the chasm

that separated the two churches. The issue would be taken up again under more favorable conditions at the Council of Florence (1439).

- Acts: Mansi 24, 37–136.
- Decrees: COD 303–31 (DCO II/1, 637–89).
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See also Ecumenicism; Filioque; Lyons I, Council of

M

Magisterium

a) Magisterium according to the Catholic Church. Just as medieval universities had a body of masters authorized to teach and decide points of doctrine, similarly, the magisterium designates in the Catholic Church* a body authorized to speak in matters of theology* and church practice. According to the Catholic understanding, it was Christ* himself who conferred on the church the legacy of faith* by instituting an authentic magisterium (*DH* 3305). The church has the right and the duty to expound revealed doctrine, for it is its guardian and dispenser (*DH* 3012, 3020).

The magisterium adds nothing new to the legacy of faith; it explains what might beforehand have appeared obscure and reaffirms what has been called into question (*DH* 3683). The representatives of the magisterium, the pope* and the bishops*, do not receive a new revelation* (*DH* 4150–51). The magisterium does not prevail over the word* of God*, but serves it by teaching solely what has been preserved by tradition* (*DH* 4214). By nature the magisterium can only be exercised within the hierarchical community, which brings together the head and members of the episcopal college (*DH* 4145).

The pope is the supreme doctor* (or teacher) of the church. He has the right to define the articles of faith and to interpret the decisions of the councils (*DH* 3067). The bishops succeed to the college of apostles* in the exercise of the magisterium. They preserve the apostolic doctrine and lead, “in the place of God” (*loco*

Dei, *LG* 20), the flock that is entrusted to them (*DH* 4144, 4146, 4233). The episcopal college holds supreme power over the church as a whole and solemnly exercises this power in the course of the ecumenical council* (*DH* 4146). The council, however, is not superior to the pope (*DH* 3063). The magisterium is exercised in an ordinary way (through the pope and the bishops’ teaching and preaching) or in an extraordinary way (through the teaching of a council or the dogmatic decisions of a pope).

b) Historical Development of the Magisterium. Very early on, certain passages of the New Testament (e.g., Mt 16:16–19; Lk 10:16; Jn 21:15ff.) were understood as indicating that a magisterium had been conferred by Christ. Historical and critical exegesis*, however, cannot draw any precise conclusions from these passages. The idea and the practical realization of the monarchical episcopate in the second century (particularly attested in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch), as well as the organization of the ecclesiastical ministry* along the lines of imperial Roman administration, played a decisive role in the historical formation of the magisterium. As Congar’s studies (1976) have shown, in church Latin, *magisterium* originally denoted a position of authority* or leadership.

In the Middle Ages discussion of the magisterium took place within the framework of the theory of the two powers—the “sacred authority” of bishops and the

“royal power” of princes. Within the church itself the clergy occupied a position superior to that of the laity*. Thomas* Aquinas made a further distinction between the *magisterium cathedrae pastoralis* of bishops and the *magisterium cathedrae magistralis* of university theologians. Controversies between supporters of the pope and supporters of the councils further complicated the picture.

The current meaning of the term *magisterium* was principally introduced by German canonists in the early 19th century (see Congar 1976). But, strictly speaking, it was not until the First Vatican* Council (1870–71) that a normative and coherent doctrine of the magisterium was established, with the affirmation of the jurisdictional and doctrinal primacy of the pope over the entire church, not only in matters of faith and morals but also in the realm of ecclesiastical* discipline.

c) *Magisterium outside Catholicism.* At the time of the Reformation and in later Protestantism* the theology of ministries was often defined in opposition to Catholicism*. The more the Catholic Church gave to its magisterium a broad and detailed theological basis, the more Protestantism emphasized the liberty* of Christians. This general statement must, however, be qualified.

For example, depending on the context, there are already some variations in Luther*'s statements on the power of church leaders. From a terminological point of view, for Luther and often in Protestantism in general, the concept of “ministry” encompasses all the questions that Catholics treat under the term “magisterium.” According to Lutheran confessional writings, God established the ministry of preaching* (CA 5). A minister of the church must be appointed according to the rules (CA 14). Episcopal power is understood as a divine order to preach the gospel, to remit sins*, and to administer the sacraments*. In their spiritual government, bishops do not have the right to introduce rules contrary to the gospel (CA 28). It follows from these principles that, even in Lutheranism*, ecclesiastical ministry is of divine right, although the power of the clergy is strictly limited. Holy* Scripture and it alone provides the criterion for the magisterium of the church.

In addition, in Protestantism the concept of “doctrine” (*Lehre*) is often used in a broad sense to mean proclamation, witness, or confession. Thus the formulation *pure docere* (CA 7) may mean “dispense pure teaching” or “preach the true word,” with the task of the magisterium (*Lehramt*) consisting primarily in preaching and teaching rather than defining normative articles of faith. Nevertheless, Lutheran confessional writings do, for example, seek to expound the lineaments of doctrine (*forma doctrinae*, BSLK 833), some-

thing that also confers on their articles the status of a doctrinal norm in the strict sense. It is incumbent on ecclesiastical leaders, if need be on bishops, to ensure that the gospel is indeed proclaimed in accordance with the content of the confession of faith.

For Anglicans the episcopate is a ministry of divine right that may be traced back to an act of institution by the apostles* or by Christ himself. This high status conferred on the position of bishop brings the Anglican understanding close to the magisterium of conciliarist Catholicism. In the Orthodox Church as well, the bishop represents the central and supreme spiritual authority. It is through him that the Holy* Spirit implements the prophetic gift of teaching. In his own diocese the Orthodox bishop enjoys absolute and independent power, and indeed all bishops are absolutely equal in theological terms. Only an ecumenical synod* has authority over the whole body of Orthodox churches. Through its coherent episcopalianism, the Orthodox understanding of the magisterium presents both hierarchical characteristics and democratic elements.

d) *Doctrinal Discipline.* In spite of the different conceptions they have of the magisterium, all churches in fact have procedures for doctrinal discipline that make it possible for the magisterium to control the pronouncements of ministers. Catholic canon* law (*CIC*) specifies in detail the duties and rights of the clergy, as well as the sanctions and proceedings incurred in case of fault. A theologian who professes dissenting opinions, for example, may have his authorization to teach (*missio canonica*) withdrawn.

With respect to problematical theological theses, the Catholic magisterium, with the help of canonical scholarship, had established a series of censures that variously characterized these theses. A proposition might thus be judged heretical, next to heresy*, schismatic, false, rash, erroneous, scandalous, blasphemous, offensive to pious ears, or evil sounding. The use of these censures, or “theological notes*,” became obsolete in the 20th century.

On the Protestant side the vows of ordination* of pastors* often contain doctrinal commitments. These vows and commitments are formally invoked in the case of disciplinary procedures. In such circumstances the ecclesiastical authorities examine the teaching of the accused minister, generally at the request of the parish, to determine whether it is in accord with the confession in question.

e) *Magisterium in Ecumenical Discussion.* The multilateral ecumenical movement has avoided discussion of the concrete jurisdictions* on which might be established a “visible unity*” of the churches. Models of

unity often begin with the principle that local churches must preserve their specific structures within the one Church (“the unity of all in each place”) or that confessional churches may survive as structural units while recognizing without reservations the teachings of sister churches (“unity in reconciled diversity”).

In these complex discussions the relationship between pluralism and obligatory doctrine poses a fundamental problem, which can be formulated in the following way with respect to the magisterium: must a theological magisterium exercise complete and undivided jurisdiction in order to be really efficacious? Ecumenical discussions tend to answer in the negative, by relativizing the need for the jurisdictional component. The Catholic-Lutheran commission, for example, declared in 1972: “Greater awareness of the historicity of the Church... requires that in our day the concepts of *ius divinum* and *ius humanum* be thought through anew. In both concepts the word *ius* is employed in a merely analogical sense. *Ius divinum* can never be adequately distinguished from *ius humanum*” (31). This idea was extended in 1994: “Even where, in line with the traditional view and terminology, the character of “divine law,” a *ius divinum*, is attributed to church legislation, it has a historical shape and form, and it is therefore both possible and necessary to renew and reshape it” (*Kirche und Rechtfertigung*, 227).

On the other hand, Protestants today to a certain extent accept the principle of a magisterium with a legal character: “Catholics and Lutherans together say that God, who establishes institutional entities in his grace* and his faithfulness, and who uses them to preserve the church in the truth of the gospel, also uses church law and legal ordinances for this purpose” (*ibid.*, 224).

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- Kirche und Rechtfertigung*, Paderborn, 1994.
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See also Authority; Bishop; Collegiality; Council; Ministry; Pope

Malebranche, Nicholas. *See* **Augustinianism**

Man. *See* **Adam; Anthropology**

Manicheanism

Up to the early 20th century, Manicheanism was known only through the polemical writings of the church fathers*, principally Augustine*. He had been an adherent of Manicheanism for six years—although as a “hearer,” not as one of the “elect”—and hence knew its teachings from the inside. Despite the refutation that he composed after his conversion* to Christianity, he remains a reliable source, quoting its scriptures accurately, as was demonstrated during the 20th century by discoveries in the Turfan (early 1900s) and at Tebessa (1918), Medinet Madi (1929), and Oxyrynchus (1979).

a) Manichean Sources. These three series of discoveries confirmed the new image of Manicheanism that was already being formulated by scholars. Up to the 18th century, Manicheanism appeared to be a Christian heresy* that the Fathers had struggled against. It was Isaac de Beausobre who, as recently as 1728, undertook the first critical studies of the Manichean sources. As a result, Mani ceased to be characterized as a heretic and came to be seen as the founder of a religion. During the 19th century, F. C. Baur demonstrated that the main source of the dualism in Manicheanism was to be found in Indian religion, and had parallels with Buddhism: ever since then, Manicheanism has been given its own place in the history of religions. In addition, materials uncovered by Assyriologists helped to show the Babylonian origins of some of Mani's ideas. However, the decisive change followed the discoveries of Manichean scriptures during the 20th century: they have shown that Manicheanism was in fact not a mere sect at all, but a major Eastern religion, which had its basis partly in such scriptures. Those that have survived into our own day include the texts gathered in the *Shabuhrahan* (dedicated to King Shabuhr I); the *Kephalaia*, found at Medinet Madi, which recount the revelations* that Mani received; and part of the *Codex Mani*, found inside a tomb in Oxyrynchus, to the South of Cairo, which contains three fragments of Mani's “gospel.” As well as its scriptures, the Manichean religion had a set liturgy and a communal organization, and its missionaries taught a catechism of which one example has been found in the Turfan.

b) Life of Mani. The life of Mani, the founder of Manicheanism, has been known ever since the *Codex*

Mani, which itself draws on the “gospels” of his childhood, was deciphered. According to the *Shabuhrahan*, Mani was born on 14 April 216 at Mardinu in northern Babylonia. It is known for certain that from 220 to 240 he lived with his father, Pattikios, in an Elchasaite community, where ritual played a dominant role. He experienced his first vision of an angel*, his “twin,” in 228; the second took place in 240. It was on these occasions that, according to the first of the *Kephalaia*, “the mystery of light and darkness, their struggle, and the creation of the world, was revealed” to him. This revelation led Mani to break with the Elchasaite, to reject the Old Testament, and to set out on a mission* to proclaim his new religion. He founded communities, which received protection from King Shabuhr I, and by 270 his religion had been established throughout what is now Iran. In around 277, however, Mani was put to death on the orders of Shabuhr's son, Vahram. After his death, Mani's disciples spread his teachings to the East and the West, and his influence lasted into the Middle Ages, when his doctrines were revived, in part, by Catharism*. In Augustine's time, there were some particularly active Manichean communities in North Africa, where they brought together part of the intellectual elite of the region.

Mani's teachings are to be found mainly in two works: the *Shabuhrahan*, which is an exposition of the bases of Manichean dualism, by way of the doctrine of the two principles; and the *Pragmateia*, an exposition of Mani's cosmogony, which is worked out in terms of three “ages.” During the first age, according to Mani, there was nothing but the two principles of “good” and “evil.” During the second age, there are various confrontations between the King of Darkness and the Father of Light, which give rise to several “emanations,” including the Mother of the Living, the Primordial Man, the Living Spirit, the Archons, and Jesus in Splendor. The last age has yet to begin: Mani's eschatology foresees a last judgment* and the decisive triumph of his religion.

c) Augustine and Manicheanism. It is understandable that Augustine was drawn to this religion, which was of a new type, and which combined mysteries* that he hoped to be initiated into with an ethical rigor of the kind that he was seeking. However, his meeting with

Faustus of Milevis led him to question both of the principal doctrines in the Manichean system, the doctrine of the two principles and the doctrine of the three ages (first, second, and last). In the *De Gn. contra manichaeos*, he abandons the Manichean theme of an evil world, the result of the various “emanations,” which are also stages in degeneration, in favor of the theme of a creation* that is basically good. Augustine was impelled to write this polemic against Manicheism very soon after his return to Africa by his need to justify to himself, and to demonstrate to others, the process whereby he had ceased to be an adherent of Manicheism, having been a Manichean when he left Africa. Later, he had to defend his community, as its pastor*, against the Manicheans, and this is why he wrote *De natura boni* (On the Nature of Good) and *De libero arbitrio* (On Free Will), in which he argues that evil* does not arise from an evil principle, but from a

free choice of the will (see also BAug 17, *Six Anti-Manichean Treatises*).

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MARIE-ANNE VANNIER

See also **Creation; Eschatology; Evil; Religions, Theology of**

Manning, Henry Edward

1808–1892

a) Life. Manning was the third and youngest son of a Tory member of Parliament and governor of the Bank of England. Undistinguished at school, except as a cricketer, he preceded Gladstone, his later theological opponent, as president of the Oxford Union. After a short spell in business he returned to Oxford, was ordained under evangelical influences into the Church of England, and became a fellow of Merton College. In 1833 he was presented to a Sussex rectory and married at a ceremony conducted by Samuel Wilberforce, brother-in-law of the bride and afterward bishop of Oxford and of Winchester. Grief on the death of his wife in 1837 was assuaged by a religious move toward the High Church, Newman*, and the Tractarians. He paid a first visit to Rome with Gladstone late in 1838, calling on Wiseman, and in 1842 published his treatise *On the Unity of the Church*. He was by now a noted preacher, and four volumes of his sermons were published between 1842 and 1850.

Newman's secession to Rome forced Manning into a higher profile as a High Church leader, but a serious

illness in 1847 led him to recuperate in Rome, where he spent the following winter, getting to know Wiseman, the Catholic scholar whose erudite works on the early church had a profound influence on Newman and the Anglican dignitaries of the Oxford movement. Manning was twice received in audience by the pope, and became both increasingly aware of what appeared to him to be the defects in the Church of England and drawn to the religious qualities of the Roman communion. On his return to England he continued to devote himself to pastoral duties and an ascetic way of life, turning down a post normally leading to a bishopric. His own religious crisis came to a climax late in 1850, when he found himself unable to join in the protests against the insensitively aggressive ecclesiastical style of Wiseman, recently made a cardinal and charged with reestablishing the Roman hierarchy in England.

On Passion Sunday 1851 Manning became a Roman Catholic, a week later receiving communion and confirmation from Wiseman. Nine weeks thereafter Wiseman ordained Manning priest. Manning then studied

theology in Rome, where he was frequently received by the pope. During brief returns to England he acted as Wiseman's assistant, contriving to remove the Catholic army chaplains from subordination to Anglican military superiors, and in 1857 was appointed head of the Westminster cathedral chapter and superior of the "Oblates of St Charles." These were similar to Newman's Oratorians, except that they placed themselves at the disposal of the local bishop.

Manning swiftly became the leader of the Romanizing Ultramontane party among English Catholics, distrusted by the older, more liberal Catholic families. On Wiseman's death in 1865 it was against considerable opposition that Pius IX imposed Manning as archbishop of Westminster. Manning's contribution to Catholic life was henceforward more social than theological. He furthered Catholic education, especially industrial and reform schools; opposed the attendance of Catholics at Oxford and Cambridge; failed in an attempt to found a Catholic university; and, to the detriment of all ecumenical endeavor, emphasized the exclusivity of Roman claims, strongly supporting the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility at the First Vatican* Council. On 15 March 1875 he was created cardinal, and in 1878 was considered a plausible candidate to succeed Pius IX. He himself supported Pecci, who became Leo XIII and whose famous encyclical on the claims of labor, *Rerum novarum*, was influenced by Manning. His later years were devoted chiefly to social questions and to the care of the Irish immigrants who formed the chief part of his flock. He sat on royal commissions on housing for the working classes (1884) and

on primary education (1886), and played a leading part in the settlement of the dockers' strike in 1889.

b) Thought. Manning was not notable as a theologian, whether speculative or evangelical, although he much influenced the thinking of pastoral and moral theologians by his own pastoral attitudes and by his concern for the well-being and organization of labor. It was the religious style of everyday Catholicism rather than the erudition of Wiseman or the theological niceties of Newman that drove him to leave the Anglican communion for Rome, although the crux was the dogmatic impropriety implied by the controversial investiture of G.C. Gorham with the benefice of Brampford Speke in spite of Speke's declared disbelief in baptismal regeneration.

In 1860 Manning delivered a series of lectures defending the pope's temporal power, having already, while still an Anglican, denounced in an open letter to his bishop the appellate jurisdiction of the English crown in spiritual matters. He strongly believed in the divine institution of a hierarchical church, not only headed by an infallible pope, but also intolerant of such widespread exemptions from the normal chain of hierarchical authority as were enjoyed by the regulars, particularly the Jesuits.

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ANTHONY LEVI

Marcionism

Marcion, the propagator of the most threatening Christian heresy* to face the "Great Church" in the latter half of the second century, is known only through what his adversaries said about him. Nonetheless, anti-Marcionite patristic literature provides a countertestimony from which we are able to

reconstruct the original characteristics of the doctrine and the movement.

1. Doctrine

Marcion's major intuition was to theorize the opposition between the Old Testament and the New Testa-

ment. In order to declare the radical separation of the law and the gospel,* he erected a dualistic system governed by ditheism.

a) Theology. Two gods are placed in opposition, a just god* and a good god. The first, who has been known for the longest time, is revealed in the Old Testament. Demiurge or creator of the universe that he organized out of preexisting matter, a principle of evil*, he also created man, and is his despotic master. Though not essentially wicked, this god of the world and of the Jews is characterized by his exclusive concern for justice*, his vindictiveness, and his inconstancy and lack of foresight. Above him—and unknown to him—reigns the higher god, the god of pure goodness who neither judges nor punishes. This god remained foreign to our world until his revelation* in Jesus Christ*. And through his manifestation in the gospel, he came to liberate human beings from the power of the Creator and bring them salvation*.

b) Christology and Soteriology. They are essentially Docetist. In the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, the son of a higher god—a spiritual being hardly distinct from the Father*—suddenly appeared in Jesus Christ, who came into the world without experiencing the humiliations of human birth. In a “flesh” of pure appearance, he manifested his divinity by his preaching and his miracles*, beginning in the synagogue of Capernaum. His work was to undo that of the Creator, and to substitute his own teachings and institutions for those of the Creator. He endured the Passion* and death* on the cross, a victim of the powers of the Creator and those faithful to him, and at this price he “bought man” from his master. Those who believe in Jesus Christ are “saved” by their faith*, but this salvation applies only to the soul*: the “flesh*” or “matter” is unworthy of salvation and is doomed to annihilation, as the Creator too will be annihilated once his function in the economy of the world and history* is accomplished.

c) Morality. Marcionite ethics* is based on the law of love* as articulated in the “beatitudes*,” and opposed to Judaic prescriptions such as talion law. Its main aim is to detach the person from the grasp of a “flesh” that is essentially evil, and its principle is to refuse to perpetuate the world* of the Creator. Consequently, Marcionite ethics advocated the ascetic practices of “Encratism”: strict abstention from marriage* and procreation*, vegetarianism, fasting, and a willing acceptance of ordeals, notably martyrdom.*

d) Scriptural instrumentum. The originality of Marcionism is that it justified its doctrine with the help of a historico-philological reconstruction based on the idea that the church* went astray from the original gospel, polluting it with Judaizing interpretations and interpolations. Marcion composed an *instrumentum* drawn from a revision of New Testament literature combined with an explanatory treatise that served as foundation. This treatise, entitled *Antitheses*, which included explanations of the role of Paul, seen as the sole possessor of the authentic gospel, placed both in parallel and in opposition the words and deeds of the Creator and those of Jesus Christ. As for the *instrumentum* strictly speaking, it was composed of a gospel without an author’s name (the gospel of Luke, corrected and excluding the first chapters) and an *apostolicon* (10 letters of Paul, also revised, and placed in a particular order, giving the greatest importance to Galatians because of the incident at Antiochus). Aside from the notion of a scriptural “canon*,” which he may have helped the church to establish, Marcion stimulated the reflection of the Fathers by refusing all christological and typological exegesis* of the Old Testament, notably the prophecies*: for these texts he followed the literalist interpretation of Judaism.

2. Organization and History of the Movement

As Hippolytus recounts, Marcion was born in Sinope, the son of a bishop. He went to Rome around 140 after being excommunicated by his father for immorality. In 144 he broke with the Christian community of Rome* and created his own church, which spread rapidly and widely throughout the empire. This success can be explained by Marcionism’s radical attitude toward Judaism* and by a moral rigor that was in harmony with certain pagan intellectual trends at the time. Sacramental life and liturgical life followed the “Catholic” model, with some differences: baptism* was granted only at the price of a commitment to absolute continence; the Eucharist* was performed with bread and water; the hierarchy* was not as rigid, and women fulfilled certain ministries. Whereas in the West, and notably in Africa, the movement ceased troubling the church around the mid-third century, it retained its vitality much longer in the East, where it finally blended into Manichaenism.*

3. Modern Interpretations

Was Marcion, classified with the Gnostics by the heresiologists of the patristic period, really a Christian theologian overcome by a Pauline* conception (the opposition between the law and faith) that had been pushed to its extreme consequences by Marcion’s

ditheism? This is the position taken in a work—in other respects fundamental—by Harnack (1924). The position was recently repeated by Hoffmann (1984), who combined it with views taken from Knox (1942) and a questioning of the chronology, and who portrayed Marcion as a theologian who restored authentic Christianity, a legitimate interpreter of the Pauline gospel, ignorant of the apostolic tradition* that was employed to attack him. Critics have stressed the weaknesses of this thesis in its two successive forms; the point of view prevalent today accords with the interpretation of the Fathers: despite the particular feature of his refusal to speculate on the Pleroma, Marcion was indeed a Gnostic, marked by the philosophy* of his time, who put a Christian “veneer” on a dualist doctrine nourished by the basic preoccupations of gnosis* (systematic depreciation of the world and matter, belief in a higher, “separate” god).

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RENÉ BRAUN

See also **Canon of Scriptures; Christ and Christology; Docetism; Gnosis; Tertullian**

Marechal, Joseph. *See* **Thomism**

Market Economics, Morality of

The church* has never found it easy to come to terms with market forces. It has tended to oscillate between an overdismissive criticism of commercial activity, often based on inadequate information or poor understanding, and an uncritical acceptance of the status quo. Some Christian thinkers, however, have combined empirical knowledge with a theological basis for understanding business, from which its operation can be constructively challenged.

1. Old Testament

The Old Testament contains a considerable amount of material on the conduct of economic life. The basic economic unit is land. In his gift of the Promised Land, God* gives Israel* a rich resource (Dt 8:7–10), which it is expected to make productive. There is freedom for buying and selling, and some movement in landholding is allowed, but effectively this is only a matter of lease holding for a limited time, because in the 50th

("Jubilee") year property* is expected to be returned to its original owner (Lv 25:8–17). A sabbatical year (sabbath*) for the land to lie fallow, to prevent its over-exploitation, is also ordained (Lv 25:1–7). The Torah's concern for the potential plight of the poor is illustrated by its insistence that the borders of fields should be left for "gleaning" (Lv 19:9–10); that the payment of a hired laborer's wages should not be delayed (Lv 19:13); and that interest should not be leveled on loans made to a fellow Israelite (Ex 22:24–26; Lv 25:35–37). By contrast, interest on loans to foreigners is allowed (Dt 23:20), allowing Israel to play its part in the commerce of the ancient Middle East. In the descriptions of trading activity under King Solomon, for example (1 Kgs 3–10), we see that substantial national wealth resulted, although it tended to be concentrated disproportionately at the royal court. The eighth-century prophets* condemn the exploitation of the poor by the rich (Am 5:21–24; Mi 3:9–12), while the wisdom* literature strikes a different note, seeing prosperity as the sequel to industrious endeavor, but also recommending trustworthiness and integrity (e.g., Prv 10:9 and 12:11).

2. New Testament

In the New Testament, the basic assumption that human beings should work remains (e.g., 2 Thes 3:6–13), but references to economic activity tend to be more incidental. Some claim that in parables* such as the laborers in the vineyard (Mt 20:1–16) or the talents (Mt 25:14–30), Jesus* was laying down principles for the payment of wages (the one seemingly very egalitarian, the other highly meritocratic). This is very doubtful, however: it is more likely that the parables were means for him to explain and teach God's relationship with humanity. On the other hand, Jesus repeatedly warned about the dangers of wealth and the worship of Mammon (Mt 6:19–34; Mk 10:17–31; Lk 12:15–21). Merchants are included along with rulers and mariners in the condemnation of Babylon in Revelation 18, in which they are seen as no more than traffickers at the service of ostentation.

3. From the Patristic Period to the Reformation

The difference in emphasis between Old Testament and New helps to explain why the function and occupation of trade were accepted more readily in Jewish communities than Christian ones in the patristic period and in the Middle Ages. However, while the church often sought to distance itself from such activities, it could not wholly avoid questions relating to it, not least because the church was an institution that depended on wealth-creating activity for its survival.

This is graphically illustrated in the case of the monastic orders, which were committed to vows of poverty. The Cistercian order, for example, eventually acquired considerable economic power. In the 13th and 14th centuries, issues of economic morality became associated with the Dominican and Franciscan chairs of theology in Paris. Three key issues dominated the debates.

a) Compulsion (ius necessitatis). Thomas* Aquinas affirms the right to private property, qualified by concern for the common good*. There is an obligation to minister to those in need and, if this is not met, the person in dire need may steal (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 66, a. 7). This latter was not a view that met with universal agreement, and other writers (particularly, later, the Puritans) would emphasize the rights of property holders.

b) Just Price. Aquinas, Duns* Scotus, and Peter Olivi (1248–98) developed the concept of a "just price," the one that rewards the seller and satisfies the customer. A seller may guard against loss, but should not take advantage of the buyer's need. This was also taught by Luther*, who criticized the avarice of contemporary merchants, but recognized that such considerations as the cost of labor, distance of transport, and level of risk serve to make precise calculation of a just price complex, and something that could be variously settled by local law, custom, or individual conscience*.

c) Usury. Basil* (*Hom. II in Ps. 14*, PG 29, 264D–80D), Ambrose* (*De Tobia*, PL 14, 591–622), and John Chrysostom* (*Hom. in Matt. 56*, 5–6, PG 58, 555–58) explicitly condemn the charging of interest, or usury, which they believed ran contrary to Christian obligations of love* and mercy*. (It is only much later that the word "usury" would acquire the meaning of *excessive* charging of interest.) This disapproval was embodied in church canons from the Council of Elvira (306) onward, and maintained for the next millennium, although enforcement of it was never complete. A variety of arguments were used in condemning usury, some being borrowed from the Bible* (e.g., Lk 6:35, cited alongside Old Testament references), others being based on natural law (e.g., Aristotle's argument that money is essentially barren, so that it is "unnatural" to make money out of it, *Politics* 1, 10, 1258 b 7). Aquinas argues that money has no value except in use, and that therefore lending represents double-charging and is unfair (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 78). However, he allows payment of compensation for the risk involved in lending, an exception formalized by other Scholastic theo-

logians (Scholasticism*) in the phrase *damnum emergens* and a practice that came to be commonplace at the time loans were made. Hostiensis (†1271) and Antoninus (1389–1459) also permitted interest on the grounds of loss of gain (*lucrum cessans*). Questioning of the ban on interest therefore predated the Reformation, but relaxation of it accelerated from that period. Calvin* did not regard the Israelite prohibition as universal (regarding it as an aspect of the Mosaic law particular to their “political constitution”); he therefore allows interest, in a limited way, so long as it does not infringe charity and equity (CR 24, 679–83). From the 16th century onward, there was a tendency, reflected in national legislation (e.g., the 1571 Act in England) to evaluate lending not so much in terms of the declared motive, but in terms of the level of interest charged.

4. Modern Times

Calvin’s more tolerant attitude to trade is often linked to the expansion in economic activity that took place in the 16th century. In exploring why Protestant countries grew faster than Catholic ones, Max Weber (1864–1920) posited a link between the burgeoning spirit of capitalism and the Calvinist doctrine of predestination*, claiming that insecurity about salvation* led people to look for signs of God’s blessing* in their material condition. Attitudes of thrift and industriousness, and an understanding of God’s world as ripe for discovery and development, probably did encourage a “work ethic” that paved the way for the Industrial Revolution. However, this ethic has gradually become secularized, just as economics has come to be regarded as an autonomous discipline in which the laws of supply and demand wield ultimate authority when it comes to the setting of wages and prices. As the global economy has grown increasingly sophisticated, so the influence of the churches had been reduced, although they sometimes intervene in the economic domain. Christian individuals and organizations (e.g., in England, trade unions inspired by Methodism*) played a part in the struggle against inhuman conditions during the initial period of industrialization.

5. Contemporary Problems

The growth of the modern company has been accelerated, in many countries, by legislation that limits the liability of shareholders and reduces the risk in investment. Although limited liability has helped to provide industry with the capital it needs, it has not escaped moral criticism from some observers (Goyder 1987). First, it tends to separate stewardship from ownership, since shareholders, increasingly represented by intermediate institutions, such as pension funds, have little or no involvement in the running of

the company. Share-ownership schemes among employees go a small way toward overcoming this separation. Second, limited liability fails to guarantee the exercise of corporate moral responsibility, because creditors of a failed company are often left with debts unpaid.

The large, anonymous nature of many modern organizations and the repetitive nature of work on assembly lines have also been challenged (e.g., Schumacher 1987) on the grounds that they fail to respect the person and allow no space for creativity and responsibility. Changes, however, are taking place, with companies being restructured into smaller units and semiautonomous work groups, while nonspecialized work is increasingly done by robots. This in turn creates a new problem, since it leads to the unemployment of unskilled workers.

Another practice that has been criticized is the way goods are marketed and advertised. Marketing has been blamed (Packard 1957) for high-pressure sales, misleading claims, the use of subliminal messages, and promoting materialism. Yet if goods are to be bought and sold in the marketplace, a process of communication between consumers and producers is inevitable. Nevertheless, the techniques used warrant careful attention.

Finally, some fundamental questions remain and are still being debated. Some Christians (e.g., Novak 1991) have embraced economic liberalism enthusiastically; others have criticized it strongly, on Marxist lines (theology of liberation*). The history of eastern Europe, however, demonstrates that a centralized economy is not viable. A more balanced view of capitalism recognizes that it is not simply an unjust system, and that there are many variants upon it, rather than a single entity of this name. One thinks of the difference between the social or “communitarian” concerns of Germany or Japan, on the one hand, and the individualism of the United States and Britain on the other—not to mention the French paradoxes in this respect.

Perhaps the main moral challenge facing affluent countries today is that of aid to the Third World, which is not just a matter of the provision of emergency aid, but of finding ways to help poorer countries to become true participants in the world’s trading system. At present, producers in these countries struggle because of the high cost of loans from the West (which triggered a “debt crisis” in the 1980s) and the low level of prices for primary commodities. Their plight will be alleviated only by the emergence of a new type of self-denying “ethical” investors and consumers, and by employees from such countries reaching positions of seniority and influence in multinational corporations. At present, all this is somewhat unlikely to happen.

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RICHARD HIGGINSON

See also **Ethics; Marx, Karl; Property; Society; Work**

Maritain, Jacques. *See* **Thomism**

Marriage

A. Sacramental Theology

1. Overview

From the beginning, Christian communities intervened, in certain circumstances or situations, in order to guide and celebrate the life of couples*, whose members received baptism* and had to take part in the Eucharist*. As the Eastern churches (Greco-Byzantine, Armenian, Syriac, Coptic, and others) developed over the course of the first millennium, the practice of having a bishop* or a priest* solemnly bless a couple became widespread. This mystery* in the form of liturgy* became the obligatory form for the entry of believers into the state of marriage. Its development took longer in the Latin West, where it was linked to the elaboration of the notion of sacrament*. Later, the Eastern churches adapted some aspects of this notion to their own dogmatic* theologies. According to this approach, a sacrament is a sacred sign instituted by

God*, through Jesus Christ, so that the sanctification that this sign has received as its signifying function may be operative, by this means, among the believers in question. A definition of this type acquired its technical status around 1150. From then on, it was applied to seven sacred signs, including marriage (Peter Lombard, *Summa Sententiarum* IV, d. 2 and 26; PL 192, 842, and 908).

This did not put an end to debate, which was given new impetus when the Reformers expressed an extreme attachment to the idea that marriage between believers does not have the status of a sacrament of Christ in the strict sense. This was the view taken by Luther*, for example, from whose writings were derived the formulas suggested to pastors* in the "booklet on marriage" attached as an appendix to the *Lesser Catechism* of 1529 (*BSLK* 528–34, *FEL* 320–22).

Calvin* takes the same view in the final version of the *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (Institutes of the Christian Religion, 1560, Book IV, ch. XIX, §34–37). Nevertheless, the Reformers strongly emphasized the honor and duties of the conjugal bond, and of the family*, and the formation of couples among the faithful was normally accompanied by the giving of a blessing by a pastor.

Both in the East and in the West, such theological positions were based on a small group of fundamental texts, above all on the words of Jesus* that had established the Christian rule of the indissolubility of marriage. According to the Gospels*, Jesus interpreted the verse “they shall become one flesh” (Gn 2:24, quoted in the New Testament in Greek, from the Septuagint) as evidence for the primordial vocation of the sexes at the time of the Creation*, and provided the authentic and definitive interpretation of it: “What therefore God has joined together, let not man separate” (Mt 19:6; Mk 10:6–9). With his sovereign authority*, Jesus rejects the forms of divorce that the law* of Moses had provided for Jewish couples (Mt 5:31f. and 19:7–9; Mk 10:3–9; see Lk 16:18 and 1 Cor 7:10f.).

The same text, “one flesh,” is repeated on other occasions in the New Testament, in teachings that became important to the theology of marriage. The union of a man and a woman* is an image for the participation of believers in Christ according to the body and the spirit (1 Cor 6:15–20); above all, it is an image of the relationship between Christ and the church, his spouse (Eph 5:29–32). The latter passage uses the term “mystery,” and the Latin translation of this term as *sacramentum* helped to fix the image of marriage in medieval theology and in Catholicism*. However, there is a larger body of biblical texts at stake.

2. Biblical Sources

a) Ancient Israel. Marriage in Israel is not marked by any religious act and has nothing to do with priestly authority, but being united in marriage is defined as entering a holy covenant* (Ez 16:8; Prv 2:17; Mal 2:14) and is celebrated by a blessing, either in public (Gn 24:60; Ru 4:11f.) or in private, between the man and the woman (Tb 8:4–8; the formula given in this apocryphal work has had an influence on Christian liturgies). Violation of marriage (adultery) is generally regarded as an offense against the law of God, which is the basis of the collective existence of the holy people; it is subject to public punishment. Marriage to a foreigner is strictly forbidden (Dt 7:3f.) as an offense against the holiness* of the people. To turn away from the true God is, by analogy, to commit adultery (Hosea; Jer 3:1–10; Ez 16 and 23). Conversely, God’s

faithfulness and tenderness are praised in images of marriage: these are reprised in the New Testament (Rom 9:25, quoting Hos 2:25, or 2:23 according to the Septuagint; 2 Cor 11:2; Rev 19:7f. and 21:1–11). These same images came to typify the spiritual theology* both of the relationship between humanity and Christ and the relationship between Christ’s human soul* and the eternal divine nature of the Word*.

b) Christ’s Disciples. The disciples of Christ form a holy community in their turn (Acts 9:13 and 9:31–41; 2 Cor 1:1 and 13:12; Col 1:2ff.; 1 Pt 2:9f.). Infidelity to the Son of God is compared to prostitution (Rev 2:18–23); it follows that the misconduct of one who has been baptized calls for a response from the assembled church (1 Cor 5, which concerns an incestuous relationship). It is not to his hearers in general but to his disciples that Jesus teaches the absolute rejection of divorce—at any rate, that is the narrative construction that Mark puts on the point (Mk 10:10ff.). Again, it is to his disciples alone that Jesus addresses the saying (Mt 19:10ff.) about those who are celibate for the sake of the Kingdom*, a condition of life that presupposes a special vocation or gift—what Paul calls a *charisma* (1 Cor 7:7).

In New Testament times, abstention from marriage could be presented as a duty for all the disciples. Two verses in Luke’s Gospel (14:26 and 18:29), praising those who leave their wives, could be interpreted in this sense. Paul is aware of this view, but refuses to approve it as a rule of conduct valid for all (1 Cor 7:25ff.). Although his condemnation of marriage (“Encratism”) was possible in the spiritual climate of the time, one letter in the Pauline corpus denounces it as a false doctrine (1 Tm 4:3) and presents motherhood as a good way of life (2:15 and 5:14).

Those Pauline texts that describe the life of a married couple situate it within the framework of the Hellenistic household as a whole, including children as well as servants or slaves. Christian husbands and wives form the focus of the household, being ordained for one another through relations of faithfulness and love* (Col 3:12ff.; Eph 5:18ff.). At the heart of the household, the Christian couple, living in mutual accord, open up a privileged space for prayer* (1 Cor 7:5; 1 Pt 3:7). Additionally, the household is quite frequently presented as the center of a local church, a specific community (1 Cor 16:15f. and 16:19; Rom 16:5; Col 4:15; Phlm 2; see Heb 13:1–6). This is not in every case a matter of couples in which both husband and wife are believers. According to Paul, a man or woman who is converted to Christianity is not required to end his or her marriage to a spouse who remains a non-Christian (1 Cor 7:14ff.; see 1 Pt 3:1f.). Nevertheless, a

widow who wishes to remarry “is free to be married to whom she wishes, only in the Lord” (1 Cor 7:39).

These themes could be interpreted, as they frequently have been within Protestantism* (*see* Grimm 1984), in the context of family and social ethics*. The inspiration of Christianity could overhaul behavior, or provide it with clearer motives, but this did not mean the introduction of any new notion of marriage within the church, specifically related to the conditions of life shared by men and women. Nevertheless, the theology of the Eastern churches, as of the Catholic Church, has based the value of Christian marriage not on a simple ethical confirmation of the primordial status of the conjugal vocation but on the gift of participation, through the grace* of the Spirit of God, in the new creation* and in the body of Christ (2 Cor 5:17). Certain types of Protestant theology, interpreting Paul’s ideas, have adopted a similar approach (*see* Schrage 1995). Within these churches, there has been a recognition of marriage as something truly *new*: the novelty of an intimately transforming grace that is not simply the grace of the aid that God might give on other occasions in order to support the maintenance of family virtues*.

In respect of the nature of family structures, the innovation in Christianity, by contrast to the first covenant, is based first and foremost on the figure of Christ himself. According to the faith* of the church, the Son of God is also the Son of David, and belongs to the house or lineage of David, which is the lineage of the kings appointed by God for his people. With Jesus, the genealogical principle that sustained the series of royal anointments and structured the history* of God’s people ceases to be valid. Jesus does not prolong the line of descent, and the central group of disciples formed for the future does not include his brothers and sisters: the genealogical structure ends with Jesus (Mt 1:17f.), because the totality of the innovation is present in him, in the plenary action of God’s Spirit (Mt 3:17 par.). The permanent celibacy of some of the baptized could then be understood within the church as a participation in Christ’s innovation, as a *charisma*.

Paul’s teaching suggests (1 Cor 7:7) that, nonetheless, the married life of the baptized might contain a complementary innovation, a specific grace that parallels such celibacy for the sake of the kingdom. Yet it also suggests—as in the statement that “it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion” (1 Cor 7:9)—that the innovation of Christ’s graces in respect of married couples is merely that of protection against misuse of sexuality. The Western church spoke of marriage as a sacrament, a sacred sign of the relationship between Christ and the church, long before there was a recognition, during the 13th century, of the positive, sanctify-

ing efficacy of marriage, similar to that of the other sacraments of the New Covenant (Schillebeeckx 1963).

3. *Traditions of the Churches*

a) Churches in the First Centuries. During its first centuries, there was a tendency within Christianity to distrust marriage, as Encratism was taken up by certain forms of gnosis* and then by Manicheanism*. However, the churches recognized marriage as having a positive value in the life of Christian communities. Ignatius of Antioch suggests that the formation of a couple by two baptized people should be subject to the supervision of a bishop (*Ad Polycarpum* 5, SC 10 bis, 174–77); Tertullian* eulogizes the marriages that the church has fostered and blessed (*Ad Uxorem* II, 8, 6, SC 273, 148f.). Yet there was no systematic development of the liturgical aspect of marriage within the churches, if we are to believe the sources that are available to us. By contrast, we have evidence of numerous disciplinary decisions, in line with the spiritual and ethical guidance contained in the apostolic writings. The precise wording of these decisions varies from region to region and from period to period, but the issues that they address are fairly constant: whether a marriage is legitimate, whether it is to be prohibited as incestuous or degrading, or whether a separation is required in view of the reception of baptism by an adult or participation in the Eucharist.

The main problem in respect of marriage concerned the situation that may have been the intended topic of two passages in Matthew’s Gospel that both include the clause “except on the ground of sexual immorality [*porneia*]” (5:32 and 19:9). The church fathers* usually interpreted this clause as referring to the situation that arises for a couple when one of them has committed the sin of adultery. Three questions then arose: whether the other spouse should separate from the one who has committed adultery and cease to cohabit with him or her; whether the other spouse could contract a new marriage; and whether the same rules applied for husbands as for wives. Such questions followed on from Paul’s question (1 Cor 7:15) about a couple in which one spouse remains a nonbeliever, thus disrupting the marriage: how should the Christian spouse behave?

The problem of remarriage after being widowed was also the subject of varying responses; the prohibition on remarried men being ordained was particularly strict (ordination*). For the laity*, remarriage was merely tolerated, and it was not honored in the same way as first marriages were. This is one example of a moral question (*see* B below) being treated in the pa-

tristic period as if it were a legal question. Unlike the New Testament texts on marriage, these decisions could not be interpreted simply as exhortations or pieces of wisdom.

Among Jews and pagans, sterility, attributed to the woman, had often been regarded as a sufficient motive for allowing the husband to become free to contract a new marriage. According to the consensus among the churches, however, failure to produce children could not justify a couple separating. On this point, the Christian position was clearly a distinctive one: it is agreement between a man and a woman that constitutes the essence of marriage, not fertility as such. It was then asked whether a spiritual agreement of wills could in itself be an authentic marriage, or whether bodily union was necessary for a relationship that had been given as a sign of the union between the Word and humanity. Theology and law both accepted that a marriage that is valid according to the laws of the church—in the medieval Latin phrase, *ratum*—could exist between two baptized spouses without being consummated (*consummatum*) in sexual union. What was essential in order for a marriage to be valid was the free and responsible exchange of consent to be joined to one another indissolubly and irreversibly. However, according to the canonical statements issued during the Middle Ages—and still accepted in the canon law of the Catholic Church—a marriage that is merely *ratum* may be dissolved by a church tribunal. Hence, one could argue that, strictly speaking, only a marriage that is both *ratum* and *consummatum* is indissoluble. Nowadays, nonconsummation can be established on the basis of the apparent affective and psychological comportment of the couple, whether or not there have been physical sexual relations. Annulments are a different matter: they depend on the initial absence, recognized later, of a true agreement, conscious (fully informed) and free, between the two parties.

Despite the influence over the church fathers of the ancient popular philosophy* that saw the purpose of marriage as procreation*, it is clear that patristic theology made a fundamental connection between the holiness* of marriage and the union of two persons seeking mutual support and love. The union of their bodies, whether it produced descendants or remained infertile, was seen as the normal accompaniment to this spiritual agreement of two wills. This theology endowed the sexual act with spiritual meaning but did not regard it entirely without suspicion. According to Augustine* in particular, whose influence was enormous, the sexual act, while it is good in itself, is always accompanied by a culpable indulgence among the sons of Adam*. The act appears suspect even in the case of those who have been redeemed; and this reser-

vation had an impact upon views of marriage itself as a way of life.

One more factor influenced the history of marriage as sacrament. Rabbinical Judaism* had developed a marriage ceremony that includes blessings in which God is praised for his gifts and his favor is sought on behalf of the young couple (according to the Talmud, Posner 1973, 1038f.; on contemporary practice, see French translation in Boudier 1978, 36f.). In particular, these texts celebrate the primordial fertility of the woman. Similar sentiments can be found in the formulas of blessing that gradually came into use in the Christian churches, yet these were not necessarily understood as being part and parcel of the formation of an indissoluble marriage as such.

b) The East. A crucial step was taken in the Christian East around 900, when the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI ordered the official codification of legal decisions on marriage among the subjects of the “New Rome*.” The law required that for a marriage between two baptized people to be authentic, the couple had to receive a liturgical blessing administered by a bishop or a priest.

This imperial legislation, in the form of decrees, also confirmed an older Eastern practice by permitting remarriage for the husband of a woman who had been found guilty of adultery. This interpretation of the clauses in Matthew’s Gospel* remains in force today, with variations, such as on the question of whether tolerance of remarriage extends to wives betrayed by their husbands. From time to time, remarriage was sometimes accepted in the Latin West, but it was definitively rejected by the Catholic Church. The seventh canon of the Council of Trent*, on the sacrament of marriage (DCO 1532–35), confirmed the rejection of tolerance of remarriage, but it is written in such a way as to exclude any formal or direct condemnation of practice among the Greeks.

Of course, the development of the theology of marriage in the East did not depend on imperial legislation alone: analogous theological positions are also to be found in several non-Byzantine Eastern churches. This may be explained by reference to the fundamental role of the liturgy in Christian life as interpreted in the traditions* of these churches. In its celebrations, presided over by a bishop or a priest, the liturgical gathering takes part in the new creation engendered by the Easter mystery, made present by the Holy Spirit. Within this gathering, the making of a marriage, the sign of the covenant between Christ and the church, is, in some sense, also called to take part in this holy act of new creation. It is this participation that is announced and effected by the liturgical blessing on the couple at the

threshold of their shared life. The full and solemn form of this blessing cannot be renewed, and a simpler ritual is provided for a second marriage, which can take place only after one has been either widowed or separated as a result of one's spouse having committed adultery.

c) The West. The decree *Tametsi*, issued by the Council of Trent in 1566 (DCO 1534–39) has had an impact comparable to that of Leo VI's *Novellae*. The decree established a strict obligation to celebrate marriage in public, in the presence of a minister, being a priest endowed with a special power of jurisdiction* for this purpose: normally, this is the priest of the prospective wife's home parish, or a priest whom he has delegated. The council laid down that the absence of such a privileged witness was sufficient to render a couple incapable of giving a mutual consent that would be valid and therefore sacramental.

By adopting this complex formulation, the council avoided making the involvement of the priest into the basis of the matrimonial bond. While the priest's involvement was necessary, the council respected the doctrine that had become most widely accepted among Western canonists and theologians in earlier centuries: that the element that constitutes marriage is the valid exchange of consents—an exchange that was not required to be performed in public before the Council of Trent. The rules laid down by the council were gradually imposed throughout the Catholic Church. However, the rules that came into effect in the wake of Vatican* II have modified the decisions made at Trent by accepting that the privileged witness mentioned in *Tametsi* need not be a priest (or a bishop). In “ordinary” cases, a deacon* may also receive jurisdiction to exercise this ministry; and in cases where it is necessary, laypeople may also be given it, as what Catholic canon law calls an “extraordinary” measure. However, these two modifications are valid only for Catholics of the Latin Rite. The special code issued in 1990 for Catholics of the Eastern Rite, on the authority of the Holy See, does not contain these provisions; canon 828 of this code (AAS 1990, 1225–26) recognizes valid sacramental unions among such Catholics only on the basis of the liturgical rite of marriage, that is, on the basis of the blessing celebrated by a priestly minister, in line with the common tradition of the Eastern churches mentioned above. Thus, the 1990 code adopts the same position as the Eastern churches, which do not permit deacons to preside at the sacramental celebration of marriage.

In opposition to the Reformers, the Council of Trent also affirmed the sacramental nature of marriage between baptized persons: not only did Christ desire that

marriage should signify the union of the Son of God with the church, his spouse, but he also conferred upon this sacrament the power to raise the union of the couple into the life of grace, giving this union a definitive sacred aspect. This view of marriage has been continually reiterated in the teaching of the Catholic Church. However, it has often been subject to both legal and theological questioning.

Questions have been raised on the interpretation of the respective roles, in the constitution of the sacramental and indissoluble bond, of the two main elements, the exchange of consents, which, in a sense, the couple themselves “administer,” and the public celebration in a church, which a priest normally “administers,” not only on the basis of his jurisdiction but also, and in correlation, on the basis of his status as a priest (priesthood). It seems that the Eastern theology on the role of the liturgy in the sacrament of marriage was not rejected at Trent (Duval 1985; Bourgeois and Sesboué 1995). Other questions have been raised on the relationship between the authority of the church and that of the state and its tribunals. Following the Council of Trent, one of the commonest sources of conflict was the question of the need for children to have the consent of their parents in order to be married. States often supported parents against children, while Catholic canon law tended to do the opposite. In modern states, a doctrine has been developed that makes a distinction between, on the one hand, the establishing of a conjugal bond according to the rules and values of the existing social order—a “contract” that, of course, goes beyond the mere financial “contract” of marriage in the contemporary sense—and, on the other hand, the elevation of this contract to the rank of a holy sacrament within the life of the church. In opposition to the opinions of the jurists of the modern state, the Catholic Church has consistently affirmed that it is impossible to separate the “contract” from the “sacrament” among the baptized members of the church.

4. Contemporary Issues

Today, Catholic practice is characterized by a greater attention to the liturgical celebration of marriage, comparable not only to the traditional position of the Eastern churches, but also to recent practice among Protestants, who are also tending to strengthen the role of the blessing of marriage, although there are divergences as to the interpretation of this ceremony (on French Protestants, see Ansaldi 1995). This common tendency has been encouraged in many countries by the rise in the number of marriages between Christians from different churches.

There are shared difficulties too. Nowadays, baptized people who no longer clearly confess their agree-

ment with the faith of the church, or even state plainly that they have distanced themselves from it, frequently request the liturgical celebration of their marriages. Catholic theologians in particular have discussed whether their requests should be granted, and how the nature of their conjugal bond should be defined (Millas 1990; Candelier 1991; Lawler 1991). The diversity of cultures and customs poses different problems: in Africa, in particular, the problem of ancestral heritage; in the East, changes in sexual socialization and marital morality. Some Christians influenced by such cultures live in family situations that have a certain stability and human value but, for Catholics in particular, do not meet the conditions required for them to be granted access to the sacrament. Should the canon law principle of the inseparable nature of the "contract" and the "sacrament"—a principle frequently reiterated and upheld (Baudot 1987)—go on being applied, or should the churches, in conditions to be determined, recognize a certain moral and social value in the "contract" that links such couples? Could a public status for such couples be combined with the duties of Christian life that they obviously have? Within the Catholic Church, which has seen such questions being urgently raised, some theologians have formulated responses compatible with the tradition that their church has inherited (e.g., Sequeira 1985; Örsy 1986; Deimel 1993; Puza 1993).

A *spirituality of Christian marriage* has frequently developed within the various churches since 1940, and numerous documents have been influenced by it. Vatican II defined the role of marriage in the structuring of God's people in the second chapter of the constitution *Lumen Gentium* (no. 11, §2). The constitution *Gaudium et Spes* (December 1965, nos. 47–52) combines spiritual perspectives with attention to contemporary problems concerning fertility (see B below). The decree on the apostolic tasks of laypeople (AA, November 1965) includes an important passage on the role of married couples in society and in the church (no. 11). Other terms, and other ideas, are used in other Christian traditions, but it appears that there is a common tendency among the churches to breathe new life into the liturgies that govern the celebration of the realities of married life, and give spiritual guidance to Christians so that they may cope with the sorrows and joys of this vocation.

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See also Anointing of the Sick; Baptism; Church and State; Confirmation; Eucharist; Family; Ordination/Order; Penance; Sacrament

B. Moral Theology

a) Scriptural Witness. In the Old Testament, marriage is envisaged first and foremost as a structure of patriarchal authority*, intended mainly to secure the perpetuation of the clan: the institutions of the levirate (Dt 25:5–10), concubinage (Gn 16), and provisional polygamy should be understood in this light. However, with the principle of exogamy, which makes its appearance in the prohibition of certain consanguineal marriages (Lv 18:6–18), marriage is also interpreted as an institution through which persons can recognize others: the other person becomes, through the very relationship of the couple*, a necessary “opposite,” to whom a bond of obligation is formed.

Under the influence of the theology* of the covenant*, in particular, marriage was increasingly understood as a relationship involving the human person in all his or her integrity, an exclusive relationship placed under the protection of the law of YHWH (Ex 20:14). Hosea evokes the one and only God* who, out of his free will and love, turns to his one and only chosen people* and reaches a lasting covenant with them (1–3; Jer 2:2; Ez 16). This approach, taken up in other books of the Bible, reinforced the tendency toward monogamy and gave a positive value to the woman* as the personal partner of the man (Mal 2:14ff.). The legal regulation of divorce reflects this approach: while the decision to divorce is left in the hands of the husband, he is obliged to write a letter of repudiation that will allow the wife to remarry (Dt 24:1–4).

As for the idea of the shared life of husband and wife, based on a personal and reciprocal relationship, its origins were traced to the narratives of the Creation*, in which individuals of both sexes are created in the image of God (Gn 1:27) and their living together is established by God, who wants to remedy human solitude by creating sexual union (Gn 2:18). Of course, there is no question here of an explicit basis for marriage, but the Yahwist commentator does make a link between the two partners becoming “one flesh,” having sexual relations, and conceiving children, on the one hand, and the legal act of “abandoning” one’s clan of origin.

Finally, as a basic unit of shared life, marriage is directly involved in original sin* and its consequences, manifested in the loss of innocence (Gn 3:7), and in the establishment of a structure of male domination over women (Gn 3:16).

References to marriage in the New Testament take up the traditions of the Old Testament, in particular those that are linked to the theme of the covenant.

They are marked by a characteristic tension. On the one hand, Jesus*—who himself remained unmarried, even though it was normal for rabbis to have wives—reduces the importance of all the old, familial bonds (Lk 14:26) in view of the approach of the Kingdom* of God, and attributes to celibacy a specific evangelical value (Mt 19:12). On the other hand, however, Jesus radically alters the status of the reciprocal commitment that constitutes marriage. Adultery is no longer to be understood as harming the well-being of another person, but as a wrong directly inflicted on one’s partner, and equally in the case of men as in the case of women (Mk 10:11f.). Just as Jesus does not limit his definition of adultery to the legally reprehensible act, but extends its meaning to the very moment that it is born “in his [the adulterer’s] heart” (Mt 5:27), so, in his view, marriage is a matter, not of effective possession, but of feeling. This is why the prohibition of divorce (Mk 10:2–12; Mt 19:9, subject to cases of “sexual immorality”) should lead the believer to repent his “hardness of heart.” While Moses took this hardening* into account when he authorized divorce, Jesus recalls us to the primordial will of the Creator, and presents marriage as a created order, attributing to God himself the Yahwist’s commentary on the union of a man and a woman who leave their parents in order to attach themselves to each other. Hence, he declares that those whom God has united may not be separated by human beings (Mt 19:4ff.). This rule should, however, be understood as being related not to the law* but to the gospel*: Jesus fulfils the prophecy* of the heart of flesh* that is to replace the “heart of stone” (Ez 36:26).

Jesus’ sayings are characterized by a tension arising from the expectation of the coming of the Kingdom. Once it had come, marriage would be abolished as an institution, if not as a way in which human beings relate to each other (Mk 12:25); at the same time, the notion of the Kingdom is specially expressed precisely through the image of the wedding (Mt 22:1–14; Acts 19:7). This eschatological tension is maintained in the teachings and exhortations of the apostles*. On the one hand, marriage is presented as one of the domains of everyday life ordained “in Christ” (Col 3:18f.; Eph 5:22–33; 1 Pt 3:1–7). On the other hand, Paul recommends that, because “the appointed time has grown very short” (1 Cor 7:29), the faithful should either follow his example and remain unmarried, or live within their marriages “as though they had [no wives]” (*hos me*, 1 Cor 7:29). Paul generally elaborates his precepts* in opposition to three rival positions. Against

those who tended toward Encratism, he emphasizes the value of marriage as a gift of the Creator, who permits human beings to enjoy it “with thanksgiving” (1 Tm 4:3ff.). Against those who upheld the ascetic ideal of unconsummated marriage, he upholds the sharing of the sexual life as an integral and reciprocal obligation (1 Cor 7:3ff.). Finally, against those who tended toward spiritualism or libertinism, he celebrates the body as the temple of the Holy* Spirit and recognizes sexuality as a factor in social cohesion (1 Cor 6:12–20). Paul’s endorsement of the submission of wives in Ephesians 5:22–33—the *locus classicus* of the New Testament’s theology of marriage—is tempered by the exhortation that precedes it: “submitting to one another” (Eph 5:21), and the duties of husbands are to be motivated by their devoted love of Christ*. Thus, the idea that marriage should be modeled on the relationship between Christ and his church* forms the link between the Christian ethics* of marriage and the church as a community within which one’s first training is conducted.

b) Ancient and Medieval Church. There was a tendency within the ancient and medieval church to transpose the eschatological tension that pervades these New Testament texts into a system of values. The value of marriage certainly continued to be emphasized, in opposition both to Manicheism* and to Montanism*, but marriage came to be definitively subordinated to the ideal of virginity (Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* IIa IIae, q. 152, a. 3), partly as a consequence of the general deprecation of the active life as compared to contemplation*. Separation by mutual consent, which was permitted in Roman law*, was strictly forbidden to Christians, with the sole exception of those cases in which both husband and wife entered the monastic life. The ideal of virginity was even introduced into the doctrine of marriage. Thus, Augustine* was able in his later works to emphasize the physical nature of marriage while postulating an ideal progression from sexuality without desire to “continent” marriage, and then from such marriage to celibacy.

By identifying what could be called concupiscence with sexual desire, Augustine reinforced a traditional attitude of anxiety about the passions*, which Christianity had inherited from Greek thought, and introduced an internal tension in the doctrine of the “three goods” of marriage: procreation* (*proles*), control of sexuality (*fides*), and indissolubility (*sacramentum*). Of course, these goods presupposed physical union, but they were also celebrated as counterweights to carnal desire, which became a venial sin within marriage. In particular, the indissoluble sacramental bond of marriage could be envisaged, through a remarkable ab-

straction, as being independent of the actual conjugal union, so that, for example, the sacrament could be seen as in itself an obstacle to remarriage (*De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I, 11). In this way—and despite the fact that Augustine set his reflections on marriage within the framework of a way of life, considered more generally—he opened the way, despite himself, to an approach that saw these goods as “ends,” to which the life shared within marriage could be subordinated. This attitude lasted from Augustine’s day into modern times.

It fell to Aquinas to open up a new line of thought within this overall development. Adopting Aristotle’s teleology of nature* and reason*, Aquinas makes the perpetuation of the human species through procreation the decisive criterion for sexual union. Accordingly, the conscious pursuit of this purpose determines whether specific actions “conform” (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 153). In this context, sexual pleasure itself is reevaluated to the extent that, despite the momentary extinction of individual reason, it nonetheless serves the superior purpose of nature and reason (perpetuation of the species). This logic still characterizes the Catholic Church’s teaching on marriage today, including its answers to specific questions of moral theology, such as the question of contraception. The Western Christian tradition* has generally been characterized by a degree of rigor—notably in its prohibition of remarriage after civil divorce—and by the role that it gives to theological conceptions. The teaching and practice of the Eastern churches in this domain have been shaped above all by the liturgy* of marriage: the remarriage of divorced spouses gives rise to a specific ritual in which this act is presented as a penance* and a new beginning.

Marriage was initially regarded as a purely secular matter, to which the church did no more than give its blessing* (*missa pro sponsis*, c. 400). Eventually, however, it became an authentically ecclesiastical institution, both in the West (*Decretum Gratiani*, 1140) and in the East (Leo VI, 886–912). In German-speaking regions, the priest* even took the place of the provost who united the couple *in facie ecclesiae*: the legal act itself was performed in the nave of the church and integrated into the religious service.

c) Reformation and the Early Modern Period. Luther* defended liberty* in marriage on a number of grounds. As against the plethora of complications to which marriage was subjected in his day, both in secular law* and in canon law, he emphasized that no one could be excluded from marriage, which is a necessary aspect of the identity of every man and woman as created beings. As against the church’s assertion of the superior

status of the monastic life, he argued for the preeminence of the married state, which represented a “vocation” to faith* and love. It is a vocation to faith because, unlike the “clerical state” and the vows that commit the clergy to it, marriage does not give human beings the power to justify themselves by their characters or their works*. It is a vocation to love because, unlike monks, married men do not remove themselves from daily interaction with the distress of their neighbors, as represented by their wives and children. Finally, as against the sacramental conception of marriage as a way of salvation*, Luther emphasized the fact that sexual relations need to be purified and sanctified by the word* of God. Accordingly, while he regarded marriage as a “profane thing,” subordinate to the earthly government of God, he never considered it to be a condition deprived of spirituality. On the contrary, the everyday temptations and miseries of marriage make it the “most spiritual condition of all” (WA 12, 105, 29), to the extent that “by nature, it teaches us to see the hand and the grace of God, and obliges us truly to believe” (WA 12, 106, and 126f.). This conviction pervades Luther’s pamphlet on marriage, the *Traubüchlein* (1529), in which the consent of husband and wife is also conceived as a “witness of humility,” an appeal to the “divine aid” provided in the blessing* of the wedding. On the question of divorce and remarriage, Luther adopts a pastoral approach, permitting them for injured parties in cases of adultery, voluntary abandonment of the marital home, and concealment of impotence. Zwingli* in Zurich (from 1522) and Calvin* in Geneva also took care to establish matrimonial courts; in Geneva, legitimate grounds for divorce remained decidedly more limited. (There were frequent appeals from these institutions to regional consistory courts.) Some groups of radical Reformers developed a libertine and functionalist ethics of marriage: for example, polygamy was permitted in the “Anabaptist kingdom” of Münster as a way of ensuring that the holy ones of the apocalypse could be born.

d) Contemporary Problems. The traditions of the Enlightenment and romanticism have formed an unstable compound in modern thinking on the couple and on marriage.

During the Enlightenment, marriage, like all other social relations, was conceived on the model of the contract. Marriage did not merely begin with a contract—as in the traditional formula, *consensus facit matrimonium* (“consent makes a marriage”), it was by its very nature a contract, by which two individuals consented, in the formula devised by Kant*, to “the reciprocal possession, throughout their lives, of their sexual attributes” (*Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der*

Sitten [Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals], Doctrine of Law, §24). As a result, considerations of individual, social, and political utility came to be regarded as primary, as evidenced in the massive increase in the number of grounds for divorce, emancipation from the moral teachings of the churches, and the establishment of (compulsory or optional) civil marriage. The “rational” easing of restrictions on divorce was already implied in the logic of contractual thought: the principle of individual autonomy, which permitted the partners to conclude the contract, also allowed them to break their commitment whenever it ceased to bring them the benefits that they had anticipated.

This “reification” of the conjugal bond inevitably provoked a reaction, which arrived in the form of “romantic subjectivization.” The formal element of marriage was reduced to a troublesome detail, and marriage was based entirely on affection. Love is marriage: such was the motto that Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) popularized through his novel *Lucinde*, and for which the young Schleiermacher* provided a theological foundation by exalting love and lovers into the celestial realm. Yet, while romanticism was a protest movement, it also had some obvious affinities with Enlightenment thought: for both movements, marriage had its roots in the resources of the individual. Whether it was interpreted as a “contract” or as a “relationship,” marriage remained an artifact, a bond that could be made, and broken, by the exertion of the sovereign will.

It was on this basis that the two traditions became compounded, producing the contemporary state of mind, which is defined by the dubious attempt to combine the greatest possible degree of individual autonomy with the greatest possible degree of affective intensity in mutual relations. Enlightenment utilitarianism* is thus freighted with all the demands of romanticism, which have become the very purpose of marriage and are therefore no longer necessarily linked to the concrete reality of a shared life. The relationship need not be maintained if it does not bring the partners the happiness that they expected. However, happiness is not something that can be directly assigned as a purpose, and it is characteristic of modernity that it expects more from the relationship of couples than it is capable of providing. The tendency to favor nonmatrimonial forms of shared life does not resolve the problem, for such relationships are also structured on the assumption that the bond should last only as long as it fulfils its affective purpose.

Christian theology and ethics must undoubtedly oppose this new version of the purposes of marriage by reactivating the critical system that they have already used

over the course of the 20th century against traditional notions of the purposes of marriage. Karl Barth*, for example, has emphasized that marriage, as a form of shared life established by God, carries its own purpose in itself and is not to be legitimized by the realization of other purposes: he therefore defines marriage as an “exemplary sharing of life” (*KD* III/4, 211f.). This idea has not failed to find a response, for the canon law of the Catholic Church, as overhauled in the *CIC* of 1983, has also placed an emphasis on the personal dimension of marriage—marriage as unity of personal life (canon 1,055)—as against an approach invoking contract and purpose. However, in opposition to modern thought, which reduces the traditional goods of marriage to the self-fulfillment of the partners conceived as its only purpose, it is worth recalling once again the role that liberty* plays in the institution of marriage, and the organic solidarity that unites marriage as a form of life with the “fruits” that it produces. It is true that children do not give meaning to marriage; nevertheless, they must not be excluded a priori from the shared life of the married couple. Like those who are “celibate” on principle, couples who remain childless are displaying not disobedience to the “commandment” to multiply the species, but rather a radical lack of confidence in the goodness of the world*, as creation, and in the promise* of God’s blessing. Every marriage is also blessed in its children, through whom the world continues to be turned toward its eschatological goal. To claim a right to marriage and/or to the religious ceremony for homosexual couples is to neglect this organic link between marriage and its benefits, and to fail to understand that marriage is based on the physical and structural difference between the sexes, which are destined to experience their “unity” not on the basis of the same sex, but by finding their complement in the other sex.

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See also Adam; Couple; Creation; Ethics, Sexual; Family; Procreation; Woman

Marsilius of Inghen. *See* Nominalism

Martyrdom

1. Origin and Meaning of the Term

“Martyrdom” comes from the Greek *marturia* or *marturion*, meaning “witness,” “testimony”; but in Christian usage it means, more narrowly, death undergone in witness to Christ*. (Those whose sufferings for Christ did not result in death are called “confessors.”) This narrower meaning is not attested until the latter half of the second century, in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, and there are a number of theories as to how it developed. An obvious link between witness and suffering is provided by the Roman practice of verifying the testimony of legal witnesses (other than *honestiores*, those from “honorable” families) by torture: by his suffering and death*, the witness, *martus*, demonstrates the truth* of his witness to Christ and the gospel.

However, the idea that the martyr is rather a witness of the truth of the age to come finds support from the passion* narrative* in Luke, where we see Jesus* passing directly from the cross to Paradise, taking with him the repentant thief (Lk 23:43); from the account of the death of the first Christian martyr, Stephen, who, as he dies, sees “the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God” (Acts 7:56); and from the vision of the Apocalypse, in which John, exiled on Patmos “on account of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus” (Rev 1:9), sees Heaven opened (Rev 4:1) and a throng of martyrs, worshipping God and the Lamb*, and bearing palms of victory (Rev 7:9–17). Such an understanding of martyrdom (but not the term) had already existed within Judaism*, where it had been developed especially in connection with the age of the Maccabees. The martyr was seen to stand on the threshold of the age to come. His death was an atonement for the failings of those who lived in expectation of the coming age, and it brought that age nearer. His death was part of the final struggle between good* and evil* that would usher in the final age: the opponents of the martyrs were not so much the earthly authorities as the spiritual powers of darkness, who were later called demons* (Eph 6:12).

2. The Martyr as Saint

The death of Jesus was much more than a martyrdom: of the Evangelists, only Luke comes close to presenting Jesus as an archetypal martyr. Nevertheless, Jesus

is occasionally called a martyr in the New Testament (1 Tm 6:13; Rev 1:5, 3:14), and the martyr was soon seen as the perfect disciple: indeed, the term *teleiosis*, “perfection,” came to be used of the martyr’s death. The martyr was very early assimilated to Christ, and his death to the paschal mystery* celebrated in the Eucharist*. Thus, Ignatius of Antioch begs the Christians of Rome* to do nothing that will prevent him from being an “imitator of the passion of my God” (*Rom.* 6, 3), and sees his martyred body as becoming the “pure bread of Christ” (*ibid.*, 4, 1). Similarly, Polycarp’s prayer* before his death is a paraphrase of the eucharistic prayer (*M. Pol.* 14).

Because the martyr is to pass to Paradise and there join the angels in the court of God, even in his lifetime his intercession was regarded as peculiarly efficacious, and his words as having prophetic power (*M. Pol.* 16, 2). Jesus himself had promised that the Spirit would speak through the mouths of those who bore him faithful witness (Mk 13:11 par.). After their deaths, the bodies of martyrs were treasured and preserved as relics*, and altars were built over their tombs (architecture*). The anniversaries of their martyrdom (their “heavenly birthdays”) were honored by the celebration of the Eucharist on such altars. The image of the martyr thus became that of the saint, one who had fulfilled the common vocation of all Christians to holiness* (see Rom 1:17; 1 Cor 1:2; 1 Pt 2:9; and the common designation of Christians as *hagioi*—“holy”—in Acts and by Paul). The martyr, as saint, was not simply a model but also a friend in the heavenly courts, to whom one could turn for help. He was especially concerned for those who lived where he had lived during his earthly life or who showed special devotion to him. It is not surprising that the church* felt the need to discourage those who provoked martyrdom (“voluntary martyrdom”) and presented martyrdom as a vocation not to be sought, but not to be refused.

3. Martyrdom and Persecution in the Roman Empire

This understanding of the martyr developed very rapidly: almost all its features can be found in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, a largely eyewitness account written around the middle of the second century. Three centuries of persecution by the Roman Empire made it an ineradicable part of Christian consciousness.

Henceforth, Christians looked back on these centuries as the “Age of Martyrdom,” and they exaggerated the nature and extent of the persecutions. It is not in fact known for certain why they took place. The veneration of one who had died a criminal’s death would hardly be regarded with much favor by the authorities, and they would have had little hesitation about oppressing a group that refused to conform to what were regarded as little more than acts of courtesy to the gods, on whose favor the prosperity of the empire depended, and to acts of loyalty to the deified emperor, whose cult* symbolized the fragile unity of the empire. It is clear from the “acts” of the martyrs that Christians were executed simply for being Christians (“for the Name”), but there was no systematic attempt to exterminate Christians (as there was with regard to the Druids, for instance). For the first two centuries, persecution seems to have been local and sporadic. Nevertheless, to become a Christian carried the risk of someday being faced with the alternative of apostasy or death. General persecution—throughout the Roman Empire, and by imperial decree—seems to have occurred first during the reign of Decius (c. 200–51), when, in what looks like an attempt to secure their failing support, everyone was required to sacrifice to the gods. This provoked mass apostasy and also many cases of martyrdom. It also provoked a crisis in the Christian community, for martyrs awaiting their death (called confessors in the West) claimed the power to forgive their frailer fellow Christians who had apostatized, thus overruling the power of the bishops*. Some bishops acknowledged the power of the martyrs, for example, Dionysius in Alexandria (Eusebius, *HE* VI, 42, 5f.), but others did not, notably Cyprian* in Carthage. Further general persecutions underlined the limits to the assimilation of Christianity into the pagan empire, culminating in the “Great Persecution” initiated by Diocletian in 303. Again, there was much apostasy, but there was also a long drawn-out attempt, by torture, imprisonment, and forced labor, to weaken the church fatally; and this resulted in many martyrdoms. The Great Persecution came to an abrupt end in 312 with the conversion* of Constantine and the toleration of Christianity established by the Edict of Milan.

4. *The Ideal of Martyrdom after the Peace of the Church*

During these persecutions, the combination of widespread apostasy, followed by a desire to return to the church, and, by contrast, the steadfastness of the few focused attention on the intercessory power of the martyrs, and also challenged the authority* of the bishops, whose control over admission to eucharistic communion* had developed as a way of preserving the

integrity and identity of the church. For both bishops and martyrs, baptism* and its opposite, apostasy, defined the boundaries of the church. With the acceptance of the church in the empire in the course of the fourth century, the boundaries became much less clear. The age of the martyrs now receded into the past, but the church of the martyrs did not. There was active promotion of the cult of the martyrs, notably in Rome under Pope* Damasus, who sought to make the city into a center of pilgrimage* on account of its wealth of martyrs. On the other hand, one of the main ideas that accompanied the development of monasticism* was that the monk was a successor of the martyr, his asceticism* matching the martyr’s passion, so that monks inherited the role of intercessors with God. Monks now became saints.

5. *Development of the Cult of Saints/Martyrs*

With the Peace of the Church, the memory of the age of the martyrs was preserved by the cult of the martyr and the production of increasingly embroidered accounts of martyrs. These had a liturgical role, not just in the yearly celebrations of martyrs’ relics, but also in the celebrations of the liturgical year, which became a roll call of martyrs. There were, increasingly, other saints, mainly monks and bishops, but the martyr remained the archetype of sainthood. The relics of martyrs and other saints did not lie undisturbed: their bodies were dismembered and their relics, with their miraculous powers, found their way throughout the Christian world. It soon became normal for altars to house relics, a practice that was made obligatory by the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea* II, canon 7).

6. *Later Martyrs*

a) Byzantine Martyrs. The Peace of the Church did not, however, bring martyrdom to an end. Christians persecuted Christians, and, when the emperor was a heretic, he made martyrs. Monothelitism*, for example, was responsible for the death of Martin I (the last martyr-pope) and the torture of Maximus* the Confessor during the seventh century. Iconoclasm yielded Stephen the Younger and several other martyrs. Theodore the Studite (759–826) presented compromise with iconoclasm as apostasy and thus sought to revive the spirit of the age of the martyrs. Confrontation with paganism* and Islam also produced martyrs in the Byzantine Empire.

b) Royal Martyrs. Although martyrs were regarded as spiritual fighters, death while fighting, even against the enemies of Christianity, was rarely regarded as martyrdom (by contrast to Islam). Most Christian sol-

dier martyrs lost their lives because of a perceived conflict between the requirements of military practice and those of the Christian life. Despite the rhetoric that accompanied the Crusades, none of the Crusaders was canonized, with the exception of Saint Louis, who did not become a saint solely because he was a Crusader. Nevertheless, in the history of the Christianization of Europe there was a small number of royal martyrs, some of whom died fighting pagan foes. Anglo-Saxon England, where the struggle against paganism* was most prolonged, produced most of these: Oswald of Northumbria (641), Oswin of Deira (651), Ethelbert (794) and Edmund of East Anglia (839), and the Anglo-Saxon Edward (978). Other royal martyrs include Wenceslaus of Bohemia (929), Olaf of Norway (1030), Magnus of Orkney (1116), and, in Kievan Rus', Boris and Gleb (1015), the sons of the first Christian ruler, Vladimir. Their immediate significance was the dynastic validation that their cults provided. In several cases (Wencelaus, Magnus, Boris and Gleb), it is not at all clear that they died because of their faith.

The history of Christian martyrdom does not end there. The precarious cohabitation of Christians with Islam (despite the privileged status of *dhimmis* that Islam accorded to them as "people of the Book") included some persecutions and martyrdoms. The history of missions, from the 16th to the 19th centuries, was also distinguished by numerous martyrdoms. The 20th century has probably seen more extensive martyrdom than at any other time in the history of the church. The full story of the persecution of Christians under Nazism and Communism, as well as in various parts of Africa and Latin America, has yet to be written.

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See also **Asceticism; Cult of Saints**

Marx, Karl

1818–1883

1. Introduction

Between the October Revolution and the demolition of the Berlin Wall, the hostility between Christianity and atheistic Communism has been a defining feature of the 20th century; it ranged from official denunciations

of "Marxism" to the persecution of Christians by Marxist regimes. In contrast, theologians showed little interest in Marx's writings. Paradoxically, while most of what Marx has to say about religion in general and Christianity in particular is unoriginal, the themes he

discussed, and the manner of their treatment, remain of central significance for Christian life and thought.

2. Life

Marx was born in Trier, of rabbinical lineage, although baptism was the price that his father had paid for retaining his position as a lawyer. At Bonn and, later, at Berlin, Marx studied law* and philosophy* (his doctoral thesis was on the philosophies of nature of Democritus and Epicurus) and spent much time in “Young Hegelian” company. Exiled to Paris in 1843, he moved to Brussels in 1845 and in 1849, to London, where he remained until his death. The “Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts” of 1844 were followed by the *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845), the first part of the *German Ideology* (1846), the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), and the *Grundrisse*, or notebooks preparatory to *Capital* (1857, 1858), while the first volume of *Capital* appeared in 1867. Devoted to his wife (who died in 1881) and to his children, he combined revolutionary politics with the lifestyle of a Victorian gentleman.

3. Themes

a) *Religion*. Assuming that religious beliefs reflect social circumstances and self-understanding and, in particular, that images of God* are reflections of the state, Marx took it for granted that once human beings have taken their existence into their own hands, and external forms and structures of oppression have been abolished, then religious beliefs will fade away with the healing of the suffering that called them forth. From as early as 1843, he showed little interest in religion. The assumption that religion would simply disappear, whereas others forms of thought, literary or aesthetic, philosophical or political, would find ideal form in an ideal society, indicates Marx’s indebtedness to the widespread early modern belief that the reality, autonomy, and liberty* of “god” and “man” are antithetical.

b) *Truth*. For Marx, truth* is the coincidence between appearance and reality, fact and description, the way things are and the way they seem to be. It is a relationship in both theory and practice, and, in this sense, truth does not exist independently of knowledge and right action. A “true” human individual could only be “truly” such as a member of a “truly human” society. There is, accordingly, a utopian or eschatological element in Marx’s account. For Christians, his account may illuminate the mutuality between Christology* and eschatology*: between the confession that a truly human individual has existed and the hope that, in him, all things in heaven and on earth will be united.

c) *Materialism*. Marx’s “historical materialism” (adapted by Engels [1820–95] into “dialectical materialism”) emphasizes, as against Hegelian idealism, that it is people, rather than ideas, that make and change the world. It is also opposed to Feuerbach (1804–72): people make and change the world by their work* with hand and head, and not by thought alone. The link between Marx’s materialism and his atheism* lies not in some metaphysics, reducing all reality to extension, but in the assumption that God is, and can only be, an idea, and that it is idealist to worship an idea. If Christians or Marxists speak of love* or liberty while acting otherwise, or if they act as if the redemptive transformation of the world occurs in consciousness alone, then one is confronted with the idealist sin par excellence, that of idealist practice, whether it arises from idealist theory or contradicts materialist theory.

d) *Ideology*. Marx’s metaphor of a socioeconomic “base” and an ideological “superstructure” (law, politics, religion, art, and philosophy) is easily and frequently misread as meaning that the latter exert no influence on the former; yet Marx constructed a theory of their interaction. However, despite this interaction, it remains the case that, in Marx’s view, “structure” and “reflection” are initially unified through a relationship of contradiction, such that the distorting pressure of the former on the latter prevents reliance on the elements of the superstructure alone. Moreover, if one considers that the way of thinking of people in power becomes an element of this power, then it is understandable that the Marxist theory lends a pejorative connotation to the term “ideology.”

e) *Alienation*. To alienate a good is to give it to another: *ad alium*. Marx, unlike Hegel*, does not see objectification as the direct cause of alienation (that is, becoming estranged from oneself). We may give something of ourselves to our work, but that does not necessarily mean that we lose that something. It’s only within the measure that our work, our relations, and our selves become commodities; the system they depend on becomes an alien power ruling an alienated world. Marx sees religion as the paradigm of alienation: the alien power of God renders humans aliens to themselves. However, since God’s power is in fact a dispossession (of the self), so that, theologically, the cure of any alienation comes from a divine *kenosis**, there are fruitful analogies to be explored between Marx’s account of the transcendence of alienation and Christian doctrines of redemption. Nevertheless, Marx omits one point: his critique can certainly help Christian theory not to deal with God (in word or deed) as

an alien omnipotence, and not to allow a theory of redemption to substitute for the work of its achievement. Christianity, however, takes seriously an aspect of alienation that Marxism virtually ignores, our dependence on the “alien power” of death*.

f) Poverty and Revolution. Under capitalism, wealth takes the form of private property* and poverty the form of dispossession. Consequently, the rich is defined as one who “needs” to have more; the poor as one who needs to be more. The need of the poor is closer to reality than the desire of the rich is (Marx was much influenced by Hegel’s dialectic of master and slave). In a world in which all alienation has been superseded, “poverty” would then only refer to our need for each other, and “wealth” the relationships created by this need. The idea of the proletariat as the agent of the final revolution*, which would thus invert the fact and sense of wealth and poverty, is, in part, mythological, for no social class exists in pure negation nor acts without particular self-interest. The Marxist analysis of social transformation contains nonetheless rich materials for Christian soteriology.

g) Hope. Marx had no time for speculation: insofar as circumstances permit effective action to be undertaken, the utopian imagining of a better world must give way to its construction. By contrast, the eschatological dimension of Christian hope prevents its contraction to the realm of social action, and always contains (in Marx’s sense) utopian elements. Hope is always for more than can be given in the transformation of the world. One could also point out that Marx’s understanding of the future is irredeemably flawed by an abstract and ungrounded optimism, while Christianity retains a tragic element even within its optimism. “Alleluia” is always to be sung while remembering the tension that unites it with the silence of Gethsemane.

4. *Marxisms and Christianity*

Christianity had little to learn from the Marxist-Leninist “dialectical materialism” that became Communism’s orthodoxy (except, perhaps, the ease with which an all-embracing faith*, inflexibly interpreted and ruthlessly applied, coagulates into an inhuman system). There were other Marxist currents with which more fruitful interaction was possible. Thus, with the shift in mood during the 1960s, and the transition from anathema to dialogue, theologians, especially in Germany, began to

pay serious attention to the utopian humanism of Ernst Bloch (1885–1977) and the “critical theory” of the Frankfurt School. More generally, the awakening, at this period, of theological interest in public fact and social transformation (under such labels as “political theology,” “theology of the world,” “theology of revolution,” “theology of work,” “theology of earthly realities,” and so on) was diffusely influenced by aspects of Marxism without, for the most part, close examination of Marx’s texts. Theologies of liberation* are a special case, not only because they were linked to the flourishing of base communities in countries of the Third World (whereas most European and North American theology has remained a largely academic enterprise) and had a general indebtedness to the Marxist idea of the primacy of praxis, but also because of the brief use in Latin America of the thought of Louis Althusser. Althusser took an extreme position in Marxist debates concerning the continuity between Marx’s “early” and “mature” thought and sought to save the appearances of Communism’s claims for the finality of its theories by arguing for radical discontinuity between Marxism’s final (“scientific”) form and its idealist or ideological beginnings (a view rendered untenable with the publication of the *Grundrisse*). Because of their Althusserian interpretation of Marx, some Latin American theologians sought to endorse Marxist theories of social transformation as “scientific,” while dismissing the atheism* associated with them as a discredited ideology.

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See also Deism and Theism; Hegelianism; Religion, Philosophy of

Mary

A. Biblical Theology

Mary, the mother of Jesus*, occupies a relatively small place in the New Testament as a whole. Theology* and piety have given considerable weight to those texts that mention her, with major differences in appreciation from one Christian confession to another. For this reason the exegete must be careful to distinguish between the objective givens of the texts and later constructions, however legitimate the latter might be from a dogmatic* point of view (see *Mary in the New Testament* [1978], an exemplary work carried out by Catholic and Lutheran exegetes in the United States).

1. Paul, Synoptics, Acts

a) *Paul*. A theologian of the paschal mystery, Paul speaks little of the life of Jesus. He mentions his birth on only one occasion: “God sent forth his son, born of woman, born under the law” (Gal 4:4). The expression is surprising: one might have expected the name of the father. Paul is here emphasizing the solidarity of Christ* with mankind, the weakness of the Son of God*, born of woman among a people* subject to the law.

b) *Mark*. In the Gospel of Mark, where the birth of Christ is not narrated at all, the Judeo-Christian opposition becomes evident. Mary is to be found in only two episodes. In Mark 3:21, “his [Jesus’] family” are hostile, but Mary is only named later (opposition between blood family and the family made up of those who obey the will of God [3:31–34f.]. In Mark 6:3—“Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary and brother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us?”—the designation “son of Mary” is noteworthy, when in Matthew and Luke, both of whom attest to the virginal conception, we find: “son of a carpenter.”

c) *Matthew*. Matthew, on the contrary, draws on Judeo-Christian tradition*, while at the same time forging an opening to the universal mission* (28:18ff.). The prologue (1–2) provides answers to the questions (K. Stendahl): “Who is the Messiah*?” “Where does he come from?” Studies of the type “The Childhood Stories in the *Haggada*” (C. Perrot), and particularly those of the childhood of Moses (R.

Bloch), are decisive in enabling us to appreciate the literary genre of these chapters.

In the book of Matthew, the introductory genealogy of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham, contains anomalies (foreign or sinful women) and comes to a strange conclusion: “and Jacob the father of Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom Jesus was born” (Mt 1:16). Matthew 1:18–25 is written from the point of view of Joseph, the just and steadfast man and who has received the mission to introduce Jesus into the line of David. The revelation* revolves around Mary’s virginal conception (see below, 2) under the action of the Holy* Spirit, according to Isaiah 7:14 (LXX). Matthew is thus in opposition to the Ebionites, for whom Jesus was the “son of Joseph.” The point being christological, Matthew 1:25 (Joseph “took his wife, but knew her not until she had given birth to a son”) is not concerned with what would happen later. The episode of the epiphany is reinforced by the ancient themes of the royal star (Nm 24:17) and the Davidic messiah (Mi 5:1). While elsewhere Joseph plays a leading role, here the Magi see “the young child with Mary his mother” (Mt 2:11): it is she who is charged with introducing her son to the people. In narrating Christ’s public life, Matthew removes anything that might have seemed offensive in Mark (compare Mt 12:46–50 with Mk 3:21 and 31ff.).

d) *Luke, Acts*. To Christians of pagan origin who are tempted to reject the Jewish heritage, Luke shows that the life and works of Christ cannot be understood without their roots in the Old Testament, which reveal the continuity of God’s design despite the interference of history*. Unlike Matthew, Luke 1–2 is more interested in Mary than in Joseph. The style is inspired by the Old Testament, particularly the story of the young Samuel. A typical format connects two stories: the annunciation of Gabriel to Zechariah (1:11–20), and the annunciation to Mary (1:26–38). Differences are enhanced: thus, Mary believes while Zechariah doubts. The angel’s message to Mary (*khairé*) seems to be a return to the prophecies inviting the “daughter of Zion” to messianic joy (Sg 3:14; Zec 9:9). Mary is hailed as the recipient par excellence of God’s *kharis* (that is, of his salvific intentions). The Catholic dogma* of the Im-

maculate Conception (Mary protected from original sin* from the moment of her birth) would be based upon this salutation.

Mary's question to the angel, "How will this be, since I am a virgin?" (Lk 1:34), is aimed at introducing the rest of the revelation and cannot be interpreted as signifying a vow of virginity. The event is presented in two stages: the messianic royalty of the child and, given the fact of the Spirit, his divine origin. Suggestions of "an apocalypse" (Legrand 1981) have been made, as the unveiling, in a paschal light, of the divine plan of salvation.* Projecting onto the origin formulas of faith* that had come later, Luke insists on the free consent with which Mary, the "servant of the Lord," yielded to God's intervention, in this case even more astonishing than in the case of Isaac (Lk 1:37 and Gn 18:14).

The comparisons between the Visitation (Lk 1:39–45) and the history of the Ark of the Covenant* (Laurentin 1964) are too tenuous to be retained on an exegetical level. Elizabeth praises Mary's faith (1:45). Mary recites the "Magnificat," which Luke has drawn from Judeo-Christian hymnology (with an emphasis on Israel* and the expectation of imminent justice* for the poor). Marian devotion would take inspiration from 1:48: "For behold, from now on all generations will call me blessed"—Mary's faith is underlined again as a passage through obscurity (2:41–52), a quest for the meaning of events (2:19–51), and an acceptance of the Word* (8:15, 11, 28). With Joseph she is depicted as a faithful observer of the law. Simeon's prediction "and a sword will pierce through your own soul also" (2, 35) refers to the rejection of the Messiah by his own people, and would be applied to the compassion of Mary at the foot of the cross (Jn 19:25). Like Matthew, Luke avoids anything that might suggest an opposition between Jesus and his mother. After the Resurrection, Mary prays in the Cenacle with the apostles, a few women, and the brothers of Jesus (Acts 1:14). There is a correspondence between the sudden descent of the Spirit* upon the church* in Acts 2 and the coming of the Spirit upon Mary in Luke 1:35.

2. Virginal Conception

Matthew and Luke are the only New Testament authors who affirm that Jesus was born miraculously of Mary. The reading of John 1:13 in the singular (*qui natus est*) is too weakly attested to be retained. However, on numerous occasions Jesus is designated as the "son of Joseph" (Lk 3:23, "being the son [as was supposed] of Joseph", 4:22; Jn 1:45, 6:42). A number of questions arise, therefore, concerning the origin of the tradition* of the virginal conception, and its theological impact.

Agreeing in their fundamental affirmation, Matthew

and Luke nevertheless diverge too significantly in their presentation to be seen as mutually dependent. Each text needs to be explained on its own.

The milieu out of which Matthew was writing would have been familiar with the Jewish *haggada*, which knew of no virgin conception. The prophecy of Isaiah 7:14 refers to the '*alemah* (meaning a young woman, married or not) as the mother of the royal heir, to which Micah 5:2 also refers. These texts can be explained by the role played at the royal court by the queen mother (H. Cazelles). Matthew, however, refers to Isaiah 7:14 not according to the Hebrew but the LXX: *parthenos* (the reading of which was prohibited by Justin and Irenaeus* as being against Aquila's *neanis*, which they regarded as more in keeping with the Hebrew). Must it be said that the idea of a virginal conception emerged in Alexandria? Philo, commenting on the birth of Isaac, would develop the allegory of the engendering of virtues*, but the Evangelists had a real birth in mind (Grelot 1972). *Parthenos* in LXX is also used as a description for towns that have nothing exemplary about them (Is 47:1; Lam 1:15, 2:13; see Dubarle 1978). A direct reading of Isaiah 7:14 could not therefore have inspired Matthew's story; moreover, the point of the story is that of the conception by the Spirit, and the quotation is only of interest for the additional light it sheds on the matter. In the biblical creation* stories the Spirit's role is to communicate life (Gn 2:7; Ps 104:30). According to the physiology of the era, woman did no more than gather the seed that would develop in her womb.

In Luke's text there are no references to Isaiah 7:14, but the theme gathers force with the account of John the Baptist, who is filled from his mother's womb with the Holy Spirit (1:15). Here the Spirit is at work in the conception itself. Its intervention is indicated by a verb evoking the presence of God's glory* on the Ark of the Covenant (*episkiazein*, as in Ex 40:35; Nm 9:1, 9:22, 10:34). John 1:14 has recourse to the same typology for the advent of the Logos. This comparison shows that for the authors of the second century the Word itself took form in the womb of Mary. In any event, we cannot speculate here on the personal nature of the divine *pneuma*: a principle of life, it assures the divine origin of the child.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition to which Matthew adheres, any borrowing from pagan mythology seems unthinkable. The delicacy with which Luke treats his subject illustrates well that he is at an opposite extreme from the eroticism of Greek and Roman mythology.

Was the virginal conception, then, simply a *theologoumenon*, a theological interpretation without a factual basis, or was it an affirmation based upon the reality of things? The silence of the rest of the New

Testament would seem to favor the first hypothesis. However, it must be acknowledged that a literal interpretation imposed itself very early on in the church: Ignatius of Antioch (*To the Smyrnaeans* 1:1; *To the Tralians* 1 X, 1) was the most prominent witness of this evolution, and then Irenaeus, who developed the parallel between Mary and the virgin soil whence Adam* was formed (*Adv. Haer.* 111, 21, 10). The exegete would emphasize the unprecedented nature of the texts of Matthew and Luke and the great difficulty involved in finding a satisfactory explanation for them outside of a tradition that, in the final analysis, must be as old as Mary herself, however discreet that tradition may have been in other respects.

3. John, Apocalypse 12

a) John. John was interested primarily in the divine origin of the Logos made flesh (1:14). He does not name Mary. However, she does appear, as the “mother of Jesus,” in two scenes that correspond to each other. She appears first of all at Cana, with the group of “brothers” (2:12). In this prototype of “signs” accomplished on the third day (the paschal token), she intervenes but is met with a blunt refusal (2:4). Here, as in the synoptics, Jesus marks his distance from his family. But the words Mary addresses to the servants (*see* Gn 41:55) show that the conflict has been overcome. For those who see in this story a response of the covenant of Sinai, Mary expresses commitment of the people to whom the wine of the New Covenant is destined (Serra 1978).

In 8:41, does John allude to accusations of illegitimacy brought against Jesus by the Jews? These are affirmed by Celsus and provoked the reply of the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (v. 175). Clues are very tenuous where John is concerned.

The second scene in question is the narrative of the crucifixion, the “hour” of Christ’s *agape*. Only John mentions the mother of Jesus at the foot of the cross, with the beloved disciple (19:25ff.). In the verse “Woman, behold, your son” the fathers* of the church recognized a sign of filial solicitude. Subsequently, the “Behold, your mother” served to support teaching about Mary’s spiritual maternity. Modern commentators, in various ways, have emphasized the symbolic nature of the scene. Would not the surprising form of address, “Woman,” (*see* 2:4) justify the Eve-Mary typology? But for Justin and Irenaeus, the first instances of this linkage, it was at the time of the Annunciation that Mary repaired Eve’s disobedience. If the disciple was called upon to take Mary “into his home” (and thus into the community that he had founded), was this not a call to maintain the ties with the Israel of God, represented by Mary? We

know with what care John seeks to show Jesus is truly the “king of Israel” (1:49), the long-awaited Messiah.

b) Revelation 12. The sign of the Woman is the symbol of the Israel of God (Rev 12:1ff.), predestined, but nevertheless exposed to the rage of the original serpent (12:9). Genesis 3 therefore constitutes a major background element for understanding the text. Although the birth followed by the lifting up into the heavens refers to the “hour” of Easter, we cannot altogether rule out a reference to Mary, for she was present at Calvary. At the level of biblical* theology, where arguments are constructed on a basis of the various facts given in the New Testament, comparisons between Cana, Calvary, and the “great sign” of Revelation 12 suggest the establishing of a typological correspondence between Eve, the mother of the living, and Mary, the mother of the people of the New Covenant. The application of the text to Mary’s Assumption came fairly late.

The overall interpretation of the above points to a “trajectory” within the New Testament where Mary is concerned. This extends from Mark to the Johannine corpus, giving a central place to Luke. To realize this deeper reading is to give legitimacy to the development of the subsequent tradition that would lead to the proclamation of Mary as *theotokos*, “mother of God.” Paul’s extreme discretion and Mark’s reserve appear as a counterpoint; they must be given serious consideration by the theologian and serve as corrective measures against mariological deviations.

4. Brothers of Jesus

The term “brother” is subject to a great variety of interpretations. According to Old Testament usage, and that of the Eastern world, “brother” implies a person one is close to, regardless of the exact degree of blood relation. The word *anepsios* (cousin) is only found once in the entire New Testament (Col 4:10). The disciples received the title of brothers (e.g., in 1 Cor 15:6). A group who shared their origins in Nazareth was set apart (as in Mk 6:3); they never called themselves formally the “sons of Mary.” Initially unbelievers (Mk 3:21; Jn 7:3ff.), they figured among the disciples after Easter (Acts 1:14). The most prominent of them, “James, the brother of the Lord,” was the leader of the Judeo-Christian community in Jerusalem (Gal 1:19).

Were they the uterine brothers, half-brothers, or cousins of Jesus? At issue is Mary’s *virginitas post partum* (after childbirth), an affirmation that the title of firstborn (Lk 2:7) conferred upon Jesus does not suffice to call into question. Examination of New Testament

texts throws up a number of difficulties. Thus, James and Josés, “brothers of Jesus” in Mark 6:3, appear as the children of another Mary in Mark 15:40, 15:47, and 16:1. “Brother of the Lord” is an honorific title, the transposition of an original Aramaean title. One cannot conclude therefore that the New Testament obliges one to take the expression “brothers of the Lord” literally.

From the end of the second century, the *Protevan-*

gelium Jacobi upheld against the Jews the idea of Mary’s perpetual virginity and presented the brothers of Jesus as those born from an earlier marriage on Joseph’s side. Although lacking any historical value, this apocryphal (apocrypha*) text nevertheless became widespread; it seems to be the first evidence of a belief that would come to be held in common by the church until recent refutations.

B. Historical Theology

The Marian theology* that developed from Scripture* had very modest beginnings before the fourth century, which is when it began to take shape. It continued to develop throughout the Middle Ages and was the object of dogmatic definitions in Catholicism* in the 19th and 20th centuries. Its main themes will be looked at here from a historical rather than a systematic point of view (but connections will be pointed out), with particular attention being paid to the patristic period. Doctrinal themes will be covered to begin with (virginity, sanctity and Immaculate Conception, divine motherhood, Assumption), followed by the place of Mary within piety and worship (spiritual maternity, Mary and the church*, the “mediation” of Mary and cooperation in salvation*, the Marian cult*), and concluding with the contributions of Vatican* II.

I. Doctrinal Themes

1. Virginity

The earliest Marian theology, in the second and third centuries, was wholly integrated into Christology*: the aim was to affirm the *virginal conception* of Christ.

a) In the Second Century. Ignatius of Antioch mentioned Mary with a twofold purpose: to uphold against Docetism* the reality of the Incarnation*, since Christ was truly born of woman* (*Smyrn* I, 1; *Trall.* IX, 1; *Ephes.* VII, 1), and to show that through his birth of a virgin he was not an ordinary man (*Ephes* XVIII–XIX: Christ was “of the seed of David and of the Holy* Spirit”; *ibid.* VII, 1: Christ was “of [ek] Mary and of God*”). *Ephes.* XIX emphasizes the humility and the silence of this unobserved birth of the Prince of the World* (see *The Ascension of Isaiah*, IX–XI). In the same way, the *Ode of Solomon* 19 (second century)

may also allude to the virginal conception and birth, if the “virgin” is not a symbolical figure.

Justin, in the *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 150), aimed to show that Isaiah’s prophecy* (7, 14, *a virgin shall conceive...*, with controversy over the term “virgin” or “young girl” depending on the Greek or the Hebrew) was fulfilled only through Jesus (*Dial.* 66). He also saw in the virginal conception a sign that Jesus was more than an inspired prophet or the Messiah* (67; see *Apology* 30): he was not born through human works, but by the will of God (*Dial.* 76) intervening in history as at the time of the Creation* (84). Justin established for the first time the parallel between Eve and Mary (see below, 1.c). Following on from him, Irenaeus* saw in the virginal conception the mark of the Creator himself: Mary’s virginity is a reference to that of the earth, from which Adam* was made (*Demonstration* 32, see *Adv. Haer.* III, 21, 7, and 10), and it refutes Gnosticism by linking creation and salvation (see below, 1.c, the parallel between Eve and Mary). The twin significance of the virginal conception is found here also: it attests a true human birth (*Adv. Haer.* III, 19, 3) and is also the sign that Jesus is more than a mere man (*Adv. Haer.* III, 21, 4; *Dem.* 57). At that time there was no interest in Mary outside of Christology. Irenaeus specified that Christ truly received his flesh from Mary (*Adv. Haer.* III, 22, 1–2; see I, 7, 2). The *Protevangelium Jacobi* on the other hand (second century?) was entirely centered on Mary, to affirm her purity from the moment of birth and her virginity preserved until childbirth (XX, 1) and forever after (the “brothers of Jesus” were sons of Joseph from a first marriage).

The insistence during the second century on virginal conception shows that there was some doubt about it. For the Ebionites Jesus was simply a man, born of

Mary and Joseph; Jewish polemics, sometimes taken by pagans, maintained that Jesus was the illegitimate son of Mary and an unknown father (see Origen*, *Commentary on John* XX, XVI, 128; *Contra Celsum* I, 32). Gnostic groups viewed the virginal conception as a pure symbol (see *The Gospel according to Philip* 17). Tertullian*, out of a concern for realism, replied that Mary had lost the signs of virginity by bringing Christ into the world (*The Flesh of Christ* XXIII, 2–5; see Origen, *Hom XIV* on Luke, 3). He saw the brothers of Christ as Mary's children (*Against Marcion* IV, 19, 7). His virginal conception then became a proof of Christ's divinity (Tertullian, *The Flesh of Christ* XVIII; Origen, *Contra Celsum* I, 69; in the fourth century, Eusebius of Caesarea, *Demonstr. Gospel* VII, 1, 30; in the fifth century, Proclus, *ACO I*, 1, 1, 104, 3–6).

b) From the third century, with the development of Christian asceticism, there was a growing interest in Mary's virginity for its own sake. The Ps.-Justin said that through the virginity of the mother of Christ, God had wanted to show that one can do without the sexual act (*Treatise on the Resurrection* 3). Clement of Alexandria, shortly after the year 200, affirmed the belief in the virginity of Mary after childbirth (*post partum*) (*Strom.* VII, XVI, 93–94). Origen affirmed that Mary could not have coupled with a man after giving birth to Christ: she is the archetype of feminine virginity, as Christ is of masculine virginity (*Comm. Mt X*, 17; see in the fourth century, Athanasius*, *Letter to Virgins*, 86–88, and in 371, Gregory of Nyssa, *On Virginity*. II, 2, 18–25; XIV, 1, 24–30); Athanasius (*ibid.*, 100–101) moreover attributes to Mary a role of intercessor with Christ on behalf of virgins; Ambrose* does likewise (*De virgin. ad Marc.* II, 9). Augustine*, because of Luke 1:34, even attributes to Mary a vow of virginity preceding the Annunciation (*On Holy Virginity* IV, 4, which initiated an entire tradition).

At the end of the fourth century Mary's *perpetual virginity* during and after childbirth (*in partu, post partum*) became virtually an article of faith, defended by Ambrose (*On the Institution of Virgins*, 35–62, with the subsequently classical image of the shut gate, Ez 44:2) and Jerome against Helvidius, Jovinian, and Bonosus, or by Epiphanius (*Panarion* 78) and Augustine against others who refuted Mary's virginity (antidicomarianites). The title "ever virgin" (*aeiparthenos*) is found in Epiphanius in 374 (*Ancor.* 119, then *Panarion* 78, 5, 5, etc.) and probably in Didymus (other passages or fragments are dubious). Mary's perpetual virginity would henceforth no longer be contested in either the East or the West. But it was a topic for discussion wherever opinions were freely voiced among the churches born of the Reformation.

In partu virginity was affirmed at the time of the Council of Ephesus* (431) on the Cyrilian side (Proclus, *ACO I*, 1, 1, 104, 3–6) and the Eastern side (Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *On the Incarnation of the Lord* 23). The acts of Chalcedon* (451) authorized the *Tome of Leo* (449); Pope Leo the Great professed it (*COD* 77, 31–33). Constantinople* II (553) gave Mary the title of "ever virgin" (*aeiparthenos/semper virgo*) in the judgment against the Three Chapters and in the second anathematization (*COD* 113, 17 and 114, 20–21). The Lateran Council of 649 did likewise in canon 3 (*DS* 503), as did the final decree of Nicaea* II in 787 (*COD* 134, 45).

c) *Mary, the New Eve.* A certain number of exegetes had already remarked on the parallel between Eve and Mary in Rev 12, and in the second century Justin compared the virginity of the two women, opposing disobedience and corruption (Eve) with obedience and joy (Mary). The parallel was also drawn in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* XIII, 1, but with another point of view in mind (Joseph believed that Mary, like Eve, had sinned when she was alone). It was exploited by Gnostics to show that the new Adam was spiritual and not carnal (*Gospel acc. to Philip* 83). Irenaeus developed the issue *a contrario* to show the continuity between the Old and the New Testament (*Dem.* 33; *Adv. Haer.* III, 22, 4; 23, 7; V, 19, 1; 21, 1). The comparison was also found shortly after 200 in Tertullian (*The Flesh of Christ*, XVII). It would fade somewhat for a time in favor of the parallel between Eve and the church, then resurface at the beginning of the fourth century in the works of Victorinus of Pettau, and at the end of the century in Epiphanius (*Panarion* 78, 18–19). He declared that the title of *Mother of the Living* (Gn 3:20) should apply to Mary, who engendered life, rather than to Eve, who caused death* (see not long thereafter, Peter Chrysologos, *Sermon* 140). It then reappeared in the fifth century (an opposition between Gn 3 and Lk 1). The parallel never gave rise to the idea that Mary was the *spouse* or *betrothed* of Christ. In particular, Genesis 2:24 and the Song of Songs are understood as speaking of Christ and the church, not Christ and Mary: with the exception of one instance in Ambrose, who does not derive a nuptial theme from it (*On the Institution of Virgins* 89 *Sq.*), it was not until the 12th century (Rupert of Deutz, Honorius of Autun) that there would be a Marian reading of the Song of Songs, perhaps because the attributes of the church were extended to Mary, beginning with spiritual maternity (below, II.1). Gueric of Igny, *Sur l'assomption* I, 2–4, is a witness of the transition from Eve-Mary to Eve—the church (*ibid.* II, 1–4 for the Marian interpretation of the Song of Songs). Similarly, the early 11th century

had seen the first Marian readings of Genesis 3:15. In the modern era, Scheeben* gave renewed development to the theme of Mary as the new Eve, spouse of Christ (see *Maria* III, 553–71). Vatican II (*LG* 56, *COD* 893) went no further than to recall the parallel between Eve and Mary by quoting the Fathers*.

2. Holiness and Immaculate Conception

a) *Faith and Mary's Doubt.* Mary's holiness is distinct from her virginity: the same authors (Origen, John Chrysostom*, Ephraim) taught Mary's perpetual virginity yet attributed failings in faith to her, or feelings of vanity. There was no unanimous position on the question until the early fifth century, even if the title of "holy" was already fairly current in the fourth century, even among those authors who thought that Mary needed to be sanctified before the Incarnation. Moreover, the notion of Mary's holiness would be slow in evolving into the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. In the second century the *Protevangelium Jacobi* presented the Virgin as utterly holy from the beginning; the text suggests that perhaps she was conceived virginally. Her holiness was seen as a total separation from the profane world. If there were any suggestions in the legends of an Immaculate Conception, they were isolated examples.

Several passages in the New Testament have caused commentators to think that Mary was criticized for her lack of faith or for her boasting: Matthew 12:46–50 par.; Luke 1:34, 2:35, 2:48; John 2:4; the Passion* narratives. Tertullian understood Matthew 12:48 as indicating that Christ rejected his mother and brothers because of their lack of faith (*Against Marcion* IV, 19, 11–13, see *The Flesh of Christ* VII, 9). Origen (*Hom. VII on Luke*, 4) spoke of a heretic who professed that Christ had rejected Mary because she united with Joseph after his birth. For Origen, Mary did not immediately believe in the angel*'s promise (*Hom. I on Gn*, 14); she did not yet have complete faith during Jesus' childhood (*Hom. XX on Luke*, 4); she doubted during the Passion (*Hom. XVII on Luke*, 6–7), although this did not prevent her from prophesying, for she was "filled with the Holy Spirit from the moment she bore the Savior within her" (*Hom. VII on Luke*, 3). Titus of Bostra (late fourth century) interpreted Luke 2:49 (TU 21–2, 152) as a reproach from Jesus to Mary, reminding her of the virginal conception that meant that God, and not Joseph, was his father. Ephraim spoke of Mary's doubt at Cana (*Comm. on Diatess.* 5, 2–4). John Chrysostom also had little praise when commenting on the Annunciation, Cana, and Matthew 12:48 (*Hom. on Mt*, 4, 4; *on Jn* 21 (20), 2; *on Mt* 44:1f.). In the fifth century Cyril* of Alexandria wrote that Mary as she stood at the foot of the cross (*Comm. on Jn* XII,

ad Jn 19, 25), as did his contemporary Hesychius of Jerusalem, who interpreted Simeon's prophecy of the sword as referring to this, after many other meanings (*Hom. I on the Hypapante* 8). Mary's doubt regarding the angel's message could also be found, in the sixth century, in the works of Romanos of Melos (*Hymn 9 on the Annunciation* 7). In the same way, various fourth-century authors deemed that Mary needed a *purification* before the Incarnation: Hilary* of Poitiers (*De Trin* II, 26), Gregory* of Nazianzus (*Disc.* 38, 13), and Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 17, 6); Atticus of Constantinople also said as much in the early fifth century (Syriac hom. *On the Holy Mother of God*).

b) *Holiness and Absence of Sin.* Ambrose was the first to maintain that Mary was the only one whose faith did not waver at the cross (*Letter* 63, 100; *On the Institution of Virgins* 49). She was unflinching and immaculate (*Letter* 42, 4 to Sirice). The Pelagian controversy (Pelagianism*) marked a turning point. In *Nature and Grace* XXXVI (42), in 415, Augustine echoed Pelagius's words by refusing to speak of sin* in relation to the Virgin, but he specified that it was because of the honor of the Lord and through an excess of grace* that she was victorious over sin. Later, Julian of Eclanum, another follower of Pelagius who held Mary to be without sin, accused Augustine of "delivering Mary over to the devil" because of his theology of original sin* marking every birth. Augustine replied in 428–30 (*Unfinished Work against Julian* IV, 122) that "Mary was liberated from her condition (at birth) through the grace of rebirth," a somewhat unclear expression that has been variously interpreted, but that did not envisage a special exemption for Mary from the legacy of sin. The fact that the Pelagians were the first to maintain that Mary was exempt from original sin, together with Augustine's opposition, would long make it difficult for the Catholics to accept the idea of the Immaculate Conception. Again, at the beginning of the sixth century, disciples of Augustine specified that Mary had inherited "the flesh of sin" (Rom 8:3), unlike Jesus (Fulgentius of Ruspina, CChr.SL 91 A, 571–72; Ferrandus of Carthage, PL 67, 892–93); the expression "flesh of sin" applied to Mary comes from Augustine, *On Penance and the Remission of Sins*, II, 24.

c) *Toward the Immaculate Conception.* In the East the Council of Ephesus, which was held in 431 in the church of "Saint Mary," inspired homilies in praise of Mary (Proclus, Acacius of Melitene); but it must be noted that words like "incorruption" or "purity" often meant nothing more than Mary's virginity preserved through and despite the birth of Christ (Theodotus of Ancyra, ACO I, 1, 2, 74, 25–26; see Fulgentius, loc.

cit.). After this council the liturgy* became the primary place for Marian theology, particularly in the East (where homiletics and hymnody were preferred to argumentation), less so in the West (but in the period immediately after the council, in Rome*, there was the reconstruction and dedication of Saint Mary Major by Pope Sixtus III).

In 634 Sophronis of Jerusalem celebrated “Holy Mary, resplendent, of divine sentiments, free of all stain of body, soul*, and thought,” and spoke of a Virgin “sanctified in her body and in her soul” (it may again be a purification before the Incarnation), “pure, holy, and without stain” (PG 87–3, 3160 D–3161 B). He contested the usual exegesis of the prophecy of the sword: at issue was Mary’s pain at the cross, not a weakening in her faith. In the following century Andrew of Crete, in his *Canons* (PG 97, 1305 s.) and in his homilies for the Marian feast days (particularly the Conception of Anne), also celebrated Mary’s purity without stain from the moment of her conception. In the ninth century Saint Theodore the Studite (PG 96, 684 C–685 A) evoked the absence of all sin for which God had predestined the Virgin for all eternity. Photius would echo these statements (see *DThC* 7/1, 924–25). The idea of Mary being without sin seems to have quietly taken hold in the Byzantine theological arena, although there was no actual affirmation of the Immaculate Conception and it never was the subject of a precise definition.

In the West, after a dormant period, attention was once again focused on the issue after the 12th century. The development of the feast day of the Conception of Mary (below, II.3) gave rise to debate: Bernard* of Clairvaux and subsequently Thomas* Aquinas opposed the Immaculate Conception of Mary, convinced as they were that the carnal union of the spouses must necessarily be marked by sin and would therefore pass on its legacy. This conviction was largely shared, and it explained the fact that during the Middle Ages, perhaps in the light of the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, people liked to believe in Mary’s virginal conception in order to preserve her from all sin (see the confusion often encountered nowadays between Immaculate Conception and virginal conception). In the light of these objections, the Franciscans (including John Duns* Scotus) prepared the way for modern Catholic theology by affirming that Mary had been redeemed in anticipation of the merits of her Son.

The Council of Basle (in the 36th, nonecumenical session, on 17 September 1439) declared the Immaculate Conception to be “a pious doctrine in accordance with the worship of the Church, the Catholic faith, uprightness, and Holy Scripture” (Mansi 29, 183 B–C). On several occasions Pope Sixtus IV approved and encouraged belief in the Immaculate Conception,

and promoted the feast day of the Conception of the Virgin (Constit. *Cum praeexcelsa* in 1477, *DS* 1400; Constit. *Grave nimis* in 1483, *DS* 1425–426). The Council of Trent*, in the decree on original sin (fifth session, June 1546, *COD* 667, 21–25), declared that it did not want to include the Virgin in the decree. Clement XI prescribed that the feast should be celebrated everywhere (Constit. *Commissi nobis divinitus* from 1708). The last remaining reticence was gradually overcome within Catholicism (and given the clear affirmation that the privilege of the Virgin was a grace conferred in advance by the accomplished redemption of her Son), and the dogma* of the Immaculate Conception was defined by Pope Pius IX, after long consultation, in the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* of 8 December 1854 (*DS* 2803): “From the first instant of her conception, through the unique grace and privilege of almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary was, in consideration of the merits of Jesus Christ the savior of humankind, preserved pure of all stain of original sin.” The Bull insisted on the title of “mother of God” as the foundation of the Immaculate Conception (rather than on the Eve-Mary parallel, put forth by Newman*; see *Maria* III, 540–44).

We should also note the importance of the liturgical feasts as a theological locus (*loci* theologici*), both in East and West. The feast of the Conception of the Virgin (below, II.3.a) logically celebrates the first moment of salvation by tracing a path from the Incarnation to the birth of the Virgin (celebrated in the East from the sixth century) and right back to her conception. Founded upon an implicit belief, this feast day brought about further dogmatic precision.

The attitude of other churches with regard to the Immaculate Conception varies. The Orthodox* Church opposes even the idea of a Roman definition and its language (see *Cath.* 5, 1284–90; *DThC* 7–1, 962–79 and 1211–14), preferring to speak of the absence of all sin in Mary, who rather than exempt from original sin was pure from the first instant. As for the churches created during the Reformation (with the exception of certain Anglican circles), they are overwhelmingly hostile to the Immaculate Conception, not only for reasons of content (the Immaculate Conception seems to allow Mary to avoid the redemption) but also because of the very principle of the “deduction” of dogma so long after the closing of revelation*, not to mention the risk of encouraging the autonomous discipline of “Mariology” within theology (a complaint also found in present-day Catholicism).

3. Divine Maternity

The theological theme of Mary’s divine maternity is linked, with some justification, to the Council of Eph-

esus (431). The debate over the subject of the title of *theotokos* (mother of God, literally “who gives birth to God”, in Latin *Deipara*) drew attention to the christological question of the communication of idioms*. Can one say Mary “mother of God,” rather than simply “mother of Christ” (in his humanity)? Cyril of Alexandria defended the title *theotokos* against Nestorius (Nestorianism*). Two Christologies confronted each other over the word. Debate focused on the historical age and legitimacy of the title *theotokos*.

Before the word itself, the idea appeared very early on to attribute to the preexisting Word* the birth from Mary (Justin, *Dial.* 100), encouraged perhaps by the expression: “the mother of my Lord” in Luke 1:43. The word *theotokos* was found on a papyrus (third century?: John Rylands Library, 470). Other occurrences prior to the fourth century are very suspect. Alexander of Alexandria seems to have been the first to have definitely used the word, in a letter written around 320 (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* I, 4, 54, GCS v. 44, 23, 3). The term is also found in Athanasius (PG 26, 349 C; 385 A; 393 A and B; but the *Life of St. Anthony* 36, 4 is suspect, see REAug 41, 1995, 157); it is found in Basil*, if the homily is authentic (PG 31, 1468 B), Gregory of Nazianzus (SC 208, 42), and Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46, 1136C, and if the homily is his, 1157B and 1176B, also with *theometor*; “mother of God”). Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius’s master, may also have used it (see *Maria* I, 94, n. 36). Among the Latins, Ambrose uses “mother of God” twice (*On Virgins* II, 2, 7, and *Exameron* 5, 20, 65), and twice “she who engendered God” (*Comm. Lc* X, 130, CChr.SL 14, 383 and *On Virgins* II, 2, 13), an expression that was no doubt found in Athanas (*Letter to Virgins*, CSCO 151, 59). Cyril himself did not use the expression before Ephesus.

After Ephesus the title *theotokos* took the place of honor and was frequently used in homiletics (Proclus of Constantinople, Hesychius of Jerusalem). It became part of the common patrimony, even for those of the Eastern faith who favored Nestorius: Theodoret of Cyrrhus adopted the word and added *anthropotokos*, mother of man (PG 75, 1477 A). At Ephesus, Cyril’s *Second Letter to Nestorius*, which defended the use of the title, was canonized (COD 44, 2); Chalcedon adopted it for its definition of faith (COD 84, 39), as did Constantinople II in its sixth anathematization (which referred not to Ephesus but to Chalcedon, COD 116, 29). Divine maternity remained a christological question rather than a “privilege” of Mary; it was explained after other themes (perpetual virginity, e.g.) and could not, historically, be considered a starting point for the deduction of other privileges.

4. Assumption

The last Marian dogma defined by the Catholic Church was that of the Assumption, which concerns Mary’s final destiny. Ancient tradition* offers little to go on. At the end of the fourth century Epiphanius declared his ignorance on the subject (*Panarion* 78, GCS, v. III, 462). From the fifth century on, in addition to the apocryphal writings *On Mary’s Transfer*, there were allusions in homiletics to the fate of her body (see DECA I, 280–81). The texts (Mimouni 1995) waver between notions of dormition (Mary’s body, separated from the soul and transported to a hidden place, waits uncorrupted for the final resurrection*) and of assumption (the soul is reunited with the body, which has been raised up to join Christ in glory) with or without resurrection; for, according to certain texts, Mary is immortal. Belief in dormition seems to be the most ancient, often later supplanted by assumption (certain texts have dormition followed by assumption). Assumption seems to have been called into question again in the ninth century, in the East (John Geometres and others, see Jugie 1944) as well as in the West (Ps.-Jerome alias Paschasius Radbertus). In the modern era, even in the East, the majority of theologians seem to have adopted assumption. But only Catholicism has defined it as a dogma, something Orthodoxy has refused to do.

In 1950, appealed to by a number of voices, Pope Pius XII proclaimed (Constit. Apost. *Munificentissimus Deus*, DS 3900–3904) that “the Immaculate Mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary, when the course of her earthly life was run, was assumed in body and in soul to heavenly glory.” He argued on the basis of divine maternity for the union of the Virgin to Christ who is Life, her place in the economy of salvation, her title as the new Eve and her Immaculate Conception, and the long existence of the feast of the Dormition or of the Assumption of the Virgin were mentioned (see below, II.3). While he specified that by the grace of Christ the body of Mary knew no corruption, he did not reach a decision on the question of her death. As with the Immaculate Conception, this definition is not explicitly reinforced by Scripture (the verses cited, such as Rev 12, are read symbolically). The definition therefore is of the nature of a deduction with a doctrinal motivation (the body that bore Christ *could in no way* be submitted to corruption; she who was so closely associated with Christ *could not* be separated from him in her final destiny), which explains its rejection by the Protestant churches.

II. Mary in Piety and in Worship

Given the unique place held by Mary in the history of salvation, there has been much debate on her *active*

role in the work of redemption and in its reception by human beings. Certain themes have emerged, some of which remain much debated: spiritual maternity, universal “mediation,” “coredemption.”

1. Spiritual Maternity: Mary and the Church

Several factors have contributed to the emergence of this theme: Jn 19:26 *Sq*; the theology of virginity affirming the spiritual fecundity of virgins, who have Mary as their model; the parallel between Mary and the church, which is also a spiritual mother; and finally the parallel between Eve and Mary, which holds Mary rather than Eve as the “mother of the living” (see above, I.1). It is difficult to determine which factor came first, or has been most decisive.

Origen outlined the theme on the basis of Jn 19:26 (*Comment. on Jn* I, IV, 23): as with John, any believer “in whom Christ lives” (see Gal 2:20) is the son of Mary. Ambrose saw Mary in the figure of the church (*On the Instit. of Virgins* 89, and above I.1.c, for the reading of the Song of Songs). For Augustine the church is virgin and mother (*On Holy Virginity* II, 2); and Mary, like the church (VI, 6), is the spiritual mother of all the members of Christ’s body (already in Ambrose, op. cit. 98). In the 13th century the *Missal* (Q. 29) of the Ps.-Albertus Magnus speaks of Mary’s suffering at the cross, which made her mother of all humankind. In the 15th century Bernardine of Siena attributed this maternity to her consent to the angel’s message (*Serm. 6 On Consent*, 2). Modern Catholicism has developed the notion of Mary’s spiritual maternity (Leo XIII, *DS* 3262 and 3275, who quotes Jn 19:26 *Sq*). But this theme was never the subject of a definition. Vatican II mentioned the link Augustine makes between Mary and the church (*LG* 53 and 63–65, *COD* 892–94). But Pope Paul VI, in the margins of the conciliar text, insisted on proclaiming Mary “Mother of the Church,” without giving this title a dogmatic significance (*DC* 61 [1964], 1544).

2. Mary’s Mediation and Her Cooperation in the Work of Salvation

The Catholic tradition has exalted the role of Mary as auxiliary to the work of her Son, insisting at times on its importance in the believer’s reception of salvation (Mary as mediatrix of all graces) and at times in the granting of salvation itself (Mary’s cooperation in salvation, coredemption).

a) “Mediation” From the fourth century on Mary was viewed as having an intercessory role on behalf of virgins (see above, I.1.b). As time went on she was recognized as having a more extensive role: Bernard of Clairvaux called her the “mediatrix of salvation” (PL

182, 333B). The *Salve regina* (c. 12th century) called her an advocate (the same notion of protection and intercession is found in the Byzantine tradition). In 1896, to account for 1 Tm 2:5 (Christ the sole mediator), Pope Leo XIII specified that Mary was “the mediatrix alongside the mediator,” thus emphasizing her subordinate and nonparallel role (Encycl. *Fidentem piumque*, *DS* 3321). But Mary’s mediation, despite 20th-century requests, has not been defined. Vatican II only mentioned this title on one occasion (*LG* 62), in a marginal way, within the framework of a series of terms expressing Mary’s intercession. However, Pope John Paul II made it an important theme of his encyclical *Redemptoris Mater*; but in speaking of “maternal mediation,” “participant and subordinate,” being expressed through the intercession of the Mother of God (*DC* 84 [1987], 399–401).

b) *Cooperation in Salvation: “Coredemption”?* The parallel between Eve and Mary tends to give Mary a role in the work of salvation that is as significant as that attributed to Eve in the Fall; the preservation from all sin (original sin for Catholics) makes Mary an exception and associates her with Christ; finally, Mary’s yes to the angel is, as it were, the first act of salvation. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* III, 22, 4) opposes Eve, a cause of death, to Mary, “cause of salvation” for herself and all of humankind (Heb 5:9 transposed from Christ to Mary). Ps.-Albertus of the *Missal* applies Gn 2:20 to Christ and to the Virgin, “a help similar to him.” The title of *coredemptrix* emerged in the 16th century and became widely used in the 17th (Carol 1950, to be corrected by Laurentin in 1951). The idea would be found in Leo XIII. Pope Pius X declared in 1904 that “by virtue of Mary’s communion of suffering and willingness with Christ, she has been deemed worthy to become the one who repairs the lost world” (Encyclical *Ad diem illum*, *DS* 3370). Pope Benedict XV produced a sacrificial reading of the Passion: the Virgin offers her Son, and one might say that with Christ she redeems humankind (*Inter sodalicia*, AAS 10, 1918, 182; see Carol 1950). Logic causes that which concerns Christ’s works to flow back onto Mary, since her yes is the starting point of Christ’s works. Pope Pius XI used the word “coredemptrix” in 1935 in a message broadcast by radio. The magisterium* has never made a decision about this title (intentionally avoided by Vatican II and thereafter), rightly a subject of controversy because of its ambiguity (the risk of diluting Christ’s singularity) and its rejection by Protestants (see Barth* in his *Dogmatics*). The legitimate idea is that of the grace conferred upon Mary, in order that she might cooperate through the response of her faith in a salvation of which she is the first beneficiary.

3. The Marian Cult

a) *Liturgy*. The first feast with a partially Marian theme was that of the *Hypapante*, the meeting between Christ and Simeon, a feast recorded in Jerusalem and in Cappadocia from the fourth century onward. It was initially held on 14 February and then 2 February. The first strictly Marian feast was that of the commemoration of Mary (or Mary *Theotokos*), most often linked with the cycle of Christmas and Epiphany, celebrated in Jerusalem on 15 August from the fifth century onward, and on other dates elsewhere (Mimouni 1995); and imposed throughout the empire as the feast of the Dormition and the Assumption on 15 August by the Emperor Maurice shortly before 600 (ibid. 67, n. 95). The Annunciation may go back as far as the fourth century, but there is insufficient documentation to establish this as fact. The Nativity of Mary on 8 September appeared, undoubtedly in Jerusalem, from the sixth century onward; and finally the Conception of Mary (or of Anne), on 9 December, was recorded in the eighth century in the East and passed to the West through the Byzantine territories in Italy. Here it was celebrated under the name of the Conception of the Virgin on 8 December; following some controversy, it was revived in the 12th century in England or in Lyons. These feasts gave rise to liturgical texts on the Virgin. From the sixth century onward, Romanos of Melos devoted several *kontakia* to the Virgin; the *Acathist Hymn* (recited standing) dates from the same era. Moreover, in the fourth century, Eastern *anaphora* (eucharistic prayers) mentioned the Virgin (J. Doresse—E. Lanne, *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de saint Basile*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 47, Louvain, 1960).

The fairly late and gradual emergence of these feasts, all of which have a basis in the Bible or in doctrine, precludes the received notion that the influence of pagan cults might have given birth to the worship of the Virgin in Christianity, even though, here and there, the risk of making Mary a divinity became quite real (the “Collyridians” according to Epiphanius, *Panarion* 79). This led to a gradual definition of the way in which the Virgin was to be honored as the mother of God (John Damascene, *Exposition of Faith* 88, 63, Kotter II, 205) and to the distinction between the cult of adoration (*latría*) owed to Christ and the honor accorded to creatures (cult of *dulia* for the saints, where the cult of Mary is emphasized as a *hyperdulia*: Thomas Aquinas, *ST* IIIa, q. 25, a. 5). For this reason, and to be rigorous about the terminology here, believers do not “pray” to Mary, but commend themselves to her prayer: “Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us.”

b) *Devotion*. It was not until the middle of the fifth century (Barré 1963) that there was seen in the West a prayer* addressed to Mary (the Eastern *Sub tuum* is alleged to be older by a whole century, according to the papyrus quoted in I.3). The major prayers and Marian chants gradually took shape during the Middle Ages, during which time the devotion of the *rosary* became widespread, associating the repetition of the *Ave Maria* with the contemplation* of the mysteries* of Christ. Marian devotion is essentially liturgical in Orthodoxy; in Catholicism, such devotion has been the subject, on several occasions, of a readjustment (from the *Avis salutaires* in 1673 to Vatican II, which encouraged liturgical over private devotion, *LG* 66–67, *COD* 897–98, not without having also encouraged the liturgy itself to become recentered on Christ by eliminating a number of Marian feasts).

Among the themes of modern devotion, that of Mary’s queenship became widespread from the Middle Ages in both the East and the West (Barré 1939); Luther* was hostile to this idea. It has been promoted by the Catholic magisterium (institution of the feast of Mary Queen of the World by Pius XII in 1954, *Ad coeli Reginam*, *DS* 3913–17), but not been made the object of a definition.

Conclusion: Vatican II, in a tight vote, integrated the Marian doctrine into the schema on the church (instead of making it a separate document): this would be Chapter 8 of *Lumen Gentium*. For the first time a council gave a synthetic presentation of the Virgin, situating her “in the mystery of Christ and of the Church”: on the one hand, a very sober biblical* and patristic theology reduced the mysteries of the life of the Virgin to their significance within the economy of salvation; on the other hand, Mary was placed within the communion* of saints and the mystical body, and her link with the church was expressed through three major terms: member, type or model, and Mother in the order of grace. After the council Paul VI returned to the demands of the Marian cult (*Marialis cultus*, *DC* 71 [1974], 301–9, and John Paul II devoted an important encyclical to her that was largely in the same vein as the conciliar text. Present-day theological reflection emphasizes the theme of Mary-as-Servant and the link between Mary and the Holy Spirit.

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See also Chalcedon, Council of; Christ and Christology; Church; Cult; Ephesus, Council of; Vatican II

Mass, Sacrifice of the

a) Concept. The concept of the Sacrifice of the Mass is a particular aspect of eucharistic (Eucharist*) theology* that took on a specific emphasis in the work of Luther* and, correspondingly, at the Council of Trent*, where it was made the object of a special decree, *De sacrificio missae*—the title was given by the editor of the council, though it corresponds closely to the content of the document. These two factors have earned it an important place in Western theology, in the 16th century and since. Even though Luther saw in it

one of the three “Babylonian captivities” of Catholic eucharistic theology, the expression “Sacrifice of the Mass” is barely attested before him—though, having once been used by the reformers, it would be constantly employed by Catholics.

b) Liturgical Tradition. The idea of the Sacrifice of the Mass is supported by two characteristics of early practice. On the one hand it is based on the early Christian practice of offering eucharists for the dead, a tradi-

tion that underwent considerable development in the medieval Latin world, particularly in the final centuries before Luther; and on the other hand it is founded on the place accorded to the sacrificial aspect in the celebration of the Eucharist and in the very text of the eucharistic prayer*. In the course of celebration, as much in the East as in the West, the faithful were allowed and encouraged to bring an offering as a eucharistic sacrifice, and this offering was considered from a standpoint already to be seen in the work of Irenaeus*: the offerings presented to God* constituted the returning to God of the gifts that he had made to mankind. Expressed in terms borrowed from the prayer of Solomon (1 Chr 29:14), this idea found a place in the Antiochian anaphorae (“we offer you these gifts which come from you,” *ta sa ek tôn sôn soi prosperontes*) and thence in Roman eucharistic prayer (“this offering taken from the wealth that you give us,” *de tuis donis ac datis*). The eucharistic prayers—originally that of the apostolic tradition, then those of Antioch and Roman eucharistic prayer—also included in their anamnestic sections the idea of an offering of that which one commemorates, in a conception in which the act of offering is subsumed within the act of commemoration, and in a sense constitutes part of its realism.

Taking account of these characteristics shared by eucharistic prayers as a whole, Roman eucharistic prayer is distinctive in that the sacrificial aspect occupies a more important place in it than in the others, and to some extent overshadows the role of thanksgiving for the history of salvation*.

c) *Theology.* Until the 13th century, theology was hardly concerned with the sacrificial dimension of the Eucharist, being content to allude in passing to Augustine*'s formula (*Ep* 98, 9) according to which “Christ* is immolated every day in the sacrament*,” and the Antiochene idea of the commemoration of the sacrifice (Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV, 12, 5). Thomas* Aquinas, who gave a new emphasis to Christ's priesthood, did initiate the distinction between Eucharist as sacrament and Eucharist as sacrifice, but was far from making it the basis of his eucharistic theology. In contrast to other theologians, such as Duns* Scotus, who held that it was the *Ecclesia* that offered the sacrifice, Thomas moreover linked the act of offering with the priest's (presbyter/priest) consecrating role: a position that led to a divergence in the theory of mass offertories, which developed and grew in importance from the end of the Middle Ages.

The 16th-century Reformation rejected any notion of a church offering sacrifice. On the contrary, the Eucharist was God's offering to the faithful: “We allow ourselves to be done good by God” (Luther, *WA* 6, 364). The church's only offering was its thanksgiving.

In 1562, opposing Luther, the Council of Trent (*DS* 1738–59) defined the Mass as a true bloodless sacrifice, including a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, and stipulated that Christ at the Last Supper had instituted both the Eucharist and the priesthood*. The conciliar document was however careful to avoid the idea (which could be attributed to medieval theology) that Christ was “sacrificed anew” in the Mass (Gregory* the Great, *Dialogues* IV, 58, PL 77, 425), whereas his sacrifice had been offered once for everybody on the cross (Heb 9:4, 9:27). It seems, moreover, that the fact that communion* with the chalice was more expressive of the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist was not highlighted. In any event it is clear that the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist henceforth became an increasing concern of Catholic theology—for example in the work of Suarez*, who devoted a third of his treatise on the Eucharist to sacrifice.

The texts of Vatican* II, a council that could not but be attentive to the ecumenical dimension of this question, emphasize the unity of the Eucharist and the sacrifice on the cross (*LG* no. 3), state that the priest offers the sacrifice “sacramentally” (*PO* no. 2 and 5), note the unity between the spiritual sacrifice of all the baptized and the eucharistic sacrifice (*ibid.*), and finally entitle the chapter in *SC* that deals with the Mass *De mysterio missae*, where one might have expected *De sacrificio missae*.

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See also **Eucharist; Luther, Martin; Mystery**

Mathematics and Theology

The nature of the reality of mathematical objects and the objectivity of mathematical statements constitute two of the deepest problems in the philosophy of mathematics. Objectivity would imply a fundamental harmony between the structure of the human mind and the intelligibility of the universe; it would imply that knowledge arrived at through mathematical theories accurately represents the nature of the world and that there is an intrinsic harmony between the nonempirical, logical worlds of the mind and the empirical worlds of experience. But there are huge difficulties with such a view, and some have even suggested that logic itself is empirical. Mathematical objects and their properties do not have the a priori status Kant believed them to have. For example, whether the angles of a triangle sum to 180 degrees depends on whether the underlying geometry is taken to be Euclidean. It is possible, in other words, to construct an internally coherent mathematical theory without supposing that any reality exhibiting the properties corresponding to that theory can be found in the physical universe. Indeed, mathematics seldom regards the physical universe as an appropriate criterion to employ in deciding upon the intrinsic interest of its theories, and once the question is asked it is not easy to say why the physical universe should be the final arbiter of “reality” except under one particular preference.

A mathematics based on number will differ from another based on space. A unit Euclidean square has a diagonal of length root-two. This geometrical representation of number is seemingly elementary. But it is impossible to write down root-two as a finite decimal, to store it accurately in any physically realizable computing device, or to draw a line of length root-two in any physical medium except by chance, and even then one could never know that one had done so. Root-two, in other words, despite being a perfectly clear and intelligible number, has a problematic status as a property of any object in the physical world whether conceived under a numerical or spatial description. Yet despite these difficulties, mathematics as an instrument of the mind seems to have afforded human beings unprecedented powers to understand, predict, and control the natural world, the realm of the senses. The philosophy of mathematics therefore takes us directly into the deepest question of metaphysics concerning the na-

tures of and the connections between reality, discourse, knowledge, and intelligibility, questions themselves dependent on assumptions about the place of human cognition in the universe.

This description shows a *prima facie* similarity between the mathematical and theological enterprises. It is possible to construct countless internally consistent theologies without supposing that there is an objective reality, a god or gods, to whom they refer. To the numerous major world religions can be added a large number of variants, each with its distinctive way of speaking about a god or some kind of ultimate reality. The nature of the reality of theological objects and the objectivity of theological statements constitute two of the deepest problems in the philosophy of religion. Theology and mathematics nevertheless differ in two important respects, one empirical and one experiential.

It seems possible to arbitrate between different mathematical theories about the physical world by employing empirical criteria. For example, we know from empirical evidence and criteria of epistemic economy that certain kinds of non-Euclidean geometry afford in some sense better models of the universe under Einstein’s theories. Despite ongoing disagreements about detail, there is worldwide agreement about these general principles. Neither unequivocal evidence nor such a consensus can be claimed for any theology. Einstein asserted that to the axioms of any coherent geometry we need only add one, that this particular geometry models the universe, to obtain a theory about the world. To that extent we may take any internally consistent theology and add only one equivalent assertion, to obtain a theology that describes the reality of God. Both a mathematical theory and a theology are then tried in the fire of human experience: do they afford an adequate means to describe the reality of which human beings wish to speak?

Judaean-Christian theology also posits an active reality of which it attempts to speak. Whereas mathematics strives to represent the properties of a physical or conceptual universe that is not actively seeking to communicate its truths to the mathematician, theology supposes the opposite: that God is actively engaged in trying to communicate with human beings, among them theologians. Theology therefore leaves room for existential conviction that overrides empirical criteria

and ratification by like-minded competent persons, whereas mathematics does not. In mathematics what is a truth for one person must be a truth for another, other things being equal. There is no room for opinion in mathematics because the structure of logic eliminates the possibility that anything new can be introduced into the theory once the assumptions are granted. Proofs preserve truths; they do not generate them.

The conservative, preservative nature of logical deduction forces us to acknowledge that proofs only show us explicitly what is implicit in the assumptions we grant. No proof of the existence of God can therefore do more than demonstrate that our presuppositions assume that there is a God even though we cannot see that they do so. Moreover, proof has no force: if we dislike the correctly deduced conclusion of an argument, we are always at liberty to revise our assent to its assumptions. What we are not at liberty to do and remain rational is to insist upon the assumptions and deny validly deduced conclusions.

Mathematics is concerned with the exploration of the properties of a system of conceptual spaces that can be defined axiomatically. Those properties are often immeasurably complex, however simple their axioms, and frequently surprise us. For example, the system of natural numbers $\{1, 2, 3, \dots\}$ has proved sufficiently rich to generate conjectures that remain unproved to this day. Cantor was able to show in the 19th century that the irrational numbers such as root-two, known to the Greeks, cannot be counted. This century, quite unexpectedly, Kurt Gödel showed that a formal logical system capable of generating elementary arithmetic must permit undecidable propositions, and that such systems, if consistent, cannot prove their own consistency. Alan Turing and Alonzo Church showed that certain processes are noncomputable, and there are further classes of computation that cannot be completed because the number of calculations they require will always grow more quickly than any conceivable available computing power. In chaos and complexity theory the apparently insignificant constraints necessarily imposed upon the accuracy of the measurements we can perform (such as root-two) and the accuracy to which transcendental numbers can be represented in a computer have been shown to have potentially fatal consequences for our capacity to project the evolution of nonlinear systems into the future.

In all these cases, something conceived initially in terms of essentially simple axioms has been found to have properties of unforeseen and frequently counter-intuitive complexity. The mathematics that began as the subservient child of the human mind has grown up to demonstrate the limitations of the conceptual capacities of the mind that created it.

James Clerk Maxwell once said, in a remark often wrongly attributed to Einstein, that insofar as the theories of mathematics refer to reality they are not certain, and insofar as they are certain they do not refer to reality. In this he reiterated Giambattista Vico's question about whether the truths of mathematics are found or made, for a mathematics that is made is certain because it is completely under our control and neither allows nor needs any reference to an external world to verify or authenticate it, whereas a mathematics that is found is uncertain because it can never proceed without perpetually referring itself back to the nature of the reality it purports to model. Once an axiomatic deductive system is defined, in other words, so are all its properties; it ceases to be necessary to ask whether those properties are "real" because they are properties of the system. We can proceed without reference to the world. And it is possible to do theology in the same way: to set up a system of assumptions and then to see what can be deduced from them without reference to the reality of an external, independent, autonomous God.

This illustration pinpoints the kernel of a difficulty we face in all our attempts to tie together God, humanity, and the world. While we model the world using mathematics, the world must seem autonomous and mechanical, even granted the difficulties of quantum mechanics. But the autonomy arises because the deductive conceptual tools we employ are autonomous and leave no room for newness to enter the system. We compensate for deficiencies in our models by making interim adjustments. We can rationalize the need for those compensations in many ways: by acknowledging that the model was inadequate; by accepting that the initial conditions were known with insufficient accuracy; even by acknowledging that there may have been worldly or divine forces involved that we had failed to take into account. What we seem reluctant to contemplate is the possibility that the world might not be susceptible to completely accurate mathematical modeling at all, for such a concession would lead us to doubt whether we can properly understand the universe. What is certainly true is that the world does not proceed on its way by solving differential equations.

Ever since Plato formulated the relationship between the particular and the general in terms of the theory of forms, human cognitive theories have struggled to understand the relationship between the two. Mathematics, as a theory of the mind, deals most comfortably with generality; it is most comfortable when least specific or quantified, as in geometry; the more accurate we need to be in terms of specific numbers associated with particular realities, the more clumsy and inaccurate it becomes. It remains a deep question

whether mathematics is therefore an appropriate metaphor to use of the mind of God. Is God a Greek mathematician, a geometer, dealing with vast generality, or is God one who deals with the utterly specific and who allows the general to emerge from that specificity as a by-product of divine consistency and benevolence? Do we make a conceptual and even a theological mistake when we assume or insist that the world be understood mathematically and therefore in terms of boundless generality? Could it be that such general laws as we can discern in the universe are the emergent properties of a world governed by the deepest possible involvement of God in the singular and the particular, and that there is no traffic from the general to the particular at all, that specific events are not instantiations of universal forms, as Plato taught us, but the universal forms, like mathematics, necessary inventions of a human mind too limited to comprehend the majesty of God's specific and singular presence in the world?

Although mathematical proof proceeds by deduction, the hypotheses that mathematics seeks to prove are the products of mathematical intuition, and that intuition is based upon such things as aesthetic sense, as Henri Poincaré stressed, and heuristic power. Without good ideas, mathematics cannot proceed, yet even with good ideas many hypotheses defy proof or disproof.

It is from the work of Kurt Gödel that some of the most pressing speculations of the relationship between mathematics and theology have arisen in recent years. Gödel was able to show that sufficiently rich axiomatic systems admit the formulation of well-formed propositions that are undecidable in the system, and that such consistent systems are unable to prove their own consistency. The first result relates intimately to the capacity of some systems to refer to themselves. Such self-reference can introduce endless logical loops of the kind seen in other philosophical dilemmas. For example, if Epimenides the Cretan asserts "All Cretans always lie," then as a Cretan he is lying; but then all Cretans do not always lie, in which case what he says may be true, and so on. Or a relativist may say that all truths are only relatively rather than absolutely true, but this appears to be a universal truth, in which case there is at least one truth that is universally true, and so the assertion of the relativist is self-contradictory. Some have seen the undecidability of Gödelian statements as indications of the inherent superiority of the human mind over computation, even as a proof of the existence of an upwardly open hierarchy of intellectual power culminating in God.

The same sorts of claims follow the consistency result: if we cannot prove consistency, then we cannot be

sure that in any system to which the theory applies there are not theorems whose contradictions are also theorems. This seems to be devastating for mathematics at a theoretical level, but in practice nobody worries about it, because when we have a good proof we know that a proof of the converse will not be possible. It is only in the general and abstract case that problems arise.

Most recently mathematics has been involved in issues germane to theology over computational questions and issues in artificial intelligence and the mind/body problem. The questions boil down to whether what something is made of makes a difference to what it can compute. Turing thought not, and so envisaged the possibility of a thinking machine; others think that there must be a biological substratum to thinking, that what things are made of does have a bearing on what those things can do, and so they deny that the brain is engaged in machinelike computation.

The philosophy of mathematics engages with questions about the ultimate intelligibility of the universe, for a universe of which mathematics is the preferred conceptual instrument is only as intelligible as that instrument can render it. Unresolved problems in the foundations of mathematics, in which no universal agreement exists, persist; and logicians, formalists, intuitionists, and pragmatists continue to debate central questions about actual infinities, constructive proofs, and alternative logics, suggesting that our confidence in mathematics as a monolithic homogeneous paragon of rationality is misplaced. The innocent equation of logical and empirical realities to which mathematics and its associated sciences are prone with their predominantly naive realism serves only to blind us to the possibility that the queen of human sciences may systematically mislead us about the nature of the world.

Is there an alternative? Theology in its best manifestations seeks always to be structured and guided by the nature of its divine object. The inner structure of theology, which we suppose to be its logic, is therefore constrained by the need at all points to connect with the revealed nature of God in scripture and tradition. There has always been a tendency for the logic of theology to set up systems with an autonomous structure that then mitigate against certain of these revealed truths. There is therefore a need for theology self-consciously to acknowledge the possibility of an unsystematic nominalism if it is to be true to the nature of the revealed reality of God, for the logos of God's being may well be contrary to the autonomous logic of our rationality. If that is so, then the logic that governs the universe may also be counter to the autonomous logic of the mathematical sciences; there may well be a contingency about the world that renders it unpredictable, unsystematizable, just because it exists as the creation of a God

whose logos surpasses our logic. In that case, mathematics may, precisely by virtue of its autonomy, one day prove to be the consummation of all idols, a Tower of Babel that tempts humankind to reach for knowledge that lies by its nature beyond it.

Perhaps the most important parallel between mathematics and theology concerns the question of reference, the question with which we began. The nature of mathematics means that we can conduct a coherent conversation about mathematical objects without adjudicating on the question of their existence or its nature; much the same is true of theology. One cannot suppose that the quality of a conversation entails the existence of its subject-matter without conflating empirical and nonempirical worlds, as happens in logicism; one can scarcely ignore the need to understand what it is one converses about, pretending that it is sufficient just to manipulate the symbols, as in formalism; one can sympathize with those who wish to deny actual infinities and nonconstructive proofs, as in intuitionism; and one can deplore the effective unbelief of those content merely to identify a discipline with what those engaged in it actually do, as in pragmatism. The issues

confronting us concerning the kind of realism theology envisages for its God are strikingly similar to those the philosopher of mathematics envisages for its objects. Both can continue relatively happily without considering such issues, but neither has any real purpose beyond that of a pastime unless it engages with the questions of ultimate reality that such issues entail.

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Maximus the Confessor

580–662

1. Life

Maximus the Confessor, the great monk-theologian, was a champion of, and martyr for, Chalcedonian Christology* at its most exacting. Only the last part of his long life is reliably documented, from the time of his presence in Carthage (Whitsun 632) and above all from his involvement in the monoenergist and monothelite controversies (634). The whole of his earlier life remains for the most part unclear and open to debate. According to the traditional *Life*, he was for the most part in Constantinople, where, on completing his education, he fulfilled various important roles in the imperial administration before entering the monastic life around 614 at Chrysopolis (Scutari) on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. On the other hand, a Syriac biography of Maronite origin considers him a native of the upper Jordan valley (Golan). Orphaned young, he

is said to have grown up in the Lavra of Saint Chariton (Palea lavra), an important center of Origenist controversies, which would explain the importance of their refutation in his writings.

According to this theory he took refuge in Constantinople during the Persian invasion of Palestine (613–14), and in 617, at Chrysopolis, would have met the young monk Anastasius, who was to become his lifelong disciple and biographer. Around 624–26 he evidently made a long stay at Cyzicus (Erdek) at the monastery of Saint George, in the company of bishop John, whose questions would inspire his expositions of ambiguous passages in the work of Gregory* of Nazianzus, and perhaps also his *Centuries on Theology and Economy*. In 626 the Persians and Avars attacked Constantinople, once again forcing Maximus into exile. It was undoubtedly at this time that he met

some Severian bishops in Crete and perhaps, in Cyprus, the priest (presbyter/priest*) Marinus, with whom he was to correspond.

Having settled in Carthage around 630 he joined the Eastern community of Eucratas, led by Sophronius, the future patriarch of Jerusalem* (634–38), who enlisted his help to refute monoenergism*. He was still there in 645 at the time of his disputation with Pyrrhus, the deposed patriarch of Constantinople. He then went to Rome*, where he gave his signature, as a monk, on the occasion of the synod* of 649, which condemned monotheism*. Returning to Constantinople—in 652, according to the Syriac *Life*—he was arrested there in 654. Exiled to Bizya (Thrace) after an initial trial, he became involved there in a dispute with bishop Theodore in the summer of 656, which led to a harsher exile at Perberis. After the patriarchal synod had exiled him to Lazica (Caucasus) and ordered the cutting off of his hand and tongue, he died on 13 August 662. Nineteen years later, the third Council of Constantinople* (681), without naming him, would canonize his doctrine of the two wills in Christ*.

2. Works

For the theologian, Maximus's most important writings are first of all the *Replies to the 65 Questions* of the Libyan monk Thalassios on scriptural texts (Q.T., PG 90, 344–785, critical edition by Laga-Steel, CChr.SG, 2 vols.) and on difficult passages of Gregory of Nazianzus and Pseudo-Dennis*; and then the *Ambigua* (Amb.) I to Thomas and II to John of Cyzicus (PG 91, 1031–1418). Taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the subject texts, Maximus treats, more or less fully, the themes that stimulate his thought. Especially important are Q.T., Prol., 21, 22, 42, and above all 60, and Amb. 7, 10, 41, and 42, in which he clarifies more particularly the main elements of his theological synthesis.

The same is true of several minor works: the *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* (Pater, PG 90, 871–910), the *Book of Asceticism* (Asc., PG 90, 911–56), and the *Mystagogy* (Myst., PG 91, 657–718). Following a literary genre common in the monastic tradition*, Maximus delights in condensing his thoughts into short "sentences" grouped into "decades" and "centuries." Examples include the *Four Centuries on Charity* (Char., PG 90, 959–1080), evidently one of his earliest works and one of the most widely disseminated, and the *Two Centuries on Theology and Economy*, sometimes known as the *Gnostic Centuries*, which are steeped in the influence of Origen (Gnost., PG 90, 1083–176). The first 15 sentences in the huge compilation of *Five Centuries on Various Subjects*, which is largely drawn from works by Maximus, are also con-

sidered to be authentic (PG 90, 1177–86). The 27 *Theological and Polemical Opuscles* (ThePol., PG 91, 9–286) deal with a wide variety of topics relating to the christological controversies provoked by Monophysitism* and monothelitism. They include patristic anthologies (15, 27), definitions of philosophical or theological terms (14, 23, 26), and an account of the procession of the Holy* Spirit (10). Likewise, some of the 45 surviving *Letters* (Ep., PG 91, 363–649) are practically treatises. One such, in the spiritual field, is Ep. 2 on charity to John the Chamberlain; others, concerning christological controversies, are Ep. 13 and 19. Finally, on the question of Christology, the most important and explicit text is the account of Maximus's discussion with Pyrrhus, the deposed patriarch of Constantinople, at Carthage in July 645 (Pyrrh., PG 91, 288–353).

3. Maximus's Synthesis

Over the course of such a diversity of works, for the most part occasional and broken up into short sections—whether the two major collections Amb. and Q.T. or the treatises of monastic character such as Asc., Pater, and Myst.—there can be discerned the main outline of a synthesis firmly constructed around a small number of technical terms grouped into pairs or triads: being, being well, being forever (*einai, eu einai, aei einai*); movement, stability (*genesis, kin sis, stasis*—a triad opposed to the triad "henad, movement, stability" of Origen's followers); substance, power, operation (*ousia, dunamis, energeia*). More fundamental still is the pairing "organizing principle, mode" (*logos, tropos*).

It is above all in Q.T. 60 and Amb. 41–42 that Maximus clearly brings out the fundamental outline of his thought, organizing and sometimes correcting the Alexandrian theology of the Logos (above all that of the school of Origen) with the help of his constant reading of the Cappadocians, Gregory of Nazianzus, and especially Gregory* of Nyssa—and also, to a lesser extent, of Evagrius and the Areopagitic corpus. He deploys both Chalcedonian and post-Chalcedonian thinking on Christ to refocus this theology on the incarnate Logos. Christ is the organizing principle of creation and of the evolution of the cosmos. It is he who gives created beings the *logoi*, which ensure their stability. He guides their development according to modes (*tropoi*)—a new concept—and by his humility assumes human nature, which he restores to its original condition and leads to its final fulfillment by bringing it to share in his divine condition (*théôsis*). Thus God becomes all in all and everything is brought to unity in a *périchorèse* (circumincession*)—a term that Maximus seems to have been the first to use with a

precise christological sense—which preserves the indispensable qualities of each nature.

Maximus explains this imposing synthesis first and foremost in a monastic perspective, setting out to develop the anthropological lines of reasoning that lead naturally to its fulfillment. While his reasoning is strongly inspired by the Cappadocian texts on the nature and condition of human development, his ascetic approach is largely based on the ideas of Evagrius, though he alters the emphasis of these in order to give prominence to the order of charity (Asc. and Ep. 2).

a) Ontology and Cosmology. In keeping with the dialectical mode that had dominated Greek thought since Parmenides and Heraclitus, Maximus's ontological thinking is organized in terms of the triple aporia of the absolute and the contingent, the one and the many, and being* and development, as employed by the Christian doctrine of Creation that ensures the inalienable, though relative, consistency of the second term. Its solution is found in the acknowledged polysemy of the word *logos*, whose various senses involve reference to a certain order and an organizing principle. For the tradition in which Maximus was working the divine *logos* was that in which and by which everything that exists acquires meaning and receives existence (Col 1:16). On the one hand the *logoi* of creatures, with all their differences and diversity, are merely parts of that (Amb. 42). On the other hand, inasmuch as they are "divine wishes" (see Clement of Alexandria and Origen), they may assume existence by means of his creative freedom (Amb. 7).

Here development comes into play: it is a necessary characteristic (see Q.T. 13) of created existence and indicates the "distancing" (Gregory of Nyssa's *diastema*) between divine immutability* and the intrinsic mutability of creatures. For this reason Maximus rejects the order of the Origenist triad, which begins with the status of *henad* (Amb. 7). This dynamism of created existence requires at the outset a beginning (*arkhè*), which supposes a "becoming" (*genesis*) that may take the form of generation (*gennèsis*). But this movement (*kinèsis*) tends toward a completion (*telesis*), which is stability (*stasis*), or participation in God's plenitude, and may therefore be called deification (*théôsis*). The three modes of existence—being, well-being, and eternal being—are shaped by the rhythm of the triad "substance, power, operation." The first is intrinsic to every nature by virtue of its being placed in existence, the second pertains to free will, but the last can only be attained by means of a divine gift that surpasses the potentiality of nature (Amb. 65). On occasions Maximus compares them to the three days in which the Creation was completed, or to the three days of the paschal

triduum (Gnost. I, 50–60); and also to the three laws (the law of nature, the written law, and the law of grace, Amb. 65; Q.T. 64); or to the threefold birth of Christ by the flesh (*logos tou einai*), by baptism* (*logos tou eu einai*), and by the Resurrection* (*logos tou aei einai*, Amb. 42). Indeed, while the ontological *logos* (*logos phuseôs*), being intrinsic to each nature, remains identical in itself, its modes of existence (*tropoi tès huparxeôs*) may be altered or renewed. This distinction, borrowed from the Cappadocians, comes to play a vital part in Maximus's Christology.

b) Anthropology. In the works preceding his involvement in the monoenergist and monothelite controversy (634), Maximus's anthropology deals mainly with man's becoming: his status and role in the scheme of creation, his present condition after the original Fall, and the path of asceticism* that makes possible the fulfillment of his first vocation. The keynote of this anthropology is the perfect man, Christ, the incarnate Logos. The monothelite controversy forced Maximus to take a more considered approach to the structure of the human being, especially regarding the will. He drew support for this from the writings of the neo-Chalcedonian theologians of the sixth century and, through them, from Aristotelian ideas.

Maximus's thinking on human becoming is inspired by Gregory of Nyssa's *The Creation of Man* (PG 44, 123–256), though with reservations concerning the theory of a double creation, and with an emphasis on the unity of the hypostasis in a "compound nature" of soul and body—or of intellect (*nous*), soul* (*psukhè*), and body. Since man is created in God's image and according to his likeness, it is up to him to realize this image by exercising virtues* modeled on those of Christ, who gives him by grace* the status of divine filiation* (Amb. 42; Char. 3, 25; 4, 70). In so doing, man fulfils his double role of microcosm and mediator by the union of the five divisions: between the sexes, between paradise and the inhabited earth, between heaven and earth, between the visible and invisible worlds, and between uncreated and created nature (Amb. 41).

Adam's free decision to turn his "rational appetite" (*orexis logikè*), neutral in itself, not toward God but toward sensual pleasure involved him in the infernal dialectic of pleasure and pain (*hèdonè-odunè*), which can end only in death*. This is the interpretation Maximus gives, following Gregory of Nyssa, for the trees in Paradise (Q.T. Prol. and 43). Adam is imprisoned in self-love (*philautia*) and passionate love of the body (Char. 3, 8, 57, 59), the source of all vice. In this field Maximus takes his inspiration from the tradition of Evagrius, particularly in Asc. and Char. The normal exercise of the will, instead of being governed by rea-

son*, is disrupted by the disturbance of the passions of sexual desire and anger (Q.T. Prol), whence the ambiguous nature of the “gnomic will” (Pater, PG 901–3). In one of his last writings Maximus offers an analysis of the various stages of voluntary activity (ThePol. 1), which would be taken up by John of Damascus and acquire classic status.

c) *Christology*. Until recently Maximus’s thought has attracted the attention of theologians largely in a christological context. This focus is justified provided that his full breadth is recognized. Indeed from the very first lines of his earliest writings (Asc. or Pater) Maximus clearly sets out the fundamental aim of his thinking, offering both a general overview (Asc. 1) and a glimpse of its core: “The request for everything of which the Logos of God, in his kenosis*, became by his flesh the author, is contained within the words of the prayer. It teaches us to appropriate that fortune of which only God the Father*, by his Son, naturally mediating in the Holy Spirit, is the true dispenser (*khoregos*), since indeed the Lord Jesus* is, in the words of the divine apostle*, the mediator between God and mankind (1 Tm 2:5). By his flesh he makes manifest to men the unknown Father; by the Spirit he leads to the Father those men who are reconciled in Him” (Pater, PG 90, 876). Q.T. (22, 28, 60, 61) clarifies the various aspects of this “mystery* of Christ” (60) (as also Amb. 41, 42, and Gnost. 1, 66–67; 2, 23, 60).

By means of his incarnation*, taking on human nature within his unique divine hypostasis, the two natures remaining distinct “without confusion or alteration” in a single “compound hypostasis”—and not, as the followers of Severus maintained, a “compound nature” (Ep. 13)—Christ, the incarnate Logos, restores man to his original condition, created in the image and likeness of God, or rather for the perfection of that likeness by the path of virtue (Q.T. 53; ThePol. 1), shaping him after his own filial condition. With this in mind, Maximus never ceased to refine his observations on the ontological status of human nature and its activities—observations that occupy an important place in the Ep. (13, 15) and above all in ThePol., and which find their most consummate expression in the discussion with Pyrrhus of 645.

The monothelite controversy forced Maximus to go deeper into the structure and operations of the will in order to recognize the proper character of Christ’s human will, as distinct from the divine will to which it willingly submits. This necessity would lead Maximus, as previously stated, to specify the modes and sequences of voluntary actions (ThePol. 4, 19, 25): an achievement that represents one of his major contributions to anthropology.

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See also Aristotelianism, Christian; Chalcedon, Council of; Constantinople III, Council of; Gregory Palamas; Monothelitism/Monoenergism

Mechtild of Magdeburg. *See Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism*

Mediation. *See* **Mary; Salvation**

Meister Eckhart of Hohenheim. *See* **Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism**

Mendicant Religious Orders

The entry on monasticism* draws attention in the High Middle Ages to the decline in power of the traditional Benedictine monasteries as assertions of Christian values. The entry on Franciscan spirituality* analyzes the personal spiritual attitudes of Francis of Assisi. Both the diminution in the spiritual power of the monasteries and the personal spirituality of Francis of Assisi do however have important ecclesiological dimensions. Institutionalized mendicancy was the way in which the church met the challenge of the rise of a society based on feudalism and mercantilism, both of which put a premium on the private property whose legitimacy in any circumstances the early church had been reluctant to allow.

The term “mendicant orders” (*ordines mendicantes*) was used in the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 of those orders that had arisen in the 13th century and lived from begging. Its canon 23 suppressed all except Franciscans and Dominicans, giving temporary approval to the Hermits of Saint Augustine and the Carmelites, both to be formally approved in 1298. The number was to grow to 17 by 1993. Begging had become redundant by the 16th century, when the Council of Trent allowed corporate possessions to the mendicant orders, which by then included the Jesuits.

The mendicants not only bore witness to newly threatened Christian values, but also undertook necessary activities beyond the competence of either the monastic or the diocesan clergy. They fulfilled the need for a clerical force that was mobile and answer-

able directly to the pope, at whose disposition for apostolic missions they had to hold themselves ready. Such missions included preaching, the only means of religious instruction for the majority of the faithful, and also that part of the administration of the sacramental penitential regime pertaining to sins whose absolution was reserved to the pope. They were also entrusted with rights in respect of burials and the administration of other sacraments. Preparation for such work required training, and houses of study were founded by the new orders at Paris and sometimes elsewhere, often at Oxford or Cologne.

In time the mendicant orders took on the character of urban monasteries, with a spirituality based on the love of their neighbor shown by their pastoral activity. Their university training took them to the forefront of scholastic dispute, with various specific philosophical positions and tendencies associated with each order, and they filled the need to transmit to the faithful in towns a lay adaptation of monastic spirituality based on the canonical hours of the divine office. Inevitably their independence of the hierarchy and their superior powers led to clashes with the diocesan clergy, of which one of the most notable occurred in Paris between 1250 and 1260, and epitomized in the differences between the Franciscan Bonaventure* and the Dominican Thomas* Aquinas, whose order repeatedly found it difficult to enforce adherence to Thomist theology within its own ranks.

a) Franciscans. Known as the Order of Friars Minor (O.F.M.) since 1517, the Franciscans, also called Grey Friars (in French “Cordeliers”), split into branches, including the Minorites and the Conventual, Reformed, Observant, and Discalced Franciscans. The ideal of Francis of Assisi, whose core was the penitential following of the impoverished Jesus in humble solidarity with society’s weaker members, attracted a number of companions between 1206 and 1208. Francis sought ecclesiastical approval first granted by Innocent III in 1209–10 for his band of “penitents from Assisi.” It expanded with surprising speed and decided in 1215 to seek formal ecclesiastical incorporation, granted when the rule was approved in 1221 and 1223.

Its evangelical base was concretized in the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but it embraced laymen as well as clerics. All worked for their living, falling back on begging when necessary. The continuity of the young order with Benedictine monasticism was ensured by prayer* in common and by making the aim of its preaching to believers and unbelievers alike simply the furthering of the praise of God by his rational creation, which had been the motive force behind the church’s earliest formal worship, and which became the overriding purpose of Benedictine life. The spirituality of the Franciscans was that which had originally been personal to its founder.

By the middle of the 13th century the order had spread throughout Europe, and in 1245–46 founded its first mission in Asia. Expansion ceased with the end of the intense urbanization of Europe around the end of the 13th century, and the order’s houses, heavily dependent on the alms and patronage available in the towns, found themselves open to exploitation by the towns and their more prominent citizens, who could pay through donations for the intercessory power of the prayers of the friars, whose churches and cemeteries also conferred a certain prestige.

Internal splits occurred between members of the order who wished to remain rigorously true to the obligations laid on them by Francis’s *Testament* to keep true to the original rule and those, who won, who were willing to accept papal modifications to their constitutions, made as circumstances changed. Devotionally, all branches of the Franciscans were united by a characteristic blend of devotions centering on Christ’s humanity, the Blessed Sacrament, the name of Jesus, and the Virgin. Ecclesiologically, their readiness to place themselves at the disposition of the pope, notably for missions to pagan countries, again showed the church’s power to react to new needs and new situations by gestating an appropriately institutionalized response. In the case of the Franciscans, that response included the establishment from the beginning of an

equivalent order for women and of a lay “third” order for the married, all linked closely together by their common spirituality and devotional attitudes.

b) Dominicans. The Dominicans, known as the Order of Preachers (O.P.) and called “black friars,” were founded by papal bull in 1216 with constitutions incorporating a version of the Augustinian rule (*see* monasticism), modified to ensure retention of the contemplative element in their spirituality. Innocent III had insisted at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 that the necessary approval for the new group would be granted only if they chose an old rule. Their aim, specifically to bring about the salvation of souls by preaching the gospel, was confirmed by papal mandate in 1217, and extended to the whole Christian world. In other words, the Dominican Order from the beginning exclusively devoted itself to fulfilling the church’s obligation to announce to the world the gospel tidings. Its monastic, penitential, and ascetic norms were subordinate to its preaching role and, like the Benedictines, the Franciscans, and others, their assumption of part at least of the church’s mission gives their foundation and success fundamental ecclesiological significance.

The evangelical poverty practiced by their founder, Saint Dominic (1170–1221), and enjoined by him on his companions, was as strict as that of the Franciscans and was written into the Dominican constitutions in 1220, intensifying the young group’s participation in the new testimony to Christian values required by the developments in secular Western society. Its effectiveness was increased by the importance it attached to theological learning and to the study required to achieve it. Strong links with the universities of Paris and Bologna made clear the commitment of the group to intellectual endeavor, and the nature of their apostolate required mobility rather than stability of territorial presence.

Like the other early-13th-century foundations, the Dominicans, in adapting the Augustinian rule, in fact moved away from a strictly contemplative spirituality toward one compatible with missionary life, although it is still usual to speak of their spirituality as a combination, “contemplative in action,” which other groups were to take as a model. The Dominicans also found that their apostolate created a greater need for priests in their ranks than had been experienced by the more purely contemplative orders.

Dominic himself had traveled round the south of France three times before devoting himself to the existence of a wandering preacher, traveling on foot to convert the Albigenses. When joined by companions he established a first house in Toulouse and an asylum for women threatened by heresy whose inmates eventually

became an order of nuns. He became associated with the anti-Albigensian crusade called by Innocent III under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, and with its instrument, the papal inquisition. The order drew heavily on the educated laity for its recruitment, which meant establishing houses in the larger towns, where even in the High Middle Ages good schools were to be found, leading inevitably to some clashes with the diocesan parish clergy. Only toward the end of the 13th century were foundations made in the smaller central European towns.

As papal preachers with special powers, however, the Dominicans were also heavily involved in preaching both the Crusades* and their attendant indulgences*, including that to which Luther* took such exception. They were to be permanently associated with the Inquisition, both in Spain, where it was a civil institution, and elsewhere. It is, however, necessary to point out that Dominican spirituality also led, alongside the missionary activity of teaching, to the contemplative heights attained by some of the Rhineland mystics, like Meister Eckhart, John Tauler, Henry Suso, and others. Many of them were Dominicans. In theology the Dominicans led an intellectually humanizing movement that regarded human reason as participating in divine rationality, so that human rational search for meaning in the cosmos was necessarily correlative to divine revelation. Often seen as a recourse to Aristotle in place of the Platonic inspiration of early Christian theology, this approach came to be known as the *via antiqua*, and was regarded as overnaturalistic

by certain followers of the Franciscan tradition, notably Ockham (c. 1285–1349), who founded the *via moderna*, based on the absolute transcendence of God above his creation. Christian moral norms were revealed and did not necessarily have of their nature to conform to the moral exigencies of rational beings.

Western society outgrew the need for a Christian witness based on mendicancy, as distinct from individual poverty. The norm was altered by allowing the orders themselves to own property and to accept endowments for pious purposes. A legal means was devised to allow the Franciscans to enjoy revenue without themselves owning the capital from which it derived. From the beginning their constitutions allowed Jesuit colleges to possess capital and to receive endowments, with only the houses of their professed fathers obliged to live from alms. As the socioeconomic foundations of society moved on, the ecclesiological functions of its religious orders necessarily changed, usually demanding the appearance of new congregations to challenge new values and new circumstances. Mendicancy in the strict sense became obsolete.

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Mennonites. *See* Anabaptists

Mercy

The Latin word *misericordia*, mercy, derives from the word describing one who is *misericors*, one whose

heart is moved by the sight of the suffering of others. This implies that mercy is applied to one of the aspects

of human sensibility. However, by means of a resolute anthropomorphism*, it is very much upon God* that the Latin version of the Bible* confers this attribute. Not including the New Testament, the Vulgate employs the term 273 times, to which one must add the 137 occurrences of the verb *misereor* and the 31 uses of the adjective *misericors*: in the vast majority of cases, these different lexemes refer to the divine actor. It is therefore clearly as a divine attribute* that the Latin Bible represents *misericordia*.

It remains to be determined which Hebrew lexicon covers this family of words. Since it is necessary to eliminate the Old Testament texts that were not originally written in Hebrew, our discussion can be based on only 369 occurrences. Usage reflects three Hebraic roots: *râcham*, *chânan*, and *châsad*. Commentators have focused on the first root, while pointing out that the plural noun that derives from it (*râchamîm*), translated as “compassion,” has as its singular *rèchhèm*, which in turn designates a woman’s uterus. The biblical attribute of mercy thus discreetly presents the divine actor under a maternal aspect. Henceforth the pairing “justice*/mercy,” which appears in every section of the Hebrew Bible, could be interpreted as designating a symbolic wholeness that integrates both paternal and maternal features.

In the absence of a rigorous definition of these two terms one can at least attempt to describe them. While the attribute “justice” connotes severity and an uncompromising quality, but also the transcendence of divine sanctity, that of “mercy” refers to a fundamental compassion, to the understanding kindness of a God who “knows our frame” (Ps 103:14), and who has always shown himself capable of clemency and forgiveness.

It must be noted that the pair “justice/mercy” appears in the texts of the Qumran (1QSI, 26–II, 1), and in intertestamentary literature (intertestament*) (2 Ba 48, 17–18). But this literature, following the example of the Bible, already has a tendency to overestimate the latter term to the detriment of the former: (*Test. Zab.* 8, 1–3).

In considering this “attribute of mercy,” rabbinical literature was quick to derive, in turn, this essential ethical consequence: if the vocation of man is to imitate God, he must develop this quality within himself. Thus the Talmud states: “Since God is clement and merciful, be thou also clement and merciful” (*TB Shab.* 133 b). What is more, at the beginning of our era, Rabbi Gamaliel would even assert, in commenting on Dt 13:18: “He who shows himself merciful towards others will be treated by the Heavens with mercy, whereas he who shows no pity for his fellow man will have no right to the pity of the Heavens.” Similarly, the whole Jewish people was urged, as indicated by an-

other text in the Talmud, to be “merciful and modest, and to practice acts of kindness” (*TB, Yev.* 79a).

The Islamic tradition would also examine this divine attribute. Thus, all the *surahs* of the Koran open with the *basmalah*, a formula where the root *râcham* is repeated again and again, since it is voiced in this way: *bismillâh al-Rachmân al-Rachîm*, “In the name of God, the Kind, the Merciful.” Moreover, numerous commentaries are devoted to the exact difference between these two divine titles.

The New Testament had already developed all of these features. Drawing its lexicon from the Septuagint, it made great use of words derived from the roots *eleein* (to pity), *oikteirein* (to have compassion for), *kharis* (“grace*”), and *splankhna* (“entrails,” but above all “compassion”)—the very words that the Greek translation used to render the three Hebraic roots mentioned above.

In perfect compliance with the Jewish tradition* the New Testament also revealed the consequence, at the level of human behavior, of the revelation* of divine mercy, both in the “descending” direction (“Be merciful, even as your father is merciful,” Lk 6:36) and in the “ascending” direction (“Blessed are the merciful, for they shall receive mercy,” Mt 5:7). The originality of the New Testament corpus on this point consisted in its transferring the traits of divine mercy to Jesus*. To be sure, God was still described as the source of this mercy—and from time to time there were unflinching evocations of his entrails (*splankhna*) of mercy (Lk 1:78), and even of their “plurality” (*polusplankhnos*: Jas 5:11)—but Jesus also possessed this “maternal” characteristic (12 instances), as well as the “pity” and “compassion” of the one who sent him.

The church* of the early centuries would do little more than develop various notions that it had received from Scripture*. In the liturgy the call for Christ*’s mercy would be condensed into the brief formula *Kyrie eleison*. This formula, which appeared in Greek language liturgies during the second half of the fourth century, would be adopted somewhat later by the Roman liturgy, and then progressively by the entire Latin-speaking world. (It should be noted that the Latin liturgy does not translate the *Kyrie eleison* but adds to it a twin formula, also Greek, *Christe eleison*.) In the Greek world the *Kyrie eleison* constituted the response of the people to the litanies of intercession recited by the deacon*. Clearly the omnipresence of this invocation in the liturgical text polarized the attention of the faithful onto the divine attribute of mercy—at least this is what is suggested by Saint John Chrysostom* (*Homercy in Mt.* 71, 4). And even well before the fourth century, Christian authors had frequently evoked the *eleos* of God (*I Clemency* 9,1), his *oiktirmos* (*I Clemency* 20, 11), or his *splankhna*: “Always

merciful and kind, the Father is touched by those who fear him; with gentleness and goodness, he places his grace upon those who come to him with a simple heart" (*I Clemency* 20, 11).

In Latin the privileged term remains that of *misericordia*, whether applied to God (Tertullian*: *Paen.* 2; Cyprian*: *Laps.* 15; Ambrose*: *In Ps.* 118:8, 22) or to human beings (Tertullian: *Paen.* 1; *adu. Marc.* 4, 27; Ambrose: *Off.* 1, 11, 38). Augustine* would justify this notion in opposition to the criticism voiced by the philosophers: "The stoics, it is true, habitually blame mercy. However, how much more honorable it might have been for our Stoic to be moved by pity for a man to save him from danger, than to be troubled by the fear of a shipwreck.... Then what is mercy if not the compassion of our heart for the misery of others, moving us to help them if we can?" (*Civ. Dei* IX, 5).

It was in the monastic world that the exercise of mercy would find its broadest scope. Through this virtue "beyond all virtues*" the monks could set off on the royal path of imitation of God. Among the countless illustrations one might provide of such an ideal, the following two "apothegms" might be retained, deriving as from the very earliest monasticism*, that of the Desert Fathers in Egypt. They immediately proposed what one could call a "maximalism of mercy": "A brother who had sinned was chased from the church by the priest; and abba essarion stood up and went out with him and said, 'I too am a sinner.' A brother questioned father Poemen and said, 'If I see a fault in my brother, is it good to hide it?' The old man said, 'In the hour where we hide the faults of our brother, God also hides ours; and in the hour where we bring forth the faults of our brother, God also brings forth our faults'" (*Apothegms*, Systematic collection, IX, 2 and 9).

By following the direction indicated here, one could develop the spiritual aspects of the virtue of mercy, as elaborated by the monastic tradition. All the same, the strictly theological current would not fade away, however. Where the Latin tradition was concerned it would, on the contrary, expand in two directions. Until the 13th century the primary task of theology* remained that of commenting on the Scriptures. Authors encountered therein the pairing "justice/mercy," and they would try to define each concept in terms of the other. For example, Bernard* of Clairvaux considered that the tension between them would only be resolved at the end of time: "At the time of the Judgment*, he will exalt mercy more than judgment" (*In. Cant.* 73, 2, 4). But later, mercy would disappear (*Dil.* 15, 40), no longer having any purpose. In the *Summa Theologica*, Thomas* Aquinas would mention mercy as beatitude* (Ia IIae, q. 69) and as virtue (IIa IIae, q. 30). For him it corresponded with the gift of counsel (IIa IIae, q. 52, a. 4).

The relation of justice to mercy is in the background of the debate on predestination* that followed in the wake of Augustine's work. It would thus resurface among the Carolingian theologians, in the *Cur Deus homo* by Anselm* of Canterbury, and later in the lively controversy that surrounded the Reformation. If Augustinianism* seemed clearly to favor the attribute of justice, it aroused counterreactions. It is no doubt in this perspective that one can interpret the apparition in the 17th century of devotion to the Sacred Heart, which moved rapidly from being a private devotion to one inscribed in the liturgy as a norm. Did it not counterbalance the austerity of the then-dominant Jansenist tendencies?

This last example is proof of a tendency toward "feminization," applied here to the figure of Christ. Certain mystics* went very far in this direction. Julian of Norwich, for example, an English mystic of the 14th/15th century, did not hesitate to speak of "Jesus our mother." But more often it was to the figure of the Virgin Mary* that the attribute of mercy was assigned. In the 12th century the *Salve Regina* designated Mary as *Mater misericordiae*, and after Bernard of Clairvaux a host of spiritual authors would develop, at times with a considerable lack of discretion, the evocation of this "mothering" (*In Nat. beat. Mar.* 7). Indisputably, the theme of mercy raised the issue of the "feminine in God."

Apart from a few isolated examples in magisterial texts (John Paul II's encyclical *Diues in misericordia*) or in certain spiritual writers (the "Revelation of Merciful Love" to Sister Faustine), it does not seem that the present era has developed this particular theme to any degree. And yet, philosophers and theologians have resolutely reevaluated the notion of forgiveness—perhaps within the context of "crimes against humanity," which in the 20th century have attained a global dimension. Their thoughts and ideas have contributed to a revival—although somewhat reformulated—of the theme of mercy. For example, the principle according to which "there can be no forgiveness without justice" is a direct echo of the most ancient biblical tradition.

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DOMINIQUE CERBELAUD

See also Attributes, Divine; Ethics; Grace; Heart of Christ; Imitation of Christ; Judgment; Life, Spiritual; Love; Penance

Messalianism

a) History. In the second half of the fourth century, starting in Mesopotamia and spreading to Syria and Asia Minor, a movement called Messalianism grew up in monastic circles. The word *Messalian*, constructed from the Syriac participle of the verb “to pray,” means “one who prays.” The movement soon joined the list of heresies* and was condemned as such. Its first mention dates from about 370, when Ephraim and Epiphanius advised of its presence in Mesopotamia and in Antioch. Ephraim insisted that these “prayers” (those who pray) were guilty of debauchery and/or of agitation and enthusiasm (the Syriac word chosen has two meanings). Epiphanius reproached them for deviating from social norms by their allowing men and women to live together and by refusing to work. He did not, however, accuse them of doctrinal deviation.

After 380, the Messalians suffered official condemnations. The first of these condemnations seems to have been carried during the synod* held in Antioch under Bishop Flavian’s guidance (therefore after 381). Along with Flavian sat not only the clerics* from Syria but also a bishop from Byzantine Armenia and another from Isauria, which seems to indicate that monks suspected of Messalianism were in those regions too. This synod decided to expel the Messalians from Syria and Mesopotamia. A little later, doubtless, another synod held in Side, in Pamphylia, in which Amphilochus of Iconium played the chief role, also condemned them, which perhaps suggests that the exiles had taken refuge in that region. In any event, at the beginning of the fifth century the controversy was centered in Asia Minor. Bishop Atticus of Constantinople (406–25) wrote to the Pamphylian bishops asking them to evict the Messalians. A synod held in Constantinople in 427 under Atticus’s successor, Sisinnius, repeated this request. The following year, a law against heretics mentioned them, also calling them Euchites or Enthusiasts.

In 431 the Council of Ephesus was also apprised of this problem and anathematized the Messalians. It also condemned propositions from a work that it attributed to them, the *Asceticon*, which was doubtless made up of writings circulated under the pseudonym of Macarius the Great (and which can probably be attributed to Symeon of Mesopotamia, who was active between 380 and 390 and in 430). The *Asceticon* is a collection of

texts in which the work of “Messalian” communities can still be detected today.

b) Doctrine. Heresiologists and synods accused the Messalians of two kinds of errors, doctrinal and moral. Messalian heretical doctrines were said to be: (1) that a demon* has a permanent abode in everyone’s soul*, a demon that baptism* has not proved capable of expelling and that prayer* alone can evict, and (2) prayer summons the Holy* Spirit into the soul and promotes union with the celestial Bridegroom, which gives rise in the perfect ones to freedom from the passions,* to impassiveness. In addition to these doctrinal statements, the Messalians were accused of claiming to acquire inspiration from visions and dreams, of claiming to be prophets*. They were also accused of spurning work*, even work demanded by charity, preferring instead to sleep (during which time they experienced their dreams). Finally, they were accused of despising the sacraments*, the ecclesiastical hierarchy*, and institutions, as being futile for spiritual people, and of perjuring themselves, even of exhibiting sexual license—things of no moment to the perfect ones.

Some accusations about the behavior of the Messalians are doubtless only exaggerations or examples of individual instances. But what is the truth about the doctrines for which they stood reproached? Elements of these doctrines certainly appear in the works of Pseudo-Macarius, but they have been taken out of context and isolated from the overall spiritual vision that these texts offer. A terminological analysis of the *Macariana* seems to show clearly that the Messalian crisis was inspired by the collision of two different cultural worlds—the world of Syriac-speaking monks and the world of Greek-speaking bishops and theologians. Pseudo-Macarius (who wrote in Greek) had borrowed his central themes from Syriac monasticism as well as from the poetic and symbolic images and phraseology in which were expressed an intensely lived spiritual experience* (metaphors of mixture, of uninhabited regions, and of filling in). The ambiguity of this language, in which the sensory experience of grace* occupies a predominant place, and which has undeniably led on occasion to misinterpretation in Greek-speaking circles, explains the accusations of heresy brought against the Messalians.

In fact, Messalianism was a movement lacking either a leader or precise doctrines. The proper term should be *Messalian tendencies*. These tendencies continued to appear in monastic circles in the East and even in the Christian West. Egypt was affected by them, and in Carthage there were also “Euchite” monks, against whom Augustine* wrote a volume about the labor proper to monks. All the same, these tendencies show differences that are sometimes deviations. The Pseudo-Macarian works are the first witness to that. In their present state they reveal, through the revisions they have undergone, that they echo discussions in the circles that read them. In any case, their rereading and rectification by orthodox authors, as well as by the author of the *De Instituto Christiano* (who may have been Gregory* of Nyssa), show their influence, and that influence has continued to make itself felt in Byzantine monasticism.

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See also **Hesychasm; Monasticism; Orthodoxy; Spiritual Theology**

Messianism/Messiah

1. Vocabulary

Today, the term *messianism* is frequently used to express expectation. In the context of politico-religious movements this expectation often applies to radical, permanent, historical change. This is a derivative exploitation and extension of a word that comes from traditional biblical exegesis*, beginning with the New Testament itself.

The Hebrew word *māshîach* in the Old Testament, translated in English as “messiah” (and in Greek, *Christos*, giving the title of “Christ”), rarely or never refers to the eschatological savior. It means “anointed” and designates either the historical king or the high priest (six times) and, in one occurrence, (metaphorically) the Fathers (Ps 105:15). The New Testament confers eschatological value on the word by applying it to Jesus*. Further, it gives a new reading of certain Old Testament texts, granting them prophetic value in light of the event of the message and the person of Jesus. The term *messianism* is applied to these representations as a whole.

2. Problematic

Generally speaking, modern critical research eschewed this theological apologetics in favor of an ap-

proach focused on the meaning of the texts in their original political, economic, and social environment. In so doing, it gradually turned away from the traditional reading to the point of losing interest, at least temporarily, in this field of biblical* theology. We might add that the shift in current language from a personal figure (messiah) to a grouping of rather vague representations (messianism) probably contributed to that disaffection. More recent research is returning to a focus on this field, where numerous questions remain unanswered.

Is the figure of the messiah confused with the royal figure? Does it suit other personages related to “the last days” (eschatology*)? What is the connection between messianic expectation and the hope* of salvation* in general? And what about the sources and mechanism of this expectation, the “eschatological” nature of this hope? If the “eschatological” is confused with the apocalyptic*, then the only messianic text would be Daniel 7:13! And then only if the personage of the “Son of man” is recognized as a personal character, which is widely contested. The broader sense of the term has led to the notion of a “messianism without a messiah,” which is, to say the least, paradoxical. In this

sense “messianism” would encompass the eschatological representations of the “God* who is coming” or the “reign of God” (Kingdom* of God). These are genuine difficulties. It remains that Christian theology* has to take into account relations between the Old and New Testaments. Since the church* and Jesus himself referred to the Old Testament, it is fitting to analyze Old Testament texts that refer to a coming Savior, even if they are inchoate. In this perspective we suggest an inventory of texts that might have a relation, be it distant, with the figure of Jesus.

3. Basic Representation: The Figure of the King

The biblical messiah originates in the royal line, in particular that of David, designated as the “anointed of God” (see 1 Sm 16; 2 Sm 5:3). The institution of monarchy is the enduring framework of the complex ensemble of representations known as messianism. Other models later condensed around the royal figure, which remained the reference model. Israel* borrowed the royal institution from its Middle Eastern neighbors; as a result it is charged with an ideology partially shared with different sectors of that cultural area. In the organization of the state (city) as in that of the cosmos, the king played a central role. The royal psalms* broadly reflect that ideology. The king’s mission is to ensure peace* on the borders and, to this end, subdue the nation’s enemies (Ps 2 and 110). He is also the guarantor of order in society* and in the cosmos*. He must ensure *shalôm*—peace, social harmony (Ps 72:1f., vv. 12–14)—and also the fertility of the fields (Ps 72:6f., v. 16). The king becomes the mediator of blessing* (Ps 21:7).

This foreign ideology, riddled as it was with pagan sacralism (paganism*), was something from which Israel had to distance itself. The solution was to cast off polytheistic references and leave the historical initiative to YHWH. Deuteronomist theology sometimes refers to a specific covenant* with David (and his descendants) (Ps 89:4f., vv. 20–38). However, the solemn dynastic promise* of 2 Sm 7:1–17 that constitutes the charter of monarchy is placed at the very heart of the Sinai covenant, to avoid the dangers of an overcentralized power and safeguard divine transcendence. The king takes responsibility for the covenant and protects its interests (Renaud 1994a), but God remains master of the game. The king is altogether relative to YHWH. This is clearly indicated by the title “anointed of God” (notably in the books of Samuel), which has no equivalent in any other contemporaneous religious system. The effect of that theology was to reinforce the collective dimension of the monarchy. The Davidic king, “son of God” (Ps 2:7, a designation inherited from Middle Eastern royal ideology) embodies Israel, “child of God” (Hos 4:22, 11:1, etc.).

This double current of royal ideology and covenant theology mutually reinforcing each other crystallizes the hope of the people around the figure of David. He becomes an emblematic and paradigmatic figure, as shown in the prophetic oracles of Isaiah 7, 9:1–6, and 11:1–9 and Jer 23:5f. There is no doubt that, save rare exceptions (perhaps Hezekiah, Josiah), none of the historical kings fulfilled the ideal. The monarchy, whether in the north or the south, left memories of leaders unfaithful to their mission. And yet from one royal birth to another, one coronation to the next, hope for fulfillment of the promises was reborn. The gap between painful reality and the awaited realization did not undermine the people’s hope. Far from fading, the promises were constantly reinforced, nourishing hopes for an empire that would place Israel at the center of the world (see Ps 2 and 110). This hyperbolic language was of course descended from the court rhetoric of the great empires, transferred to the petty kings of Palestine. It was also the fruit of hope in an idealized personage who would initiate an era of peace and happiness.

4. Eschatological Messianism

a) *Messianism and Eschatology**. The ruin of Jerusalem and the temple*, the collapse of the royal and priestly institutions that structured the life of the community, and the deportation of the nation’s elite, all these provoked a grave psychological trauma as testified in Psalm 89:39–51 and brought about a profound theological upheaval. Jeremiah declared that the covenant was broken (Jer 31:32). The institutions inherited from the past no longer functioned as sources of salvation. Israel was forced to project itself into the future. The center of gravity shifted from the past to the future, at least in certain theological currents. Jeremiah announced a “new covenant” (Jer 31:31–34). The monarchy had disappeared but not the hope attached to it, and this hope was carried over into the expectation of a coming messiah, a mediator of a stable and permanent salvation. This hope can rightfully be qualified as eschatological, even if the designation is subject to terminological debate. We consider here as “eschatological” all projection into the future, even an indeterminate future, of figures and representations of unsurpassable perfection. Already present in germ in a preexilic messianism that envisaged an ideal historical figure, this eschatological messianism flourished during and after the exile, though the time frame of this advent was not defined. The ideal figure awaited as mediator of salvation was subsequently enriched as a result of various spiritual experiences of the chosen people.

b) Survival of Royal Messianism. From the time of exile and despite the disappearance of the actual institution of the monarchy, the monarch remained an emblematic figure. Preexile prophecies were significantly supplemented (*see* Am 9:11f.; “and David their king” added in Jer 30:9 and Hos 3:5). The promise during the exile in Micah 5, 1ss refers to 1 Samuel 16, 2 Samuel 7, and Jeremiah 30:21. Envisaging the resumption of the Davidic enterprise at its source, it evokes the shepherd of Bethlehem Ephrathah (Mi 5:1) rather than the warrior king of Jerusalem*. Ezekiel takes up this pastoral figure to make the messianic descendant of David the representative of the divine pastor* and confer on him the mission of unifying the chosen people and healing their ancestral divisions (Ez 34:23f., 37:24f.). By his mediation YHWH will conclude a covenant of peace with his people (Ez 34:25ff., 37:26ff.).

The more sober figure of Solomon was superimposed on this Davidian figure. A psalm book editor entitles Psalm 72 “Solomon,” though it is presented as a “prayer of David” (72:20), and he inserts in its heart the oracular section of vv. 8–11, full of Solomonian reminiscences (1 Kgs 5:1, 5:4, 10:1–13). The very name of Solomon (connected to the root *shalôm*) and the pacific nature of his reign point toward the central eschatological message of peace. Similarly, the humble messiah in Zec 9:9f., who works for peace because he destroys weapons of war*, seems to designate the new Solomon, riding on a little ass at his royal coronation like his distant ancestor (1 Kgs 1:33–40).

c) Emergence of Prophetic Messianism. It is no surprise that the community in exile, grouped around these vigilant “watchmen” (Ez 3:16f; 33:1–9) Jeremiah, Ezechiel and the second Isaiah, favored an eschatological promotion of the prophetic function and experience in the person of a mysterious Servant. Four poems of the Deutero-Isaiah (42: 1–9; 49:1–9; 50:4–11; 52:13–53, 12) trace his spiritual journey towards a most humiliating death* which nonetheless assumes an expiatory value (expiation*).

d) Traces of Priestly Messianism. With the end of exile and the reconstruction of the temple, the priesthood* regained an eminent position, due in part to the disappearance of the institutions of prophecy and monarchy. The idealization of this priesthood may have contributed to the early outlines of the messianic figure, facilitated by the fact that kings in antiquity had priestly functions. Psalm 110 is a particularly eloquent witness; Jewish and Christian communities would read into it the announcement of a messiah-priest (Heb 5:5, 5:8, 6:20, 7:1–17), though attestations of this dual function are relatively infrequent (texts identified by

critics as “new readings” such as Jer 33:14–18 or Is 52:10–12). Furthermore, the name of the high priest Joshua was substituted for Zerubbabel in an oracle (Zec 6:11–15) that originally concerned the latter. And there was a desire to see in the anonymous personage (Is 61:1ff.) a priestly messiah. These details, few and far between, never ascribe to the messianic high priest the brilliance of the Davidic figure. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the Essene writings of Qumran attempt, more or less skillfully, to harmonize these divergent lines and envisage the coming in eschatological times of two messiahs, one a king and the other a priest. The Psalms of Solomon remain faithful to the Davidic (and Solomonian) ideal (Ps Sal 17).

e) Messianic Hope and Expectation of the Coming of the Reign of YHWH. The modern broadened concept of messianism led to envisaging a “messianism without a messiah” that would characterize the hope of the eschatological coming of the reign of God. The concept is not a particularly satisfactory one. However, recent editors of the prophetic books have tried to articulate Davidic messianism and eschatology of the “God who is coming” in an organic synthesis—for example, in the book of Micah 4–5 (Renaud, *La formation du livre de Michée*, Paris, 1977). The effort is not without artifice and the result quite unsatisfactory. This integration works best in Psalm 2 in its eschatological reading, which tightly subordinates the function of the messiah to the exercise of a divine government in which the king is merely the agent.

5. New Testament

a) Jesus and the Messianic Claim. In the face of Jesus’ miracles*, his contemporaries wondered if he might be the messiah (Jn 4:29, 7:40ff.; Mt 12:23). His disciples did not hesitate to recognize him as such (Jn 1:41, 1:45–49). Peter*, provoked by Jesus, solemnly declares: “You are the Christ” (Mk 8:29). But Jesus holds back, at least until the Passion*. He himself carefully avoids the term and imposes secrecy on those who have identified him—whether they be devils (Lk 4:41) or the Twelve (Mt 16:20)—for popular notions connected with this title were too ambivalent, charged with too much political and military hope, too closely connected to temporal agency. Jesus used the title “Son of Man” (Mk 8:31; Mt 17:9, 17:22, 24:30, 26:2, 26:24, 26:64, etc.). Originally collective (Dn 7), this figure received a properly individual meaning in certain currents of Judaism* contemporaneous with the New Testament. Derived from the apocalyptic* milieu, it was open enough for Jesus to be able to introduce into it the characteristics of the suffering ser-

vant* of YHWH (Mk 8:31, 9:12, 10:32ff.) borrowed from Is 53.

However, in an increasingly hostile context, Jesus appropriated this title of messiah shortly before his death and, on Palm Sunday (Mt 21:1–11 and par.) mimicked the oracle of Zechariah 9:9f. Ordered by the high priest to identify himself before the Sanhedrin, Jesus reverted to the title of “Son of Man” (Mt 26:63) instead of “Christ,” adding that he is the one whom “you will see . . . seated at the right hand of Power and coming on the clouds of heaven” (see Ps 110:1). By doing this he restored the original content to the title of messiah, distinguishing it from all deviant popular representations.

b) Primitive Christian Community. In the light of the Resurrection* the primitive church forthwith applied to the risen Jesus the title of Messiah, “Christ” (from the Greek *christos*), a term that was thereafter free of all ambiguity. Jesus is the true son of David (Mt 1:1; Lk 1:27, 2:4). At Pentecost, Peter declares: “God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified” (Acts 2:36). Moreover, the term loses its appellative quality and becomes a proper noun, a name* that designates the very person of Jesus (“Jesus-

Christ”), a name that draws to itself all the other qualifications. Jesus is recognized as the true Messiah because God “anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power” (Acts 10:38, see 4:26f.; Lk 4:16–22; see Is 61:1ff.).

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See also **Christ and Christology; City; Eschatology; History; Jesus, Historical; Kingdom of God; Priesthood; Promise; Prophet and Prophecy; Psalms; Scripture, Senses of; Servant of YHWH; Son of Man**

Metaphysics. *See* Being

Methodism

A worldwide Christian communion*, numbering 60 million members and followers in 1995, Methodism arose from the evangelical revival that occurred in England in the 18th century.

1. Origins and Institutional History

The principal founders of Methodism were the two Wesley brothers, John (1703–91) and Charles

(1707–88), ministers in the Anglican Church*. Both of them, particularly Charles, opposed the idea of schism*, but the missionary and pastoral structures they put in place made a separation from the Church of England more or less inevitable (Anglicanism*), itself crippled by the demographic consequences of the Industrial Revolution then under way. These structures included the joining together of the converted, or seek-

ers, into “societies,” “classes,” and “bands”; traveling preachers, some of them laypeople*, who met in an annual conference; prayer and preaching meetings, alongside parish worship; the building of chapels; and the establishing of charitable institutions. In fact separation from the Church of England first occurred in America, where in 1784 John Wesley had sent a number of ministers whom he had consecrated. In so doing he was effectively laying claim to the power of administering the sacrament of order (ordination/order*) in the capacity of a presbyter*-bishop: a power that he exercised in the urgent pastoral situation in the newly independent United States—in other words, outside the political jurisdiction* of the Crown and the canonical jurisdiction of the established church.

In the United States the superintendents-general received the title of bishop*, and the Christmas 1784 conference in Baltimore led to the creation of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Methodism spread rapidly, in line with the expansion toward the West. It adapted so well to the conditions of the place and time that it became the epitome of American churches, and it enjoyed a degree of cultural influence at the same time as it lost some of its critical detachment regarding the political and ideological developments in the country. In England Methodism developed more slowly. While it established itself in every region of the country (“I consider the whole world to be my parish,” John Wesley had said, *Works*, Jackson 1, 201), it remained a minority denomination, attracting mainly artisans, the middle class, and, as time went on, the professional classes. For a long time, by far the most important component of English Methodism (the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion) retained the Anglican form of the liturgy (John Wesley had passed on the principal offices of the *Prayer Book* with slight adaptations), especially for the celebration of the sacraments*: the Wesleyan movement was characterized from the outset by the revival of Holy Communion as a means of grace*. However, in reaction to the rise of a Roman-influenced Anglo-Catholicism, and also of a more confident “evangelicalism” within the Church of England, Methodism aligned itself more and more with the (other) free churches in Great Britain from the second half of the 19th century, while remaining itself autonomous.

In America as much as in England Methodism underwent internal schisms during the 19th century. In the United States “black” churches were created, of which three main ones are still flourishing: the African Methodist Episcopal (AME), the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ), and the Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME). Leaving aside the great division between the American North and South over slavery (for

the abolition of which John Wesley had already fought), disagreements between clergy and laity on the question of authority* were the usual cause. During the 20th century Methodism largely reunited: in the United States the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and the Protestant Methodist Church merged into the Methodist Church (1939), which in turn formed the United Methodist Church (1968) along with some communities of German-speaking origin. Since 1932 the Methodist Church of Great Britain has united the Wesleyan Methodist Church and a number of small communities that appeared during the 19th century. At the present time the United Methodist Church of the United States (8.5 million adult members, and an overall community of between 15 and 20 million people) and the Methodist Church of Great Britain (400,000 adult members, 1.2 million in total) are suffering from the general trend toward secularization*. Methodism is at its most vigorous in Africa and in some countries in Asia and Oceania, where its presence is the result of energetic mission* work in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Methodist churches also exist in central and northern Europe, where they were at first composed mainly of immigrants returning from the United States.

2. John Wesley, Spiritual Founder and Doctrinal Master

In the words of a Catholic theologian, Methodism is indebted to John Wesley “in the same way that, in the Catholic Church, a religious order or a spiritual family derives its spirit from its founder” (Frost 1980). According to a Catholic historian, in the development of Protestantism* Wesley’s Methodism represents a reaction analogous to Lutheran “solafideism” (Piette 1927). How then may one characterize the thought of this man, a handful of whose writings constitute the official doctrinal basis of the great majority of Methodist churches (the first four volumes of his *Sermons*, his *Notes on the New Testament*, and, for American Methodism, his abridgement of the *Articles of Religion* [24 instead of the 39 of Anglicanism] and the *General Rules of Methodist Societies*)?

a) *Catholicity of Sources.* By referring to himself as *homo unius libri*, “the man of a single book,” Wesley indicated his reliance on the Holy* Scriptures as a doctrinal source and criterion (see Article VI of the *Thirteen Articles*). He regarded the ecclesiastical writers, in particular those of the first three centuries, as the “most authentic commentators on the Scriptures, being at the same time the nearest to the source and singularly endowed with the same Spirit by which the whole

of Scripture was given” (*Works*, Jackson 10, 484). While he continued to quote from the most important of the later Fathers*, he had less confidence in the testimonies of the post-Constantinian Church, in view of the moral and practical corruption that had entered it by way of the empire. The Apostles*’ Creed, and that of Nicaea*-Constantinople*, provide the dogmatic* key to Wesley’s hermeneutics*. He was an heir of the Reformation in its English form (Articles, homilies, Prayer Books) and drew on English spiritual writers of the 17th and 18th centuries (Jeremy Taylor, Thomas Ken, Henry Scougal, William Law, Nathaniel Spinckes, Thomas Deacon). He encountered continental Protestantism by way of the pietist Moravian Brethren of Herrnhut, whom he met during his travels in America (1736–38). It was under their influence that he underwent his “evangelical conversion*” (see c below), though he held aloof from their quietist tendencies. On another front, Wesley rejected a number of “errors and superstitions” of Roman Catholicism* (he republished the Anglican bishop John Williams’s *A Roman Catechism faithfully drawn out of the writings of the Church of Rome, with a Reply thereto*) but included some medieval spiritual writers (*The Imitation of Christ*) and even some more recent ones (Pascal*, Fénelon, Madame Guyon, John of Ávila, Gregory Lopez, Molinos) in the “Christian Library” (1749–56) in 50 volumes that he produced for his ever more educated preachers and laypeople (Orcibal 1951).

b) Doctrinal Orthodoxy. Faced with the deism* and neo-Arianism* of some intellectual and even ecclesiastical circles of his time, Wesley held firm to the “Triune God” and his work of redemption. Rejecting excessive speculation on the mystery* of God*’s inner life, he affirmed the death* and the merits of the incarnate Christ* and the free action of the Holy Spirit as indispensable for leading the faithful to the Father by way of the Son (*Sermon 55, On the Trinity*), in expectation of the day when “there will be a deep, intimate and uninterrupted union with God; a constant communion with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ, through the Spirit; a continual rejoicing of the Three-One God, and of all creatures in him” (*Sermon 64, The New Creation*). Amid the prevailing latitudinarianism, Wesley insisted on the “essential doctrines,” while tolerating (no more) “those opinions which do not undermine the very root of Christianity” (*Works*, Jackson 8, 340).

c) Anthropological and Soteriological Focus. The optimism of grace*—a phrase E. G. Rupp uses concerning Wesley—occupies the middle ground between Calvinist pessimism and the Pelagianism* of which the Lutherans suspected the father of Methodism. Wesley

himself said that “our principal doctrines are three in number: repentance, faith*, and sanctity,” adding that they resembled “the porch of religion, its door, and religion itself” (*Works*, Jackson 8, 472). A modern English Methodist formula has summarized Wesley’s position under four headings:

- 1) Everyone needs redemption. Wesley’s most extensive theological treatise is devoted to original sin* (*Works*, Jackson 9, 196–464). The purpose of redemption is to restore human beings to the image of God, understood in a christological sense.
- 2) Everyone may be saved. In opposition to the doctrine of predestination, Wesley affirmed God’s desire that all might receive that salvation (1 Tm 2:5) for which Christ had paid the price. By virtue of Christ’s redemptive work, every person enjoyed “prevenient grace,” enabling each to respond freely in faith to the offer of the Gospel. The initial justification* was received by faith alone.
- 3) Everyone may know himself to be saved. Wesley describes his “evangelical conversion” (*Works*, Jackson 1, 103) in the following terms: “In the evening [of 24 May 1738], against my better judgement, I went to Aldersgate Street where a religious society was meeting. Luther*’s preface to the Epistle to the Romans was being read. At around a quarter to nine, whilst he was describing the change which God works in the heart by faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt that I had confidence in Christ, in Christ alone, for my salvation; and I was given an assurance that he had taken away my sins, yes *mine*, and that he had saved me, *me*, from the law of sin and death.” This classic text of Methodist spirituality mentions “assurance,” “a regular privilege of the faithful,” which is manifested as an expression of the Spirit of adoption (Rom 8:15). Against the doctrine of absolute perseverance, however, Wesley teaches that God’s promises* are valid (only) insofar as they are freely welcomed by faith.
- 4) Everyone may be saved fully (“to the uttermost”). Against the doctrine of *simul iustus et peccator* in the Lutheran sense of a permanent paradox, Wesley preached that sanctification was a real transformation that could lead from this world (in contradiction of Calvin*’s doctrine) to perfection. Without excluding the ignorance, weaknesses, and errors that still resulted from the Fall, this perfection consisted in a faultless love* of God and one’s neighbor. While good

works* alone did not merit salvation*, the believer would not be finally justified without these fruits of faith (2 Cor 5:10). (This is the social significance of sanctification as conceived by Wesley, which would inspire the involvement of English Methodists in trade unions, or that of American Methodists in the campaign for prohibition.)

d) *Ecumenical Openness.* Without playing down Wesley's criticisms of certain Catholic doctrines and practices, the pacific tone of his *Letter to a Roman Catholic*, written in Dublin in 1749 (*Works*, Jackson 10, 80–86), must be emphasized. Calling on the one Creator and Redeemer of all mankind, he sets out in particular the faith shared by Protestants and Catholics (by way of a discussion of the Creed of Nicaea and Constantinople), as well as their common spiritual and moral aspirations. On this basis he calls for mutual charity, prayer, and assistance in all matters that “lead to the Kingdom* of God.” In his *Sermon* 39 of 1750, entitled *Catholic Spirit* (*Works*, Jackson 5, 492–504), Wesley extends a hand to all those who, in terms of doctrine, worship, and morals, affirm at least “the first elements of Christ's Gospel” according to the Scriptures and offers them “unity in affection” even if “an entire external union” is prevented by differences of opinion, liturgical forms, or government*. (According to Wesley, the one “purpose of any ecclesiastical order” is to “lead souls* from Satan to God and to teach them to fear* and love him”; *Works*, Jackson 12, 80 Sq.)

e) *A Sung Faith.* Charles Wesley is the principal poet of Methodism, whereas John acted mainly as critic and publisher, although he did produce excellent translations of 30 or so German hymns. Together the two brothers provided Methodism, and to a lesser extent all English-speaking churches, with a huge wealth of hymns, rich in meaning, which mark the major feasts of the year, embellish the celebration of the Eucharist (the collection of 166 *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, 1745), and above all trace the way of the experience* of faith (*A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*, 1780).

3. Denominational Aspect of Methodism

Methodists do not like to consider themselves a “denomination” in the Lutheran or Reformed sense of the term. A. C. Outler (1991) describes them rather as an “abortive church,” an “evangelical order” in search of a “catholic environment.” The institutional realities do not permit an unqualified acceptance of this description—it must be acknowledged that there exist two

ways of viewing Methodism and of putting it into practice in the context of a disunited Christendom.

a) *American Trend.* Considering its independent constitution and its rapid expansion, Methodism in the United States quickly acquired the character of a church (church as confessional denomination), indeed of a multitudinist church in which freedom* of opinion favored theological (as well as liturgical) pluralism. In the cultural milieu of America this led to a reversal of Wesley's emphases: “from revelation* to reason*,” “from the sinful man to the moral man,” and “from free grace to free will” (Chiles 1965). Inasmuch as during the years 1970–90 the existence of a “Wesleyan quadrilateral” of sources or criteria for theology* was put forward, the progressives highlighted the epistemological importance of *reason* and above all of *experience* (sociopolitical and individual), while the orthodox camp emphasized the substance of the Scriptures and tradition*. As far as ecumenical strategy is concerned, the American approach has consisted in upholding a “reconciled diversity,” permitting the survival of denominations in a coexistence that is marked by cooperation, but also perhaps by healthy competition on the capitalist model.

b) *English Tendency.* As a minority denomination English Methodism has so far retained a more strictly Wesleyan identity, due above all, on the popular level, to its attachment to Wesley's hymns, and on the intellectual level to the devotion of its theologians to traditional biblical, historical, and theological disciplines. On the ecumenical front, successive generations of Methodist theologians have contributed to the “Faith and Order” movement, and Methodist churches of the English type have participated in the founding of churches* that have come together organically in various countries or regions (Southern India, 1947; Northern India, 1971; Australia, 1977). In 1969 and 1972 the conference of the Methodist Church of Great Britain approved a plan to reunite with the Church of England, though this came to nothing.

c) *Bilateral Dialogues.* Thanks to the World Methodist Council, comprising 70 member churches, Methodism has pursued, and continues to pursue, bilateral dialogues with the Catholic Church (since 1967: see in particular *The Apostolic Tradition* of 1991 and *The Word of Life: On Revelation and Faith* of 1996), the Lutheran World Federation (*The Church, Community of Grace*, 1984), the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (*Together in the Grace of God*, 1987), the Anglican Communion (*Sharing the Apostolic Communion*, 1996), and the Orthodox churches

(a document is in preparation under the direction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate*).

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GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

See also Anglicanism; Calvin, John; Calvinism; Ecumenism; Family, Confessional; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Pietism; Puritanism; Quietism

Methodist Churches. *See* Methodism

Millenarianism

a) *Origins.* In the strict sense of the term, *millenarianism* designates the belief in the Christian tradition according to which Christ* will return to earth with the just who have risen to reign in glory for 1,000 years. Universal resurrection* and judgment* will follow this thousand-year period, and then the end of the world will come, and the establishment of the reign of God*. This belief is based on a literal interpretation of Revelation 20:1–6.

In actual fact, the passage from Revelation is no more than a Christianized adaptation of a theme already present in Jewish apocalyptic* literature. Since the second century B.C. this literature had tended to speculate on duration, with a view to establishing the date of the coming of the Messiah*, as can be seen in the books of Daniel, Enoch, and Jubilees. In rabbinic debates, varying time spans were attributed to the reign of the Messiah. These ranged from 40 years, according to Rabbi Aqiba, to 1,000 years, according to Rabbi Eliezer ben Yose (see, in particular, *Pesiqta Rabbati* 1, 7; *Midrash Tanhuma*, section 'Egev, 7b; and *Midrash Tehillim* 90, §17; see also 4 *Esdras* 7:28, which mentions 400 years). The appearance of the millennium was most frequently based on Psalm 90:4: "For a thousand years in your sight are but as yesterday when it is past, or as a watch in the night." It would seem that the author of Revelation himself subscribed to this exegesis*.

Quite obviously, it is essentially through the Book of Revelation that the millenarian idea became widespread among Christian authors of the 2nd century A.D. One must emphasize that—with the notable exception of the Gnostic current—it was adopted by all the other Christian tendencies from the most orthodox to the most dissident (provided such a distinction had any relevance in the second century). However, it would seem that the birthplace of this idea can be situated in Asia Minor. It was, in fact, from this region, in the early second century, that Cerinthus (Eusebius, *HE* III, 28, 2) and Papias (*HE* III, 39, 12) were born. If we are to believe Irenaeus*, Papias transmitted details said to originate with the Lord about the 1,000-year reign, details that had considerable similarities with other elements of Jewish apocalyptic literature (compare Irenaeus's *Adv. Haer.* V, 33, 3 with 1 Enoch 10:19, 2 Baruch 29:5, etc.). Montanus also hailed from Asia

Minor; he was the initiator in 172 A.D. of the "new prophecy,*" which bears his name—Montanism*—but, in fact, Montanism is not characterized by any particular emphasis on millenarianism. In the *Epistle of Barnabas* 15:3–5, however, one can find the equivalence between one day and "1,000 years") and, above all, Justin, in his *Dialogue with Trypho* 80:4, mentioned this theme as a normal element of Christian belief. Justin writes: "For me, and for Christians of integral orthodoxy, for as long as they may be, it is clear that a resurrection of the flesh will occur for 1,000 years in a rebuilt, decorated, and expanded Jerusalem*, as has been affirmed by the prophets Ezekiel, Isaiah, and others."

In *Dialogue with Trypho* 81:3, Justin also refers to the equivalence between "one day" and "a thousand years," and in 81:4, he mentions the Book of Revelation.

b) *Developments and Debate up to the Time of Augustine.* While the second century represented the golden age of Christian millenarianism, later periods would gradually abandon this consensus. To be sure, the millenarian idea was still quite widely held until the fifth century. In the note he devoted to Papias (*De viris inlustribus* 18), Jerome referred, in this regard, to Apollinaris, Tertullian*, Victorinus, and Lactantius. And at the beginning of Book 18 of his commentary on *Isaiah*, he added Irenaeus to the list. Irenaeus had, in fact, adopted the teachings of Justin on that point for his own use (*Adv. Haer.* V, 28, 3; 36, 3). In Tertullian's opinion, Jerome was referring to a lost work, *De spe fidelium*, which Tertullian himself mentioned in support of his millenarianism (*Adv. Marc.* III, 24, 3–6). The case of Apollinaris of Laodicea seems more difficult to evaluate. Basil*, in fact, reproached him with having judaizing tendencies, which were not necessarily millenarian (*Ep.* 263, 4; 265, 2). Finally, while Jerome did, advisedly, refer to Victorinus of Pettau (*Scolia on Apocalypse.* 20) and Lactantius (*Inst. div.* VII, 22.24), he could have added Commodianus (*Instructiones* I, XLV, 9) and Methodius of Olympus (*Banquet* IX, 5) to his list. On the other hand, as the *De viris inlustribus* dated from 393, Jerome could not include a certain Hilarion, whose treatise dates from 397 (*De mundi duratione* 18), nor could he refer to Gaudentius of Brescia,

who was still millenarianist at the beginning of the fifth century (*Sermon* 10).

Alongside this first group of authors were others who were beginning to challenge the millenarian model, and it seems most likely that their protests were an integral part of the debate on the canonicity of the Book of Revelation. Eusebius of Caesarea mentioned the debate in writing about Dionysius of Alexandria (HE III, 28, 1–5; VII, 25, 1–8), as did Dionysius Bar-Salibi (a Syrian Monophysite from the 12th century) in writing about Hippolytus of Rome (*In Ap. Intr.*).

As for Origen*, he overcame the difficulty by developing a decidedly allegorical reading of Revelation, thus avoiding any expressions of doubt over the literal meaning (*De princ.* II, 11, 2–3; *Com. Mat.* XVII, 35; *Com. Ct.*, prol.). Following Origen's example, Augustine* would understand the 1,000 years of the reign of Christ as referring to the time of the church* (*Civ. Dei* XX, 7), while admitting that he himself had been drawn to millenarian-

ism (see *Sermon* 259, 2). One might say that millenarianism began to fade during the fifth century. From that time on the church would consciously settle into duration.

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See also Apocrypha; Apollinarianism; Apologists; Eschatology; Judeo-Christianity; Montanism

Ministry

A. Biblical Theology

a) Nature of the Problem and Principal Questions. In the beginning Jesus* addressed to the first disciples a call and a duty of service (Mt 4:21). But at what point did the disciples become ministers and their service a ministry? Was it with the institution of the Twelve; was it in the Galilean period or in the Judean period (which includes the Last Supper); was it with the appearances of the Risen One, or with the appointment of Matthias (Acts)? The mention of the "hundred and twenty" (Acts 1:15) suggests the community has a collegial role. In the Gospels* the vocabulary of ministries varies. For example, Matthew 9 and 10 use "disciples," "the Twelve," and "twelve apostles*."

The variety of titles denotes an evolution, between Jerusalem* and Rome*, starting from a specifically apostolic ministry and moving toward an "ecclesial" (E) ministry and more institutional forms: 1) in Jerusalem, the Twelve (who are "Hebrews"), the seven ("Hellenists": E), then come prophets, "elders" (*presbyteroi*: E), teachers (rabbi); 2) in Caesarea, an evangelist (Philip): his daughters prophesy; in Joppa, the

widows (Tabitha); 3) in Antioch, a pastoral triad in hierarchical form: apostle + prophet (E) + teacher (E); 4) in Ephesus, an evangelist (Timothy), the *episcopi* (E) (Acts); 5) in Corinth, the same triad as in Antioch; *diakonos* emerges (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians); *proïstamenos*, "president" (see Romans); 6) in Rome, *hègoumenos* "leader" (Hebrews).

The evolution and stabilization of ministries is explained by: 1) the situation of the Church* of Jerusalem from Pentecost to the Jewish War; 2) the growth of the church (from 60,000 c. 60 A.D. to 240,000 c. 80 A.D., a quarter of them in the province of Asia); 3) the disappearance of the apostles and of traveling ministers; and 4) the role of the Church of Rome, which replaced that of Jerusalem. A close analysis reveals several developments. The term "presbyter*" was gradually extended to all the communities. In Ephesus, *episcopus*, a term derived from civil administration, gradually achieved dominance (the function was conferred by a laying* on of hands according to 1 Tm 4:14, 5:22; 2 Tm 1:6; see Acts 6:6 for deacons*).

With nuances and variations, we can note the contrasts: charism vs. institution; traveling vs. localization with universality; and temporary vs. permanent ministries.

b) Before Easter. The mention of Judas as “one of the Twelve” argues for a pre-Easter origin of the Twelve. In Matthew, 11 times; Mark, 14 times; Luke, 13 times; John, 12 times; Acts, two times; they are called disciples and then apostles (12 men plus three priests; differing from the version of Qumran). The closeness of the Twelve to Jesus even before Easter is the prototype of the relationship of Jesus to the people* of God. Their being sent on a mission* had a universal apostolic meaning; Jesus acts through his apostles and hence through the whole Church. “Eleven” (Matthew; Acts), used after the defection of Judas, confirms the existence of the Twelve. The term “Twelve” is ancient, and that of apostle is posterior to it.

The ministry of the Twelve differs from the Jewish priesthood*: it is not hereditary, and there are no degrees of purity*, no canonical age, and no judgment of their colleagues (Mt 7:1–5). Seven *logia* attribute to Jesus the rejection of the institution of a hierarchy between them—, for example, Mark 9:35: “if anyone would be first, he must be last of all and servant of all.” According to these *logia* the community gathered around Jesus is not to possess a structure of power analogous to that of the surrounding society (whether civil, priestly, or that of Qumran).

What role was played by the trio of Peter*, James, and John? The personal role of Peter, who received the first appearance of the Risen One (Lk 24:34), is already attested in Paul (1 Cor 15:5). The primacy claimed by James and John shows the absence of a hierarchy by rights (Mk 10:35–45) or of a *mebaqqér* (supervisor) of the Qumran type.

c) Jewish and Christian Church of Jerusalem (Acts 1–7): Hierarchy and/or Collegiality? With a dual allegiance, the apostles frequented the temple daily, and many priests serving in it became followers of Jesus. The integration of Matthias into the now institutional apostleship of the Twelve serves to bring out the bond with the Risen One, the initiative of Peter, the collegiality* of the group, the action of the Holy* Spirit, and recognition by the one hundred and twenty. According to Acts, Peter and John jointly exercise a special authority*. Various collegial authorities may be distinguished: diarchic (Peter and John), oligarchic (the “Twelve,” the seven, the elders), democratic (the community: the hundred and twenty). The Judeo-Christian Hebrews practice communal ownership. The Greeks, without this type of economic organization,

are more open to female participation in ministries (Acts 21:9).

d) In Corinth. Paul moved from the Semitic world to the Hellenistic (all the provinces of Anatolia), Greek, and Roman worlds. Paul had 162 collaborators (among them 60 women). Their classification is beyond the scope of the present article.

The influence of the surrounding society is clear in Corinth. Small religious groups, Christian *thiases*, sprang up spontaneously, each a leader at its head: Paul, Apollos, Cephas, Christ (1 Cor 1:12). They emphasized personal performance; Paul rejected their ministerial fluidity.

In place of the triad of Corinthian ministries—prophecy in the Greek manner, speaking in tongues, Greek wisdom*—Paul instituted the three pastoral ministries of the apostolic triad: apostle, prophet, teacher (1 Cor 12:28). He knew the value of this, for he was himself apostle, prophet, and teacher.

To designate the ministries (G. Friedrich), Paul does not use the vocabulary current in the Greek world. Eight terms are excluded: *timè*, duty; *doxa*, dignity; *telos*, power of decision; *arkhè*, power; *bathmos*, rank; *topos*, position; *taxis*, assigned place; and finally *leitourgia* in the sense of priestly office (but see 2 Cor 9:12, and the verbal form in Rom 15:27). Hence, the ministry is neither a position of honor nor a post of authority, nor an institution with several grades, nor a priestly organization. In addition, Paul never uses the word “elder” (*presbuteros*), common in the Church of Jerusalem and in the synagogues.

Paul retains five words for the ecclesial ministry: 1) *oikonomia*, “administration” or “management,” designates duty; 2) *exousia*, “power conferred for the building up of the community”; 3) *kharis*, “grace*,” designates Paul’s own apostleship, entrusted to a sinner; 4) *kharisma*, “gift for a service with a view to the common good,” is almost unknown in the Old Testament and in the speech of the time; eliminates *pneumatikon*, related to inspiration; 5) *diakonia*, which Paul adopts in Corinth, designates service in the broadest sense and not a precise ministry: “gift of service” in Romans 12; “ministry of the apostle” in 2 Corinthians and Romans. The word may be qualified: “of the spirit”; “of justice*”; “of reconciliation” (2 Cor). In Romans 12 *diakonia* is associated with the gifts of teaching (*didaskalia*), of exhorting (*paraklèsis*), of presiding (*proïstamentos*), and of exercising mercy (*eleôn*). The distinction between temporary gifts and instituted permanent ministries has already emerged.

e) Marriage, Widowhood, or Celibacy of the Minister. Just one passage speaks of celibacy (Mt 19:12), and

this not in relation to ministry. Only Luke mentions giving up a wife to follow Jesus (Lk 14:26, 18:29). The call of Jesus involves giving up one's home, one's livelihood, and one's possessions: "leaving all" (Lk 5:11, 5:28, 18:22). At the time of their call nothing is said of the possible separation of the disciples from their wives. Peter is married (Mk 1:30: his mother-in-law), and the other disciples may also have been. According to 1 Corinthians 9:5 all the first apostles except Paul "take along a believing wife." Barnabas the Levite must be or must have been married.

Paul arrives in Corinth without a wife and makes of his situation "outside marriage*" a gift of God (1 Cor 7:7ff.). He does not count himself among the celibates, or "virgins" (1 Cor 7:25), but among those outside marriage, *agamoi* (1 Cor 7:8, and vv. 11, 32, 34), having been married, but married no longer. Is he a widower? The fact that he cites his example next to that of widows might suggest as much. If his wife had abandoned him after his conversion* to Christ*, the "Pauline privilege" (1 Cor 7:12ff.) would be the application to others of his personal case. Without a wife, Paul is more available and can live on little. If Barnabas is also a widower, the two apostles are in the same situation.

f) Minister's Means of Existence. Only those of Paul are known to us. He is a maker of heavy cloth (sails, tents, and the like), of the same craft as Priscilla and Aquila (Acts 18:3). In Miletus he reminds the elders of the Church of Ephesus of his refusal to be a burden, of his unselfishness (Acts 20:33ff.; see 1 Thes 2:9). In 1 Corinthians 9:1–18 Paul explains why he does not apply to himself the rule that comes from the Lord: "The Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel" (9:14; see Mt 10:10; Lk 10:7), although he has the right to do so (1 Cor 9:6.12).

From 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, and Philippians, it emerges that: 1) the minister has the right to be provided for where he proclaims the gospel; 2) he may also receive subsidies from a church other than the one in which he is working (Phil 4:10–20); 3) he may refuse any "salary"; 4) the respective situations of Silvanus, Timothy, and Titus are not known in detail (2 Cor 1:16ff.). Manual labor, normal for a Jew, was not normal for a free Greek man. And by refusing any salary, Paul risked the exercise of a ministry that was not recognized (see Simon Magus against Peter in Acts 8:18–24).

g) Participation of Women in the Ministry. Does the rule of equality of Galatians 3:28 apply to the ministry? In 1 Corinthians 7, Paul mentions marriage, celibacy, separation, or widowhood, without alluding to ministry, for ministry does not depend on any of them (the celibacy envisaged in verses 25–35 does not apply to ministry). Greek society in Corinth was more favorable to a ministry of women (unmarried?) than Palestinian society. But the pagan context (priestesses, bacchantes) made the church attentive to 1) dress at worship (1 Cor 11:5); 2) restrictions already applicable to men; and 3) ecstatic experiences (1 Cor 14:34f.). The case of the couple of Priscilla and Aquila (1 Cor 16:19 ...) does not make it possible to determine whether there is a ministry for a married woman whose husband has no ministry. 1 Timothy 5 articulates the conditions for the ministry of widows (60 years old, married only once, enrolled in the church). We do not know whether Lydia (Acts) and Phoebe (Romans) were widows.

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MAURICE CARREZ

See also Apostle; Authority; Bishop; Church; Deacon; Deaconesses; Government, Church; Hierarchy; Presbyter/Priest; Priesthood; Structures, Ecclesial; Woman

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

1. Ministry: Singular or Plural?

The New Testament offers the picture of a plurality of ministries that, with adjustments, was to persist through the first five centuries and even into the 13th, in spite of a strong tendency to emphasize the clerical and the priestly. From that time on, the ordained ministry was concentrated in the figure of the priest*, the diaconate having become a temporary order*, and the title of bishop a dignity associated with powers superior to those of priests; and if there were other ministries, they participated in or supplemented those mentioned. In Reformation churches we observe the same concentration on the ministry—which became the only one—of the pastor*; references to universal priesthood did not recover their pertinence until the revolutions of 1848. With doctrinal nuances, and at different rates, the contemporary period in both Catholicism* and Protestantism* has been characterized by a rediscovery of New Testament ecclesiology*: the people* of God (N.A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes*, Oslo, 1941); Christian fraternity (J. Ratzinger, *DSp* 5, 1141–67); the priesthood of the faithful (P. Dabin, *Le sacerdoce royal des fidèles dans les livres saints*, 1941; *Le sacerdoce royal dans la tradition ancienne et moderne*, 1950); the diversity of gifts and the laity* (Y. Congar, *Jalons pour une théologie du laïc*, 1953; H. Krämer, *Theology of the Laity*); coresponsibility. These rediscoveries (also associated with egalitarian and functionalist impulses) have enriched the search for a rearticulation of the specific ministry of pastors with the plurality of other services and ministries.

2. Ministry and Service

a) Concepts. In the church* no one is exempt from serving. Every ministry must be a service if it is not to be distorted. But is all Christian service ministerial? Theology* written in German, which distinguishes *Amt* (ordained ministry) from *Dienst* (service), has more difficulty with this assertion than theology written in Romance languages or in English, where the term “ministry” is generic (ordained or not).

By entitling a report “All responsible for the Church? The presbyteral ministry in an entirely ministerial Church,” the plenary Assembly of the Bishops of France (1973) wished to articulate the responsibility of all in the diversity of their ministries, while not however making the presbyteral ministry a simple service with no basis other than empirical necessity for the

church to distribute the services necessary for its life. Indeed, being assigned a role in the church, even when ordination is associated with a choice, does not derive solely from the service rendered by the one who agrees to preside, but expresses structurally and symbolically (in an order that is not that of simple utility) the fact that the word and the sacraments* do not come to us from ourselves.

b) Practice. Since the 1970s, ministries without ordination have proliferated. Very few lectors or acolytes have been commissioned, a path open to men alone by *Ministeria Quaedam* in 1973. On the other hand, many Christian men and women are catechists, liturgical leaders, leaders of youth groups, and hospital and prison chaplains. Further, in a situation of a dearth of priests, and in virtue of the *Code of Canon Law*, can. 517, §2, bishops* also entrust a “participation in the exercise of the pastoral duties of a parish to a deacon*, another person who is not a priest, or a community of people.” Final responsibility, in this case, lies of course with a “regulating priest, invested with the powers of a priest.” But one might ask whether the ecclesologically important distinction between ordained and nonordained ministry can thereby be preserved, especially in the long term. There are questions along these lines in *Christefideles laïci* of John Paul II (1989), no. 23; B. Sesboué, *N'ayez pas peur* (1996).

3. Ministry and Representation of Christ

According to the Reformation, the ministry instituted by God is assigned a certain role in the church: with the gospel that it preaches and the sacraments that it celebrates, it is a means of giving the gift of the Holy Spirit and faith* (CA 5). Protestantism, on the other hand, is classically opposed to a certain number of formulations, frequent in Catholic literature without actually having become dogma, that seem to obscure the uniqueness of the ministry of Christ*.

The priest is thus not a *mediator* between God and man, in the sense in which Christ is a mediator, and he adds nothing to the mediation of Christ. He can be a mediator only in an instrumental sense, in the acts of his ministry, as Calvin, echoing CA 5, says in the *Institution*: “God does his work through them, just as a worker uses a tool” (IV. 3. 1). The expression *alter Christus* has the same meaning but is used no more than *mediator* by Vatican II because it leads to confusion. As for the formula *in persona Christi* (nine uses in Vatican II), it denotes the attribution to Christ of cer-

tain acts accomplished by the priest in accordance with his ministry, and these acts must in addition be situated in the context of the invocation of the Holy Spirit (epiclesis*). But taken the wrong way, this formula might seem to favor a certain isolation of the action of priests from the action of the church, and suggest that there might be priests who are priests in and for themselves, and who are, moreover, situated above the church. Indeed, the link between ministry and church poses several problems.

4. *Articulation between the Ministry and the Church*

Vatican II's ecclesiology of communion* ("central and fundamental concept of the council documents," according to the final report of the extraordinary synod* of 1985) might simultaneously require and facilitate a better link between ordained ministries and the church.

a) *"Absolute Ordinations."* A certain number of bishops are legitimately ordained without being assigned to a church (can. 376). For Protestant theology an apostolic* succession thus detached from local churches is too individualized or too abstractly collegial to be credible. An analogous question arises with respect to priests, for whom installation in a diocese is only one possibility among others (can. 266). Almost unknown in Orthodoxy*, these practices are the symptom of a bond that is too weak between ministry and church.

b) *Hierarchical Interpretation of Ministries.* In Vatican II and in the 1983 *CIC*, the pope and the bishops continue to receive the name "hierarchy." This vocabulary remains suspect to Protestantism because it seems to indicate a plenitude of power such that "hierarchical" decisions would have no need to be accepted by the faithful, that it would extend to the temporal realm (indirect power), and, moreover, that it could impose, on pain of sin*, obligations in domains in which the gospel established liberty* for the Christian (see rejection of fasts, Lenten diets, monastic vows, and priestly celibacy by CA 27 and 28). Melancthon, for example, formally rejects a hierarchy understood in these terms: "Our adversaries wish the Church to be defined as an external monarchy whose supremacy is extended over the entire world and in which the Roman pontiff must have an unlimited power that no one has the right to discuss or to judge (*anupeuthunon*); he can at will establish articles of faith...promulgate laws... But for us, in the Church as it was defined by Christ, we must not apply to pontiffs (*non est transferendum ad pontifices*) what is said of the Church as such" (*Apology VII–VIII*).

Dispelling the misunderstanding of an identification of the church with its hierarchy is easier since Vatican II has reinvigorated the equal dignity of all Christians

(LG 32) and their active participation in the liturgy* (SC 14), made presbyteral councils obligatory (PO 7), and recommended pastoral councils (CD 27). The council also wished to give new life to plenary councils and diocesan synods in which laypeople might hold a majority (CD 26), and in which "all questions proposed [might] be submitted to free discussion" (CIC can. 465). There is thus taking shape in Catholic ecclesiology a greater integration of personal, collegial, and synodal authority. The concept of hierarchy must, however, be preserved in order to express the legitimate capacity of bishops to make decisions that commit the faithful; as, for example, in councils.

5. *The Person of Ministers and the Object of the Ministry*

Dogmatically, the content of the ministry ought to have authority over the person of the minister. Protestant theologians (e.g., Persson 1961) nevertheless think that in Catholicism the person of the minister has authority over the object of the ministry—for example, in the case of the magisterium*, preaching*, and the Eucharist*. This unsatisfactory balance also appears when, in a situation of a dearth of priests, the conditions requisite for acceding to the ministry (E. Schillebeeckx, *Plea for the People of God*) seem to contradict the right of the faithful to the word* of God and the sacraments (CIC can. 213).

a) *Vocation to the Ministry: System of Candidacy or of Consent?* In the early church the vocation to the ministry, considered as coming from God, coincided with the church's choice. The current system of candidacy was unknown, and priests and bishops were legitimately ordained against their will (Congar 1966). In deciding a famous controversy between Branchereau and Lahitton, Pius X covered the objective conception of the latter with his authority: "What is called 'priestly vocation' consists not at all, at least necessarily and as a general rule, of a certain interior attraction on the part of the subject, or of invitations by the Holy Spirit to embrace the ecclesiastical state" (AAS 4. 1912. 485). However, 20 years later the Congregation of the Sacraments required of every ordinand that he swear that he "freely desires (ordination), experiences and feels that he is truly called by God" (AAS 22, 1931, 127). Current vocabulary ("have a vocation," "live one's priesthood"), like the vocabulary of the *CIC*, which regularly designates ordinands as candidates, thus evidences what is hardly a traditional—neither medieval nor especially modern—subjectivization of the vocation for the ordained ministry. And this subjectivization has brought about a system of volunteering that makes it more difficult for episcopal authority to bring together pastoral needs and competent people, which would

more easily be possible through a system that involved a call from the church and a consent to that call.

b) Personal Status of Ministers. The personal status of ministers comes only indirectly under the heading of faith. For example, Vatican II states: “Celibacy was imposed by a law of the Latin Church. . . . it is not required by the nature of the priesthood” (*PO* 16). In the case of a reexamination of this status, two theological criteria would need to be taken into account: the pastoral good of the church, superior to the status of individuals, and the correlation between church and ministry, which makes it possible to think that a universal decree would not necessarily bear spiritual fruit. Modifying or maintaining a custom that has been so highly valued would also require the spiritual involvement of the churches concerned. The question of whether Christian women can be called to the ordained ministry, novel in its present form, is more complex (woman*). Permanence of the person in the ministry is not to be confused with the permanence of the effects of ordination, as expressed through the theology of the indelible character (Council of Trent*, sess. VII, can. 9 [*COD* 685, 7–9]). Here too the object of the ministry provides a criterion for the persons: just as one “does not make oneself a priest,” one ought not to decide by oneself to leave the ministry. The conjunction between the needs of the service of the gospel and the aptitudes of the person (his faith, his health, his age) will be decisive in the matter (the *CIC* [can. 401 and 538] ordinarily provides for the resignation of ordained ministers at the age of 75).

6. Ecumenical Perspectives

Long thought to be insoluble, the question of the ministry has recently undergone a clarification.

a) Diverging Perspectives. Catholics and the Orthodox do not have the same initial doctrinal emphases as Protestants. In Protestantism the ministry is a secondary preoccupation. Even if it is a part of the *esse* of the church, as implicit in the proclamation of the Word and the celebration of the sacraments, its forms and its modes of exercise are part only of its *bene esse*. Lutheran bishops, for example, are not always ordained bishops and do not always have that title. Reformed churches, for their part, ordinarily exercise the *episcopè* collectively. Almost everywhere, the ministry is linked to a synodal form of government. Ordination is not a sacrament, and the diaconate is not governed by a sacrament; the emphasis is placed on the ministry of the Word and on administrative tasks, and all “sacerdotalization.” (The Anglicans have a different position on each of these points.)

In the Catholic and Orthodox churches, on the other hand, ministers are recognized to have strong personal

authority. They play a decisive role in the communion among local churches and in the expression of the faith. Linked to that of the apostles*, their ministry is also a priestly ministry.

b) Convergences. These divergent doctrinal emphases could, however, be brought into unity, on the condition that the churches take more account of their actual practices and less of the theoretical explanations they offer for them. For example, no church exists without a regulated supervision of its liturgical life and without continuous leadership: ministers are called, commissioned, and ordained according to rules established by other ministers. Ministry includes preaching, teaching, presiding over the life of the church, and representing it to the outside world. We can see everywhere the existence of an *episcopè*: the right of visitation, vigilance over doctrine and over the call to the ministry, participation in ordinations, and the like. The “Faith and Constitution” Commission of the COE has developed a document (*Baptism, Eucharist, Ministries—BEM*, “Lima Document”) that could be fruitful for Catholics and Protestants. Catholicism could learn from it how to supplement its highly personalized practice of the ministry through collegial and synodal bodies; and the Protestant churches could accept a greater personalization of the episcopacy while not abandoning their synodal structures.

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See also Baptism; Bishop; Church; Deacon; Deaconesses; Ecumenism; Hierarchy; Ordination/Order; Synod; Woman

Minucius Felix. *See Apologists*

Miracle

A. Biblical Theology

I. Vocabulary

There is no equivalent in either Hebrew or biblical Greek for the word “miracle,” understood as denoting an exception to the laws of nature* that is attributed to divine agency because it is otherwise unexplainable. The religious experience in the presence of a miracle outweighs its element of interrupting ordinary causality (*see* Bultmann [1926], *Jesus*). The universality of physical laws is no longer observed.

The Hebrew *’ôṭ* (78 times), “sign” (Septuagint *sèmeion*) and *môfêṭ* (36 times), “prodigal” (Septuagint *teras*) are often associated (18 times): a miracle is a message; *môfêṭ*, alone, can also signify “omen” (Ez 12:6–11). One will find *nifelâ’ôṭ* (rare in the singular), “wonders” (Septuagint *thaumasia*) or the verb *pl’*, “to make wonders”; *nôrâ’ôṭ* (44 times), “fearsome actions”; *gevoûrôt*, “exploits;” *ma’asêh*[AuQ7] (Septuagint *ergon*), “action,” or “work,” an encompassing term; *paradoxon* (Wis 5:2, 19:5; in the superlative: 16, 17), “extraordinary.” The synoptic Gospels prefer *dunamis* for the miracles of Jesus*, while John favors *sèmeion* (27 times), or *ergon*.

II. Old Testament

1. Diversity of Miracles

A miracle does not necessarily come from God* (Dt 13:2ff.). Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh surpass his magicians only after a long competition (Ex 7–8). Owing to their proximity within the main current of tradition, certain miracles can be grouped together. Miracles of the Moses cycle belong to the very heart of the Torah, at the point where tradition is transmitted: didactic texts (Dt 4:34, 7:19, 29:2, 34:11), catechesis* for the son (Ex 13:14; Dt 6:22; Ps 44:2, 78:1–7, 78:43,

105:5, 105:27) narrative “credo” of Dt 26:5–9 (*see* Jos 24:5). In the case of the miracle of Joshua (“Sun, stand still!”: Jos 10:12b), there is no recurring motif. The cycle of Elijah and Elisha illustrates the prophetic tradition: cosmic signs (1 Kgs 18:19–46), the gift of food (1 Kgs 17:8–16; 2 Kgs 4:1–7, 4:42ff.), the healing of a pagan (2 Kgs 5), the dead brought back to life (1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 4:18–37), and so on. But there are no miracles attributed to the prophets* of the eighth century (except in Is 38:1–8; 2 Kgs 20:1–11) or their successors.

2. Changes in Literary Form

In the myth* of origin the irruption effect that belongs to miracles does not exist: the improbable, briefly touched upon, is continuous (Gn 2–3; *see* Mt 4:1–11, Jesus in the desert) and is not surprising. Comical flavor and naïveté color *local traditions* (a corpse brought back to life after having been quickly thrown in Elisha’s tomb: 2 Kgs 13:20f.). Late legends are fantastical, detailed, and artificial in character (2 Macc 2:1–6, 3:24–34; Dn 3). On the other hand, there was nothing miraculous in either the long story of David and of Solomon, or even in the story of Joseph, however literary this may be otherwise (Gn 36–50).

3. New Interpretations

a) Change in Scale. The Red Sea parts without the help of the natural forces that were mentioned in Exodus 14:21 and 14:25: Israel* walks between two liquid walls (Ex 14:16, 14:22f., 14:29). The writer’s intention is to highlight God’s act of separation in Genesis 1:6–10: the savior thus presents himself as the Creator. The phenomenon of the manna is presented with many nuances: miraculous (Ex 16:26) or rather enigmatic

(Ex 16:15), natural (color, shape, consistency, taste: Ex 16:14, 16:31; preparation: Nm 11:8). According to Exodus 16:14, manna is discovered; it “falls” according to Numbers 11:9; it becomes “bread from heaven” in Psalm 105:40 (embedded in the writing of the miracle of Joshua: Jos 10:10–14).

b) Interiorization. Israel had to overcome its fear of death to cross the Red Sea (Ex 14:13f., unknown source). In order for the Jordan river to part, the bearers of the ark would have had to dare to put “the soles of the feet” (Jos 3:13) in it.

c) Rationalization. The Hellenistic period saw the simultaneous rise of a specifically apocalyptic* form of the fabulous and a new interest in the laws of physics, particularly with respect to medicine (terminology of 2 Macc 7:22b; Moses and the pharmacist: Sir 38:5; Solomon: Wis 7:20c). Song of Songs records the miracles of Exodus (plagues, crossing of the sea, manna) by recombining the same cosmic elements.

4. Disappearance of the Miracle

a) Interruption. Lamentations rise toward God: marvels are distant (Ps 74:11f., 77:11, 80:3–17, 89:50, 143:5); they belong to former days (Ps 44:2, 78:3f.; Is 51:9; Mi 7:14), to the time of the Fathers. This schema became a common concept: Judges 6:13 and 15:18 (for rabbinical literature: Hruby 1977). Deuteronomy indicates the distance between the time of the Fathers and the present time (5:3, 29:13f.). What is left of the miraculous? The relics* kept with the ark (manna: Ex 16:33f.; Aaron’s staff: Nm 17:25) have disappeared. In the second century B.C. God hands over to martyrdom those who obey his law (1 Macc 2:38; 2 Macc 7). The theme of Wisdom 2:10–20 concerns the righteous possibly being killed without God intervening.

b) Series. Miracles “are lightning” (Pascal*), but they open a course of closely linked events. The crossing of the desert is interpreted as an itinerary punctuated by miracles (Ex 15:23–26, 16:1–4, 17:2–7; Ps 78; see Dt 6:16). Its disappearance turns a miracle into a test. It leads either to a deepening of faith* or to insatiable demands for proof, an increase in challenges: Israel in the desert “tempts” God (*nâsâh*, intensive) (temptation*). A request of God for a sign is not necessarily an occasion for divine anger (Jgs 6:17, 6:36–40; 2 Kgs 20:8; Is 7:1). But when the Israelites put God “to the test ten times” (Nm 14:22), God reveals that to test him is the opposite of “believing” (Ps 78; Nm 20:12). Each miracle only exacerbates the thirst to see God act (Ex 17:2–7) without satisfying it. For Wisdom

2:17–20, this inclination goes as far as planning to kill the righteous to “see if” God will act (Wis 1:2, 2:22c). But God will act only in secret (Wis 2:22a), a secrecy that is all the more profound when the act is decisive.

III. Miracles of Jesus

1. Continuity

a) Confirmation of the Signs. In Matthew 11:2–6, miracles are called “the works of Christ* (the Messiah*)” by the evangelist, and Jesus himself borrows from Isaiah to describe them (Mt 11:5): healing the blind (Is 42:18); the lame (Is 35:6); the deaf and blind (Is 29:18, 35:5, 42:18); the dead raised (Is 26:19), all this inaugurated by the announcement made to the poor (Is 61:1 Septuagint). The exorcisms* in Matthew 12:28 prove that the Kingdom* that was prophesied has come. The pairing “signs and wonders” (also occur in the reverse order) that evokes the miracles of the tradition* (see above, II, 1) appears in Acts 2:19, 7:36, 2:22, 6:8, 4:30, and 5:12 (*sèmeia kai dunameis* in 8:13). The expression, when it is used in Romans 15:19 and 2 Corinthians 12:12, serves to authenticate Paul’s credentials as an apostle*.

b) Repetition of Schemas. John 6:31f. (bread/manna) refers to Moses (see the “desert” in Mk 6:31). And Jesus, who subjugates the winds and the sea (Mk 4:41), probably also refers to him (Ex 14:16, 14:21, 14:26f.). More than one story about the miracles of Jesus and his apostles refers, through certain details, to the miracles of Elijah and Elisha (the raising of the widow’s son: Lk 7:11; see 1 Kgs 17:17–24; and of Jairus’s daughter: Lk 8:42; see 1 Kgs 17:21; of Tabitha: Acts 9:36–42; see 2 Kgs 4:8–37). Even the miracle of the loaves in Matthew 14:13–21 and 15:32–38 is a copy of 2 Kgs 4:42ff.

2. Specific Characteristics

a) Types of Miracles. Certain miracles (known as “epiphanies”: Cana, the loaves, walking on water, the miraculous catch of fish) are meant to reveal who Jesus is. As a healer (healing*), Jesus can find himself before large groups of sick people, especially in Matthew 8:16f., 9:36, 12:15, and 15:30f. The goal is social and collective. Jesus saves from sickness (15 times) or death (three times). He delivers the possessed (eight times), who are sometimes also sick (three times). In the final analysis, these acts have several dimensions: to save, or even to confirm a truth (“apothegm” [Bultmann] illustrated by healing work in Mk 2:1–12, after the pardon, 3:1–6; Sabbath* by an anecdotal marvel in

Mt 17:24–27: temple* tax.). As in the past, discernment was needed: Jesus *and* his adversaries drive out demons* (Mt 12:27; par. Lk 11:19). Jesus will condemn those who have performed miracles in his name (Mt 7:22f.). There are some counterfeits (Acts 8:9–13, 13:8).

b) Meaning. A miracle is always a sign, linked to teaching in Matthew 4:23 and 9:35; Mark 1:21, 1:27, and 6:34–44; and Luke 5:17, 6:6, and 13:10. The accounts of the principal miracles do not reveal all their symbolic impact, hidden in Mark (Lamarche 1977), and expounded upon in John. They partake of a truth* that will be revealed only later on. It should be noted that Jesus does not perform any miracles to protect himself from death and that, in the scheme of things, it does not matter if there are no miracles. Nevertheless, the miracle of the loaves does not belong to this category: a crowd, which could give Jesus political power, benefits from it (Jn 6:15).

3. New Characteristics

a) Main Features. The fact that Jesus' miracle stories have roots in the Old Testament does not lessen their originality. 1) They focus on the human body and compassion (reference to the Servant in Mt 8:16f., 9:36, 12:15). 2) Though they are not entirely free of embellishments, their sweep is reduced. We are far from the great deeds of Moses. Indeed the parallel and contrast between the "desert" of Galilee and that of Exodus, between the bread from the sky and the basket that a child brings, are part of the message. 3) The effect of communicative intensity, however, increases correspondingly: the eyes, the ears, the mouth are healed by the eyes, the ears, the mouth; the miracle worker transfers his power to the disciples; the spectators praise God. 4) The great number of demons concretizes the apocalyptic atmosphere in everyday life. 5) Jesus more than once resists performing miracles (Mk 8:11f., 9:19; Jn 4:48) and forbids their being publicized (Mk 1:34, 1:44, 5:43; Lk 8:56; Mk 7:36, 8:26; Mt 9:30).

b) Overall Narrative Movement. The beginning and end of the story shed light on Jesus' reserve. The initial appearance of the tempter provides a key to the miracles. On the one hand it establishes a link to the Exodus (Mk 1:13: "desert"; Mt and Lk: dialogue consisting of verses from Deuteronomy). In particular, Satan tempts Jesus to "test God," as Israel had done in the past (*see above*, II, 4, *b*) so that his status as "Son of God" cannot be contested by anyone (filiality) (Mt 4:16; Lk 4:12; Dt 6:16). On the other hand, Luke 4:13b

anticipates Calvary, where Jesus' miracles will be turned against him: "He saved others; he cannot save himself" (Mk 15:31; *see* "Physician, heal yourself" in Lk 4:23). The challenge will parallel Satan's (Mk 15:31): a miracle "that we may see and believe" (Mk 15:32). Matthew 27:40—"If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross!"—adopts Matthew 4:3, 4:6 words. However, the very absence of a sign has, in a certain way, become a sign: the centurion believes.

c) Miracles, Signs, Parables. For faith*, each miracle signifies more than it shows. Either the series of miracles becomes progressively more invisible or the cross invalidates the series of miracles: it can only go forward or backward. The miracles are a risky way of teaching, but an unavoidable risk. Hence the strongly underlined parallel between miracle and parable* (Mk 4:11f.: "for those outside everything is in parables"; 8:18: the blind and deaf before miracles). John clarifies the transition from the visible to the invisible when he interprets a healing as a figure of the Resurrection* (5:21), or interprets the miracle of the loaves as a figure of eternal life (Jn 6:27). His series of seven "signs" (2:1–11, 4:46–54, 5:1–15, 6:1–15, 6:16–21, 9, 11) represents an escalation. The signs, for him, create faith (Jn 2:11, 6:14, 11:42, 11:45), but this faith is not always solid (Jn 12:42f.). The cumulative effect leads to the miracle of the raising of Lazarus (perhaps a later elaboration), which triggers the murderous plan of the high priest (Jn 11:49–53; characteristic without historical impact, *see* Brown 1966). The real outcome is the summary of John 12:37–41, which firmly connects the reception given to signs with that given to parables: John 12:40 here transposes the quotation in Isaiah 6:9, used by Mark 4:12.

The "sign of Jonah" announced to "an evil and adulterous generation" (Mt 12:39), when all signs (Mk 8:12) were denied to it, could not be the Resurrection, which is invisible to nonbelievers. It could only be this sign that they could receive from the Resurrection: its announcement in the preaching*, as with sinful Nineveh that received for its salvation* the preaching of Jonah, who had been delivered from the abyss.

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See also Faith; Fundamentalism; Healing; Jesus, Historical; Literary Genres in Scripture; Narrative; Passion; Resurrection of the Dead; Temptation

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

A theory of miracle is apparently absent in the earliest Christian theology*. There are good reasons for this. The idea of miracle is indeed neither Jewish nor Christian. In the religious world of late antiquity, miracle working was common activity. The boundary between the magical and the medical had not yet been delineated, and the number of divine entities that populated the cosmos* was high enough to render banal what was later to be called "supernatural*" or "preternatural." And even though popular theology, as expressed in the Gospels* and apocryphal acts, surely betrays a taste for wonders, this penchant is absent from the more or less scholarly theology, as it is from the New Testament corpus. Isolated from contexts that give them the force of meaning and revelation*, the miracles of Jesus* undoubtedly called for an apologetic: on the one hand they were real miracles, not trickery; on the other, they were miracles of divine origin, not demonic wonders (e.g., Origen*, *Contra Celsum* II, 48 *Sq.*). Above all, it was a question of meaning. The miracle could only be integrated in terms of *proof*, as a part of a whole, "the event of Jesus Christ," in which, first of all, the hopes (and the Scriptures*) of Israel* were fulfilled, and in which were also fulfilled the hopes of a paganism* that certainly did not expect another miracle worker.

It was thus within a framework rather larger than that of apologetics—the framework, that is, of a *mystical cosmology*—that Augustine approached the question of miracles. For centuries this approach provided important terms of reference. The first precise definition of miracle can be attributed to Augustine: "*Miraculum voco, quidquid arduum aut insolitum supra spem vel facultatem mirantis apparet*" (I call miracle that which appears to have an unusual quality and that which exceeds all that which the one to be enchanted expected or could do) (*De util. cred.* 16, §34). For Au-

gustine, however, beyond these distinctive features, the miracle is par excellence (and it is not strange that a convert to Manicheism* saw in this the material for theological emphasis) nothing else but the totality of a creation* in which nothing is lacking to give witness to the Creator and his omnipotence (*Ep.* 137). Without ever denying the realist meaning of the Christian Eucharist* (it is, moreover, after having recalled the divine power manifested in the Eucharist that he discusses miracles in *Trin.* III, V, 11), Augustine never refuted a theological argument that made an appeal to wondrous episodes in world history. But, just as his theology of the Eucharist is first developed as a doctrine of the *figura*, of the "mode of apparition," his theology of miracle is developed in the same way as the contemplation* of a meaningful totality. Each fragment of the totality deserves the awe (*mirari, thau-mazein*) with which one must praise divine manifestation. A dialectic of miracle remains possible—it is nevertheless an aesthetic of miracle that occupies the foreground, and, to one who possesses a spiritual sensibility toward the created order of things, it appears that everything deserves to be called miraculous.

The Augustinian concept prevailed over Western theology as long as there also prevailed the concept of a sacramental and diaphanous world in which all is symbolic and in which each symbol fulfills a theophanic function. It therefore dominated until, in a process that was to begin as early as the Carolingian Renaissance, a school of thought fascinated by *causes* gradually supplanted one that was concerned with signs and symbols. Aristotle's gradual "introduction" into the West, the reappearance of a philosophical urgency to which the universities would grant some independence from theology, and the resurgence of a scientific interest in the real: such factors would in the

13th century impose a worldview in which the nature of things had an intrinsic intelligibility sufficient to render obsolete the intrusion of all supernatural elements. The explanation of the immanent networks of causality henceforth replaced the contemplation of an order woven with transcendental references. From this there arose a new cosmology—and with it a new theory of miracle—in which any such occurrence appeared as an aberration, as something uncaused, an exception to the physical/metaphysical laws that govern the world. Because the world has a Cause—a God* who has the dignity of the *primary cause*—the causes that rule over the correct order of the world are themselves only *secondary causes* (Augustine already knew this very well, e.g., *Trin.* III, VIII, 13–IX, 18). The primary cause, which is not counted with the secondary causes, exercises its authority through their mediation. It is, however, not limited to manifesting itself through mediation, and it is precisely with its manifestation that it confronts us. The miracle therefore reveals the sovereignty of the primary cause in that it sets aside the causal order that the primary cause has given to the world, and inasmuch as it acts “against the very order of all created nature” (Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* Ia, q. 110, a. 4). Once this had been stated, the miracle ceased to be subjected in the first place to strictly theological inquiries: it was first of all a matter of *physical* questions (the miraculous being defined as a violation of physical laws), and the response provided by theologians was a *metaphysical* answer that utilized only one theological doctrine, that of divine omnipotence.

A theory of miracle that posited the synergy of the primary cause and the secondary causes, and the immediate operation of the primary cause suspending the regulated interplay of secondary causes, was endowed with consistency (and still has this quality) and could answer all the demands of rationalism. The use of the theory nevertheless contained a trap of which medievalists were not aware because of their great trust in the Greek physics that the Arabs had passed on to them, but which modern objectors easily spotted. Whereas both do not belong to the network of secondary causes, it does not necessarily follow that it cannot be integrated. The miracle is an exception to the laws of our physics—but it will suffice to form the idea of scientific progress to make of the miracle not a manifestation of divine lordship but only an index of our present ignorance. The medieval theory of miracle, in fact, only allowed the epistemological status of the unexplained to be defined.

It was up to the Reformers, who had great reservations about the theoretical strategies of Scholasticism*, to carry out a first critique of the appeal to miracles.

For Luther*, faith*, which is the interior miracle, is more important than healing*, the external miracle (WA 41, 19). Miracles belonged to the past; present miracles could only endanger church doctrine, and the only miracle was now to be found in the experience of forgiveness and faith (WA 10/3, 144 *Sq*). Calvin followed Luther in regarding miracles as a distinctive characteristic of the early church, and of it alone. Indeed, Protestant orthodoxy would routinely contest the appeal of modern Catholic thought to current miracles. But this same orthodoxy would later readopt the Scholastic concept of miracle as a *contra et supra naturam* event, against nature and beyond nature (e.g., Quenstedt, *Syst. Theol.* I, 671), and it would also abandon the Lutheran concept of faith as miracle par excellence.

Nevertheless, the most incisive criticism came from the development of *historical* science. The physical theory of miracles seeks to specify that one thing or another *is* a miracle. However, the major miracles of which *theology* aims to speak (above all, the miracles of Jesus) are susceptible not to the test of observation but instead to the work of memory: these are the recounted miracles. Even in the time of rationalism*, miracles could certainly happen and play a role in the life of rational human beings: thus the “miracle of the holy thorn tree” in Pascal*’s experience. But what about reported miracles? On this point, Hume posed objections that were much older than the Enlightenment. He said that the miracle story could be considered true only under one condition, namely the impossibility of attributing any improbability at all to the account given. Only the infallible account can lend credibility to the miracles of which it speaks, since the error of such an infallible account would represent an even greater miracle (*An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, Ed. Selby-Bigge). And since the present experience of the world does not present us with any miracles, it is doubtful that there ever were any. Those things happen, or “occur,” that *can* happen and occur. The *present* conditions of experience—the world as it is and the nature of things as they are—provide the conditions of all possibilities.

Whether tacitly or explicitly, all the hermeneutics* of historical accounts developed from the end of the 17th century up until Troeltsch made these affirmations their own. Only a certified miracle, Lessing suggested, could be “the proof of spirit and power,” but we only ever deal with recounted miracles. Henceforth, the ontological status of miracle would only be that of a textual object (miracles find their true home in mythical texts), or of a product of faith. It would not be denied that miracle stories have a *meaning*. Nevertheless, throughout a long chapter in the history of

thought—one that would not end until Bultmann* (although Bultmann only gave his theological blessing to a split between “meaning” and “fact,” the origins of which are not theological)—it was our world, understood as our “vision of the world,” that was asked to determine from which *facts* this meaning originated. Philosophical modernity and theological modernity thus come together in analogous policies of exclusion. Scholasticism tended to perceive exclusively in the miracle a miraculous fact. The kind of thinking that foreshadowed the Enlightenment and also that came out of it undoubtedly retained the idea of the miraculous fact. But this was in order to set the logic of facts (occurred facts and narrated facts, *Geschichte* and *Historie*) in opposition to the logic of miracles.

Systematic theology could not find many answers to contemporary critiques that flourished in the biblical exegesis* of Strauss’s and Renan’s era. Protestant supernaturalism certainly did not miss the opportunity to defend the classic theory with the help of modern terminology. Thus, F. G. Süsskind (1767–1829) defined miracle as “a phenomenon that belongs to the world of the senses, but is founded in a reality that is in itself supra-tangible and to which it must be linked.” The Protestant 19th century also saw one R. Rothe (1799–1867) make of miracle “an element of revelation*.” The most influential decisions were also the most timid. In the theory of pious consciousness that constitutes the backbone of Schleiermacher*’s dogmatic* theology, the miracle, for such consciousness, is the finite leading sometimes to the infinite*—but it is clearly noted that the finite does not, therefore, cease to belong to the network of natural causalities (*Christ. Glaube*, §47). In Catholicism, a certain J. S. Von Drey readopted a theory that had already been championed by Leibniz* and saw in miracles the action of hidden natural forces. These forces only manifest themselves in an exceptional way (theory of the preformation). Among other Catholic scholars, as divergent as J. M. Sailer, G. Hermes, and L. Bautain, a certain Kantian influence and the concern for emotional apologetics led to the marginalization of the idea of “proof by miracle.” It is therefore not surprising that it was during this period that the magisterial authorities of Catholicism* first expressed themselves on the question of miracles (previously, this had only been approached in terms of canonical regulations, and by Benedict XIV to determine the need for a miracle to promote a cause of beatification or canonization). Moreover, the series of reminders (*DS* 2768, 2779, 3009), which were to be adopted again in the 20th century by the antimodernist oath (*DS* 3539) and the encyclical *Humani generis* (*DS* 3876), was less about proposing a definition than defending the possibility and the convincing force. These

texts consider miracles a demonstration of divine power, without explicitly linking them to a violation of natural laws.

As the keystone of an apologetics of demonstration and proof, an apologetics that hardly questioned the status of demonstration and proof, whether in theology or in philosophy*, the miracle was bound to meet the same fate as this aspect of apologetics, which only barely survived in fundamentalist Protestantism* and in Catholic Neoscholasticism. However, it was also bound to find new meaning and a role in recent fundamental theologies. It was above all thanks to E. Le Roy and to Blondel*, after the latter had provided his specifications and outline for a method for revived apologetics (1896, *Lettre sur l’apologétique*, *OC* 2, 97–193), that miracle was afforded the dignity of a philosophical and theological subject in debate (Le Roy 1906; B. de Saligny 1907 and Blondel *OC* 2, 725–40) that marked the end of all purely physical definitions of the miraculous and the rebirth of *sign* thought of as the “seed of faith” (*OC* 2, 728). The influence of Blondel would also play a role in the tradition* illustrated in the 19th century by theologians like Cardinal V. Dechamps (whose influence preponderated at the First Vatican* Council) or J. H. Newman, and then in the 20th century by P. Rousselot and those who were inspired by his work. It contributed to the development of a form of understanding in which all Christian reality in particular, as it is actualized and transmitted by the church, was asked to have credibility, and in which global human experience, at once intellectual, free, and emotional, was asked to note the believable suggested by the mediation of the church.

The discourse on proof was of course reorganized. The factuality of miracle, if there are miracles (and certain phenomena like healings witnessed in the sanctuaries in Lourdes, for example, have maintained within Catholicism an interest in miraculous happenings; see Pius XII, encyclical *A Pilgrimage to Lourdes*, *AAS* 49 [1957], 605–19), is more than that of a marvel since it calls for theological deciphering that would allow its insertion in a network of significations. And in order precisely to reach these meanings, one will have to borrow in a privileged manner—probably from the theology of the Resurrection of Jesus—categories within which all other miracles can be accounted for. Thus, the miracle emerged again as a sign, and specifically as a *messianic* and *eschatological* sign. Perceiving this sign therefore requires an ability to interpret, and the interpretation is spiritual more than rational (R. Latourelle, *DSp* 10, 1281). For, although it is quite clear that there is no room for the miraculous in the “modern world,” it should also be clear that Christian experience has its own world*

("world" designating a totality of relationships, prejudices and forms of behavior), the world of biblical experience, and that this world has the characteristic of remaining habitable in the discontinuity of time. Access to biblical experience, access to the Resurrection of Jesus as the mark of this experience, access to the eschatological community that transmits the kerygma of the Resurrection, the founding acts that retain the meaning of all miracles and the conditions of its recognition: retrospectively, the Resurrection of Jesus allows us to see, in the miracles recorded in the Old Testament, signs foreshadowing the Easter event, and likewise in Jesus' miracles themselves. Prospectively, it allows us to see a certain memory of the Resurrection of Jesus in the miracles of the time of the church. Perhaps theology needs no other miracles than the double event of Easter and Pentecost in order to know that Christian experience is the experience of a new age and a new world. But for a reasoning mind—believing or only borne along by a "budding faith that strives to test itself or develop" (E. Le Roy)—that accepts leaving questions open about what is possible and about God (Marion 1989), the miracle is evidence of the new order of the world. Not everyone regards the appearance of anything strange, inexplicable, or unfathomable as miraculous. It is only in the horizon of meaning opened by the Resurrection of Jesus that the miracle is recognized for what it really is. In this respect the doctrine of miracles is a footnote to that first chapter of Christian theology.

Finally, the philosophical discussion of miracles has remained alive in the Anglo-Saxon world, whether it

has been under the continued influence of Hume (Gräfrath 1997) or under the guidance of Wittgenstein.

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See also Credibility; Faith; Fundamental Theology; Sciences of Nature

Mission/Evangelization

In the broad sense, the mission is a basic characteristic of the church,* which is called upon to be the sign and instrument in the world of God*'s salvation* for all of mankind. Two major tasks are incumbent on the church as on every true believer: to testify to the gospel (evangelization) and serve man (diaconate). In a narrower sense mission means the work of spreading the faith* and founding new communities outside

"traditionally Christian countries." This meaning attained increasingly special importance after the 17th century, when the Jesuits pronounced the *votum de missionibus*, a vow of readiness to be "sent on mission" by one's superiors. Furthermore, all religions that claim to be universal see themselves as missionary communities, as distinguished from tribal and national religions.

1. Biblical Foundations

In the Old Testament the idea of a God who sends envoys is found primarily in narratives* of prophetic vocation (Ex 3:10; Jer 1:7; and Is 2:3–4 and 3:4–5). With the prophets* was born the hope of a conversion of the nations to faith in the unique God (Is 2:2–4, 19:21–25, and 45:20–25, and the books of Ruth and Jonah). “Proselytes” who become Jewish are evoked in post-exilic literature (Est 8:17; Tb 13:13; and Dn 3:17–20 and 6:26–28).

The New Testament sees Jesus* first as the envoy of God among men; the Gospel* According to John bases the authority* of Jesus on this mission—he is the Son sent by the Father* (Jn 3:17, 10:36, and 17:18). Jesus is sent first (Mt 15:24) to Israel*, but his mission also has a universal dimension, which is made evident by his attitude toward outcasts and pagans, as when he shares the table of the sinners and takes liberties with Jewish dietary practices (Mk 7:15–23 and Lk 10:8). Jesus’ disciples, too, are envoys, from before Easter (Mk 3:13–15 and 6:7–13 and parallels to both) bearing responsibilities similar to their master’s (to announce and heal). This mandate is renewed at Easter: the Risen Lord appears before his followers to send them out on mission (Mt 28:19; 1 Cor 15:5–8; and Jn 20:21–23). However, the mission does not begin until after Pentecost, for the indispensable condition of the apostolate of the community of disciples is the gift of the Holy* Spirit. The beginnings of the church’s mission is related in the Acts of the Apostles; Paul occupies a special place as the one who transmits the gospel to the pagans (Rom 11:13 and Gal 1:15–16). He saw his mission as that of a plenipotentiary envoy (Rom 1:5; 1 Cor 9:2; and Gal 2:8).

2. Historical Landmarks

The mission of the church met with rapid, spectacular success in the first centuries of the Christian era. During this period of cultural and religious distress in the Roman Empire, Christianity could take advantage of the network of Jewish communities and synagogues that served as points of departure for Christian missionaries in many cities. By the third century, and despite numerous persecutions, the church was present and active on all social levels. Christianity, which was tolerated in the empire before it became the official religion, became increasingly influential in every walk of political, social, and cultural life. The missionary extension of Christianity was methodical, apologetical, and didactic.

The most remarkable phenomenon in the fourth century was the missionary enterprise of Irish and British monks who had taken a vow of “pilgrimage” and saw themselves as envoys of the pope to the pa-

gans. A political dimension was then added to the religious dimension of evangelization, and cultural prestige also came into play. Since this mission imposed a rather lengthy cohabitation of Christian faith with paganism*, the church developed means of cultural adaptation and accommodation well beyond the practices of the ancient church.

The Nestorian Church was the ultimate in missionary churches in the medieval East. Despite the existence of other missionary religions, this church, which had no political backing or possibility of creating a strong ecclesial structure*, developed considerably.

After the 16th century the opening of new lands stimulated renewed missionary enthusiasm for Catholicism*, especially in the Iberian peninsula, with Latin America as the major field of action. In reaction to the brutality and cupidity of the conquerors and with the intent of ensuring the survival and the evangelization of Indian tribes, the Jesuits set up missionary enclaves, called *reductions*, that remained in operation from 1610 until their expulsion from Argentina and Paraguay in 1768. The Jesuits sought to transmit the faith liberated from its traditional forms, in order to bring forth a Christianity adapted to local situations. At the same time indigenous forms of Christianity arose in India and China.

To develop the mission, Gregory XV created the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622, and Urban VIII founded a Collegium Urbanum to train priests* for missionary work. In 1663 the *Société des missions étrangères* (Society of Foreign Missions) was created in Paris at the initiative of François Pallu (1626–84), with the double purpose of training missionaries and encouraging the formation of a native clergy in Asia. However, this native clergy did not really take shape until the early 20th century.

In the Orthodox East, the Russian missions were very active, with the support of the princes of Kiev and then the czars, notably Peter the Great (1682–1725). These missions would often start out under the impetus of a single person; the gospel would be translated into a local tongue followed by the creation of monachal-type poles of evangelization resembling small groups of fervent believers. However, when Czar Alexander I (†1825) decided to tolerate cults* other than the Byzantine Orthodox, the Russian Church had great difficulty containing the apostasy of baptized pagans.

In the Reform churches, pietism* made way for development of the missionary idea by liberating it from its traditional dogmatic and territorial bonds. When the Dutch and the Danish took over certain Portuguese colonies they set up Protestant missions focused on personal conversion*, created native churches, and favored the study of native religions. In 1795 the crea-

tion of the Mission of London opened what could be called “the great century of the Protestant missions” (K. S. Latourette), a period in which missionary development influenced the entire European continent with the creation of numerous missions. It was also a great century for Catholic missions.

Probably the most important fruit of this movement was the unitary dynamic engendered by the dissemination of the missionary idea in the different churches. An initial encounter of Protestant missionary societies from all over the world was held in Edinburgh in 1910. This climate of international collaboration was concretized in 1921 by the creation of the International Missionary Council—a decisive step in the process that led to the creation of the World* Council of Churches (WCC) in 1948. Then, in 1961, two factors favored the integration of the entire International Missionary Council into the WCC: 1) the realization that Europe and America had also become “lands of missions” (this had already been acknowledged by the founders of the “interior missions” in the 19th century), and (2) the fact that the African and Asian churches had become independent. The “overseas missions” became “missions on the six continents.” Economic crisis and secularization* in Europe, along with the decolonization and emancipation of Asian and African nations, resulted in the decline of Western missions and the development of autonomous churches on all continents.

3. Theological Challenge

The theology* of missions implied a theology of non-Christian religions. This theology has been subject to significant development over the past two centuries, posing a challenge to many traditional missionary practices. At the Edinburgh missionary conference (1910) a study group that attempted an interpretation of religions concluded that they were auxiliaries of the missions in their struggle “for the liberation of souls* that are prisoners of error and perdition.” The Jerusalem conference (1928) considered non-Christian religions as potential allies against secularism; the idea of dialogue and a common presence gradually prevailed, particularly when there was a need to take a stand on ethical questions. However, the WCC was never able to settle the question of salvation by other religions: “We cannot indicate any pathway to salvation other than Jesus-Christ. Nor can we set limits to the redemptive power of God” (San Antonio Missionary Conference, 1989).

The Catholic Church also asserted the exclusivity of salvation in Christ* (Vatican* II, AG 7), while acknowledging that fidelity to a non-Christian tradition could allow men to participate in salvation. The work

of the missions then became to purify “all the truth* and grace* already found among the nations, as if by a secret presence of God” (Paul VI) and bring it to perfection. This goes back to a patristic thesis in which non-Christian religions are deemed partially worthy, as “preparation” for the gospel. For believers of other religious traditions, “the salvation of Christ is accessible in virtue of a grace which has a mysterious relation with the Church; it does not formally introduce them into the Church, but brings them an enlightenment adapted to their state of mind and way of life” (John Paul II). Even if God can save outside the church, this does not dispense the church from its missionary work. For it is the missions that bring authentic liberation, opening men to the love* of Christ; and all men seek “a new life in Christ” (Paul VI). “The Church is the normal path to salvation and it alone possesses in plenitude the means to salvation” (John Paul II). Compatibility with the gospel and communion* with the universal Church are the criteria for regulating practices and doctrines while preserving its irreducible content, “the specificity and integrity of the Christian faith.”

Lively debate on these same questions took place within the Reform movement. The “evangelical” current did not go along with advocates of dialogue with other religions; they feared that affirming the possibility of salvation outside the explicit confession of Christian faith replaced and discouraged evangelization.

There arose a need for redefinition of the relation between the missions founded by the Western churches and the “young churches” they created. In the 19th century, missions were generally undertaken in a “colonial” spirit that projected on a worldwide level a “paternalist” attitude consisting of “entrusting authority and control to a man meant to play the role of the father” (R. Mehl). However, from the mid-19th century, theologians stressed the need to promote an indigenous pastorate and local churches that were autonomously directed, financed, and developed. Though remnants of dependence still exist, this wish is largely fulfilled today. The Whitby Missionary Conference (1947) proposed a model of “partnership in obedience” to define this new relation that places all churches on an equal footing. The Bangkok Conference (1972–73) marked the height of demands for theological, financial, and human autonomy, including a proposal for a moratorium on interecclesial support. The only other option envisaged by the conference followed the model of the CEVAA, *Communauté évangélique d'action apostolique*, or Evangelical Community of Apostolic Action, that unites the French-speaking Protestant churches: The “ancient” and the “new” churches place

their goods in common and manage them according to the "round table principle."

Today all churches agree that the missions are not meant to impose a Western ecclesial model on an international scale. They all share the problematic of acculturation. The Christian message needs to be translated to all cultural and social contexts; no particular style of ecclesial life shaped in a particular culture can claim to be its sole possible incarnation. The organisms that guarantee the unity of local churches vary, of course, according to their traditions whatever their mode of operation—federal (WCC or confessional families), communions of bishops* among themselves (in the Orthodox* movement), or colleges of bishops joined with the bishop of Rome* (in Catholicism). And they are all careful to leave room for legitimate differences.

The question of the connection between evangelization and social commitment is still on the agenda of missionary reflections in all the churches. The WCC Assembly in New Delhi (1961) affirmed that God "is at work in all the great changes of our times." The Uppsala assembly (1968) expressed the conviction that the church is called on "to anticipate the kingdom* of God by making visible here and now something of the newness that Christ will accomplish." In this perspective, the mission of the church is to encourage and accompany major social changes by deliberate commitment. In certain cases missions might even be called upon to support revolutionary-type movements. These WCC policy statements provoked a rupture with the evangelical movement, whose theological position is that the purpose of missions must be the conversion of individuals and not the transformation of society. The evangelicals believe that spiritual needs precede physical needs, and man himself is not capable of creating a just and peaceful society. Nevertheless, assemblies organized by the evangelicals in Lausanne (1974) and Manila (1989) clearly affirmed that there can be no opposition between evangelization and social action.

The question was studied anew by the WCC in Canberra (1992), bringing forth a proposition to support "intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations Organization and the International Court of Justice that can speak in the name of the majority of peoples." At the Canberra congress particular attention was given to questions of human rights, with pointed criticism of economic systems. "The economic adjustments, imposed by managers of the 'free market system,' that asphyxiate poor, indebted countries" were rejected in the name of the gospel.

The same debate occurs within the Catholic Church, though it is seemingly less tense than the Protestant* version. Vatican II's decree on the church's missionary activity, *Ad Gentes divinitus*, did stress the social con-

sequences of evangelization, acknowledging that the person to be evangelized is always caught in concrete social and economic situations. Notwithstanding, similar challenges (liberation* theologies, e.g.) were faced with the same urgency, and Pope Paul VI had to take a stand against "the temptation to reduce the missions [of the church] to the dimensions of a simply temporal project." Also noteworthy is the interpretation of the evangelizer, in the encyclical *Evangelii nuntiandi*, as first recipient of the gospel: No one can be truly qualified to transmit the gospel if he is not himself willing to be evangelized.

The mission calls for a new analysis of ecclesial practices with reflection on the different contexts and interreligious dialogue, and a redefinition of the connection between the word and social action. Moreover, it determines the style and content of all theology; it is "the mother of theology" (M. Kähler) as well as a "note" from the church (Barth*, KD IV/3, §72. 2). Every encounter between the gospel and a different culture brings forth a new intelligence of the biblical message and the church's mission.

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See also **Conversion; Inculturation; Liberation Theology; Paganism; Philosophy; Salvation; World Council of Churches**

Modalism

Modalism is a modern term coined on the basis of the notion of "mode," of modality (Latin *modus*; Greek *tropos*). Under this notion are grouped various theologies that, during those centuries when Trinitarian and christological doctrines were being formulated, attempted to understand the relation of the Father* and the Son, but in a way that ended by appearing to be heterodox. Beginning with the confessions of faith* of Nicaea* and the First Council of Constantinople*, what was considered the modalist heresy took on several forms in the second and third centuries. Their common characteristic was a concern to maintain some kind of preeminence for God* the Father, something that was broadly inherited from fidelity to the one God of Judaism*. A distinction is usually made between monarchian modalism, adoptionism, and Sabellianism.

a) Monarchian Modalism. We owe the epithet "monarchians" to Tertullian* (*Adv. Praxeas* 3. 1), who included Praxeas among them, contrary to modern opinion (*see* Studer 1985 and Simonetti 1993). Noetus of Smyrna, in the late second century, was perhaps the earliest representative of this manner of thinking; his disciple Epigones propagated his doctrine in Rome* in the early third century. The anonymous work *Contra Noetum* (before 213), as well as Tertullian and the *De Trinitate* of Novatian, condemn monarchianism on the grounds that, in attempting to preserve monotheism*, it does not give its proper place to the economy of salvation* or to the redemptive role of the incarnation.

Patripassianism (*see* Cyprian*, *Ep.* 73) is one of the variants of monarchianism. It maintains that "the Father suffered on the cross," but it is difficult to know

which writers explicitly affirmed what is scripturally indefensible (*see* Slusser 1982). This concept had some influence in the late second century, particularly in Rome, but also in Italy and North Africa.

b) Adoptionism. According to adoptionism the Son is merely a man adopted by God because of his merits; and, before the incarnation*, the word* of God was an impersonal power not distinct from the Father. Although Harnack saw in the *Pastor* of Hermas (apostolic fathers) the archetype of adoptionist Christology*, today scholars are more cautious (Simonetti 1993). The earliest representatives of this tendency were, in the Rome of the late second century, Theodotus of Byzantium, known as the Cobbler, and his disciples (Eusebius, *HE* V. 28. 6), another Theodotus of Byzantium, known as the Banker, followed by Artemon (also Artemas) in the third century.

Monarchianism and adoptionism were able to blend into a more highly developed whole—for example, in the two bishops Beryl of Bostra (according to Eusebius, *HE* VII. 23. 1–3) and Heraclides (according to Origen, *Conversation with Heraclides*, SC 67). Paul of Samosatus and, in the fourth century, Marcel of Ancyrus and Bishop Photinus of Sirmium may also be classified among supporters of an adoptionist brand of Christology.

c) Sabellian Modalism (Sabellianism). Assimilated by Methodus of Olympus (*Symposium* 8. 10) to a patripassian, and presented by Hilary* of Poitiers as the preeminent heretic, Sabellius was perhaps a native of Libya (Basil* of Caesarea, *Ep.* 9. 2; 125. 1). He was condemned by Callixtus in Rome around 220. Several

ancient sources attribute to him the creation of the compound term *huiopatôr*, “Son-Father,” to designate the one God. After 325 the ambiguity of the word *ousia*, which the Council of Nicaea used in order to define the Son as consubstantial*, *homoousios*, meant that it could be made an equivalent of the term *hupostasis*, which was how the Sabellians understood it. This cast suspicion on the doctrine of Nicaea, and the Arian front had Nicaean bishops deposed under the accusation of Sabellianism. This doctrine, in any event, revived monarchianism while also giving a place to the Holy* Spirit. By favoring the term *prosôpon* to designate the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Sabellians emphasized appearance—the three *prosôpa* were thus only modes of the single divinity. According to other documents, sometimes attributed to the same writers (e.g., Marcel of Ancyra, according to Simonetti), *prosôpon* and *ousia* are synonyms and the Trinity* is nothing but a single *prosôpon*. Sabellianism

thus appears in the Trinitarian debates as the opposite pole to Arianism*, and it was between these two understandings that the fathers of the church developed the definitions of Constantinople I (see Gregory* of Nyssa, *Adversus Sabellium*, GNO II. 1).

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See also **Adoptionism; Arianism; Christ and Christology; Subordinationism; Tertullian; Unitarianism**

Modernism

The word “modernism,” which came into use in Italy and France in the late 19th century, came to refer to a crisis that confronted the Catholic Church* in the early 20th century. From the perspective of Rome*, modernism was a set of doctrinal errors born out of heterodox tendencies, but the phenomenon had a broader cultural and institutional significance. In the words of E. Pulat, it was “the encounter and confrontation between a religious past, long since set in stone, and a present that had found powerful sources of inspiration elsewhere than in this past.”

From the 1880s onward, Catholics became preoccupied with adapting their church to the modern world. Many of them were aware of the gap between the teachings of the church and the nascent discipline of religious studies; similarly, a number of institutions and activities no longer seemed to meet the needs of the apostolate, in the midst of populations that had moved away from Christian practices and beliefs. The church’s position and role in society was called into question over the course of the conflict that culminated, in France, for example, in the separation of

church* and state (9 December 1905). By the end of the century, political power, social life, and culture were all escaping the church’s control.

Freethinkers and anticlericals celebrated this turn of events, but Catholics, whether priests* or laypeople*, did not resign themselves to it. The years from 1880 to 1910 were characterized by a ferment of ideas and initiatives, which did not, however, form any general, organized movement: several participants in the crisis were isolated or went unheard, although there were networks of correspondence and friendship among them. Should the church change in response to developments in the world? Could it change? There was a diversity of answers to these questions.

a) Geography of the Crisis. In Germany, some decades earlier, liberal Protestantism* had attempted to reconcile new knowledge with the requirements of faith*. During the 1860s, this “German science” had induced Catholics to address the problem of the legitimate autonomy of university research in relation to the legitimate doctrinal authority of the church. Pope Leo XIII

was well aware of the influence of Kantian thought (Kant*) and of German idealism (Hegel*, Schelling*), as well as of the low level of philosophical training provided within the Catholic Church. Following his accession, he thus revived instruction in the teachings of Thomas* Aquinas in the seminaries and universities, with his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (4 August 1879), and supported the Catholic institutes that were founded from 1875 onward to improve the educational standards of the French clergy. In line with the pope's directives, the future Cardinal D. Mercier (1851–1926) developed in Louvain a form of Neoscholasticism that sought to integrate the progress made in physical, psychological, and social studies into the traditional expression of the faith.

In France, “progressives” (*progressistes*), such as Monseigneur P. Batiffol (1861–1929) in the field of history or M.-J. Lagrange OP (1855–1938) in exegesis*, made scholarly advances by mastering modern methods, but did not challenge theology. By contrast, the “modernists” (*modernistes*) thought that the development of scientific culture required a sort of intellectual conversion, along with a profound revision of received ideas and intellectual work within the Catholic Church. The modernist tendency may be exemplified by A. Loisy (1857–1940), in the domain of biblical criticism, and by E. Le Roy (1870–1954), a mathematician who was a disciple of Henri Bergson. “Rationalists” (*rationnalistes*), such as J. Turmel (1859–1943) or A. Houtin (1867–1926), rejected what they saw as an illusory compromise and were prepared to renounce Catholic beliefs. Finally, those who became engaged in controversy and were then “suspected of being modernists” included the philosophers Maurice Blondel* and L. Laberthonnière (1860–1932), the historian L. Duchesne (1843–1922), and the philologist P. Lejay (1861–1920). Outside the realm of culture, the “democratic abbots,” supporters of Christian democracy* and of the journal *Sillon* (Furrow) by Marc Sangnier (1873–1950), were accused of “social modernism.”

France was the epicenter of the crisis, which echoed through Britain and Italy. F. von Hügel (1852–1925), an erudite layman based in London skilled in biblical criticism, religious philosophy*, and the history of spirituality, cultivated relations with other scholars, notably in Italy. He had some influence over the preacher G. Tyrrell (1861–1909), who wrote essays in apologetics, emphasized the mystical element in religion, and denounced the confusion between the Christian faith and its medieval expression. In Italy, a number of separate movements made their appearance, centered on outstanding individuals. E. Buonaiuti (1881–1946) promoted the intellectual renewal of Italian Catholicism* and the extension of the religious ed-

ucation of the masses. R. Murri (1860–1944) sought to develop cultural bases for an authentic Christian democracy and supported radical reforms within the church. A. Fogazzaro (1842–1917), heir to the political liberalism and religious reformism of the *Risorgimento*, wrote a novel, *Il Santo* (1905), in which he popularized the ideal of reform in opposition to the spirit of “immobilism.”

b) Issues at Stake. According to R. Aubert (*Nouvelle histoire de l'Église* [New History of the Church], vol. 5, p. 205):

In a matter of years, the Tridentine calm of an entire church (A. Dupront) was suddenly and almost simultaneously disrupted on a range of fundamental issues: the nature of revelation, scriptural inspiration, and religious knowledge; the personality of Christ and his true role in the origins of the church and its sacraments; the nature and function of the living tradition in the Catholic system; the limits of dogmatic development; the authority of the church's *magisterium*; the real meaning of the notion of orthodoxy; and the value of traditional apologetics.

Before the crisis erupted, Blondel had sought to face up to those who negated revelation and transcendence by proposing a “method of immanence,” stating that “the human order has a part in everything but does not find adequacy in anything”: the dynamism of humanity, in the full play of its faculties, calls for a superior and supernatural truth* that fulfills the truth of its nature by grace (see *L'Action*, 1893). It followed that there was a need for a new apologetics that could avoid the twin pitfalls of an apologia for dogma* independent of history (“extrinsicism”) and a history independent of dogma (“historicism”). This was the goal of Blondel's *Lettre sur les exigences de la pensée contemporaine en matière d'apologétique et sur la méthode de la philosophie dans l'étude du problème religieux* (1896; Letter on the Requirements of Contemporary Thought in Matters of Apologetics and on the Method of Philosophy in the Study of the Problem of Religion). A new trend in reflection on the Catholic tradition, concerned with the future as well as with the past, developed from this point. Laberthonnière set out to conceive a theory of moral and religious knowledge that could give due regard to the role of subjectivity in the free assent of the intellect to revealed truth (see *Le problème religieux* [The Problem of Religion], 1897, and *Le dogmatisme moral* [Moral Dogmatism], 1898). E. Le Roy returned to the problem of the meaning of dogma for a scientific mind in his article “Qu'est-ce qu'un dogme?” (What Is a Dogma?, in *La Quinzaine*, 16 April 1905), reprinted in *Dogme et critique* (1907; Dogma and Criticism).

In parallel with these discussions, the application of methods of literary and historical criticism to Holy* Scripture, as well as to the history of the origins of the church, marked the beginning of the crisis in France. Some Catholic exegetes accepted many of the results of these criticisms, while rejecting any conception of the history of Israel* and the church that eliminated the supernatural. Others, such as Loisy, did not hesitate to demand a total transformation of apologetics on “the general problems posed by Scripture, the meaning of the divine truth that it expresses, and the value of the church that preserves that truth” (R. Aubert). The publication of a French translation of A. Harnack’s lectures on *The Essence of Christianity* provided Loisy with the occasion to present a detailed synthesis of his system in his book *L’Évangile et l’Église* (The Gospel and the Church), which appeared at the end of 1902, and was backed up and explained a little later in his *Autour d’un petit livre* (On the Subject of a Little Book). According to Loisy himself, *L’Évangile et l’Église* was “primarily a historical outline and explanation of the development of Christianity, and, secondarily, a general philosophy of religion, and an attempt to interpret dogmatic formulas, official symbols, and conciliar definitions, with a view to bringing them into accord with the facts of history and the mentality of our contemporaries by sacrificing the letter to the spirit.” In the course of the controversy that followed, it quickly became apparent that, in Loisy’s view, revelation is merely “the awareness acquired by humanity from its relationship with God,” and dogmas serve to maintain “harmony between religious belief and the scientific development of humanity.” Loisy’s system presupposed a set of dualities: within the philosophy of religion, between revelation and dogma; within historical criticism, between dogma and history; and, when it came to Christology*, between the historical Jesus* and the Christ of the Catholic faith.

With considerable insight, Blondel demonstrated that Loisy’s positions implied dualism, and emphasized the true notion of tradition within the Catholic synthesis (see the series of articles, “Histoire et dogme” [History and Dogma] in *La Quinzaine*, 16 January, 1 February, and 16 February 1904). He thus took the problematic elaborated several years before to a new level.

c) *Rome’s Condemnations and Reactions.* Loisy’s “little books” were placed on the Catholic Church’s Index of Prohibited Books at the end of 1903, and refutations were published by P. de Grandmaison in *Études* and by Batiffol in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*. In Rome, the Holy Office prepared a list of errors and set out to identify the body of doctrine that underlay the positions of various writers. On 3 July

1907, it published a decree, *Lamentabili*, that cataloged and condemned 65 propositions: Loisy recognized around two-thirds of these as having been taken from his writings. On 8 September the same year, Pope Pius X issued the encyclical *Pascendi*, in which he described various modernist “figures”—the philosopher, the believer, the theologian, the historian, and others—and then reconstructed the system of errors that they had in common. This system was said to center on two fundamental errors: agnosticism*, which denies that rational demonstration can have any value in matters of religion; and “vital immanentism,” which makes faith dependent on the religious feelings and needs of human beings. Tyrrell was excommunicated in 1907, Loisy in 1908, and more works were placed on the Index (notably, works by Duchesne, Laberthonnière, and H. Brémond). The teaching staffs of seminaries and faculties of theology were purged; an antimodernist oath was imposed in 1910; and committees of vigilance were established in the dioceses. In general, these repressive and preventative measures were accepted and obeyed. However, their impact was aggravated by the campaigns of denunciation against “integral Catholics” that altered the climate in the closing years of the pontificate of Pius X (1903–14).

d) *Historical Process or Special Case?* The modernist crisis erupted at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries as an internal phenomenon within the Catholic Church, revealing the tensions between traditional theological instruction and progress in the sciences, criticism, and history, between the church’s institutions and the new aspirations, and between the church’s official position and a society that was becoming more secular (secularization*). Since the word “modernism” reappeared in the disputes that followed Vatican* II, it may be the case that, as Poulat has contended, modernism is “an authentic historical process, with the slowness” that that implies, and with a dynamism that ensures continuity despite the differences in circumstances. In *La pensée de M. Loisy* (Monsieur Loisy’s Thought, p. 204), J. Guitton concludes that “modernism seems to us to be a special case of a more general system, a form of thought that will return again and again in the course of the history of Catholicism whenever the intellect seeks to base the faith on the spirit of the age, instead of integrating the spirit of the age into the faith.”

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See also **Blondel, Maurice; Exegesis; Fundamentalism; Rationalism; Secularization; Traditionalism**

Möhler, Johann Adam. *See* **Tübingen, Schools of**

Molina, Luis de. *See* **Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism**

Molinism. *See* **Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism**

Molinos, Miguel de. *See* **Quietism**

Monarchianism. *See* **Modalism**

Monastic Theology. *See Bernard of Clairvaux*

Monasticism

A. Ancient History

Confirmed by a papyrus as early as 324, the word *monakhos* (“monk”) entered into literature with *The Life of Anthony* written by Athanasius of Alexandria immediately after the latter’s death (356). Derived from the Greek *monos* (“unique”), the word suggests a plan for a simple life, unified by abstention from marriage* and a distancing of oneself from society* as well as by a total self-consecration to God*, who is One. After celibacy, of which the term seemed to refer initially, the idea of physical isolation took priority with Jerome (c. 342–420) (*Letters* 14, 6, etc.) until inner unification became the key idea in Pseudo-Denis (*Hier. eccl.* VI, 1–3) and in Gregory* the Great (*In I Reg.* I, 61). With an original twist, Augustine* interpreted *monachus* as a union in charity with one’s neighbor, that is, communal life (*En. Ps.* 132, 6).

a) Antecedents. The most important of the cognates is *monastērion* (“monastery”), which designates a monk’s abode. It can already be found in Philo (*De vita contemplativa* 25), applied as a sort of individual study room where certain Jewish ascetics, the “Therapists,” “isolated” themselves in order to study the Bible,* the only book admitted into this sacred place.

This precedent hints that Christian monasticism had its precursors. Aside from Philo’s Egyptian therapists, who lived a fundamentally solitary life while living in mixed groups, actual monastic communities, those of Essenes, described by Philo as well as by Flavius Josephus, also existed in Palestine toward the beginning of the Christian era. The Sectarians of Qumran, uncovered by recent discoveries near the Dead Sea, are also related to these communities.

While similar to their predecessors, Christian monks do not seem to have been indebted to them at all. In the second half of the third century monasticism appeared

quite independently in the church*. Of course the term *monakhos* had already made its appearance around the year 140 in Thomas’s evangelical apocrypha*, but there seems to be no relation between this distant Gnostic precedent and the movement that developed in orthodox circles a century later.

Where then did monasticism come from? Apart from its deep human roots, which have produced similar phenomena elsewhere (Hinduism, Buddhism), this great Christian creation was inspired above all, if not exclusively, by the Scriptures*—even if the pagan model of the philosophical life might have played a role. At an epoch when persecutions were growing rare and then ceased entirely, the monk responded personally to the evangelical appeals that had inspired so many martyrdoms. “Selling one’s goods and giving them to the poor,” “abandoning everything,” “taking up one’s cross and following Christ*”: these watchwords were the source of Anthony’s vocation and of that of the majority of his imitators. One has to choose between love* of the world* and love of God (Jas 4:4; 1 Jn 2:15–17, and 4:4–6). “Whosoever hates his soul* in this world will keep it for eternal life*” (Jn 12:25). Those maxims and so many other similar ones from the New Testament explain for the most part a movement, which refers to them constantly.

Other referential figures can be added: Elijah and Elisha, as well as the “sons of the prophets*” Jeremiah the celibate, the solitary, the persecuted; above all, John the Baptist, the man of the desert; finally, Jesus* himself, son of the Virgin and totally chaste, who fasted in the desert and sought solitude in order to pray. A communal model should be added to these individual examples: the primitive Church of Jerusalem* and its ideal of “communion*.” All being of a single heart and a single soul, because no one owned anything pri-

vately and everything was shared mutually (Acts 4:32); such would be the ambition of the majority of the cenobitic enterprises (from *koinos bios*, “communal life”) that have made their mark on the history of monasticism.

b) Origins. The first biography of a monk was therefore Anthony’s. Written in Greek for Western readers, this fundamental text was quickly translated into Latin, but the only definitive version by Evagrius of Antioch, which would make its fortune in the West, wasn’t established until about the year 370. A rural proprietor in the Thebaid, Anthony “converted” around the age of 20, sold his goods, spent 15 years near his village and made contact with other ascetics; then he took the plunge that made him famous. Going into the desert, he imprisoned himself in a small abandoned fort where they brought him bread twice a year. When, after 20 years his admirers’ curiosity made him show himself, this man of about 55 years old impressed those who saw him by his self-mastery and by his gifts. But after an intensely influential period, when his abode in the desert near the Nile “became a city*,” this lover of solitude retreated further into the “inner desert,” toward the Red Sea. He died there at more than a hundred years old, mourned by everyone as the “physician of Egypt,” on which he had lavished the healings* of the body and of the soul.

Anthony was the first anchorite (from *anakhôrein*, “to go into a retreat”). Among his numerous imitators, the hermit Palaemon deserves a special mention for having been the master of Pachomius (c. 290–346), the founder of cenobitism. Born of pagan parents, the young Pachomius converted to Christianity during his military service, moved by the charity that the Christians had shown him. His vocation from the start was “to serve the human race,” in the steps of these charitable men. After having been initiated into ascetism* with Palaemon, he left him to make himself available to those who would come to him. After difficult beginnings marked by trials and errors, he began around the year 320 to gather monks around him whose numbers grew rapidly, so many as to populate about 15 giant monasteries. Upon his death, Pachomius left a *Koinônia* (“fraternity”) in upper Egypt, grouping thousands of brothers, which, despite a serious crisis, would develop even more under his successors Orsiesius and Theodore. The Rule, or rather, the four collections of “Precepts,” that he had set down in writing for this vast group, would be translated into Latin by Jerome (404) and would have its influence on several Western monastic codes of law.

c) Forms. Anthony and Pachomius created the two main types of monastic life: hermitry and cenobitism.

These two men’s histories prefigure the transferals, which would constantly occur between the two forms of monasticism. Anthony’s life was at first semicomunal, then completely solitary, but at the end it did include the role of a spiritual father. As for Pachomius, he offered a vast community gathered around him the relationship of a disciple to his master, which he had lived himself, one on one, with the hermit Palaemon.

This coming and going between cenobitism and anchoritism can be confirmed for the most part by two common phenomena. On the one hand, the great anchorites often attracted numerous disciples and thus engendered communities, often involuntary; this influence was sometimes understood as a call from God and the goal of a constructive search. On the other hand, the anchorites “derive from the *Coenobia*,” wrote Jerome in 384 (*Letters* 22, 35). This process, which the Western witnesses and theorists (Sulpicius Severus [c. 360–c. 420], Cassian [c. 360–435], the anonymous author of the Rule of the Master, Benedict [c. 480–c. 550]) would give the rigor of a law, is based on the nature of things: a communal apprenticeship should normally precede the solitary life.

Moreover, between cenobitism and hermitry in their pure forms lay many intermediate forms. There were anchorite colonies, of which the most famous in fourth-century Egypt were those of Nitria. The Cells and Scetis brought together monks who lived alone but who gathered together on Saturdays and Sundays for the Eucharist* and for feasts. A little later, in the East, the name “lauras” would be given to groups that were similar but who lived in closer contact with each other, since the homes of the solitaries bordered the same street (*lavra*). Another type of association of the two kinds of life was that of the hermit living near a community where he had often received his training and on which he sometimes exerted a spiritual influence while receiving its material help. Well documented in Egypt and Palestine about the year 400, this sort of symbiosis would be institutionalized by Cassiodorus (c. 485–c. 580) in Vivarium, where Mount Castellum’s solitude was adjacent to the *coenobium*, and many centuries later by a Saint Romuald (c. 950–1027) in Camaldoli.

Several of these phenomena are illustrated by Benedict of Nursia’s life and work. A student in Rome* at the beginning of the sixth century, when he decided to become a monk, he was given the habit by a cenobite called Romanus and settled secretly in a cave near the latter, who fed him with bread from his own ration. In an original way (Romanus’s community and his abbot were unaware of the nearby young hermit’s existence) that was a case of symbiosis between the two lives. After three years, the clandestine anchorite was discovered, and a monastery in the vicinity took him as its

abbot. This first abbacy ended badly, but, once he had reverted back into solitude, Benedict saw dozens of disciples come to him, for whom he organized 12 small monasteries of which he retained the administrative duties: a typical example of a hermit engendering cenobitism. Finally, in his *Rule for the Monks*, probably written later at Monte Cassino, Benedict set down right from the first chapter the traditional doctrine that required a long cenobitic apprenticeship before moving on to a solitary life. Moreover, the latter life had retained a certain attraction for him as suggests his biographer Gregory of Nyssa, who reported that the abbot of Monte Cassino did not sleep in the communal dormitory but lived in a separate tower, where he used to pray alone at night.

Excluded by Basil* as contrary to the Gospels*, solitary monastic life would, however, be generally considered the height of monastic renunciation. Elijah and John the Baptist are models of it. Less naturally accepted today perhaps, hermitry's Christian authenticity was only rarely challenged in the early centuries.

d) The Goal and the Means. According to classical viewpoint, which regards hermitry as the term of the monastic goal, monks began by purifying themselves in the *coenobium* through the "active life" before leading the "contemplative life" in solitude. Such was the schema followed in the majority of his *Institutions* and *Conferences* by John Cassian. The "active life" consisted of combating the eight main vices, following the methodical list drawn up by Evagrius Ponticus (346–99) (greed, lust, anger, avarice, sadness, acidie [spiritual discouragement], vanity, and pride) in order to achieve purity of heart, the condition for entering the Kingdom*: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Already, from this point, *apatheia* (mastery of the passions*) gave access to contemplation*. The battle against the vices took priority in communal life, while contemplation flourished in solitude. Another comparative schema laid greater stress on cenobitism, acknowledging its capacity for developing two major virtues*: abandonment of one's own will and absence of any thought for the morrow (Cassian, *Conf.* 19, 8).

The asceticism by which the monk purified himself especially stressed food consumption (fasts, abstinence, rationing), sleep (vigil), and the use of words (silence). Born of faith*, this asceticism led to charity. It was in order to devote himself to charity that the monk separated himself from the world. This separation, in which Basil saw a requirement imposed by God's love, led, among other signs, to wearing the distinctive habit.

A conscious and constant relation with God: this ideal of the monk is called prayer*. This prayer draws

its sustenance from the Bible, read and learned by heart for two or three hours per day, then recited constantly during the periods of manual work. The monk answers and listens to the voice of God with prayer as often as possible and continuously in this way. As for the moments set aside for prayer, in Egypt there were two (morning and evening), and more in other places, where a canon of seven daily prayer periods would end by being set, this number suggested by a word of the Psalmist (Psalms 118, 164). At these day and night offices, every psalm* was followed by a silent prayer, which diminished little by little and finally disappeared.

The will to "pray constantly" (1 Thes 5:17) did not preclude work. The monk had the duty to perform it, so much as to earn his living and to give alms as to avoid idleness, the soul's enemy. On that point, Paul's injunctions and example would win out over a Syrian movement, which understood his call to constant prayer too literally. The movement of the Messalians ("Praying people") of Syria would, however, produce in Constantinople the perpetual praise performed by the Acemetes ("Those who do not go to bed"), who relayed each other in the choir day and night, and similar attempts at *laus perennis* (perpetual praise) in a few of the big Western monasteries in the seventh century.

e) Two Forms of Communal Life. In the cenobitic environment a typical development that took its inspiration from the New Testament was frequently seen: a group of disciples gathered together around their master transform into a fraternal communion. In the first type of association, the unifying principle was each member's relation to its leader; between them, the subordinates were united only by their common relationship with their leader. Favoring the vertical and hierarchical schema, this kind of community was like a school or a troop. But often, as time passed, there also arose a concern about the horizontal relations between individuals. Thus they progressed from a school to a communion.

An evolution of this type appears in Pachomius's code of laws. Its first three volumes (*Institutia*, *Iudicia*, *Praecepta*) mentioned only obedience to rule and to superiors, while the last one (*Leges*) displayed a new concern about peace and harmony among the brothers. Similarly, the "fundamental pact" of the Egyptian *coenobium* described by Jerome in 384 (*Letters* 22, 35) implied everyone's obedience to the superiors, whose educative acts they unilaterally praised, without saying a word about fraternal relations. Taking up this bit a little later, Augustine took special care to make an explicit reference to the Church of Jerusalem (*De mor.* I, 67). Between Lérins's first two Rules, that of the Four

Fathers and the “Second Rule,” just as between the two great Italian Rules of the sixth century, the Rule of the Master and the one by Benedict, similar contrasts can be seen.

This kind of law goes back to the origins of Christianity. The group of the Twelve was initially a school, where each disciple had been called or attracted by that master who was Jesus. Before he died, the latter gave to each one the “new commandment” of mutual love, whence flowed new relationships. Henceforth, the “teaching of the apostles*,” which continued Christ’s teaching, engendered communion (Acts 2:44). Without giving it any thought, it seems that monastic circles often followed the same process, which reflected a religious society’s very nature. The primordial relationship to God and to his representatives was the first essential; then, the awareness of spiritual unity and obedience to the law of love, just as much as the experience of a difficult communal life, caused attention to be paid to the relations among the brothers.

f) The Coenobium and Its Scriptural Models. In the Rule of the Master, the monastery is called the “school of Christ.” When Benedict picked it up again, this definition made the *coenobium* a continuation of the group of the Twelve, where Christ was represented by the Abbot. The division of many communities into groups of 10, while reminiscent of the Roman army, also looked back to the model of Israel* in the desert. The same can be said of the “houses” and “tribes” of Pachomius’s *koinônia*. Basil’s favorite image was Christ’s body. This Pauline metaphor was also allied to the image of the community in Jerusalem, so often evoked by monastic legislators. For the Master, who hardly gave a thought to the primitive church of the Acts, the model instead was the church of his own time, since the monastery’s hierarchy* was compared to the clergy. Elsewhere, and particularly in Pachomius’s Rule, the monastic tradition was conceived as a replica of the great ecclesial tradition*.

g) Obedience: Its Forms and Motives. Whether he was an anchorite’s disciple or a member of a *coenobium*, the monk had to obey. This obligation gave rise to many commentaries. Certain people, like Augustine, invoked texts from the New Testament that order children to obey their parents, and the faithful to obey their pastors. Others instead thought of Christ, viewed as the one obeyed through his representatives (Lk 10:16), or as the one who was obedient to his Father* even unto death* (Jn 6:38; Ph 2:14). Whether as a commanding leader or as a model of obedience, Christ gave this virtue a mystical character that goes far beyond the simple necessities of communal life.

Obedience was required first of all from the novice, who had everything to learn. But it was also commended to the more advanced monk, who through obedience renounced his own will just as Christ accepted death through his obedience. When applied to the superiors, their obedience was given to God, whom they represented. But it could also be mutual, with no other motive than humble charity.

h) Paths of Perfection. In the Benedictine Rule, which the Carolingian age would make the common charter of Western cenobitism, obedience was not viewed in isolation, but taken as one of the aspects of a general trend toward humility. From the initial fear* of God up to the perfect love that drives away fear, the monk ascended by humbling himself, according to the evangelical paradox, and this path of humility that the Master and Benedict borrowed from Cassian passed through the stages of obedience and patience, self-effacement and submission, to renunciation of speech and laughter. In this program, the two key virtues were obedience and taciturnity. The first consisted of humility in deeds; the second represented humility in speech.

i) Clergy and Sacraments. In the *Life of Anthony*, although he was a bishop, Athanasius never mentioned the Eucharist*, of which the saint seems to have been deprived for long periods. At the end of the sixth century, however, Apollonius and the anchorites who gathered around him met daily at the ninth hour to take communion before they ate, and Jerome’s *coenobium* in Jerusalem keenly felt their need for a priest who could consecrate the Eucharist. In sixth-century Italy, the Master’s entirely lay communities would be ministered to by those of Benedict, which included priests* and clerics*. The conventual Mass, however, would not become a daily event until much later. During the week, a simple communion service preceded the meal at the Master’s, and probably also at Benedict’s.

At the period when the monasteries tended to provide themselves with the clergy necessary for celebration of the Eucharist, bishops and their clerics adopted a quasi-monastic way of life. During the second half of the sixth century, Eusebius (†371) in Vercell, Martin (†397) in Tours, and Augustine in Hippo set the example for the hybridizations whose fruitfulness Jerome himself acknowledged in some of his letters. Monasticism and the clergy were also allied in the missionary enterprises of monks like Columban (c. 543–615) and so many other Irish or Anglo-Saxon islanders, whose original aim was to “peregrinate” like Abraham far from their native land.

j) From the Cell to the Dormitory. Finally, speaking again of the most common practice, we should note an

important change that occurred about the year 500 in the majority of monasteries, as much in the East as in the West. From its anchorite origins, cenobitism had retained the practice of living in individual cells where the monks spent their time alone with God. Now, to remedy certain drawbacks of a moral nature, at that period cells were replaced by a communal dormitory. Communal life thus lost an element of solitary contemplation that had made it akin to hermitry. It was that integrated community life that for a long time codified the Rule of Saint Benedict, until cells reappeared at the height of the Middle Ages among the Carthusians, and later among the Benedictines themselves.

The dying days of antiquity therefore opted mostly for a monastery more concerned with transparency and regularity (disappropriation) than with meditation and leisure given over to contemplation. It was a acknowledgment that the monk was a weak being, and that cenobitism was an institution forever threatened with decadence, in line with a certain historic pessimism that was particularly evident in Benedict and that provoked an appeal on his part to the good faith of the most generous so that they might go beyond the overly lax common norms and thus come closer to perfection.

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B. Theological Stakes

A well-known phenomenon in the history of religions, and a phenomenon lacking in the earliest Christian experience*, monasticism succeeded in showing an extremely pregnant theological sense. Its founding word was *anchoritism*: the monk in fact appears as a person who disappears, who abandons the city and the company of men. What he leaves or what he wants to leave bears a name that covers a theological concept, the *world**. Considered in Pauline and Johannine terms as the sphere of decadent existence, since it had compromised with sin*, the world is in fact that which is proper to flee and is nothing more than that. To break with the world is therefore an elementary Christian task: this break is nothing more than that elementary task. First of all, therefore, anchoritism should refer to a spiritual deed: the theological life lived "in Christ*" is as such victorious over the world, and as such an act of exodus and of joining an eschatological community: anchoritism's spiritual reality takes precedence over the topological reality that the monastery gives it. It

does not follow that monastic anchoritism might be a naïveté or an aberration (that it might be confusing existential distancing with spatial distancing). For if any one trait is constant in the monastic experience it is indeed the fact that the world weighs just as heavily on man in the desert as in the midst of a city. In the solitude that he finds, the monk has no privileged right to possess peace* of the soul* and of the heart.

His experience is not that of an *otium* reserved for whoever has taken leave definitively of the world: it is the ascetic experience of a labor to achieve conversion*. The paradox of the symbolic distancing that is life in the desert is thus its cruel emphasis on distances that have not been taken: the monastic experience is first of all one of temptation*.

With the proviso that that fact be acknowledged, and clearly acknowledged, it is then possible to do full justice to the monastic plan. The negative concept of anchoritism is counterbalanced by its positive images of the "angelic life" led by those who labor at perpet-

ual praise*. As the heir to the Greco-Roman philosopher of antiquity, the monk presents himself as the man who lives life itself, life as it deserves to be lived by a man (Balthasar* 1961). And then the organization of a monastic anthropology* that is identical to an eschatological anthropology can be seen. Logic in action is therefore a logic of anticipation. Negatively speaking, the monk is the man who refuses to incarnate historical images of man's humanity: positively speaking, he is the man whose deeds reveal a certain hold over the *final destiny* in the present time. His celibacy sets him apart from those who, in the sequence of the generations, assure humanity's history*; but it also makes him the image, in the period before death, of a complete man who transcends in his flesh the differences between the sexes (Mt 22, 30 apr., *hōs angeloi* and *isangeloi*). His silence seems like the renunciation of an eminent form of human experience, the intersubjectivity achieved in the element of language—but this silence is not dumbness, and while accusing the daily use of words of being just verbiage, it also has the role of restoring man to his most human state, his role as listener to the divine word*. The cenobite's obedience deprives him of his own will and falls under the suspicion to which are exposed all alienated behaviors; but it is also a christological reality, a kenotic deed that restores the will to a sense that it does not possess in the limits of the world, and which is its eschatological secret. The monk's poverty makes him marginal and troubling, because it stipulates that the right to poverty is more human than any right to property*; but it is also a kenotic behavior lived in imitation of God who made himself poor (2 Cor 8:9).

Lastly, the existence of a fraternal community devoted to incessant praise is the purest eschatological sign that the monastic project owns: in a period of temporary realities, the monk appears in it as the witness to the definitive, to what does not die. The life that wants to be totally liturgical is the present icon (and the only possible illustration) of an eternity within man's grasp; and communal life where the neighbor has no other identity than the theological identity of a brother proves that man's being* is a being of communion*, and proves moreover that communion is not a reality within the grasp of the world, thus suggesting ways of becoming worthy of everlasting life.

The project's "theoretic splendor" (G. Bedouelle) is undeniable; it also constitutes its paradoxical weakness. The monastic tradition* has made its own the beatitude* of the pure in heart, "who will see God" (Mt 5:8). By conceiving the ambition of attaining peace, *hēsukhia*, it also wants to share in the eschatological joys. But if the "desert" or the monastery wants to display itself as the domain of an experience in-

tended to subvert any hold over man that the world might have, and if the monk, in this sense, is among those who try to take possession of the Kingdom by force (Mt 11:12), the desire to symbolize the *final destiny* does not have the power to make real what it symbolizes. The eschatological meanings unfolded by the monastic experience cannot therefore mask that, like all Christian experiences, it has a *pre-eschatological* reality, and that the first monastic requirement is the eminently historical one of the "conversion of morals." If the monk sets himself the goal of living life itself, it must also be understood that the logic of his experience does not aim at the definitive except by being constantly at war with the weaknesses, temptations, and sins that constitute the temporary fabric. And Protestantism's objection—in which the monastery is the Pelagian enterprise of men and women trying ascetically to take possession of the good of which, by definition, is to be granted only by God—can only be answered as monastic spirituality being a spirituality of humility and of openness to grace*: "no man makes himself a monk, he is made a monk by a force which does not come from himself" (Theophanes the Recluse [1815–94]). If the monk reveals no immoderation, if the project of a *vita angelica* is neither an arrogance nor an absurdity, it is—and it is only—because the monk knows himself to be all the more a sinner in that "the work" at which he labors, *opus Dei*, is holy work. Only the humble man can assign himself the dangerous mission of symbolizing the eternal in the temporal, for only the humble man can let the sublime symbolism of his deeds judge the empirical person who performs these deeds. In the person of Anthony the Great, every candidate to the monastic experience is set the example of the shoemaker from Alexandria who prayed by repeating: "I alone shall perish, all will be saved."

In the end, monasticism's spiritual secret is its ecclesiological secret. In fact the monk tries to take leave of the world only to exist in the formal role of the being-in-the-church; and his prayer* therefore is less his own work than the church*'s work, *Ecclesia orans*. Monastic life affirms that the being-in-communion is the full realization of the being-with, of the *Mitdasein*, which describes man's relationship in the world with man. This life must also affirm that the particular monastic community itself exists only in the total communion of the whole church. The monastic project must explain itself in terms of vocation, and this vocation is the double call, of God and of the church—above all, the latter's call should not be forgotten. It is really from the church, understood in the linked and hierarchized totality of its communion, that the monk receives the mission to pray for all men, and to praise God on behalf of those who

do not do so or do so rarely. Then can one understand that his entry into the ecclesial community might allow the monk to also take on, paradoxically but in a perfectly exact sense, the clothing of the apostle*.

“The institutions fully devoted to contemplation*...contribute to the greatness of the people* of God by the abundant fruits of holiness*, they attract the people by their example and procure their growth by a secret apostolic fecundity, *arcana fecunditate apostolica*” (Vatican* II, *PC*, §7).

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See also **Communion; Philosophy; Religious Life**

Monogenesis/Polygenesis

a) Theological and Scientific Definitions. In the strict theological sense, monogenesis is the doctrine according to which all of humanity has its beginnings in one unique couple* created by God*. Uncontested during most of Christian history, in so much that it alone seemed compatible with the Holy* Scripture, this doctrine was questioned in the 17th century by I. de La Peyrère (1594–1676), who induced the existence of “Preadamites” from a singular reading of Romans 5:12ff. and saw the different human races* as many distinct species resulting from independent creations*. These extreme polygenetic concepts have been used as a basis for some racist theories, justifying slavery (J.-C. Calhoun, Liberty* B), then racial segregation.

At one time it was intended to distinguish a couple of theological terms (monogenesis/polygenesis) and a couple of scientific notions, monophyletism/polypyletism (the monophyletic hypothesis attributes to a given species one evolutionary class—unique *phylum*). In fact, today this last hypothesis is often considered as a “monogenesis” on the scientific level, in so far as it gives a common “spatio-temporal cradle” to all of humanity. The theological understanding of this makes it possible to speak of monogenesis in a larger sense.

b) Data of Positive Science. Today, the strict biological unicity of the human species is no longer contested. For 30,000 years, all human beings around the world are of the one type *sapiens sapiens*, whose monophyletic origin presently seems more than likely, even if it remains difficult to define precisely. The genetic, reproductive, and molecular unicity of the modern human is complete and without possible mixture. This was not always the case, however: during some 60,000 years, two distinct types of *Homo sapiens* coexisted, possibly without mixing, at least in Palestine (*neandertalensis* and *sapiens sapiens*, both issued from *Homo erectus*). As to strict monogenesis (one original couple), it seems difficult for science to make a pronouncement. If the essential passages were made by extremely thin “stalks,” according to Teilhard’s expression, one can hardly reconstitute them. Some people, however, argue that great mutations have an individual genetic beginning. Supporting this thesis, a recent study on the levels of divergence of mitochondrial (nonchromosomal) DNA transmitted purely through the maternal line has been invoked. Heavily discussed and no doubt contestable calculations have led to the conclusion of a singular origin of humanity,

which would descend from an “African Eve” dating some 250,000 years. But these are, at the moment, speculations.

c) *Theological Intelligence.* To avoid all confusion, it is necessary to distinguish as much as possible the theological (theology*) question from that of the positive sciences. The Biblical data (Bible*) of the first three chapters of Genesis indicate a deep community of nature in the human species, all issued from the same act of creation proceeding from divine love*, and thus an essential fraternity and equality between all human beings—which is radically incompatible with the ideas of La Peyrère. They do not impose a strictly monogenetic interpretation (unicity of the original couple). In the Catholic Church*, the theological difficulty comes more from the transmission “by propagation, not by imitation” of the original sin*, as defined by the Council of Trent* (DS 1513) and recalled by Pius XII in his encyclical *Humani Generis* (1950, DS 3897). For Catholics (Catholicism*) this allowed the open discussion of the theory of evolution* of species—applied to the origin of the human body (DS 3896)—but not of the unicity of the original couple, considered as necessary for a correct interpretation of the original sin. It is rather more a matter of being warned about the possible consequences of an adventurous “conjuncture,” than a clear condemnation of all

types of polygenesis. It is significant that the new *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992) recalls with force the unity of nature and the essential fraternity between all human beings, without alluding on this point to the encyclical *Humani Generis* (CEC 356–61): in this respect, the question is thus open in the Roman Church as in the other great Christian confessions.

In conclusion, the most probable position to the diverse points of view evoked seems to be that of a monogenesis in a broad sense—a single evolvable *phylum* biologically incarnating the essential unity of nature today’s humanity—without being able to make a pronouncement on the question of the originating couple.

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See also Adam; Evolution; Race; Sciences of Nature

Monophysitism

The term “Monophysitism” (from *monos*, “sole,” and *physis*, “nature”) designates the position of those who attribute to Christ* “a single nature.” But it is important to distinguish at least two types of Monophysitism. One, which was represented in particular by the monk Eutyches, implies a certain assimilation between the human nature and the divine nature of Christ, so that the divine absorbs the human rather than leaving to it its specific character. The other, although opposed to the “diphysite” language of Chalcedon* (that is, to the language of the “two natures”), recognizes in the humanity of Christ all the characteristics appropriate to a human nature. The former is contrary

to Christian orthodoxy, the latter is not. Judgment must therefore be exercised between the positions that in the past were associated with Monophysitism, and this judgment continues today in the framework of the dialogue between the Chalcedonian churches and the Monophysite churches.

a) *Monophysitism of Eutyches.* By the last decades of the fourth century, Apollinarianism* had opened the way to Monophysite language by attributing to Christ “a single incarnate nature from God* the Word” (*Ad Jovianum*, in TU, 1904, 251). Certainly, a similar formula was later used by Cyril* of Alexandria with a

fully orthodox meaning. But Apollinarius in fact believed that the divine Logos had replaced the human soul* or human spirit of Christ, which already implied a certain confusion between the humanity and the divinity of the incarnate Word.

Monophysitism (as a heresy*) found its most radical expression shortly before the middle of the fifth century. Its principal representative, the monk Eutyches, was at the head of a large monastery and had attained considerable influence at the court of Constantinople. He presented himself as a fierce opponent of Nestorianism* and ceaselessly repeated that it was necessary to recognize “a single nature of the incarnate Word.” He was to be harshly judged by some of his contemporaries, who saw him as an ignorant and obstinate old man. But his ideas became sufficiently widespread to provoke a refutation by Theodoret in 447 in *The Beggar* (which did not, however, mention Eutyches). This was followed by the intervention of Patriarch Flavian of Constantinople, who summoned the accused monk before a synod* in 448. Eutyches, while saying that he accepted the humanity of Christ, declared that his flesh was not consubstantial* with ours; and, above all, he unwaveringly maintained the same formula: “I confess that before the union Our Lord was of two natures, but after the union of only one nature.” Eutyches was then excommunicated. But he had the support of the emperor Theodosius and, in spite of the intervention of Pope Leo in his *Tome of Leo*, was rehabilitated in 449 at the tumultuous meeting that was later to be called “the robbery of Ephesus.” In 451 the Council of Chalcedon* condemned Eutyches’s doctrine and opposed to it the famous definition according to which Christ is “recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change... the difference between the natures being in no way abolished because of the union, the specificity of each nature being rather preserved.” Eutyches had of course claimed reliance on Cyril of Alexandria, but this reference was deceptive. For when Cyril said “a single nature of the incarnate Word,” he understood “nature” in the sense of individual and concrete *existence*, and his doctrine corresponded in essence with that of Chalcedon, which, in different terminology, recognized in Christ “a single *hypostasis*.” But in Eutyches the unity of nature implied the absorption of human nature by divine nature. This position, on the pretext of fighting Nestorianism, lost sight of the specific nature of the humanity assumed by Christ: it was in fact a new form of Docetism*.

b) Monophysitism after Chalcedon. The very ambiguity of the expression “a single nature” was the source of many conflicts in the period following Chal-

cedon. The supporters of Cyril remained convinced that the expression should be maintained at all costs; but while some understood it as Eutyches had, others understood it in an orthodox sense and opposed in good faith the Chalcedon language of the two natures, which appeared to them to be a concession to Nestorianism. Many monks in particular pointed out that the formula “a single nature” preserved the absolute divinity of the Savior. In addition, religious motives were joined by political and ecclesial motives, for Monophysitism was particularly widespread in Egypt and Syria, whereas Western regions and Asia Minor were dominated by the Chalcedonians. It also happened that patriarchal sees were held sometimes by Chalcedonian bishops and sometimes by Monophysite bishops, in an atmosphere often marked by confused ideas and violent passions.

In 457 the Monophysite Timothy Aelurus became patriarch of Alexandria. Another Monophysite, Peter the Fuller, became patriarch of Antioch soon thereafter and introduced into the liturgy* the expression “holy God... who has been crucified for us.” In 482 Emperor Zeno, advised by the patriarch Acacius, proposed a compromise formula, the *Henoticks*, which condemned both Eutyches and the defenders of Chalcedon. But this formula was rejected by the diphyssites and condemned by the pope, who excommunicated Acacius (484). Monophysitism nevertheless continued to spread. It was supported by several theologians, such as Philoxenus of Mabbug and especially Severus of Antioch. The latter understood “a single nature” in the sense of “a single hypostasis” and rejected the “in two natures” of Chalcedon, which seemed to him to imply the erroneous affirmation of two hypostases. However, from 527 onward Emperor Justinian became a fervent defender of “neo-Chalcedonianism”: wishing to restore everywhere the faith* of Chalcedon (two natures in one hypostasis), he tried at the same time to win over the supporters of Monophysitism by reiterating the anathemata of Cyril against Nestorius and by imposing a formula that had been advocated by Scythian monks: “The one of the Trinity* suffered in the flesh.” But when his efforts failed he exiled the Monophysite bishops. One of them, James Baradeus, consecrated new bishops in the East; thus Monophysites were given the name “Jacobites,” whereas the Chalcedonians were called “Melkites” (that is, “imperial”). Justinian once again tried to win over the Monophysites at the Second Council of Constantinople* in 553, and his successor Justin II in turn tried a policy of openness. But the Monophysites, despite their internal divisions, maintained or consolidated their own positions. During the debates provoked by monotheism* in the seventh century, Emperor Heraclius published a new

compromise document. But the Arabs had already invaded Syria and Egypt. They accommodated the Monophysite populations, who found their domination preferable to the pressures of the empire. In any event these populations were to survive down to the present, despite a history that turned out to be often difficult and troubled.

c) *Monophysite Churches Today.* Monophysite churches, known as “pre-Chalcedonian,” are divided into four groups: the Coptic Orthodox Church, that is, the Christians of Egypt who adopted Monophysitism; the Ethiopian Monophysite Church; the Armenian Orthodox or “Gregorian” Church, which includes the Church of Etchmiadzin and the Church of Cilicia; and the Syrian Orthodox or “Jacobite” Church, which in turn is divided into two branches, that of Syria and that of southern India.

For some years, efforts have been made toward doctrinal agreement. Meeting in Addis Ababa in 1965, leaders of Monophysite churches proposed to open a dialogue with the churches from which they had been separated. In 1971 the Syrian patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius Jakub III, signed a declaration with Pope Paul VI recognizing that their respective communities, despite divergences in language, professed the same faith with respect to the Word made flesh. In 1973 an analogous declaration was published by Paul VI and the Coptic patriarch Chenuda III; the same basic agreement was expressed again in 1984, at the meeting between Pope John Paul II and the Syrian patriarch Ignace Zacca I Ivas. Common declarations were also made by John Paul II and the Armenian patriarch Karekin I in 1996 and then by John Paul II and the Armenian catholicos of Cilicia Aram I in 1997. In addition an official dialogue has been established between the Monophysite churches and the Orthodox Church, first in Chambésy in 1985, and then in the Egyptian monastery of Anba

Bichoï in 1989, and again in Chambésy in 1990 (see *Towards Unity: The Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Church*, Geneva, 1998).

Nonetheless, all difficulties have not been resolved, not only because the various churches must still continue their work of doctrinal clarification, but because even today they give evidence of many divergences in their liturgical and pastoral traditions.

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See also **Christ and Christology; Hypostatic Union; Monothelitism/Monoenergism**

Monotheism

I. Origin and Definition

Monotheism, defined in the *Evangelisches Kirchelexikon* as “the acknowledgment and adoration of a single God,” is distinguished from monolatry (worship of one

god) and henotheism (acknowledgment of the supremacy of one God). In his *Natural History of Religion* (1767), Hume declares that polytheism is more primitive, and his view has become the prevailing one.

However, Wilhelm Schmidt (1912) argues that polytheism is a degeneration from the original cult of one God. The “sense of the numinous” posited by Rudolf Otto implies an undifferentiated deity*. Mircea Eliade notes that the sky-god (necessarily single) is often considered the supreme god, although he is worshipped only in extremis.

MARK J. EDWARDS

II. Biblical Theology

1. Old Testament

The Old Testament starts with Genesis 1:1 and its differentiation between God* and the world*; and the creator and the creation*. While it does not, of course, present the background to biblical monotheism, this passage fixes the limits within which it is to be understood.

In the Old Testament, certain unrelated representations or traditions are transposed onto the one God as a result of the absolute requirements of biblical faith*. Certain divine names, such as *El Olam* (“God of Eternity*, Everlasting God”) (Gn 21:33, 14:18ff., and 22; Ps 46:5f., etc.), may have been preserved because the ancient proper name ‘*El* could take on an appellative sense (“God”) and function as a surname or attribute of the single God YHWH.

We may distinguish six aspects or levels in the historical development or the objective content of this knowledge of faith:

a) Witness to the Unique Bond between the God YHWH and a Particular Group. Various fundamental traditions in the Book* of Exodus (Ex 3:14f., 18:12, 19:16ff., 24:10f.) attest to the unique and reciprocal relationship between a human group and YHWH, the God “of Israel” (Jgs 5:4f.; Dt 33:2).

b) God’s Superiority over Other Celestial Powers. Such powers (Ps 89:6ff.) are subordinated to him, honor him, and execute his wishes (e.g., Ps 29, 47, 93, and see 103:19ff.; Is 6; Jb 1–2).

c) Contribution of the Prophets in the Ninth and Eighth Centuries.* Elijah is already unwilling to restrict himself to defending the exclusivity of the faith (1 Kgs 18:21 and 36f.); without absolutely rejecting the existence of foreign gods, he asserts that in Israel* the one God alone is the rescuer on whom diseases and cures, life and death*, depend (e.g., 2 Kgs 1:3 and 6; see Hos 4:12ff.; Jer 2:27f.). Like the Decalogue, which is probably of a later date, Hosea links God’s declaration that “I am the Lord your God” with the formulation of the exclusive relationship that results

from it: “You know no God but me, and besides me there is no savior” (Hos 13:4; see 12:10). The prophet Isaiah (2:17; see 31:3) affirms this exclusivity in the form of a universal prediction: “The pride of Men must crumble... and on this day, the Lord alone will be exalted.”

d) Legal Formulas. The relationship between humanity and the one God is developed within the law as a principle or an injunction. Its most ancient expression is probably to be found in the “book of the covenant” (Ex 22:19), with its reference to the consequence that follows from transgressing it (the expulsion of the culprit). Here, the prohibition concerns public and visible acts (see Ex 34:14: “you shall worship no other god”; 23:13: “make no mention of the names of other gods”; see also, e.g., Lv 19:4, 26:1; Dt 13). However, the first commandment in the Decalogue (Ex 20:3; Dt 5:7) also prohibits private acts hidden from the eyes of others: “You shall have no other gods before me.”

e) Confession of the “Uniqueness” of God. The invocation “Hear, O Israel,” which was to become the crucial profession of faith within Judaism*, expresses a new interpretation of the exclusivity of the faith: “The Lord our God, the Lord is one” (Dt 6:4; repeated in Zec 14:9; Mal 2:10; Jb 31:15). However, it follows immediately that “You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your might” (Dt 6:5). Human conduct must be “blameless, perfect,” and without reservation (Gn 17:1; Dt 18:13; see Lv 19:2 and Mt 5:48), turned toward God alone (e.g., Ps 51:6 and 71:16; Is 26:13).

f) Affirmation of Monotheism at Around the Time of the Exile. The Second or Deutero-Isaiah, the prophet of the Exile, uses phrases that unambiguously exclude the existence of any other gods: “Before me no god was formed, nor shall there be any after me” (Is 43:10); “I am the first and I am the last; besides me there is no god” (Is 44:6; see, e.g., 41:4, 45:5f., 45:18, 45:21f., 46:9). Nevertheless, this prophet is a herald of salvation* and consolation: he does not put forward a doctrinal system. He takes up the theme of Hosea 13:4: “Besides me [God] there is no savior” (repeated in Is 43:11). If other gods existed, it would be possible to deny his power (41:24, 41:29): “their works are nothing.” In the “priestly” narrative (Gn 1), neither chaos nor the stars are envisaged as mythical entities; no domain of activity is left to any other powers apart from God. However, the existence of other gods does not seem to be fundamentally denied (Ex 12:12). In Deuteronomy, the article of faith, “The Lord is one” (6:4), is explained later: “there is no other besides

him" (Dt 4:35, 4:39; *see* 32:39). It is in this sense that it was to be understood later, in the New Testament (Mk 12:32): "He is one, and there is no other besides him."

In general, then, monotheism is not the foundation of Israel's belief, but only one of its consequences. The belief functions as an absolute requirement, rather than as a "doctrine," and should be seen as involving an act of placing faith and trust in God.

Changes of period and name (Ex 6:2f.) gave rise in Israel to the hope that "all the peoples of the earth" would acknowledge the one God (1 Kgs 8:60; *see*, e.g., 2 Kgs 19:19 and 5:15; Is 19:21ff., 45:6, 45:22ff.; Sg 2:11; Ps 83:19). God's power will triumph even over death (e.g., Am 9:2; Prv 15:11; Ps 22:30, 49:16, 73:23ff.; Jb 14:13, 26:5; Is 25:8, 26:19). The possibility of a new profession of faith is already accepted in the Old Testament (Jer 16:14f., 23:7f.; *see* Is 48:20).

2. New Testament

While the New Testament continues to profess belief in the one and only God (*see* Mt 4:10), it asserts it in a new way: "No one can serve two masters" (Mt 6:24; *see* 6:32f.). "Who can forgive sins but God alone?" (Mk 2:7, *see* 10:17f. and 12:28ff.; Mt 22:36ff., 23:9, 24:36; Lk 5:11).

a) The One God and Jesus. The earliest witnesses present the first Easter as the salvific act by which God manifests himself through Jesus*. While the Old Testament generally affirms that God "kills and brings to life" (1 Sm 2:6; *see*, e.g., Rom 4:17; Lk 1:51ff.), the New Testament bears witness that it is God who "raised [Jesus] from the dead" (1 Thes 1:9f.; Gal 1:1; Rom 8:11; *see* 1 Cor 15:3f.; Lk 24:27). According to Paul, God sent his Son (Rom 8:3; *see* 5:8 and Gal 4:4) and "gave him up for us all" (Rom 8:32; *see* 4:24f., *but also*, e.g., Gal 1:4). According to 2 Corinthians 5:18ff., reconciliation is the work of God "through" or "in" Christ* (*see* Rom 3:25). John's Gospel* also says that God "sent" and "gave up" his Son (e.g., 3:16f., 7:16; *see* 1 Jn 4:9f.).

Nevertheless, as in the Old Testament, Paul is not able to make a rigorous denial of the existence of other divine powers, although in respect of such powers he maintains that "for us there is one God, the Father... and one Lord, Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 8:5f.; *see* Rom 11:36; 1 Tm 2:5f.; Eph 4:4ff.).

b) Maintaining the First Commandment. Even the christological hymn in Philippians 2:5–11 closes with a celebration of "the glory of God the Father (*see* 1:11, 4:20; Rom 15:6f.; *as well as* Lk 2:11, 2:14).

In the final analysis, Paul's hope that "the Son himself will also be subjected to him who put all things in

subjection under him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor 15:28; *see* 3:23 and 11:3) is an expression of the Old Testament expectation that "On that day the Lord will be one and his name one" (Zep 14:9; *see*, e.g., Is 2:17 and 60:19f.). The Epistle to the Romans, in its present form, ends with a doxology that reprises the word "only": "to the only wise God be glory" (Rom 16:25–27; *see* Eph 3:20f.; Jn 17:3; 1 Tm 1:17 and 5:15f.; Jude 24f.; Rev. 15:4; as well as the doxology of Our Father, Mt 6:13).

The "christological event" not only brought about a new interpretation of the first commandment but was itself interpreted in such a way that the intention of the commandment is preserved within the doctrine of the Trinity*, by which the early church attested, beyond the differences between the persons, the uniqueness and indivisibility of God.

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See also **Filiation; Idolatry; Knowledge of God; Paganism; People of God; Simplicity (Divine); Theophany; Universalism; Wisdom**

III. Historical Theology

1. Antiquity

Already during Homer's time, the sky-god Zeus occupied an elevated status. During the fifth century Pindar and Aeschylus carried that status even higher and made Zeus into the custodian of morality. At the time, Xenophanes already criticized the Homeric gods' immortality, positing the existence of a single (or supreme) god without anthropomorphic features. Later, Plato argues in the *Timaeus* that the goodness of the world implies the existence of a single maker, the "Demiurge," and a single paradigm, but Plato is not very clear on the relation of both to the Form of the Good*, the origin of all other essences (*Republic* 509). Aristotle identifies God with perfect actuality (*Meta-*

physics 12); this God, being free of matter, is indivisible (1075 a). Stoics regarded the Homeric gods as allegorical names for the elements or the divine powers; but the singularity of the world also implied the existence of a single God, whom they often called Zeus. In late antiquity, Isis was sometimes identified with all other divinities, while Macrobius (c. 400) argues in the *Saturnalia* that all gods are identical with Dionysus, Apollo or the Sun. Neoplatonism, after Plotinus (204–270), allowed for popular divinities to be provisionally worshipped as lower energizations of the impersonal One. Finally, imperial formulas often allude to a single divinity, and, in the second century, Celsus and Apuleius compared lower gods to the ministers of a king.

2. Judaism and Islam

Written at the beginning of the first century, Philo's treatise *De Opificio Mundi* (The Creation of the World) maintains that there are only one world and one creator. Since the Bible* does not say that God created the lower powers, even such texts as Deuteronomy 6:4—"the Lord our God, the Lord is one"—could be interpreted henotheistically. Thus, angelic intermediaries were recognized and even revered. Subsequently, Cabalists admired the existence of 10 mediating powers below the unknowable Deity (*Keter*), or even a moral duality in God. Nevertheless, Maimonides (1135–1204) made the unity of God his second principle of faith*, while Crescas (1340–1410) included it as a consequence of his existence. Monotheism, whether as a simple belief or as reflection, could lead to an interpretation of Christianity as a form of polytheism, as, for example, in the case of Saadia Gaon (b. 882), or in the *Kuzari* of Judah Halevi (c. 1075–1141), which sees Judaism* vanquishing Christianity in dialogue. Islamic monotheism is consistent: even if the Al-Ghazzali (1058–1111) distinguishes 99 names for God, the Sura 19 of the Koran denounces the Trinity*. Maimonides, while denying that Islamic dialectic could prove God's unity (*Doctor Perplexorum* I. 75), himself draws proofs from revelation* and philosophy* (II.1).

3. Early Christianity

To the early Christian apologists*, pagans appeared to be polytheistic idolaters. However, the most cited verse in martyrology is Acts 4:24, which is a prayer to the only unique God. The Fathers* did not hesitate to draw their arguments in favor of monotheism from philosophers and tragedians (see, e.g., Ps-Justin, *De Monarchia*). After the Peace of the Church, some thought that the unity of the empire presupposed monotheism and consequently entailed universal monolatry (see above all Eusebius of Caesarea's *Tria-*

contericus of 336). Augustine's *Civitas Dei* (City of God) mocks the petty deities of the Roman state and criticizes the theory that gods make use of intermediaries. Throughout this period, the development of the dogma of the Trinity had to avoid the twin pitfalls of modalism*, which denied the existence of real distinctions, within God, between Father, Son, and Spirit, and tritheism, which no one ever professed. (The tritheism detected by John Philoponus was the result of a conceptual confusion that Philoponus himself did not share.) However, Trinitarian belief was thought by some to threaten monotheism. This is the reasons for which Arius (c. 320) rejected the possibility of plurality in the Deity, and that Gregory* of Nyssa was undoubtedly not engaging in a mere exercise in style when, on the eve of the First Council of Constantinople*, he demonstrated that the three divine persons were not three gods (*Ad Ablabium*, c. 375). The continued presence of Jewish communities in the Byzantine Empire, and the confrontation with Islam, ensured that the defense and illustration of Trinitarian monotheism remained an urgent task for theologians in eastern Christendom.

The refutation of gnosism*, of Manicheanism*, and then of medieval dualisms (the Bogomils, the Paulicians, the Cathars) also had a significant effect on the affirmation of Christian monotheism. Refuting the existence of two uncreated principles, and therefore of an uncreated principle of evil*, required theologians to think about evil. This in turn led, on the one hand, to the important emphasis on the classical thesis that evil is merely privation and nonbeing, and, on the other hand, as a consequence, to a reasoned affirmation of the absolute innocence of God.

4. Subsequent Developments

The search for proofs of God's uniqueness is an important feature of medieval and modern thought. Anselm*'s definition of God as the most perfect being conceivable, "the unsurpassable" (*Monologion*) implies divine uniqueness. In his *Quaestiones Disputate* of 1266–67, Thomas* Aquinas identifies God's existence with his essence, and hence provides the conceptual means for excluding the existence of more than one god. Descartes*, in the third *Meditation*, and Leibniz*, in the *Monadologie*, infer the unity of God from his infinity and from the necessity of his being*. In Spinoza's *Ethica* (I, 14), the axiom that only one substance can exist concentrates the whole of reality, without exception, in a God that lacks any personal traits and that is synonymous with nature (pantheism*). In the writings of Kant*, the God postulated on the basis of practical reason must be the God of monotheism (but a God who cannot be defined in

terms of a trinity), which is also the case for Fichte, within the framework of his philosophy on the ego. In Hegel*, by contrast, the Trinity becomes increasingly important: the life of the Absolute is a “game of love with itself,” and God himself is engaged in history in such a way that he is not truly himself until it ends. Schelling* was the first to criticize this view. For the young Schelling, who defined nature as mind made visible (*Ideen*, 1797–1803), a single world implies a single God. In his later writings, his plan for a “philosophy of revelation” lead Schelling to develop a “theory of powers” aimed at linking the “economic” Trinity (God manifested as Father, Son, and Spirit) with the “immanent” Trinity (the divine life in itself). With deism* the modern period has seen a less determinate form of philosophical monotheism; by which it has even been possible to introduce certain types of theology (as with Tillich*’s description of God as the “ground of being”).

The theology* of the 20th century has consecrated fruitful debate to a reexamination of Eusebius’s “imperial theology,” whether in order to construct a political theology that draws distant inspiration from it (Carl Schmitt) or in order to deny that it is possible (E. Peterson). However, the main focus of the most inventive currents within Protestant and Catholic theology has been on the Trinity.

The order of reasoning adopted by Scholasticism* had led to a distinction between two types of theological treatise, the “treatise on the one God” and the “treatise on the triune God,” in such a way that the former could not be addressed until after the latter had been studied. Luther*’s theology contains an explicit rejection of this order of reasoning, but his asperities were quickly smoothed away. Barth*’s *Dogmatik* and Balthasar*’s trilogy constitute, perhaps, the first highly articulated ensemble capable of replacing the Scholastic program. Orthodox theology has also made a con-

tribution to this development by permitting reflection on monotheism in terms of the *monarchy* of the Father (Vl. Lossky, J.D. Zizioulas), rather than in terms of the unique divine essence.

In addition, the 20th century has also known a radical critique of (mono)theism. In the face of this critique, it became possible to make a theological interpretation of the “death of God” predicted by Nietzsche* as implying conceptions that are themselves nontheological (such as the death of a God who possessed a “metaphysical essence,” *essentia Dei metaphysica*, the death of the highest value, or the death of the God of ontotheology). Such an interpretation led to a new affirmation of God, who seeking a way “between theism and atheism,” finds it, for example, in a theology of the cross (E. Jüngel) oriented toward a theology of the Trinity. Occasionally, God’s unity and uniqueness have ceased to be taken as preconditions for Trinitarian discourse—on the contrary, only a Trinitarian theology can provide the conditions for its affirmation.

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See also Angels; Arianism; Attributes, Divine; Deism and Theism; God; Trinity; Tritheism; Unitarianism

Monothelitism/Monoenergism

Monothelitism and monoenergism are two facets of the same christological doctrine set forth at the beginning of the seventh century. After enjoying great suc-

cess, the doctrine was condemned by the Lateran Council (649) and Constantinople III (681). It stated that Christ had only one will (*thélèma*) and only one

way of functioning or working (*energeia*). It raised a different question from that of Monophysitism*. For political and religious reasons, Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople (†638) elucidated the question in order to help Emperor Heraclius (†641) bring about the union of the Christians inside the Byzantine Empire, which was under serious threat from the Persians, then later from the Islamic Arabs. It was a matter of discovering a Christology capable of reconciling Monophysitic and orthodox Chalcedonian opinions. After long transactions with the bishops of both groups, the doctrines of both monothelitism and monoenergism seemed acceptable to everyone.

On the theological level, the Patriarch of Constantinople was tackling an essential christological point that until then had remained obscure, the point about Christ's human will and functioning. In fact, according to monothelitism and monoenergism, Christ possessed only a *divine* will and a *divine* way of working. In no way did the problem concern his divine will and divine way of working, for the Word* incarnate was acknowledged by all, by both the Chalcedonians and the Monophysites, as a divine person (or *hypostasis*), "one of the Trinity*," willing and working in common with the Father* and the Holy* Spirit. But, by that very fact, it had to be denied that he had a *human* will and way of functioning. To oppose Arianism*, the fourth century Fathers had stated clearly the three divine persons' unity of nature, will, and working.

During the same period, Apollinaris (Apollinarianism*) had already drew up an early form of monothelitism and monoenergism. But while the Fathers had vigorously asserted the reality of Jesus' human soul* and intelligence, they had left in obscurity the question of his will and way of functioning, which followed from that fact. Gregory* of Nazianzus is far from clear about the matter. The doctrine of monoenergism could also base itself on one of Pseudo-Dionysius*'s assertions, that in Christ could be found "a new theandric functioning (*théandrikè energeia*)" (*Letter* 4).

An early attempt at unity with the Monophysites, made in Alexandria in 633 on the basis of monoenergism, ended in failure because it was challenged immediately by the monk Sophronius, who then became patriarch of Jerusalem*. Sergius responded at once by publishing his *Psèphos* (Decree) in which he made a subtle move from monoenergism to monothelitism, by his reference to Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane, as it is recounted in the synoptic Gospels. Sliding from the hypothesis of the two ways of working to the hypothesis of the two wills, Sergius wrote (*Mansi* 11, 533 E): "We would admit two wills behaving in opposite ways to each other: on the one hand the God*-Word wanted to carry out the saving passion, but on the other hand,

the humanity within him resisted his will by opposing it. By admitting this, we would be introducing two beings who wanted opposite things, which is impious." In fact, in the Gospel text, mention is made of Jesus' human will, which seems to oppose the divine will by its refusal of the passion (Mt 26:39). But afterward, Jesus renounced that will: "nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done" (Lk 22:42). In Sergius's theology, the problem of Christ's human will is presented in moral terms: This will is not examined as a simple human faculty of willing but as a potential capacity to oppose the divine will. The key expression is "contrariety or clashing of wills." The human will possesses the (sinful) ability to oppose the divine will. Denial of Christ's human will and affirmation of a single (divine) will was the logical result of these premises. (All the same, the expression "single will" is not used explicitly in the *Psèphos*.)

At first, in 634, Sergius's *Psèphos* received unanimous approval, from the bishop of Rome*, Honorius I, as well as from the man who would later become the chief adversary of monothelitism and monoenergism, Maximus* the Confessor (Epistle 19; PG 91, 592 BC). Sergius's greatest "success" was having brought Honorius to confess monothelitism explicitly in his reply (*Kirch*, no. 1058–59): "We confess our Lord Jesus Christ's single will, for our nature has obviously been taken in hand by God, and it has been taken in hand in a state of innocence, such as it was before the fall.... The Savior did not possess a different or contrary will...and when the Holy Scriptures say: 'I did not come to do my will but to do the will of the Father who sent me' (John 5:30), and 'Not my will, Father, but thine' (Mark 14:36), they are not speaking in those terms to express any difference of will." The text leaves vague the distinction between a *different* will and a *contrary* will; if the human will is denied, it was because a clash of wills had to be denied at any price. The crisis then came to an end with the official monothelite doctrine, the *Ecthèse*, promulgated in 638 by Emperor Heraclius. Sergius, its drafter, again took up the main points from his *Psèphos*, while including in it Honorius's monothelite statement about the impiety of an affirmation of the two wills (*Kirch*, no. 1071–73): "How is it possible for those who confess the orthodox faith and who glorify an only Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ and true God, to accept two contrary wills in him? Hence, following the Holy Fathers in everything and on this point, we confess our Lord Jesus Christ and true God's single will."

The rigorous sequence of these three primary documents: the *Psèphos*, Honorius's Letter, and the *Ecthèse*, reveals monothelitism's cohesiveness and strength, but the refusal of the cup still needed an ex-

planation. It can be said that in reality Christ's refusal sprang from his humanity without it being the expression of a will. An inframoral reality was seen in it, a "natural reaction of the flesh" provoked by fear of death*—that is the classical explanation on which Sergius fell back in his *Psèphos* and his *Ecthèse*. But the working of a true human will can also be seen in this refusal—then it amounts to an act of "opposition," which could not be attributed to Christ except by way of "rational appropriation" (*oikeiôsis skhetikè*). This second thesis finally won out in Byzantine monotheletism (see PG 91, 304 AB). Like the first thesis, it amounted to depriving Christ's humanity of its engine. Deprived of will, his humanity was nothing more than a passive instrument moved by divine will alone.

From 640 onward, thanks to Maximus the Confes-

sor's theological activity, doctrines of monotheletism and monoenergism were attacked in the West by the Roman Church and by the African churches, leading Heraclius himself to disavow the *Ecthèse* (see PG 90, 125 AB). Heraclius's successor, Constans II (641–68), at first upheld this doctrine in a brutal and dictatorial way. Later, realizing the extent of the disagreement, he claimed the right to impose silence on the matter by means of his *Typos* of 647 (*Mansi* 10, 1029C–1032A).

See bibliography for "Constantinople III, Council of."

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See also **Christ and Christology; Constantinople III, Council of; Maximus the Confessor; Monophysitism**

Montaigne, Michel de. *See* **Skepticism, Christian**

Montanism

a) History. The term *Montanist* is first attested to in the fourth century by Cyril of Jerusalem (in his *Catechesis* XVI, 8) to refer to a much more ancient group, the Phrygians, or the "Pepuzians," from the name of their city-kingdom, Pepuza; certain ecclesiastic authors use the term *Cataphrygians*. These names indicate that the birthplace of Montanism was in the communities in Asia Minor. The movement probably developed at the beginning of the second century, during the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

Patristic testimonies about Montanism are varied and probably tendentious. The fullest information comes from Eusebius (*HE* 5, 14, 16–19) and from Epiphanius (*Panarion* 48–49.51). The attribution to Didymus of Alexandria of a *Dialogue between a Montanist and an Orthodox Believer* remains unverified. The names Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla are

given as those of the movement's originators, and, according to Epiphanius (*Panarion* 51, 33), the Christian community of Thyatira was entirely won over to Montanism around the year 170. Perhaps because he recognized himself in the Montanists' moral rigor, in the second half of his life Tertullian* joined their ranks, and the works that he wrote during that period made him the group's major representative in Christian Africa. However, Montanism's history, traces of which survived in Asia Minor until the beginning of the ninth century, must be put back into its original context of second-century Asian Christianity—and, in particular, the community of Philadelphia (Trevett 1989; see Rev 3:7–13). Ignatius of Antioch's letters and the narrative of Polycarp's martyrdom constitute important testimonies to the place reserved in the communities for discussions on authority and the role

to be assigned to the prophets (see Ignatius, *To the Philadelphians* 5:2).

b) Doctrine. Montanism was primarily a prophetic movement, and there still exist a series of oracles attributed to Montanus and Maximilla (Labriolle 1913 *a*), of which several had been transmitted by the Fathers*. The movement's Phrygian origin and its prophetic demonstrations of an ecstatic type have led to comparisons with the cult* of Cybele (see Strobel 1980). However, the "new prophecy" should also be linked with the eschatological expectation held by the first generations of Christians. According to ancient sources (Labriolle 1913 *a*), Maximilla asserted that her death would herald the end of the world. The "new prophecy" found its favorite references in the Johannine Gospel and stressed the Paraclete at work in the group's prophets*. Montanus seems to have adopted the name of Paraclete, but that does not prove that he identified himself with the Holy* Spirit or with any of the three divine persons (in fact, the upholders of orthodoxy did not challenge the Montanists' Trinitarian doctrine). In any case, the refutation of the Montanists clearly suggests that at that time prophecy was a topic of debate in the communities of Asia Minor.

Montanism probably also appealed for demonstrations of the extraordinary, and Jerome pointed out the existence of a treatise by Tertullian on ecstasy (fragments in CChr.SL 2, 1334–36). Such appeals were held all the more suspect because they were accompanied by protests against a ministerial-hierarchic conception of the church. The church answered Montanism by reinforcing its episcopal structure. In a commentary on Paul's statement that "the women should keep silence in the churches" (1 Cor 14:34), Origen* criticized the role to which the Montanist prophetesses aspired and answered with a restrictive analysis of the function of prophetesses in the Old and New Testaments (fragment of a commentary on 1 Corinthians, preserved in an collection of exegetic material).

The revisions that Tertullian made about the years 207–8 to his *Adversus Marcionem* (SC 365, 368, 399) show his enlistment in the Montanist ranks. Tertullian asserted that the possibility of prophecy was always

open (*Adversus Marcionem* I, 21, 5; V, 8, 12), and in answer to the Marcionite condemnation of marriage, he made his own the Montanists' insistence on the exclusive nature of marriage* (*Adversus Marcionem* I, 29, 4). This affirms his definite break with the church*, and this break is stated even more clearly in his later treatises. From then on, the church would be defined as the community of "psychics"—and, therefore, the community of those who remained rooted in sin—and Tertullian would no longer acknowledge the primacy of the bishop of Rome (*De Pudicitia*, SC 394–95), contrary to the ecclesiology* he had earlier developed in his treatise on penitence.

The Montanists' moral and disciplinary prescriptions take up a lot of space in Tertullian's last writings (*De Monogamia*, SC 343, *De Jejunio adversus Psychicos*, and *De Pudicitia*). In an apocalyptic context that went far beyond the Montanist group, calls to purity* and to virginity, the condemnation of second marriages, the insistence on fasting and penitence, and exhortations not to avoid martyrdom* all signaled the desire to create a community of "the pure." Its ascetic tendencies have caused Montanism to be taxed with Encratism, but such an accusation proves the extent of the difficulty of defining the specificity of a movement born in a period in which heresy* was not yet a working concept.

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See also History of the Church; Millenarianism; Prophet and Prophecy; Tertullian

Moral. See **Ethics**

Moral Theology. *See Ethics*

Moses

Traditionally, Moses was the epic hero who lived in the reign of Rameses II (1290–1224) in the late 13th century B.C. Under divine guidance he led the Israelites from Egyptian oppression across the “sea of reeds,” formerly mistranslated as the Red Sea, and through the desert to “Mount Sinai,” and thence toward the promised land, which he was allowed to see but not to enter. The story is related in the Pentateuch, divided by the Jews before the advent of Jesus into its five constituent books (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy), but still known collectively as the Torah. The Torah was considered by Jesus and the apostles (Jn 1:45–47; Rom 10:5) to have been written by Moses, himself both the hero and the author of the epic and the law.

The Pentateuch contains at least two creation narratives, two accounts of Cain’s genealogy, two combined versions of the flood story, and at least two accounts of the legal dispensations of the Jews, together with much other material in several variants, and is uncontroversially considered to be composed of different strata. A great deal of what it relates about Moses, like his abandonment in the river in a wicker basket lined with bitumen and pitch, is common to the mythology and folklore of different parts of the Middle East. The same fate is narrated of the infant Mesopotamian king Sargon who was to reign in the millennium before Moses. The deeds and stature of Moses are in part compounded of the heroic lore of non-Israelite traditions.

After the Pentateuch’s narratives of the Creation and the patriarchs in Genesis, in which the story of Noah is similar to that of Utnapishtim, hero of the Sumerian epic *Gilgamesh*, Exodus is primarily concerned with the laws given to Moses for the Israelites, not only the Decalogue but also the social, moral, religious, and ritual prescriptions ordained by YHWH, with its numerous sections preceded by such phrases as “Yahweh said to Moses ...” YHWH’s instructions for the mak-

ing of the ark and of the tent in which it is to be housed, for vestments, sacrifices, and ritual obligations are spelled out by Moses in great detail, down to measurements and types of wood. They must reflect some record of actual rites and customs, however they originated.

The next book, Leviticus, is devoted primarily to the legal prescriptions communicated by YHWH to Moses on Mount Sinai for the Israelites and interrupts the historical flow of the Old Testament. The Book of Numbers takes up the narrative again with a sporadic account of the desert march interspersed with long enumerations, formulae, and lists. Deuteronomy enshrines a whole legal code within a long discourse by Moses, the whole preceded and followed by further speeches by Moses, and ending with an account of his death.

The religious truth of the Pentateuch as we have it is therefore far removed from straight narrative or literal accuracy. The dimensions of the law given in the Pentateuch—once short enough to be engraved on stone, according to passages like Deuteronomy 27:3 and 27:8—have clearly undergone massive augmentation, and the original religious message has no doubt been corrupted by the addition of material later than the earliest stratum. Some at least of the legal procedure attributed to the Mosaic legislation dictated by YHWH in the present text can be shown by religious, ethical, and sociological evidence to be of post-Mosaic origin, while much of it preexisted Moses and the vocation of Israel.

In the early 21st century we can be only at the beginning of the confrontation of biblical narrative with scientific archaeological investigation, which is becoming increasingly sophisticated and which might eventually produce clear evidence of what actually happened, and what relationship different parts of the Pentateuch bear to an accurate chronicle of the events

that they relate. We have, for instance, no convincing idea of where Mount Sinai might have been, or therefore of what route the Israelites took to get there. Reconstruction of the life and deeds of the historical Moses is therefore bound at present to remain to some extent a matter of academic controversy and informed religious conjecture, although behind the biblical figure of Moses there does indeed seem to lurk a real religious and political leader. He appears in the Pentateuch at the beginning of what we know as the second chapter of Exodus, which gives two similar accounts of Moses' calling and is devoted to accounts of the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt, their crossing of the desert, and the establishment of the alliance with YHWH.

Exodus tells of the oppression in Egypt by the king of the prosperous, numerically increasing, and powerful descendants of Jacob, whose firstborn males were on the Pharaoh's orders to be destroyed at birth. The mother of one male of the tribe of Levi put her firstborn male in the wicker basket in the reeds of the river. Pharaoh's daughter found the infant, unknowingly had him nursed by his own mother, and adopted him as her own son, giving him the name Moses, which Exodus uncertainly claims to be connected with a Hebrew root indicating that the baby had been taken from the water. We next hear of Moses when, fleeing after killing an Egyptian for beating a Hebrew, he settles in Midian to the east of the gulf of Aqaba, where he marries Zipporah, daughter of a local chieftain.

There are parallels for the raising of foreigners at the Egyptian court, and for escape after suspicion of murder leading to the marriage of a daughter of a local chieftain, but there is no nonbiblical warrant for the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt, or for their mass exodus. It is safest to think in terms of the expansion into a national epic, "to fit the needs of theological ideology" (Ze'ev Herzog), of the private story of at best a few families falling into a general pattern of migration into Egypt and the acquisition of power there. Nationalistic propaganda reasons can be given for later modifications of the Pentateuch material into the national epic that it has in part become, and there are anachronisms in the Genesis account of the patriarchs, which suggest reworking by a later, historically unskilled hand.

Exodus continues with God's decision to have mercy on the Hebrews in Egypt, and with the appearance to Moses, while he is tending his father-in-law's sheep, of an angel of YHWH under the appearance of a burning bush that remains unconsumed, an easily recognizable symbol of the divinity. A voice from the bush addresses Moses by name, and reveals the speaker to be the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph.

Moses covers his face out of fear that he might otherwise be harmed by seeing God. God announces his plan to relieve the children of Israel in Egypt and to have them led to the land flowing with milk and honey, confiding this mission to a reluctant Moses, giving him three miraculous signs by which the Israelites will recognize in him the envoy of YHWH, and promising prodigies sufficient to force Pharaoh to release them. He identifies himself with a term derived from the verb "to be," "I am who am," and gives Aaron to Moses for support.

Exodus then contains a second, abbreviated version of YHWH's mission to Moses. This conflation and many other elements in the text suggest that whoever finally edited it was glorifying the origins of Israel's conversion to monotheism. What occurred is more likely to have been some modification introduced into the preexisting cult of YHWH, which is known to have predated God's self-revelation to Moses as "I am who am," and Exodus may well contain the mythologization of a major religious dispute in Egypt redacted from an anti-Pharaonic point of view. It is now considered unsafe specifically to connect the exodus of the Israelites with the conversion to monotheism, which may actually have come later.

YHWH hardens Pharaoh's heart and brings him to submission by means of the nine plagues, ending with the death of Egypt's firstborn. The story is told twice before Exodus moves on to the crossing of the sea of reeds, with the waters closing behind the Israelites over the pursuing Egyptians, the march across the desert, and the theophany on Mount Sinai, the Decalogue, and the alliance. The miracles, the episode of the golden calf, and YHWH's idiosyncratic behavior make a list too long and too well known to be repeated here. Dozens of naturalistic explanations have been fabricated for everything, but they have all been discredited. In view of the repetitions, the propagandist intention, the omissions, and the unexplained motivations, the historical career of Moses must remain largely conjectural.

All that is certain is that the final editors of Exodus and Deuteronomy must have been working on a text to which they accorded religious respect sufficient to leave blatant contradictions, and one through which they intended to impart a strong nationalistic and religious message. Their YHWH is vengeful and at times capricious, conscious of power but not depicted in the Moses story as omnipotent. The editors were deeply attached to the minutiae of ritual, but were not clear about ethical standards. It is not clear for what sin Moses was punished by not being allowed to enter the promised land. At times Moses himself appears to be quasi-divine. He argues with YHWH, even lectures him,

when he proposes to destroy Israel after the episode of the golden calf, and obtains mercy for the people from YHWH, only himself to fly into a rage and have three thousand executions carried out by the tribe of Levi, who thereby become the priests of YHWH.

What is clear is that Moses, as depicted in Exodus and Deuteronomy, is the figure of a great religious leader, portrayed as the founder of Judaism as a religion, and acknowledged by Christians as foreshadow-

ing the very different ethical and priestly status of the Anointed One. The meaning of the revelation YHWH entrusted to him is not clear, and too much mythologizing and rewriting, incorporating alien folklore, has obscured the actual details of his career, but he is certainly the founder of one of the first of the three great religions to have come out of the Middle East: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

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Mouroux, Jean. *See Experience*

Music

Music—according to what is doubtless a rather vague consensus as to its content and boundaries—is understood as the practice of singing and playing instruments, in contexts as varied as the concert hall, musical theater, worship, and so forth. The use of music in Christian worship is a fact. In order to try to understand this fact and its implications, it can be shown that an interplay of historically based constraints and resources has given rise, within the Christian liturgy*, to a special type of musical practice, defining forms, producing repertoires, and deriving the logic of its development from certain principles.

It is, nonetheless, important to note that the term *musica*, which originates in Graeco-Latin theory, was scarcely used by Christian writers until Cassiodorus (c. 485–c. 580) introduced the theory of the liberal arts into clerical and monastic circles (*Institutiones*, PL 70). Even then, however, the word denoted a science related to mathematics—a kind of cosmology of sonic, rhythmical, and numerical phenomena—far removed from the practical and spiritual realities of the church's music. Isidore of Seville (c. 559–634), in his study of the voice and of singing, was to fuse Cassiodorus's approach with that of the rhetoric derived from Quintil-

ian. This fusion clearly indicates the two domains in terms of which the “effects of music”—henceforth an obligatory chapter in any treatise *De musica* (Hame-line 1978)—would subsequently be considered.

1. From the Origins of Christian Music to Clement of Alexandria

There was, at the outset, no Christian Church* music comparable to the musical establishment of the Temple at Jerusalem*, still less to that of the political and social institutions of the Mediterranean cities and their public worship. There were no bodies of musicians (singers, dancers, or instrumentalists) and no musical practices codified in a repertoire and a calendar. The musical practices of the earliest Christian communities seem to have been closer to what can be seen in the context of religious brotherhoods or associations centered on mutual enlightenment and drawing on the human resources of their members, understood as charismata in the service of the community (1 Cor 14). The domestic space, extended to the members of the community, seems to have been the main forum for this, and its importance would continue during the following centuries. The role of the family, or in a wider

sense household, in the development of Christian prayer* and worship, and even of certain forms of urban monasticism*, cannot be overlooked.

Even if it appears necessary to play down somewhat the direct influence of the practices of the synagogue on the liturgical choices of the first communities (Taft 1985), it remains certain that the synagogue, a place of worship with a psychologically and materially restricted space, offered some very significant models: the reading of the Holy* Scriptures and their commentary, the singing of the Psalms*, and certain styles of prayer. In any event, all authorities agree that the first Christian groups displayed a remarkable degree of activity in the field of hymnody (Perrot 1985), at times spontaneous and even improvised. As Tertullian* attests, “each person is invited to sing to God, in the midst of the assembly, a song drawn from the Holy Scriptures or from his own inspiration” (*Apol.* 39, 18). There is also agreement in emphasizing the growing importance that the nascent church would come to attach to the Psalms of David.

As it developed, however, Christianity could not help providing itself with means of expression in keeping with what it saw as its religious originality, and with the forms taken by its institutions and its social organization. For this reason, the fundamental choices that would characterize the role of music and singing in Christian worship over the first millennium can offer a key to the understanding of all that was later to occur in this sphere.

Christian music, which as yet was hardly recognized as such, but which can be supposed to have been in search of its own form of expression, was at first led to define itself in opposition to a musical art that was an integral part of paganism, and to everything in this art that seemed to corrupt morals. On this point Christians were in agreement with civic Platonism, which banished effeminate poets and musicians from the city; and they shared the reservations of the numerous contemporary thinkers who condemned the art of music as unworthy of a virtuous and upright life (Quasten 1983). The growing theological conception of a sinful corruption of human nature* was then enough to strengthen this suspicion. For example, when Augustine came to deal with concupiscence, in particular abuses related to hearing, he expressed hesitation (fruitfully, moreover) over the church’s acceptance of such a frivolous and formidable art as singing.

In any event it is highly likely that the very concept of *song*, and more precisely that of *new song* (in the words of Ps 144:9), very soon appeared as a suitable term to denote what would henceforth be seen much less as a ritual or “artistic” practice than, metaphorically, as a properly Christian attitude to life and the re-

newal of life, as a felicitous way of living according to grace*. This metaphorical and truly innovative approach to the concept of song is clearly seen in the *Protrepticus* of Clement of Alexandria (†212), a text whose date and place of composition, in the especially cosmopolitan and multireligious context of the great Mediterranean city, correspond to a defining stage in Christianity’s organization and its interpretation of itself. So, according to Clement, song is a model of an intense and joyous presence in the world, but a presence that the worship of false gods can only render illusory and deceptive. Christ*, Logos and Wisdom*, but also a true man and the singer of his Father*’s praises, therefore intercedes as he who makes possible a “new song,” *kainon asma*, whose role is to convert the song of Amphion, Orpheus, or Homer to the succession of David and the prophets*. This new song, sustaining itself with hymns and psalms in order to constitute itself, is identified with a life (also new) of piety (*theosebeia*) and wisdom. Consequently, the art of music has no direct power of salvation* in itself, no more than it has the power to influence the deity. The new and musical harmony of beings must be attributed to the action of the Holy* Spirit, and song is therefore a fruit of wisdom, lit up as it were by the beatified humanity of Christ, but having a poetic reality, which cannot be separated from an ascetic dimension. And so the actual phenomenon of song, and all the musicians’ art, can do no more than evoke that other song—perhaps more real in its nature of song—that is the song of the virtuous life. This reversal of perspective was to sustain the whole subsequent conception of song and *laus vocalis* (“vocal praise”) that Christian moralists would develop (see, among many others, Augustine, *En. in Ps.* 146, 148, 149; John Chrysostom*, *In Ps.* 111; and, in general, commentaries on Ps 46 and 149).

If then we are obliged, in the absence of more precise evidence, to imagine on the basis of the *Protrepticus* a hypothetical practice of song in Christian assemblies, we should certainly emphasize the absence of any established musical organization. Clement rejects everything reminiscent of sacred theater, initiatory pilgrimage*, or Bacchic intoxication. His strong ascetic tendencies are, however, joined to a warm and imaginative impulse for hymnody, which permeates all his remarks, and suggests a lyrical, even a vocal quality.

This wisdom-centered asceticism recurs in monastic psalmody, with variants resulting from the greater or lesser strictness of the customs and rules of a community. Thus Athanasius*’s letter to Marcellinus (PG 27, 37–41) attributes a calming effect to the melodious chanting of the Psalms, which reconciles the rhythm of the soul* with that of the inspired author, and thereby

prepares the heart for prayer (Dyer 1989). This theme was to have a lengthy history (Vogüé 1989).

The Christian concept, then, was characterized by three refusals. First there was the refusal of any form of song or music that might endow the art with a constraining effect on natural and supernatural forces. Then there was a refusal of any Gnostic tendency to attribute a power of illumination, and of access to the divine consciousness*, to musical forms (scales, numbers, rhythms, etc.) as such. Finally, there was a refusal of all association of musical practices with what appeared as moral dissoluteness, drunkenness, frenzy, extreme states, or trances.

2. *Ethos of Song in Christian Celebration*

The ritual of baptism called on the catechumen to renounce the “vanities of Satan,” and these were doubtless embodied most strikingly and resoundingly in the processions that opened the often bloody games at the circus, accompanied by a multitude of fanfares, shouts, and banners. Christian writers did not hesitate to express their feelings of loathing for this sound-world (e.g., Tertullian in *De spectaculis*, ch. 10, PL 1, 642–44). Once the establishment of the church, the local prestige of the bishops*, and the development of the clergy made possible the appearance of a liturgical ceremonial of broader scope than at first, the rejection of musical instruments and the use of the unaccompanied voices of the singers and congregation gave Christian celebrations a sonic ethos that was undoubtedly more innovative than historians of music have acknowledged, and without which it is hard to imagine the appearance in subsequent centuries of the great Latin monody, Roman, Milanese, Gallican, Hispanic, and Romano-Frankish.

The key characteristics of this ethos of song, or at least of a desired and suggested ethos, are clearly evident in a sermon by Niceta of Remesiana (c. 454–85), *De psalmodiae bono* (PL Suppl. 3, 191–98), the terminology and content of which would be taken up in part by Isidore of Seville (*De ecclesiasticis officiis* I, ch. 1–10, II, ch. 11–12). Niceta was not unaware that some in both the East and the West held the singing of psalms and hymns to be pointless and “unsuited to divine religion,” and confined themselves to a restrictive interpretation of the apostle*’s words, “be filled with the Spirit, . . . singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart” (Eph 5:18–19)—or, in their interpretation of the phrase *in cordibus vestris*, “in the secrecy of the heart.” But the apostle spoke of singing, not of silence, and in point of fact his words refer to the union of the heart and voice. Niceta goes on to praise the psalms and canticles of the Bible, holding that for

every situation in this life, and for every age and sex, they offer a remedy made effective by the sweetness and charm of the singing in such a way that the heart cannot help being moved when it has understood that all the mysteries* of Christ are celebrated in them.

The well-known expression from Psalm 46, *psallite sapienter*, clearly indicates that one must not sing with the breath alone, but also with one’s intelligence, awakened by the beauty of the song. If this is the voice of the church in its assemblies, the task of defining its characteristics can hardly be left to chance, still less to disorder. Christian simplicity cannot borrow the charm of its melodies from a vain and theatrical art. Rather, all must be in accordance with the sanctity of such a religion. Unfortunately, Niceta only indicates one feature of the realization of this program: the recommendation of singing *ex uno ore*, exemplified by the song of the three young men in the furnace (Dn 3). This insistence on *una voce* was akin to the horror of heterophony, and more generally of any vocal behavior that might evoke tumult and haste (Quasten 1983), evinced by a good many priests and monastic superiors.

When the voice was addressed to God, all booming sounds were forbidden, as Cyprian* had explained in his commentary on the Lord’s Prayer (Réveillaud 1964): “The mode of speech and the demands of those who pray should betray a concern for calm and restraint. Consider that we are in the presence of God. It is important to please the divine eyes by the attitude of the body and the intonation of the voice. As much as it is the mark of an insolent man to make shouts resound, so it is proper for Christian humility to make itself heard through measured prayer.” Of course this did not rule out the religious significance of groans and sighs (Armogathe 1980), nor the fervor and enthusiasm so emphatically praised by Ambrose* (*Explanatio Ps. 1*, PL 14, 924–25, *Sermo contra Auxentium*, PL 16, 1017), who in other respects was the theoretician of Christian *verecundia* (*De officiis*, PL 16, XVIII, 43–47).

In the organization of the musical repertoire, the Carolingian liturgists were thus obliged to distinguish different motivations and to allow song to find expression in a necessary (and theologically significant) diversity of modes of singing: the fullness of congregational psalmody sung in a moderate and flowing voice, the “artistic” and sustained (*strenua voce*) singing of the clerks in their own repertoire (particularly the soloists performing the versets), and the “secret” (*in secreto*) utterance of the priestly prayer in the canon of the mass (see Chrodegand, Bishop of Metz, *Regula canonorum*, PL 89, L, 1079, taken up by the Council of Aix in 816).

3. Fundamental Questions of a Theory of Liturgical Music

In the patristic period, then, everything appears very straightforward, as though the church was faced with the open-ended task to define a music, or more precisely a musical quality of voice and singing, that would be in keeping with its worship and be able, through its performance and perpetuation, to maintain its forms (formal models and established repertoire), its principles, and its sensibility. The aim was to link the tradition* of songs to the tradition of song, understood within the church as a theological act. It is important to note, moreover, that the development and dissemination of Christian singing were not inherently tied to a particular language. Admittedly, the earliest historical languages of church music, apart from the geographical traces they left in the shape of a small number of revered and untranslated terms or formulae—such as those untranslated Hebrew terms (*amen*, *alleluia*, and *hosanna*) of which Augustine speaks (*De doctrina christiana* 1. 2, ch. 2)—did not fail to leave a strong influence on Christian diction, as demonstrated by the example of the psalmic verset, so alien to Graeco-Latin prosody (Gerson-Kiwi 1957).

Still more significant, however, was the character that the various languages and cultures were to impose on the musical material handed down to them. Serious attention must therefore be given to the phenomena of linguistic inculturation* (Gy 1990), invariably the joint product of a language and a religious self-awareness shaping one another at the very level of the medium of expression. Thus not only Ambrose's hymns, but also the poetic works of Paulinus and Prudentius, succeeded in reconciling the heritage of Latin poetry with the *eloquio* proper to the Christian message, in a "new song" (Fontaine 1981). And the strange melting pot in which psalmic declamation met Latin accentuation was to witness the appearance, after a slow process of maturation, of that new and still surprising musical object, the antiphon—and above all the development around it, and in keeping with the *ars canendi* proper to the institution (also new) of the *schola cantorum* (a qualified group of singers with a well-defined ceremonial status), of a systematic repertoire, the antiphonary, in which the mystery of the Christian liturgical year could be unfolded in a sonic form that was both continuous and differentiated, joining a musical hermeneutics* of the text to the offering of heartfelt and joyful praise.

A few insistent, if not essential, characteristics of Christian music can thus be identified (but *see also* Gelineau 1989 and Ratzinger 1995):

- a) The involvement of singing in the individual and collective experience of faith* is essentially a

matter of oral confession, as defined once and for all in Romans 10:8–10, on which the whole theology* of the voice of the church in its assemblies is based. While confessing the faith, singing permits the understanding of whatever can be expressed in it. It does so however in its own musical mode, giving the text a sonic space in which, paradoxically, its weight of meaning appears more clearly than in the pure and simple utterance of the words. Singing works in favor of clarity by lengthening diction. The *tarditas* peculiar to sung utterance had already been well expressed by Boethius* (*De Institutione Musicae*, 1. 1, ch. 12, *see* Potiron 1961). More than the ceremonial function, what is important here is the establishment of a zone of audibility peculiar to the sung action. This development may be seen from this time on as the primary role of the provision of music for liturgies. It was to open the way to later innovations, in particular polyphony.

- b) The tradition of Christian singing cannot deny its Pentecostal and charismatic origins. It may be that the three terms "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" mentioned in Colossians 3:16 and Ephesians 5:19 did not correspond to categories of singing actually in use. Nonetheless, the reference to these forms of singing offers a glimpse of a possible extension of established repertoires in the direction of forms in which art and didactic motives give way to the communication of an energy drawn from religious experience itself, to that "jubilation" (*vox sine verbis*) in which the commentators of the fourth century saw an excess and an overflowing, which both fell short of and lay beyond verbal expression (Hilary*, *Tractatus in ps. 65*, 3, PL 9, 425 and Augustine, *Sermo 2 in ps. 32*, PL 36, 283; *in ps. 99*, §4, PL 37, 1272).
- c) A lyrical heritage, consisting of both psalms and hymns, is contained within the Christian Scriptures. At its heart is the Psalter, a palette containing all the feelings of the fortunate or unfortunate believer, read through the symbolic figure of Christ the psalmist (Fischer 1951). Its invitational structure, expressed by the imperatives *cantate*, *psallite*, *magnificate*, *laudem dicite*—and by the place occupied in the liturgy of the hours by Psalm 95, which begins, "O come, let us sing to the Lord"—offers an understanding of what is undoubtedly the most fundamental characteristic of Christian singing: the affirmation that God is in some sense "singable," indeed cannot perhaps be adequately acknowledged if the believer does not at some time place himself in a hymnodic sit-

uation. Of course God cannot have need of praise of any kind, and nothing is more repugnant to Christianity than adulation (John Chrysostom, *5th Homily on 1 Timothy*, PG 62, 525–90 and Augustine, *En. Ps.* 134, PL 37, 1708–55). Singing is of benefit only to the singer and his audience. For them it signifies the liberality of the divine gifts, presenting itself as the (eschatological) restoration of a (protological) power of song. Singing sings the praises of God by singing its own possibility. It sings the possibility of giving praise, to which it ceaselessly repeats an invitation.

- d) The figure of the cantor, or psalmist, to which Augustine so frequently alludes (also of course the title on which Johann Sebastian Bach would pride himself), appears at this time as guardian of this lyrical heritage, and as responsible for keeping the invitational tradition in a state of sufficient vitality. In the description he gives of ecclesiastical roles, after describing the responsibilities and the art of the reader, Isidore of Seville goes on to define those of the psalmist. Unlike Niceta, several of whose expressions he borrows, he offers an outline of a theologically sound vocal ethos in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (1. 2, ch. 12): “It is important that the psalmist be notable and distinguished for his voice and art, in such a way that he can lead his listeners’ souls to give themselves over to the charm of a sweet psalmody. His voice should be neither harsh, nor coarse, nor out of tune, but resounding, melodious, clear, and dignified, a voice whose sonority and melody will be in keeping with a holy religion. It should not betray an interpreter’s art, but should exhibit a true Christian simplicity in its musical display. It should not smack of the ostentation characteristic of musicians, neither of theatrical art, but should rather bring about in its listeners a real softening of the heart.”

Thus the art of song properly conceived tends to produce a lifting of the resistance and heaviness of the heart, giving rise to a *compunctio*, which approaches the register of tenderness, but without weakness, since the voice must be direct, clear, and sonorous, as befits a religion that rejects theatrical effects and ostentatious music. It is fair to suppose that this program and this definition of an aesthetic of “suitability,” far from playing an artistically inhibitory role, were on the contrary able, by their advocacy of a lyricism, restricted to the search for an ideal form, to open the way to an unending search for forms and to give rise to an incessant striving for ap-

proaches and solutions that, in a sense, has merged with the history of Western music.

- e) One characteristic of this art—for by this time it was certainly an art—remains hard to pin down. It is expressed in the “charm” and “sweetness” (the *oblectamenta dulcedinis*) of which Isidore speaks. Everything that concerns the “sweetness of singing,” the *suavitas canendi*, might be assumed to be an almost meaningless literary cliché. The interpretation of a passage by Amalarius (c. 830), nonetheless, urges us to take it all seriously. For Amalarius, who was highly influential throughout the Middle Ages (Ekenberg 1987), singing quite specifically foretells the delightful reality of the rewards promised in the contract of faith. Following Augustine, Amalarius insists, moreover, that God does not attract “by necessity but by delight”—*non necessitate sed delectatione*—which bestows on singing the privilege of announcing that love* cannot be born from constraint (Amalarius, *Liber Officialis, Opera omnia*, Ed. J.M. Hanssens, Vatican, 1948, vol. 2, L. 3, ch. 5, §6).

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See also **Architecture; Beauty; Cult; Images**

Mystery

A. Biblical Theology

a) *From the Term's Origins to Its Use in the New Testament.* The word *musterion* is composed of a root (the root *muo*) and a desinence (*-terion*). The final *terion* seems to point to an original meaning that was either local or instrumental. For example: *thusiasterion* (altar, upon which sacrifices are made); *bouleuterion* (council chamber); and so forth. The root remains undetermined, even if the most probable seems to be *muo* (to close; whence "to remain silent," "preserve silence"); see LXX: *mustes* (initiated, masculine form; Wis 12:5), *mustis* (initiated, feminine form; said of wisdom* in Sg 8:4), *mustikos* (in a low voice; 3 M 3, 10).

With respect to this root, *musterion* might derive from the mystery religions, where it would initially have designated the place of initiation, and then the rites and secrets, the mysteries celebrated. LXX did not invalidate this impression, for *musterion* appears above all in texts of the Hellenistic period, written therefore directly in Greek (Tobit; Judges; 2 Maccabees; Wisdom), as well as in the later books of Sirach (Sir 22:22, 27:16, 27:17, 27:21) and of Daniel, where it is a translation for the Aramaic *raz* (Dn 2:18–19, 2:27–28, 2:29–30, 2:47), but literary contexts do not confirm it either.

In the New Testament the term is almost always used as in Daniel 2, where a) mysteries are related to coming events, in particular at the end of time (see Dn 2:29f.) (eschatology*); b) they are divine, in the sense that they concern the eternal decisions of God*, where he alone could make them known through revelation*; c) beneficiaries of the mysteries were those

whom he had chosen, and not the wise men of the world (see Dn 2:27f., 2:47f. LXX). These three components can be found in the New Testament, in revelations either on a precise point (Rom 11:25; 1 Cor 15:51) or on the entirety of divine decisions and their implementation (Mt 13:11; Mk 4:11; Lk 8:10; Rom 16:25; 1 Cor 2:1, 13:2; Eph 1:9, 3:9; Col 1:26; Rev 1:20, 10:7, 17:5–7). But although in Daniel 2 the revelations touch upon events that have not yet taken place, in the New Testament *musterion* designates not only future events, but also have as their primary subject Jesus Christ* (see 1 Cor 1–2; Col 1:27, 4:3; Eph 3:9, 5:32), whose ministry*, death* on the cross, and resurrection*, proclaimed as gospel, are unprecedented proof of the divine plan of salvation*, and which—in particular through the Resurrection—give a foretaste of the end of time.

b) *Dimensions of musterion according to Saint Paul.* By naming the divine plan for salvation *musterion*, the texts of the New Testament not only aimed to emphasize the inability of humankind to gain knowledge of it by themselves, but also indicated that once this plan for salvation had been revealed, human wisdom would remain powerless to understand it and receive it, for it was accomplished through means and events that appeared unreasonable. It was therefore not only because the divine ways had not been revealed up until then that they were a mystery (Col 1:26–27, 2:2; Eph 3:9), but also because, even when they were revealed and proclaimed, the world could not recognize them as being willed by God. This explains therefore why Paul

saw the mystery of God to be exemplified by the cross of Jesus (*see* 1 Cor 1:18–24). But the cross was not the only event that aroused astonishment. Colossians and Ephesians also insist on the way in which faith* in Jesus the Son of God (filiation*) could be experienced by all cultures (inculturation*), and this Paul calls “Christ among the nations” (*see* Col 1:27) (universalism*). This presence of Christ *among the nations* is unprecedented, because pagan nations were not waiting for a Messiah, and because in the Jewish hypothesis of their conversion* to the true God, it was up to them to go up to Jerusalem*, the holy city. The fact that, with the message of the gospel, salvation would reach the Gentiles wherever they were, and that their diversity went hand in hand with a strong unity under Christ, to the degree that the church* came to be called *his body*, were all part of the mystery (Eph 5:21–23).

c) Use of the Term and Its Reasons. The Pauline usage of the term is paradoxical, in particular in Colossians and Ephesians, for the gospel must be announced to all, whereas mystery contains the notion of a secret that surpasses understanding. However, Colossians and Ephesians make them practically synonymous (the mystery is the gospel itself; Eph 6:19), and this is not by chance. In telling of newness in Jesus Christ, *mysterion* in fact enabled the gospel to be proclaimed with the help of new concepts. But even as it led to new formulations within the gospel, it also provided a basis for their legitimacy. The remarks in Colossians and Ephesians about the church and its relation to Christ were not, of course, predictive. Nor were they announced as such in Scripture. But if messages such as these cannot be founded on Scripture, do they not run the risk of being invalidated and discredited? It is in this respect that the use of the term *mysterion* takes on

its prime significance. For it is borrowed from Scripture—Daniel 2 was already a part of the holy books*—and, as the voice of Scripture, it signaled that Scripture had not announced everything, that at the end of time God would have new things to say. This was a paradoxical use of a scriptural term to justify the usage of nonscriptural terms (body/head, etc.)!

Even though, as a message of the unprecedented, mystery is not per se focused on the past, it nevertheless enables one to reread the past. Because it provides entry to the intelligence of the eternal wisdom of God, through the paradoxical coherence of his designs, mystery authorizes believers to (re)read Scripture on the basis of the novelty experienced and announced, and to see therein the correspondences and foundation stones for a spiritual and, above all, a typological reading (*see* Rom 16:26; Eph 5:32) (senses of Scriptures*).

Subsequently, *mysterion* would be expressed through *sacramentum* (from the first African Latin translations) and would come to designate the celebrations that are now known as *sacramental*.

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***See also* Apocalyptic Literature; Christ and Christology; Church; Evil; History; Intertestament; Knowledge of God; Pauline Theology; Religion, Theology of; Revelation; Sacrament; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Universalism; Wisdom**

B. Liturgical and Sacramental Theology

a) In the Churches of the Aramaic and Syriac Languages. The tradition of these churches stemmed directly from the biblical heritage of the Jewish tradition. The word *raza*, whose Persian origin has been established—*Raz* designates the secret of the major royal council of the Achaemenid and Sasanid empires, where the most important decisions were made (Dalmais 1990)—corresponds to the Greek *mysterion*, and its plural, *raze*, to *musteria*. In the singular it designated ei-

ther mystery or the Eucharist*. In the plural it could be extended to the other sacramental mysteries from before the fifth century, having previously referred exclusively to the divine plans that were kept secret, then revealed, as in Daniel. The enigmatic sense of these *raze* remains, but the idea of an anticipated unveiling prevailed, even when the plural *raze* referred to the rites destined to show and to give what they concealed. The result was a certain eschatological emphasis in the liturgy*.

This cultic sense of the term is attested in the fourth century by Aphraates, Ephraem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and then by other masters from Edessa and Nisibis. Aphraates speaks of “these mysteries, *raze*, which the saint ordered for the celebration of Easter” (*Demonstr.* XII on Mosaic Easter, SC 349, 298, §1 and 10). Given to the “first people,” mysteries are no more than signs, *ata*, type, *tupsa*, figure, *dmuta*, *dumya*, *salma*, of a truth* fulfilled through the Easter of the Lord and through “true baptism*: the mystery, *raza*, of the passion* of our Savior,” which he prescribed to his disciples to give. The fruit of salvation* that issues from the cross is “the sign of the mystery of life,” *rushma d-raza d-hayyé*, communicated by the sacraments* (Dalmais 1990; *Diatessaron* by Ephraem XXI, 11, SC 121, 380).

For Ephraem, *raza* was combined with other words of the same semantic register to form expressions such as *braza-w-tupsa*, which designated the liturgical acts of the church. It was then the “already there” of their eschatological content that was emphasized by “often indicating a resemblance between the symbol and that which it symbolized” (P. Youssif in Dalmais 1990). After having been collected in the Torah, the mysteries were “incarnated” in Christ*, who fulfills all the symbols, in the expectation of their unveiling, but “to the point of comprising an integral part” (G. Saber in Dalmais 1990). This theology* would become more refined with Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Catechesis* and other representatives of this tradition) (Dalmais 1990).

b) In the Greek-Language Churches. Pagan mystery cults persisted from the seventh century B.C. until the third century A.D. in the Greek world and Hellenized regions. Their terminology was progressively adopted by Christians. Furthermore, their strong imprint on the Christian liturgy of the fourth century is clear, not solely in terms of language but even in the character of the ritual experience.

The shared root *mu(s)* of the related Greek terms *mustes*, *musteria*, in relation with the verb *muo*, which designated the act of “closing one’s eyes and lips” when confronted with something that would therefore remain secret (Burkert 1987), suggested the attitude of fear that dramaturgical activity aroused: the sensation of the presence of gods and sacred silence. The mysteries of Eleusis, for example, were called *arrethos telete*: a prohibition, *aporrheta*, ensured their prestige and effectiveness. The fascination exerted by the gods required the ritual workings of the unexpected and unspeakable, *arrheton*, of the “terrible” presence, fascinating and gratifying, of an almost tangible holiness in the experience of knowledge, of agony, *pathein*, and of exaltation aroused by the initiatory ritual drama. In

certain cases the mysteries were the expression of the human soul*’s religious fervor in its will to take part, from the moment of earthly life, in the mythical itinerary of the gods through the anamnestic story, through the initiatory rites and acts that constituted the sacred drama. This salutary experience of renewal was sometimes linked to a promise regarding the afterlife. The ritual symbolism that pagan mysteries practiced was more that of an initiation, *telein* and *telete*, into the divine, than that of a social link. There was no body of doctrine; nor were the followers required to repudiate the practices of shared religion. It is better therefore to speak of a cult of mysteries than of a religion of mysteries (Burkert 1987).

When the apologists of the second century developed the typological interpretation of history and of biblical writings on Philo’s model, the use of the word “mysteries,” *musteria* (Justin, *Dial.* 40 and 24; 44, 85, 111, 138), once again designated the events and the revealed secrets of God’s plan of salvation in Jesus Christ (Justin, *I Apol.* 1, 13; *Dial.* 74, 91). But the usage in worship culminated with Justin, when he denounced pagan mysteries as the demonic counterfeits of Christian rites (*I Apol.* 1, 54; 66, 4; *Dial.* 70, 78). Tertullian*, Firmicus, the Ambrosiaster, and Augustine* would do likewise.

Melito of Sardis sang of the *mystery of Easter* (SC 123, 2), which was, for him, the event of salvation “announced in the law,” the object of proclamation within the paschal Christian assembly and the ritual mystery of the New Covenant*. The technical expression of the mysteries of worship, “to accomplish the mystery entirely at night (*nuktor diatelesas to musterion*),” with regard to the ancient Easter festival according to Exodus 12:10 (ibid., 15, 16, 68, and 145 n. 95) leads one to conclude that it included Christian Easter, and its accomplishment, as a mystery, that is, as a ritual celebrated by a community of initiates bringing about through the acts they implemented the saving act of God, which took on the shape of an event.

Clement of Alexandria expressed the mysterious nature of Christianity with the help of the technical vocabulary of the ritual mysteries (*Strom.* IV, 3, 1; IV, 162, 3; V, 9–10; *Protreptique*, 12). The Gnostics appreciated the category of the mysterious, which had already enabled them to express an entire portion of the philosophical quest (Diotima of Mantinea in Plato’s *Symposium*, 210 a–212 c); Clement, in the same vein (Riedweg 1987), saw in Christianity the true gnosis* (*Strom.* V, 57, 2; VI, 124, 16).

According to Origen, “the mystery of Christ is refracted through the Church, as it appears in the Scripture. It is also manifest in the sacraments” (Bornert 1966). The sacraments, *tupoi*, enabled a participation,

by both designating it and by hiding it, in the truth, *aletheia*, of the mystery, of which the old covenant was merely a shadow, *skia*. Unveiled through Christ, it would not be fully manifest until its eschatological accomplishment. This revelation* of the mystery provided the basis for the typological interpretation of Scripture found in Origen. It derived from Judaism*, which also applied it to rites. Origen did the same. It is therefore probable that these hermeneutics*, identical in the case of the mysteries (divine plans) proclaimed by the biblical text and in that of the ritual mysteries that signified them, led to a generalized acceptance of the notion of ritual mysteries. Origen called Christianity in general “the *teletai* which are our own” (*Cels.* 3, 59). Julian, his adversary, saw in Christianity a new *telete* (Burkert, 1987).

Eusebius of Caesarea saw in the “mysteries of [Christ’s] body and his blood” (*Demonstr. Ev.* V, 3) the best example of the fulfillment of the sacrifice* of the peoples (*Demonstr. Ev.* I, 10). *Musteria* then came to be a preferred term for the Eucharist. Expressions related to the adjective *mystikos*, “mystic eulogy,” would be found, for example, in Cyril* of Alexandria.

In the fourth century the celebration of the sacraments of initiation* was provided with systematic commentary by the Fathers*, who drew on the terminology of the pagan mysteries. The categories and language of the mysteries allowed them, it would seem, to elaborate a mystagogy of the celebration, the efficacy of which became culturally possible and pastorally urgent (Ph. de Roten 1993). The risks of confusion with pagan worship were disappearing. It was now possible to validate the liturgical experience by means of a more mysterious ritual capable of inciting those who were reluctant to convert* to become baptized, and to signify more effectively the essential graces* of illumination and their source: Christ, at the right hand of the Father (Kretschmar 1970). The emphasis was placed on the simultaneously gratifying, inexpressible, and “terrible” nature of the mystery of salvation realized in the terrible and sacred mysteries of the Easter drama. Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius of Salamina, Basil* of Caesarea, Gregory* of Nazianzus, and Gregory* of Nyssa are noteworthy (Ph. de Roten 1993). The most typical author in this respect is Saint John Chrysostom*: there are 66 occurrences of the vocabulary of mystery in his work, and 17 in the eight baptismal catecheses (SC 50).

Pseudo-Dionysius* distinguished the number and degree of the holy mysteries and described a Christian theurgy where they were organized in hierarchical fashion. For their part, they contributed to the union of man to Trinitarian thearchy (the very principle of deity). The central concept was that of the illumination,

which led to give to initiation the privileged dimension of contemplation. For Gregory* Palamas, the heir to Dionysius, the reception of divine light occurred through communion* with the mystery of the illuminating eucharistic body of Christ.

c) *In the Latin Churches.* The sacraments were also called mysteries in the Latin tradition, yet here again, it was only once the risk of confusion with the worship of pagan mysteries had disappeared (Ambrose*, Hilary* of Poitiers, etc.), but the ready transliteration of the plural *musteria* was carefully avoided throughout the first three centuries for Christian rites (Mohrmann 1952), whereas this was not the case of the singular *musterion*, which became *mysterium*. This singular *mysterium* could indeed be used without risk, for it had become a term in the common language that had a profane and general meaning—“secret,” “mystery”—whereas the implications of *musteria* or *mysteria* were still exclusively cultic and pagan. Also rejected were the Latin equivalents of Greek words designating sacred acts and the cultic experience of the mystery religions (*sacra*, *arcana*, *initia*, and so on), in favor of *sacramentum* and *sacramenta*, which were unambiguous (Tertullian) (*see* sacrament*). The word “mysteries” has sometimes been used in its cultic sense in the various liturgical books that emerged after the final liturgical reform called for by Vatican* II.

Related to such semantic evolutions, and considered from the point of view of their ability to make of the celebration an epiphany of the mystery, these three traditions of the inculturation* of the Christian liturgy permit various theological emphases, as well as the emergence of derivatives (excessive allegorization, didactic moralism, and so on) and elaborations (Dalmais 1990).

d) *Theology of Mysteries.* In returning to a concept of Christian mystery centered on the liturgy (Schilson 1982), this theology renewed all fields of theological inquiry in the 20th century. It was this theology that was the principal initiator of a number of patristic studies of the *Musterion* in our century.

In 1921 Dom Casel (1886–1948), a monk of Maria Laach (1907) and chaplain of the Benedictines of Herstelle (1922–48), was entrusted by his abbot, Dom Herwegen (†1946), with the compilation of the *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* (nowadays called the *Archiv für L.*), where up until 1941 he published a series of liturgical studies (Santagada 1967, *Bibl. gen.*). His spiritual teachings from Herstelle display a theology whose style and content are truly mystagogic. The spread of his teachings to France, at the instigation of the Centre de pastorale liturgique, began in the 1940s.

This theology would have to meet the challenge of historians of the modernist period who saw in the pagan mysteries the origin of the Christian sacraments. As a result, the Jewish antecedents of Christian worship were neglected; Casel (1921) detected in these pagan mysteries—initially in a balanced fashion, and then by forcing analogies—a providential “propaedeutics” of Christian worship. Although recent research (Burkert 1987) into these mysteries has corrected such perspectives on a historical level, Casel’s theological vision recalls for today the pertinence of a vision of wisdom that seeks to understand the soteriological status of religions and the rightful place of liturgy in any synthesis of Christian theology. Reference to pagan mysteries comes essentially within the method of a fundamental* theology of worship.

Casel’s perspective seeks to reconcile theology, spirituality, and liturgy. He insists less on the instrumental effectiveness of the sacraments than on their relation to the paschal mystery, which they accomplish in the form of communal liturgical acts; and in emphasizing their unity, Casel seeks to restore the theology of the church-as-mystery to the forefront, in its relation with the liturgy as the full realization of that mystery. A number of forgotten truths about the sacraments have thus been highlighted once again.

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See also **Liturgy; Sacrament**

Mystical Body. See **Church**

Mystical Theology. See **Negative Theology**

Mysticism

Over the course of many centuries, it is impossible to disentangle the concept and the field of mysticism from theology* in general. From Bernard* of Clairvaux (1091–1153) onward, however, a literature of mysticism took on independent existence. It frequently set itself in continuity with the patristic heritage, and in reaction against a scholarly theology that had moved further and further away from its contemplative foundations. It is fair to say that this distance became a definite break in the West in the 14th century, when mysticism as a form of knowledge definitively asserted its autonomy, as demonstrated for example by Gerson's methodological considerations in his *Théologie mystique* (1402–8). It flourished first in the countries of northern Europe (mysticism conventionally identified as primarily “speculative,” that is, invoking a “mirror” of God in the soul*, alluding to 1 Cor 13:12), and then in Spain in the 16th century and France in the 17th (a more “affective” mysticism, that is, more attentive to the psychological aspects of the experience that it described). Within this framework, mysticism can be grasped in itself, and that is how it will be considered here.

I. Mystery and Mysticism

The word “mysticism” has lost all precision since Rousseau and the romantics applied it to any irrational experiences, especially those attributed to religious phenomena. We will restrict it here to its most classic Christian meaning of a perception of God* that is, so to speak, experimental, a genuine celebration of the soul at the inner coming of Christ*. It consists of “an experience of the presence of God in the spirit, through the inner joy that is given to us by an entirely personal feeling of that presence” (Tauler [1300–1361] *Sermon* XII. 1, referring to Jn 7:6). A modern commentator explains: “There we discover, experienced by the mystic with the clarity of the obvious, what each of us knows through his faith and by which he lives” (Garonne, in Cl. Moine, *Relation spirituelle* 7). What is involved then is a very particular coming to consciousness of the mystery* of Christ, and it was to evoke this that the word entered the Christian vocabulary with Clement of Alexandria (160–220). Mysticism is knowledge of the mystery, that is, knowledge that goes beyond the

letter of Scripture and the signs of the liturgy* to the very reality designated by both, and that is hidden in God (*see* Bouyer, *Histoire de la spiritualité chrétienne* I, 486–96). From this point of view, a fundamental continuity links Abraham and Moses to John* of the Cross and Theresa of Lisieux, and the latter two claimed never to say anything but what was substantially contained in Scripture and transmitted by the church*.

Let us conclude our definition of the scope of the field of mysticism with the words of its most knowledgeable French interpreter in the 20th century, H. Bremond: “Good or bad, pagans or Christians, God is in us. Or better, we are in him. . . . He is in us before all our actions, and from the very beginning of our existence. . . . He is in us as the living principle of all life, present in everything that is most myself in myself, [so that] we are all potential mystics. We become so in reality as soon as we reach a certain consciousness of God in us, as soon as we in some sense experience his presence, as soon as this contact—which is, moreover, permanent and necessary between him and us—seems palpable to us, takes on the character of an encounter, of an embrace, a sense of being possessed” (*Autour de l’humanisme*).

II. Mystical Experience in Its Raw State

Let us begin with a particularly clear description of mystical experience from the Ursuline Marie of the Incarnation (1599–1672): “In the year 1620, on 24 March, a morning when I was going about my business, which I was earnestly dedicating to God. . . . I was suddenly halted, inwardly and outwardly. . . . Then, in an instant, the eyes of my spirit were opened and all the faults, sins*, and imperfections that I had committed from the day of my birth were represented to me in general and in detail, with a distinction and clarity more certain than any certainty that human industry could express. At the same moment, I saw myself entirely immersed in blood, and my spirit [was] convinced that this blood was the Blood of the Son of God, for the shedding of which I was guilty through all the sins that had been shown to me, and that this precious Blood had been shed for my salvation*. . . . At the same moment, my heart felt ravished from it-

self and changed into love* for him who had granted this remarkable mercy*, which caused my heart, in the experience of this same love, to feel the most extreme sorrow and regret that can be imagined for having offended him.... What the soul conceives in this marvel cannot be expressed.... These visions and these operations are so penetrating that in an instant they say everything and express their efficacy and their effects.... And what is the most incomprehensible, the rigor [of this arrow of love] seems gentle.... Coming back to myself, I found myself standing, stopped in front of the little chapel of the reverend Feuillant Fathers... in Tours" (*Écrits spirituels et historiques* II, 181–84).

Narratives as spectacular as this often seem to imply that mystical experience is reserved to quite exceptional, if not abnormal, individuals. Let us therefore forget the divorce between theology and mysticism and read the same irruption of the supernatural* in its most minimal manifestations: "Mystics are not supermen. Most of them do not experience ecstasy or visions.... Moreover, it may be, and I am personally almost convinced of this, that in the most humble prayer*, and even more in the slightest aesthetic feeling, there takes shape an experience of the same order that is already mystical, but imperceptible and evanescent" (H. Bremond, loc. cit.).

Even so, the exceptional intensity of the episode recounted by Marie of the Incarnation makes it possible to observe under a microscope the characteristic elements of any mystical life:

- Complete discontinuity between that experience and all others: "I was suddenly halted, inwardly and outwardly."
- Lucidity and certainty: "The eyes of my spirit were opened... with a distinction and clarity more certain"—and we should note the clarity of the memory when Marie was writing 34 years after the event, and from the distant Canada where she was to die.
- Loving and transforming presence of him who thus penetrates into the soul: "My heart felt ravished from itself and changed into love for him who had granted this remarkable mercy."
- Suspension of the flow of time: "In an instant... at the same moment... at the same moment."
- Hence the simultaneity of perceptions that the soul is accustomed to dissociate: the soul is immersed in a rapture that is at the same time sorrow, but whose "rigor seems gentle."
- And by definition, the absolute inexpressibility of this experience: "What the soul conceives in this marvel cannot be expressed."

III. Expressing the Mystical Experience

1. *Mysticism and Language*

We have just raised a question that has persisted since the 13th century, about the status of truly mystical texts. These claim to say inexpressible things, "things that were, are, and will be," all at once, explains John of the Cross (*Ascent of Carmel* 26. 3), for, at the root of its experience, the soul "has been united with pure intelligence, which is not in time" (ibid., 14. 10–11). Hence language in this context is subjected to extreme constraints, for "the signifier [in a language] being of auditory nature, it takes place only in time" (F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* 103). There is therefore an irretrievable devaluation between the mystical experience and the account of it: "Human and external conversation offers to us the things of God so that we may enter into them; but in offering them to us, it degrades them in their dignity, debases and lowers them in order to make them comprehensible to the being who is clothed with the outer man" (C. de Conden, *Lettres et discours*, 1668).

Of course, any language is the articulation of eternity in time, but it is precisely that degradation that the mystic wants to remedy, for he has had the privilege of tasting things in their eternity, of contemplating them in the Word* (Jn 1:3f., according to the punctuation of Tatian [second century], adopted by all mystics), beyond language. Having become a writer, he experiences a fundamental contradiction and resolves it as well as he can only by constantly denouncing the weakness of words, putting them together in unexpected combinations intended to hold onto the vanishing presence to which they testify. In this, the mystical writer is basically a poet, whatever literary genre he may adopt, "the one who rediscovers the buried relationships among things, their dispersed similarities" (Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* 63).

We should note in passing that the surprising cultural richness of mystics (Hadewijch [13th century] and Ruusbroec [1293–1381] in Flanders, Teresa of Avila [1515–82] in Spain, Francis de Sales [Salesian spirituality*] in France) finds its explanation here: approaching the unspeakable, the mystic returns language to its origin, recharging it with all the virtualities contained in the Word from which it proceeds, and shows us in turn that all language is rooted in this kind of experience.

2. *Mysticism and Theology*

Whatever his reason for expressing himself (linked most frequently to spiritual* direction given or received), the mystic in the end turns himself into a theologian in his attempt to name him whom he knows to be above any name. His hyperconsciousness of God leads his language into a constant process of going beyond it-

self by means of simultaneous affirmation and negation. God is not this *or* that, for he is eminently this *and* that and much more. Negative* and affirmative theology support one another in a continual invitation to join in pure faith him who gave himself first, beyond all reason and all speech. In the 14th century Eckhart analyzed this obligatory transcendence to its ultimate theoretical consequences: "You must love God not because He is lovable; He is above all love and all attraction of love.... You must love Him inasmuch as He is a Non-God, a Non-Intellect, a Non-Person, a Non-Image. Even more: inasmuch as he is One, pure, clear, limpid, separate from any duality. And in that One we must eternally lose ourselves: from Something to Nothingness" (*Sermon* 83).

Although negation constantly returns the theologian to the luminous origin of his knowledge, in an attitude of pure receptivity that precisely defines the *act* of faith*, it bases its impetus on the affirmative experience of previous acts of faith, crystallized in *articles* of faith, and as such available for a new transcendence: "Just as there are two acts of understanding, one called intellection of the indivisible, in which there is neither division nor composition, and which consists of the apprehension of the simple substance, and the other that we can call composition and division of propositions, so there are also two acts in the knowledge of faith. The first of these acts is the simple apprehension of the objects of faith, that is, the prime truth*; and the other is the compound knowledge of the mysteries of faith directed toward that truth" (Quiroga, *Mystical apologia*, 4. 2).

In defending the legitimacy of a contemplative theology, Quiroga (1562–1628), last champion of the great Spanish tradition against a pervasive theological rationalism*, was merely taking up Pseudo-Dionysius*, heir of Greek patristics, endlessly commented on by the medieval West, who had provided for the expression of mystical experience a structure and a vocabulary that remained essentially unchanged: "As for you, Timothy, deeply engaged in mystical contemplations, forget the perceptible as well as intellectual operations, everything that is perceptible and intelligible, everything that is not and everything that is, and raise yourself in unknowing toward union, as far as that is allowed, to what is beyond all essence and all knowledge. In fact, it is only through a free and total ecstasy outside yourself that you will be borne toward the super-essential ray of divine darkness" (*Mystical theology*, I. 1).

IV. Restoration of the Soul in Mystical Experience

1. Rectification of Language and Rectification of the Soul

All language is a revelation of spirit in matter; it unveils "silences that have taken on bodily form"

(Valéry, *Œuvres complètes* I, 624). In the silence of his experience, the mystic has found himself carried above this body of language ("the perceptible and the intelligible" of Pseudo-Dionysius) through which each one of us weaves his history in contact with a particular culture. And it is again that carnal density of language that the mystic goes through when, returning to the universe of words, he invites us through them to join in pure faith with him whom he now knows is entirely other from what he earlier imagined.

Moreover, words do not only acquire a new density in the course of this passage; they recover their true meaning, and the entire spiritual organism is thereby reoriented, departing from illusion and again becoming able to say what is. The major patristic themes provide for the most recent mysticism the anthropology* that it needs. Since man had turned away from God and turned toward the earth, these thinkers asserted, his soul had been distorted: "When man inclines toward earthly concupiscence, in a sense he bows down...." (Augustine, PL 36. 595; see P. Delfgaauw, *Saint Bernard, maître de l'Amour divin*). And this "curvature" of the soul due to original sin* is redressed in the very act of man's spiritual assumption: "but when he raises himself to things above, his heart grows upright" (ibid.). This is the source of all the purifications that the mystic experiences as he progresses in his illumination; just as the light of the sun reveals the spots on a window, so the light of God makes it possible to perceive one's impurities and to detach oneself from them. This image, thoroughly developed by John of the Cross (e.g., in the *Ascent of Carmel* II. 5, 6), makes it possible to understand that the process of mystical transformation is at the same time a process of purification, and that divine contact, while fulfilling Adam*'s calling to share divine life, restores him to his primal innocence: "Under the apple tree, that is where I wed you, that is where I gave you my hand and you were restored, there where your mother was violated; by the apple tree the Beloved means the tree of the cross, on which the Son of God redeemed and consequently married human nature and consequently every soul" (*Spiritual Song* A 28. 3). The theme of purification, within that of union and transformation, here ties up with the theme of the passage from the image to the likeness of God, as it was developed for example by William of Saint Thierry (1085–1148), in a founding text of medieval and modern spiritual literature: "Nowhere, indeed, is the measure of human imperfection better revealed than in the light of God's face, in the mirror of the vision of God. There, the one who, in relation to eternity, sees better and better what is lacking to him, corrects by a daily likeness all the evil he had done by unlikeness, approaching through likeness him from whom he had been removed by un-

likeness. And thus an ever clearer likeness accompanies an ever clearer vision" (SC 223, §271).

2. *Classic Stages of the Inner Life*

This journey goes through customary stages set forth as early as Origen*, and accounts of it have engendered a spiritual topography virtually the same in all mystics, even though all of them are careful to tell us that this is only a practical guideline, and that God maintains complete freedom to elevate and restore his image in created beings following another pace and another chronology: In the various communications that God makes to souls of his gifts and his visitations, there is no certain and limited order, so that it may be said, for example, that after one process will come this other one; or, that from one level of prayer one moves to this other one (L. Lallement [1586–1635], *La Doctrine spirituelle* VII. 4, 9). In this respect, the case of Marie of the Incarnation, immersed with almost no preparation in the fullness of a total union with God, is exemplary.

With this reservation, the standard mystical journey is divided into three principal phases, corresponding to the transformation of the three zones of the personality sequentially seized by the divine presence (spiritual* life): the zone of the lower faculties (the senses), the zone of higher faculties (spirit), the connection between the two being accomplished by the imagination; and finally the summit of the soul, the place where the free and conscious act that defines the particularity of man in the image of God takes shape: "When man, through all his exercises, has drawn the outer man into the inner and reasonable man, when thereafter these two men, that is, the faculties of perception and of reason, are fully drawn into the innermost man, in the mystery of the spirit, where the true image of God is found, and when man thus gathered into himself leaps into the divine abyss in which he eternally was in his state as an uncreated being . . . then the divine abyss inclines itself and descends into the purified depth that is coming to him, and he gives to the created depth a higher form and draws it into the uncreated, so that the spirit is no longer anything but one with God" (Tauler, *Sermon* 62).

Mystical union properly speaking thus completes the reharmonization of the soul. Restored to its paradisaical normality, it is now entirely passive, undergoing divine penetration; and also entirely active, God acting freely in it. There it leads a perfectly happy life, the "common life" of Ruusbroec, the "spiritual marriage" and "transforming union" of Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross: "When the soul has reached that state, it matters very little to it whether it is in the trouble of daily concerns or in the quiet of solitude. Everything is the same to it, because everything that touches it, ev-

everything around it, everything that strikes its senses does not prevent the enjoyment of present love. In the conversation and noise of the world, it is in solitude in the chamber of the Bridegroom, that is, in its own depths where it caresses him, converses with him, and nothing can trouble that divine exchange It seems that Love has taken hold of everything, when the soul made a gift of it by acquiescing to the higher part of the spirit, where this God of love has given himself to the soul, and the soul reciprocally to God" (Marie of the Incarnation, *Écrits* I, 360ff.).

V. Structure of the Soul and the Mystical Experience

1. *The Soul Discovers That It Is Trinitarian*

Knowledge* of God and knowledge of self thus advance at the same pace, a process summed up in Augustine's expression *noverim te, noverim me* ("may I know You so that I may know myself!" *Soliloquies* I. 2). We must follow Augustine in the elaboration of a structure of the soul that was to dominate all of Western mysticism.

Twelve centuries before Descartes*, Augustine felt surprise at thinking, and saw in that single indubitable experience the core of his religious experience, the fixed point of every certainty, if not of all of reality. What is thinking, in fact, but wishing to know? But what is knowing but recognizing what is; better still, recognizing *the one* who is? In fact, my quest is not simple curiosity, but a groping response to a vital call, a response to a person whom I will perhaps never identify, but who draws me to a place before my thought, at the same time that he gives himself to me in the dual form of knowledge and love, Truth and the Good*: "Where then did I find you so that I could learn of you, if not in the fact that you transcend me?" (*Confessions* X. xxvi [37]). The place before my thought, where I exist in God, is my *memory*, the background of my consciousness, of which the capacity to remember is only a partial actualization, and which, for Augustine, fundamentally defines thought as recollection.

The exploration of that recollection then reveals to us three centers between which all spiritual activity unfolds as an advent of him whom we perceive as the source of truth and goodness, three centers that we will identify as Father*, Son, and Holy* Spirit when "the Truth himself, having become man and speaking with men, will reveal itself to those who believe" (*De libero Arbitrio* 13. 37). This sourceless source associates us with the Father in the exercise of our memory (in the sense, this time, of the faculty of remembering). This truth that we receive from it in the knowledge that we have of it associates us with the Son in the exercise of our intelligence. And this goodness that we attain when we actively conform our-

selves to this truth associates us with the Holy Spirit in the exercise of our will (*see Trin. XIV. 7. 19*). And we find again in this advent the movement from the capacity and the image of God, which every human person bears, to its actualization in the final likeness that presupposes having “put on Christ” (Gal 3:27).

2. Anthropological Vocabulary of the Mystics

For a minimal set of guidelines in the descriptions that mystics give us of their experience, here is their most common anthropological vocabulary, bearing in mind that the traditions to which they refer constantly intermingle, and that there would be little to be gained from attempting to disentangle lines of influence.

a) Summit of the Soul. Its mystical transformation corresponds to the “unitive way” (Pseudo-Dionysius), to the state of the “perfect” (Origen, William of Saint Thierry, John of the Cross), to the “spiritual man” (William of St. Thierry), to the “super-essential life” (Ruusbroec) or “super-eminent life” (Benet of Canfield, Bernières de Louvigny, Jean de Saint-Samson), and to the “transforming union” (John of the Cross). In an ascendant view of spiritual life, mystics speak of it as the “pinnacle” of the soul (Bonaventure*, Camus), or “pinnacle of the spirit” (Hugh of Balma), as the “heaven of the soul” (Marie of the Incarnation, who also expresses it as the “higher part of the spirit”). To express the fact that all psychic activity derives from it and returns to it, they speak of it as the “spark” of the soul (Bernard, Eckhart), as the “point of the soul” (Louis de Blois, Francis de Sales, 17th-century France), or “point of the intellect” (Yves de Paris), as its “center” (Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, James of Milan, Marie of the Incarnation, Francis de Sales, Maria Petyt, Camus, Laurent of the Resurrection), and as its “ground” (Ruusbroec, Rhineland*-Flemish mysticism, Marie of the Incarnation, Jean de Saint-Samson, Laurent of the Resurrection).

At the same time it makes up the inalienable part of the soul, the “substance” (Julian of Norwich, John of the Cross), the “essence” (Thomas* Aquinas, Ruusbroec, Eckhart, Tauler, Harphius, Benet of Canfield), seat of the “unity of the spirit” (Camus), and of the “essential unity” (Ruusbroec). To indicate that only God can accede to it, they use the images of the “citadel” (Plato, Plotinus, Eckhart), the “seventh dwelling” (Teresa of Avila), and the “chamber” (Angela of Foligno). In a more psychological register, they speak of it as “simple intelligence” (Sandeus) or “intellectual part of the soul” (Piny). It is the Greek *noûs* or the Latin *mens*; the “animus” (Augustine, Tauler), the “synderesis” (Bonaventure, Hugh of Balma, Eckhart, with an emphasis on will; Thomas Aquinas, with the twofold

aspect of knowledge and will), “intelligence and synderesis” (Gerson), “higher reason” (Thomas Aquinas), the “intellectual sense” (Richard of Saint-Victor), or again “memory” understood as the ground of the soul in Augustine. Finally, they sometimes simply call it “spirit,” in the triad *spiritus, anima* (higher part of the soul), *corpus*, referring to 1 Thessalonians 5:23.

b) Higher Part of the Soul. Its transformation corresponds to the “illuminative way” (Pseudo-Dionysius), to the state of the “progressors” (Origen, William of Saint Thierry, John of the Cross), to the “rational man” (William of Saint Thierry). In Augustine it is the *memoria* as it encompasses other faculties, that is, the “higher powers” (radiating in their variety from the *mens*: Ruusbroec, Harphius), or “rational powers”—“memory,” “understanding” (or “intelligence,” or “intellect”), and “will”—from Augustine on and for all those who follow him. It is also found as “rational sense” in Richard of Saint-Victor, and as the pairing “reason and will” in Gerson. It corresponds to the Greek *psukhé* and the Latin *spiritus*. It appears simply as *anima* in the *spiritus, anima, corpus* triad. This higher part is the seat of the “spiritual senses,” in mystical perception, with intellect paired with vision, memory with hearing, and will with the senses of smell, taste, and touch.

c) Lower Part of the Soul. Its transformation corresponds to the “purgative way” (Pseudo-Dionysius), the state of “beginners” (Origen, William of Saint Thierry, John of the Cross), to “animal man” (William of Saint Thierry). It groups together the “lower powers,” radiating out in their variety from the “heart” (Ruusbroec, Harphius). It includes the “sensitive powers” (the five senses) and the “appetitive powers” (the “irascible” and the “concupiscent” forming the “natural passions*,” expressed according to various divisions, notably, desire, repulsion, joy, sadness, love, hatred, fear, and so on). For Gerson it is “sensuality” (for its aspect as knowledge) and “animal appetite” (for its aspect as love). It sometimes appears simply as *anima* in contrast to the *animus* constituted by the higher powers.

The best traditional presentation of the spiritual organism can be found in the preface to one of the most read manuals of the Renaissance, the *Institution spirituelle* by Louis de Blois (1551).

VI. Authentication of Mystical Phenomena

1. Role of the Spiritual Director

We have seen that mystical rectification of the soul and rectification of language go hand in hand. This entry of God into words qualifies mystical experience as a phenomenon of revelation and of prophecy. Scholasti-

cism* treated it as such (*see* the introduction of Thomas Aquinas to *ST* IIa IIae q. 171). This revelation (individual revelations*), private as long as the church does not officially take it into account (e.g., by giving the title of doctor to a Teresa of Avila or a Francis de Sales), may be compared for the Christian to already authenticated forms of revelation, namely, Scripture and tradition*. This comparison makes it possible for the mystic to judge the tree by its fruits in a domain in which the soul has no direct access to the source of its experience. The basic role of the spiritual director is to carry out this confrontation between revelation and Revelation, in order to invite the mystic either to follow or not to follow the inner call. In either case, it involves relying on the words of faith to reinvigorate the movement of faith, the only attitude toward salvation required of the Christian, whether or not he is a mystic. Without these words he would be at the mercy of the inadequacy of the relation between what he has experienced and what he believes he knows of God: “it is a difficult thing, full of suffering, for a soul not to understand itself in these moments and to find no one who understands it. It may happen, indeed, that God leads a soul along a very high road of obscure contemplation and dryness, on which it will seem to be lost” (John of the Cross, *Ascent of Carmel*, Prologue).

This explains the importance, emphasized by all the masters, of a competent and experienced director for the journey. It also explains the importance, from the Christian point of view, of the evangelization* of the experience, so that it may be liberated from all its false meanings and develop in correspondence to the fundamental revelation that is found in Jesus*, only Word* of the Father (*see* John of the Cross, *Ascent of Carmel*, II. 22).

2. Link with Scripture and the Magisterium of the Church

To return to spiritual* direction, there is a contribution of authentic mysticism to the tradition: in its adhesion to the revealing God that defines faith, it receives in its understanding more than any other experience “a certain impression of the knowledge of God” (Thomas Aquinas, *ST* Ia. q. 1. a. 3. ad 2). This is the creative role of contemplation in theology and preaching* (and the very word “theology” at first designated contemplation as such, before indicating its teachable result, and then only a theoretical result, when the divorce between the two was complete; *see* *ST* IIa IIae. q. 188. a. 6).

VII. Evaluation of Peripheral Phenomena

Faith alone qualifies Christian experience, and the lucidity of faith qualifies mystical experience. The fact

remains that the mystic, Christian or not, is sometimes subject to spectacular phenomena, ranging from visions, rapture, and temporary loss of consciousness to levitation, extreme fasting, and stigmata. The variability of these phenomena, depending on time and place, indicates that none of them is essential to mystical experience. All are not susceptible to the same interpretation. Let us set out some guidelines.

- The restoration of the soul never occurs in a perfectly linear fashion. Even in the most classic journeys, its tangible zone is not definitively reorganized until that has been accomplished for its spiritual zone. This is why there are inevitable turbulences in perception, when the soul sees a union with God located high above it: “then for some there is a transport of impatience, within and without.... In this transport it happens that one perceives sublime and profitable words suggested and pronounced inwardly.... Some can then not prevent true tears from flowing.... Out of these transports and this impatience, some are on occasion drawn upward in spirit above the senses; and they perceive through words addressed to them, through images or tangible pictures shown to them, some truth...or the proclamation of things to come. This is what is called revelations or visions or the like” (Ruusbroec, *Ornament of the Wedding* II. 2).
- This kind of phenomenon is likely to become less marked in a more mature experience: “When the soul has been purified by the great number of ordeals that it has gone through, when it has life only for Jesus Christ, often all these favors are taken from it, or rather they are converted into other favors, more hidden but more precious and more excellent. It is led on a path more detached from the senses, a more spiritual path” (P. de Clorivière [1735–1820], *Considérations sur l'exercice de la prière et de l'oraison* II, 46).
- Within the union properly speaking, other kinds of refraction of the inner experience may occur in the body, either in a still disorderly form, or as a harmonious somatic expression of the experience. Levitation, for example, still belongs to a disorder, in that it reflects a certain divorce between body and soul: “Though mortal, he tastes the good of the immortal; though bound to the weight of a body, he acquires the lightness of a spirit. Thus, very often, his body is raised from the earth, thanks to the perfect union that the soul has achieved with me [Christ], as though the weighty body had become light. Not that it is deprived of its weight, but because the union that the soul has

achieved with me is more perfect than the union between soul and body” (Catherine of Siena, *Dialogues*, ch. 79).

- In contrast, stigmatization (and its overtones, such as seraphic transverberation) is a complete association of the body with the same union: “Because the pains of him [Christ] whom I love come from his love, insofar as they afflict me through compassion, they delight me through kindness. . . . It was this love that brought the stigmata on the loving seraphic Saint Francis, and the burning wounds of the Savior on the loving angelic Saint Catherine of Siena, loving kindness having sharpened the points of loving compassion” (François de Sales, *Traité de l’amour de Dieu* V, 5).

This spectacular aspect of their experience has never been sought by mystics; all of them regret, as a lesser joy, what it may express of disorder, and they emphasize the purely accidental character of what is accidental to the union. For example, Marie of the Incarnation speaks of her own maturity: “There are no visions or imaginings in this state; what you know happened to me in the past [the vision of her Canadian mission when she was still in Tours] only had to do with Canada; all the rest lies in the purity of faith, in which, however, we have an experience of God in a wonderful way” (*Letter 263*, 888).

Thus proper course is to take no account of these phenomena, whether they take place at the beginning of spiritual life or in its full flower: “Men in this state must dominate themselves by reason, as far as possible, and await the end that God has established: thus the fruit of virtue* is kept for eternity” (Ruusbroec, op. cit., referring to beginners).

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See also Asceticism; Contemplation; Experience; Knowledge of God; Life, Spiritual; Prayer; Spiritual Theology

Myth

There is no universally accepted definition of myth, but a good starting point is that of Mircea Eliade: “Myth relates a sacred history*; it relates a history which took place in primordial times.” We might add that myth offers a way of experiencing the world and a model of active social integration.

a) Approaches to Myth. The Enlightenment placed myth in the sphere of the irrational. In the view of 19th-century evolutionism it represented an infantile stage of humanity, a savage or unhealthy form of language. For Tylor and J.G. Frazer, the latter being the author of *The Golden Bough*, myth was an attempt to explain the world, but one shackled by a confused way of thinking (which would be incisively criticized by Wittgenstein*). L. Lévy-Bruhl, in his early works, also insisted on the primitive character of myths and their connection with a prelogical mode of thought. According to Cassirer, on the other hand, myth had a logic, even if it was not the logic of scientific thought. For his part B. Malinowski proposed a functionalist approach, seeing myths as codifying and justifying the beliefs and practices of primitive societies, and making possible an active integration within those societies.

Nevertheless, the justification of social practices is not myth’s only function. In terms of the structural analysis developed by Georges Dumézil, mythological discourses have structures in common. According to Claude Lévi-Strauss the analysis of myth is to be undertaken by seeking out its particular logic. This leads to the development of a model inspired by Saussurean linguistics, in which myths form a closed system whose meaning derives from internal relationships. Permanent structures known as *mythemes* are thereby identified. These are stable “parcels of relationships” whose combinations make possible the diversity of the narratives*. Understanding myth is thus a matter of decoding its structural organization, and this analysis enables us to grasp the work of a human intellect, which is always the same, and which gives form to content and (unconsciously) organizes it into structures that reflect oppositions and tend gradually to mediate them. This is the work of an intellect that organizes myths just as strictly as it does societies.

By focusing in this way on the semiotic organization of language, the structural approach is inevitably led to

take less account of the semantics that organizes units of discourse. Lévi-Strauss doubts whether human individuals and groups genuinely have the ability to construct themselves (Piaget). They are governed more than they govern; they merely choose combinations from a closed repertoire of possibilities. In the wake of structuralism the question is therefore to discover what becomes of the truth of myth when it is approached as a discourse, as an expressive phenomenon in search of meaning and reference.

According to Ricoeur, who asks this question, myth’s special characteristic is the deployment of a symbolic and metaphorical language, which shatters ordinary classifications and places at the disposal of human beings a tool that allows them to express that which can only be arrived at indirectly. Moreover, since myths are narratives, the manner in which their plots are constructed allows heterogeneous collections of events to become a unified story, making overall sense. Myth thus has a role of creative production, a *poetic* function; and also a *heuristic* function—that of opening up a world for itself at the same time as it gives rise to an expansion of language within language as such (*semantic innovation*).

Considered on the level of discourse, not all myths say the same thing. From the classifying approach favored in totemic societies to the metaphorical one cultivated in the Greek or Semitic worlds, a whole varied mythological repertoire may be sorted out and typologically categorized.

According to Freud*, myth is to be classed among those creations of the collective imagination that enable humankind to cope with the traumas that mark the passage to civilization. Guilty of assassinating its father in the person of Moses, the Jewish people was impelled by its guilt to set up a religion centered on a legalistic cult, while Christianity emphasized the murder of its God* and derived from it a religion of universal forgiveness. According to Jung, on the other hand, myth derives from a collective unconscious more archaic than the personal unconscious of Freud. E. Drewermann places himself within the Jungian tradition when he considers that Christianity draws on a timeless language of imagery, as presented equally in the Bible*, in myths, and in stories. In these terms myth performs two functions, reducing anxiety and

contributing to the integration of the individual. G. Theissen disputes both these points: on the one hand, Christianity as a religion is a system of historically rooted signs; and on the other hand, far from reducing anxiety it offers the means to endure it.

b) Myth and the Bible. Is the Bible a myth or a collection of myths? To answer this question we must begin by focusing on the process of demythologization that goes on in it—already noted by Gunkel (see Gilbert 1979). The Bible, being monotheistic, abandons the theogonies of the Sumero-Semitic world. While mythological motifs do survive (e.g., Gn 6:1–2), a wholesale effort to combat polytheism is evident: in Genesis 1 the sun and moon are reduced to the status of light sources and are not named. The creation* of the world by God ensures that the gods are excluded from the universe.

If *muthos* is to be understood as a narrative entailing semantic innovation, then the Bible is close to such narratives, but the diversity of the literary genres that make up its structure tends to impose a characteristic literary style. That which gives such writing its coherence is to be found not in references to a primordial and theogonic period but in the recollection of an ostensibly historical sequence of events, that of the Exodus. This provides the motif for a history of salvation* that echoes throughout all the literary genres: the escape from Egypt, the covenant*, the gift of the law and of land. The creation narrative itself is charged with the history of salvation to come. For this reason the rabbi Rachi of Troyes (1040–1105) presented the creation of the world in terms of that of Israel*: “For the beginning, Israel, God created the heavens and the earth.”

Israel’s active integration into the world was achieved through the observance of the law. Of divine origin, this law was not in heaven but rather “very near you... in your mouth and in your heart” (Dt 30:14). Individual and collective behavior did not derive from a primordial past, but from a law that accompanied the people from the time of Sinai. The biblical myth, then, is not theogonic but exodic: God walked alongside his people to bring them out of Egypt (2 SM 7:7), and the founding law accompanied Israel throughout her history.

This entry into history of a saving God and the founding law may be described in terms of the cultural schemata of direct communication between the gods and history—but we should not be deceived. In fact Israel’s experience initiated her into the true stability of history and the density of its mediations. The relationship between heaven and earth is mediated through the memory of the saving event and by the observance of that law that “is not in heaven” (Dt 30:12). Thus the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings show them-

selves capable of a genuine historiographical work that establishes relationships between facts and persons and judges the actions of the kings of Israel without indulgence.

Messianic hope*, prophecy*, and apocalypics are all currents that would later emphasize the theme of the end. So salvation is hoped for from a future action of God. The memory of the Exodus leads on to an expectation that reuses protological and exodic images: a new creation, a new Adam*, a new law. The institutions and rites themselves are presented metaphorically in such a way as to open onto an unprecedented world: an ideal king, a heavenly temple*. The real world, its violence and its darkness, is reconsidered in terms of eschatological realities. The wisdom writings, for their part, take note of this imbalance between real and ideal history, and derive a *modus vivendi* from it.

In Bultmann’s “demythologizing” project the (theological and rational) treatment of myth consists of extracting from the *muthos* an older proclamation, the *kerygma*, *kèrugma*. The complex written forms of the narrative-*muthos* are thus dismissed in favor of oral utterances (the first apostolic preaching) that antedate their putting into narrative form—the structure of the text now represents only an objectification and an obstacle to faith*. Studies following Bultmann, on the other hand, have led to a rehabilitation of narrative and a more serious appraisal of that which makes the New Testament a written event, in which biblical myth is not repudiated but incorporated in the shape of the Old Testament, and in which Christ’s Passover* fulfils the original event of the Exodus. So the great narrative that runs from Genesis to the Apocalypse derives its unity from the plotting of a story narrated in terms of the figure of Christ. It is this plot structure that guarantees to the believer the Word* that inspires his faith.

Finally, in the work of Northrop Frye the Bible is explored as the myth—the narrative, the plot—that has acted as a source for Western mythologies (to be understood as the totality of discourses, including literature, which “explain the relationship between human beings and values”). Alongside science, which deals with our relationship with nature, myth expresses humanity’s concern with the ideal construction of a world of culture. All Western cultures over the last 2,000 years find their origins in the Bible and in a Judeo-Christian tradition* that has absorbed all the other myths: the Bible is thus the “great code” that offers us a model of both space and time.

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See also **Anthropomorphism; Bultmann, Rudolf; Creation; Cult; Exegesis; Freud, Sigmund; Fundamentalism; Hermeneutics; History; Holy Scripture; Literary Genres in Scripture; Narrative; Narrative Theology; Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von; Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst; Sciences of Nature; Scripture, Senses of**

N

Name

a) *Biblical Anthropology and Theology.* In the ancient Near East a name was not a mere label, alien to the reality it designated, but was mysteriously linked to that reality. To give a name to a place or person was to define the meaning or destiny. This much is clear from the conferment of names of rule upon the new Pharaoh, or even the Israelite king (*see* Is 9:5). Receiving a “great name” was consequently equivalent to “becoming powerful” or “renowned” (2 Sm 7:9; 8:13; *see* 1 Kgs 1:47). When God* changed Abram’s name to “Abraham” (Gn 17:5) or Jacob’s to “Israel” (Gn 32:29; 35:10), it marked for them the beginning of a new life.

Knowing and uttering the name of God had important implications: this invocation was found at the heart of all prayer* and defined the action of worship, since it signified the relationship of belonging and called down divine blessing* (*see* Nm 6:22–27). The Hebrew Bible* uses various terms to speak of God: Elohim (with or without an article), which is generally translated as “God”; “El” and different expressions based on this name (El Shaddai, El Olam, etc.), which can be attributed to Israel’s Canaanite heritage; and YHWH, the proper name of the God of Israel, which some translations render by “the Lord” or “the Eternal.” This phenomenon is exploited for theological purposes by the “priestly” author (P) or the final compiler of the Pentateuch: God is known as Elohim (*see* e.g. Gn 9:6), then he reveals himself to the patriarchs under the name of El Shaddai (Gn 17:1; 28:3, etc.),

and finally to Moses under his name of YHWH (Ex 6:2f.). Thus we receive a progressive revelation* of the God of Israel by himself.

b) *YHWH, the Name of the God of Israel.* In the Hebrew Bible the Tetragrammaton is the proper name of the God of Israel, revealed to Moses at the burning bush (Ex 3:13ff.). Moses finds himself in the presence of the angel of YHWH, who sends him to free his oppressed people. Moses then asks God: “If I come to the people of Israel and say to them, ‘The God of your fathers has sent me to you,’ and they ask me, ‘What is his name?’ what shall I say to them?” (Ex 3:13). Three successive divine answers to this question are offered. The oldest—and the only one which truly answers the question—is that of v. 15: “The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob” (Ex 3:15). This reply would later be commented upon by v. 14b: “Say this to the people: ‘I Am’ [*’èhyèh*] has sent me to you” (Ex 3:14b). This sentence suggests an etymology for the name YHWH, relating it to a form of the verb *hayah*, “to be.” Finally, the famous phrase of v. 14a, “I am who I am” (*’èhyèh ’ashèr ’èhyèh*, sometimes rendered “I will be what I will be” or “I will be, yea, I will be”) develops v. 14b’s *’èhyèh*.

The Septuagint interprets the phrase in an ontological sense: “I am the existant” (*egô eimi ho ôn*), and this reading long prevailed both in exegesis* and in dogmatics*. It occurs in the writings of the church fa-

thers*, and also in those of Maimonides, Luther*, and Calvin*; the translation of the BJ (“I am he who is”—1975 ed.) still echoes it, while the 1954 edition put the emphasis on the first person: “[...] he who am.” In fact the author could not have intended a definition of God as the supreme Being*, since this type of abstract thought was not current in Israel. Moreover, the verb *hayah* does not refer to the concept of existence as such, but includes dynamism, action, and presence; the sense is rather “active being,” or “being for” or “with” (see v. 12). In short, Ex 3:14 resounds as the commitment of YHWH’s active and faithful presence in respect of his people*.

Occasionally the phrase is assumed to be evasive—God refuses to answer the question, as the parallelism with texts such as Ex 33:19 and Jgs 13:17f. may suggest; God remains ungraspable. This interpretation cannot be accepted. In the Semitic view it is knowledge of the name which ensures mastery of the other. This name (YHWH) is given in v. 15; v. 14a does not reveal the divine name, but offers an explanation of it. Moreover, the phrases based on the model of Ex 3:14a are not evasive in meaning either: on the contrary, in several cases they express an intensive sense (1 Kgs 8:60; see 2 Kgs 23:16; Ez 12:25; 14:23; 36:23).

The name of the God of Israel occurs in two forms: the long form represented by the Tetragrammaton YHWH and the short form YH (“Yah”, Ex 15:2; Isa 38:11; Ps 94:7, 94:12) or YHW, attested in some liturgical exclamations (“Alleluia” = “Praise Yah”). The short form appears in ancient theophoric names (names whose composition includes a divine name) such as Joshua (JHW-*shua*’) and Jonathan (JHW-*natan*), and this usage continued until recent times. Moreover, “YHWH” occurs not only in the oldest texts of the Bible, but also on the stela of Mesha (Moab, ninth century B.C.), the inscriptions at Kuntillet-Ajrud (North Sinai, ninth to eighth centuries), a tomb at Khirbet El-Qom (eighth century), and the letters of Lakish (seventh century). According to conventional wisdom the short form is to be explained as an abbreviation of the older long form. However, M. Rose (1978) points out that there is no known example of the abbreviation of the name of a national deity, and sees the long form as resulting from the addition of a final *hé* as a *mater lectionis* (a letter added to facilitate reading, without the value of a true consonant). YHWH and YHW were in all likelihood no more than spelling variants, and it seems that the initial minority usage of the long form gradually won over.

Since the ancient Hebrew text is not vocalized, the pronunciation of the name (“Yahweh”) has been reconstructed on the basis of the Greek transcriptions of Epiphanius of Salamis and Theodoret of Cyrhus

(*iabè, iaouè*); this pronunciation appears to be confirmed by the wording of Ex 3:14 (assonance with *’èhyèh*). However, other older transcriptions (Clement of Alexandria, Origen*) suggest a reading of “Yahwô” or “Yahûh.” The use of the short form YHW and of the theophoric names in *yehô-* or *yô-* support this.

Chapter 3 of Exodus does not introduce the use of the name YHWH—it was already known from Gn 4:26. At the same time, it is impossible to prove that the Israelites borrowed it from another people (for example the Kenites, as has sometimes been supposed). Doubtless the name goes back to a period when the semi-nomadic pre-Israelites were barely distinct from other comparable populations. This would explain why a number of peoples of the ancient East had deities bearing rather similar names: Ya(w) (Ebla), Yao (Byblos), YW (Ugarit), and Yau (Hamat). Although other hypotheses have been suggested, it appears that this divine name derives from the root *hwh/hwy*, which became the Hebrew *hayah* “to be”—an etymology that corresponds to the explanation given in Ex 3:14.

In the Septuagint, “Elohim” is translated by *ho theos*, “God,” while “YHWH” is rendered by *kurios*, “the Lord,” or sometimes by *kurios ho theos*, “the Lord God.” This translation is revealing of the attitude of Judaism*, which from this time (especially from the third century B.C.) refused to utter the thrice-holy name in speech, to avoid disrespect. The reading *’adonay*, “the Lord,” was soon preferred to “YHWH.” For this reason the Masoretes added the vowels *a* (very short), *o* and *a* under the letters of the Tetragrammaton, giving rise to the hybrid reading “Jehovah,” a linguistic barbarism unrecorded before the 14th century.

c) Name of Jesus. The New Testament does not use the name YHWH. When it speaks of God, it usually employs the expression *ho theos*, corresponding to “Elohim.” *Kurios* also denotes God (e.g. in the expression *kurios ho theos*), but it is used too to speak of Jesus as the risen Lord (see e.g. Acts 2:36). While this title may not express faith* in Christ*’s divinity in an obvious way, it tends to imply it. It is the risen Christ who receives “the name that is above every name” (Phil 2:9). Baptism is initially given “in the name of Jesus Christ” (Acts 2:38), then “in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit” (Mt 28:19).

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See also **Attributes, Divine; Being; Blessing; God; Monotheism; Praise; Prayer; Preaching**

Names, Divine. *See* **Attributes, Divine**

Narrative

1. Renaissance of the Narrative

Today a new interest in narrative has arisen, inspired by its place in the Bible* and by the historical nature of Christian faith*. For a long time narrative was neglected by a systematic theology* that reduced it to the level of an illustrated theme, and depreciated it through a historicist exegesis*, which stressed its discrepancy with the facts. Based on these viewpoints, the texts splintered into editorial layers, sources, and simple literary forms, bearers of ideas from which the history* was constructed. The final writing-up was conceived too much as an arrangement of materials showing a "theology" reduced to the motivations of such a project. Dialectic theologians (such as Karl Barth* and Rudolf Bultmann*), by insisting on the ever-current proclamation of the Word* for the principle of faith, hardly favored reflection on the narrative.

A reaction set in with Gerhard von Rad, who discussed the narrative form of the confession of faith (Dt 26:5–10) and the theological scope of the great narrative traditions in Genesis through Joshua, with the discovery of the role played by the narrative element in the texts about the covenant*. For E. Käse-

mann, the kerygma is not everything and the creation of the narrative on Jesus* has a theological value; Bultmann, on the other hand, excluded the pre-Easter Jesus from the domain of a theology of the Word. Then, with regard to the parables, Jüngel raised the question of a theology of language: in the parables, narrative is what permits the Kingdom* of God to accede to the level of language and to be at work in communication. More recently, literary studies on fiction and the development of narrative analysis have begun to stimulate philosophical thought. (Paul Ricoeur holds that narrativity explores human temporality.) Other studies have spurred on theological research, touching on such topics as "narrative* theology" and salvation* as experienced and recounted history. In addition, exegetic research has considered the narrative construction of biblical writings and the features of Biblical narration.

2. Narrative's Anthropological Domain

As the most widespread form of discourse, narrative clearly attests to a human ability to tell a story, and it communicates a universal love of storytelling. In a

narrative, one may distinguish between the series of utterances with a beginning and endpoint, the whole story that is being told, and the narration (or narrative operation) that is implied between two points; and also between the narrator, who is the organizer of the message, and the narratee, who is the potential receiver of the message.

a) Between History and Fiction. The past, a great supplier of narrative, is always revealed after the fact and the narrative, as a work of language, enjoys a real autonomy with regard to the past, so much so that the history recounted may be fictional. “Historical” narrative and fictional narrative do not differ on account of their content but through the often implicit contract between the narrator and the narratee, who commit themselves (or not) to encounter a real-life story. The “historical” narrative goes beyond the chronicle of successive facts by linking them together according to a causal logic. It cuts to the quick of the real-life experience, shapes what it retains of it, gives cohesion to the heterogeneous, and leaves open the possibility of recounting it in another way. All narration, therefore, contains a fictional element. A fictional narrative recounts events *as though* they have happened, while the most “historical” narrative tends to recount events *as though* they have happened *as they are recounted*.

Embedded in mankind’s general timeframe, recounted history detaches itself by means of a narration that is not tied to chronology, but that uses ellipses and pauses, flashbacks and anticipations. It creates moments of global transformation out of scattered incidents, integrating them according to an original “tempo.” The time recounted takes on a thinkable image, and the experience of temporality is humanized (Ricoeur). The narrative pays a debt to what is no more, but which still counts (ancestors, momentous or founding events, experiences* that must be attested to, sometimes to the limits of the sayable), and which becomes a signifier in the narration’s present. Individuals and collectives unfold their identity in the narrative. Simultaneously, the narration says that the past is irreversible, that it could have happened differently, and that life goes on. It attests to a freedom that endures, constructs an identity open to the future, and—faced with this freedom—constructs a form of possible existence.

b) Situation of Narration and Speech, Veracity and Truth. Through the interplay of the actors put on the stage, the narrative seems to stand alone without a narrator. And the recounted story’s interest risks causing the present of the narration to be forgotten. This present is not limited to the time of the narrative’s birth.

Thanks to the written form, it becomes real at the time of the reading. The stepping aside from the narrator and the listener in the text may be either a trap for readers—they forget themselves in the story and let themselves be manipulated—or it may be a piece of luck—not being involved directly, readers are in a dialogic position of listening freely to another spoken word. What is written does not abolish speech, but confers another pattern on it, favoring its otherness. It fixes its traces for the author as for the reader, and is not possessed by either of them. This type of communication is staged when an actor in a narrative begins to recount something—for instance, Jesus relating a parable*). What he recounts takes his place in order to solicit a hearing abandoned to the listeners’ freedom. It seems that the wish to recount and to hear what is recounted, attested in all cultures, is rooted in the desire for the speech of the Other.

The question of the narrative’s truth* splits into two parts: the first concerns the narration’s past, and the second concerns the narration’s present. Veracity* about the past is evaluated by historical criticism, which produces supporting arguments to establish the facts and to link them together (thus to interpret them). To that end it invokes a plausibility based on the constancy of human behavior (the logic of the same or the similar), but it may encounter the unknown, the other, the unexplained. It tends to produce another more or less probable narrative, which weighs its own veracity and does not exclude other possible narratives. This problem of veracity with regard to history (the referential dimension) does not tackle the question of the truth of the narrative as an act of language. Since the narrative’s dynamic is the bearer of the words just as much for the person who constructs it as for those who reconstruct it while reading it, whether it is historical or fictional, the narration can serve or not serve the subject’s truth by what is stated in it about man, his desire, and his relation with the other. In that sense, the narration, even historical narration, traces a “symbolic” course as a path of language for a subject of speech.

3. Narrative in the Bible

Narrative’s eminent place in the canon* (the great narrative that stretches from Genesis to 2 Kings, almost a third of the “Writings,” more than half of the deuterocanonical texts, and two-thirds of the New Testament) suits a faith founded on a historical revelation*. The narrative is composed of a story of salvation, from the “beginning” of everything to the post-exilic restoration (Hebrew Old Testament) and to the Maccabean crisis (Greek Old Testament), then from the beginning of the Gospels* to the spreading of the Word as far as Rome* (Acts). Unlike a history of modern conception, the bib-

lical narrative covers varied literary* genres (elements of myth*, popular traditions, chronicles, and exemplary or romanticized biographies, such as those of Ruth, Esther, Judith, and Tobit).

a) Narrative in the Domain of the Word. Allied to other forms of discourse (legislative, prophetic, hymnal, sapiental, epistolary, and apocalyptic*) the biblical narrative is embedded in the wider domain of the word and under its authority. The Word is at the “beginning” (Gn 1, Jn 1). In the Hebrew canon, the Law gives its name to Genesis through Deuteronomy, which encompasses it, and the Prophets* give their names to the books of Joshua through 2 Kings, which tell their stories. The Gospels and Acts precede the Epistles, but it is the Epistles which, in the Churches’* present testify to the force of the Gospels, based on which Jesus’ past becomes tellable. And Mark founded his “beginning” on the earlier word written in Isaiah (Is 40:3). Just as the prophets open history to eschatology*, the evangelic narrative orients it toward the Parousia*, and Revelation subjects it to the light of a “revelation,” which it depicts in narrative with symbolic visions of a coming that is being heralded in the trials and persecutions of believers.

Thus, biblical narration places time under the impetus of an original gift, which strives toward its fulfillment. Its truth is felt in the “now” and the “soon” of a pact lived daily. This results in a form of writing that differs from the storyteller’s or the historian’s art, not in the way that the “religious” would differ from the “historical” or from the “literary,” but through the characteristics of its enunciation, through the intent and the relation to time implied in the narration.

b) Evangelic Narration. Evangelic narration, for instance, has its roots in a living testimony that gives it, in its choice and treatment of the facts, a freedom that the historian rejects. Criticism is faced with varied documents about a social history of the origins of Christianity that refer undeniably to Jesus, but the historical figure of the latter does not emerge from them as a well-defined subject of knowledge. That fact shows that the evangelic tradition* is something other than informative, that it takes on something of the form of a liberating declaration. The Scriptures are the echo of the “eyewitnesses and ministers of the word” (Luke 1:2), resulting in the name “Gospels,” which fits these writings better than the literary genre of the Hellenistic biographies. What makes people talk and narrate becomes history: the event becomes the word. So it is with Jesus. His deeds and his passion had marked those who perpetuated their memory and found their truth there.

A typical characteristic of the Gospels is the integration of short narratives into a global narrative from which they are easily detached. The narrative of the passion*, the only integrated account in the form of a sequence of several episodes that gave rise to others, has become the apex of every Gospel. Each particular narration presents itself to the reader on two levels—within its own limits, and within the global narration. Nothing is reported about Jesus apart from his progress toward death* and resurrection* (compare *The Gospel of Thomas*). His passion, death, and resurrection constitute the common source of evangelical preaching* and narration (see Mt 26:13), which form the passage that opens once and for all for believers onto a way of life*. The Old Testament is oriented in this direction by means of quotations, reminiscences, or evocations. Continuity follows a scriptural and not a causal or historical order. It undergoes a rupture in level that triggers a rereading in both directions. The promise* finds its realization in Jesus Christ* recounted, and the covenant sealed in the latter’s body reveals what was hidden beneath the great images of the biblical narrative, and which offers to live in the social body of the Church.

4. Analysis of the Narrative

On the one hand, narrative analysis springs from literary interest in narrative art and in the Bible as literature (Erich Auerbach, Frank Kermode, Robert Alter), and, on the other hand, from the encounter in the 1960s between the morphology of the story (Vladimir Propp) and the structuralism applied in linguistics (Ferdinand de Saussure), in poetics (Roman Osipovich Jakobson), and in mythology (Claude Lévi-Strauss). They generated two main movements: narratology and semiotics. Narratology (Claude Bremond, Roland Barthes, Gérard Genette, and S. Chatman) describes the narrative sequence, the various types of plot, and the moments they link together. It notes the interferences and distortions between narrated history and narrative recounting (the narration). The narrative follows or does not follow the order and temporality of history. It can vary its vantage point (from above, from behind, or with the characters) and the narrator’s position (he is omniscient, or he knows more, or he knows less than the actors, remains neutral or judges the action, delegates the speech, or takes the floor). Whether or not they are represented in the narrative, the narrator and the narratee are positions implied by narrative communication, and they are not the “real” author and reader who start the action (whence the name of the “implied” author and reader according to Wolfgang Iser). These specifications sharpen the attention paid to the text, as well as to the strategies directed at readers, with the

aim of influencing them. The work's aim takes the place of the author's (Eco).

The semiotics that has taken the most interest in the Bible developed with A. J. Greimas and related researchers, including Geninasca and Zilberberg. Coupling theoretic and practical development of the texts, it tries to elucidate the linkage of the discourse (the content's form) by singling out several levels. The sequence of the actions (general grammar of the functions and the agents or fundamental roles)—which is inseparable from the knowledge of the actors and of their interpretations, their desires, affects, and emotions (the cognitive and thymic dimension)—can only be analyzed based on the figures of the actors linked together in time and space (figurative and discursive dimensions). The latter dimensions refer to the world, indicate the subject under discussion, and compose the narrated history. However, their linking together, specific to each narration, frees them from hackneyed meanings, to embark on a search that is not only for meaning, for it is a work of language and challenges in man a subject of speech divided between what can and cannot be said. Particularly in the Bible, narration often tackles a reality that resists language. Here we touch on enunciation, which tests itself through being written and read. As a trigger to the plot, it is narration, with an implied narrator and narratee. More deeply, as trigger to the discourse, it deals in them with the speaking subject confronted by the subject of the spoken word on condition of a possibility of meaning.

5. Reading and Theology of the Narrative

These analyses stimulate the reading, criticize it in the name of the text, and tend toward a global interpretation that does not limit itself to the reconstruction of a history or a didactic message. The narrative linkage and dynamic sustain an interest that goes beyond the anecdotal to ask the questions: What does this text want from me? What does it state about man, about his relations with the world and with time, with himself and with others, with desire and with speech? This anthropological dimension underlies a believer's reading: the recognition of the Other of the speech, under his biblical name, takes root in the relation of otherness that is learned through the language, the writing, and the reading. The latter can become theological—the sparking of a dialogue, of an unfinished encounter.

The act of reading becomes a theological act, not through paraphrase or extraction of doctrinal statements, but through participation in the understanding (rather than in the explanation) at work in the narrative, up to the limits of the knowable. Theology elucidates according to its own rules not only contents, but what,

of the Word made flesh*, is at work in the narration and is borne out in the reading ecclesial body. The salvation that is recounted permits neither systematization nor objectivization outside the progress followed in a history of loss and of the new, of sin* and forgiveness, of suffering and joy. There the language confronts a reality whose resistance the biblical narrative calls to mind, while drawing attention to the resources of the figurative and of the conceptual for speaking about the interaction of man and of God, of time and of eternity*, of the ultimate and the contingent. From the narrative, theology learns to locate itself at the meeting point of absence and desire, of the provisional and of the word that endures.

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See also **Biblical Theology; Book; Covenant; Exegesis; Literary Genres in Scripture; Jesus, Historical; Language, Theological; Myth; Narrative Theology; Time; Scripture, Senses of; Word of God**

Narrative Theology

a) *Another Form of Theological Thought?* Narrative* theology aims to "renew traditional theological thought by the integration of narrative forms" (Meyer zu Schlochtern 1979). Internationally, J.-B. Metz and H. Weinrich (1973) deserve the credit for proposing for discussion a number of analyses whereby conceptual and systematic thinking was enriched with new approaches focusing on metaphor, symbol, parable*, the art of rhetoric, the epic or biographical dimension, and so on. At the same time, they emphasized the experiential character taken on by the theological attestation of faith*, so that we may also speak of an "experiential" theology, proposed by J. Mouroux as early as 1952. It is important to distinguish here between the experiential and the empirical: narrative theology does not relegate theology to the empiricism of the social sciences, but rather examines it from the perspective of narrative and theories of narrative. The theoretical aspect of this new orientation has been forcefully articulated and developed by P. Ricoeur. Tradition* and history* are seen by narrative theology not so much from the point of view of the act of understanding (the hermeneutic* standpoint, as a "fusion of

perspectives"), as from the point of view of narrative communication: "History tells stories" (Danto 1965). Rational communication takes place through the intelligibility of an argument whose every step is subject to logical control; but mutual understanding may still come up against insurmountable limits that the speaker can overcome only by means of narrative communication, by recounting how he reached his conceptions. This complementary function of the narrative element is most clearly seen in E. Schillebeeckx's *Jesus* (1974). Metz, in addition, emphasizes the critical function of narration understood as "dangerous memory," and conversely the need to "interrupt" the ideological narrative. For the insinuating power of the narrative act may have, like rhetoric or music*, the capacity to enchant (see Faye 1972). It was S. Crites (1971) who first pointed to the narrative structure of experience*. Narration, according to him, expresses "the full temporality of experience in the unity of a form." Thus history, according to Arthur C. Danto in his *Analytic Philosophy of History*, is a narrative governed by practical intention. Narrative, which transforms lived facts and events into a fund of personal experience, reinforces

“experiential competence,” which is based on openness, on a capacity for critical evaluation and integration, on an understanding of meaning, and on a taste for praxis (Mieth 1976).

Narrativity cannot be separated from reflexivity, which is also shown with extreme clarity by modern literature. But literature emphasizes form, presentation, symbol, and image to the detriment of the ordinary pillars of argument: concept, reasoning, and coherence. Narrative theology, on the other hand, requires that narrative and reflection be bound together in the unity of a form (see Hauerwas 1974; even earlier, Dunne 1967). According to J. S. Dunne, the task of narrative theology is “the search for God* in time* and memory,” and along the way it has rediscovered the subjective witness of faith as a locus of theological reflection. It has also made a genuine exegetical contribution to the problem of the collective composition of narratives, as revealed in the observation of certain elementary schemas (see Jolles 1930). The American theologian S. McFague (1975) in particular, in a thorough discussion, has sketched the contours of a theology shaped into parables and metaphors. A number of her ideas have become part of the common heritage of theology, in particular the concern to highlight what there is in a story that goes beyond the explanatory and doctrinal propositions that constitute a skeletal image of the story in the mode of comprehension.

The classic examples are provided by the parables of Jesus*, principally in Luke (the good Samaritan, the prodigal son), which can be reduced neither to norms nor to doctrinal pronouncements. Indeed, in the first case, Jesus changes in a critical sense the lawyer’s question about his neighbor, and has him ask: “Who is my neighbor?”; in the other, he establishes a relationship of unity and tension between straying and mercy that cannot entirely be transposed into a conceptual dialectic. In order to understand what is intended, it is necessary to follow the story. This can be done in various ways, depending on personal creativity, as shown for example in the Latin American catechism *Vamos caminando* (1979).

The theoretical debate on narrative theology largely took place in the second half of the 1960s, but it remains influential today, particularly in reflections on temporality, the formation of identity, and ethics*.

b) Temporality, Identity, and Narrative Ethics. The rediscovery of and emphasis on narrativity influenced the debate in the 1980s on “communitarianism.” In theology, narrativity meant the encounter of experience, the examination of faith, and *ethos* in a narrative of liberation with a practical purpose (“orthopraxis”). In philosophy*, particular attention has been paid to the role

of the collective and society* in the unity between the lived world* and a form of moral life attached to the virtues* (see A. McIntyre). This latter concern has also been addressed from a theological perspective, in a relatively exclusive variant of narrative theology (S. Hauerwas), and in a variant that was more open to the world (D. Mieth). The reflections of Ricoeur on “time and narrative” (1983–85) are noteworthy for coining the notion of “narrative identity,” which applies to communities as well as to individuals. In a differentiated theory of *mimesis*, the “model nature” of narrative forms is described by the transmission, confrontation, and discovery of the self (similarly, Mieth 1976, 1977). The question of the relationships between narration and the formation of identity has also been treated by Charles Taylor. Others—in part communitarians, in part neo-Aristotelians—associate with this the paradigm of a non-normative ethics that has been called an ethics of aspiration (in contrast to an ethics of duty; see H. Kramer). The theory of the ethical model, which is rooted in the tradition of the ethics of virtue, here opens a new path to moral cognitivism. The moral theology of the Church*, through the doctrine of *sensus fidelium*, also accepts the importance of personal convictions, as they are lived through in practice, for the knowledge and recognition of what is just (justice*). Tensions have thus arisen in Catholic moral doctrine due to the confrontation between a Neoscholastic system of logically coherent concepts that no longer correspond to any lived reality and questions raised by the self-recognition of moral tradition and moral creativity.

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DIETMAR MIETH

See also Gospels; Exegesis; Experience; Hermeneutics; Liberation Theology; Narrative

Nationalism

In practice, some accommodation between sacred and secular authorities in organized societies (*see* sovereignty*) has historically always been necessary. Even where Christianity in one of its forms has been the dominant religion, the relationship between church and state has taken every possible form, from that of the theocratic state, in which civil authority has been subsumed into ecclesiastical power, to that in which sacred authority has been reduced to the status of a tool of the civil sovereign. The entry on sovereignty in this work briefly surveys the evolution of the theological theory underlying the relationship between sacred and secular authority. The present entry seeks to examine the nature of the development of the evolving theology as it can be inferred from the actual political history of the Christian West. The pragmatic attitude of the Christian churches to the rise of the large nation states of Western Europe allows important insights into the constraints behind the development of modern ecclesiology.

Theological theory followed political developments, often justifying them or pointing the way forward. From Constantine's early-fourth-century exercise of imperial authority over appointments to the Roman see, when he himself moved to Constantinople, to the investiture controversy of the 11th and 12th centuries, the theological principles at stake had been mired in pragmatic considerations and struggles for power in which popes and emperors had themselves sometimes been mere pawns. Then on 23 September 1122 it was agreed at the concordat of Worms that, following the custom already introduced into France, the

emperor should renounce the right to invest bishops with the ring and crosier, symbols of spiritual authority, and should guarantee them canonical election and free consecration. Pope Callistus II (c. 1050–1124) conceded that elections to German abbeys and Episcopal sees should be held in the emperor's presence, and that the emperor should invest the abbots and bishops with the scepter, symbol of their temporal authority.

This rudimentary separation of temporal and spiritual powers respected the nature of the Church as, necessarily, a body with spiritual power to further the salvific purposes for which it was founded; but which had also in the course of time acquired buildings, lands, revenues, codes of behavior, and in general the legal structures and temporal rights and obligations for which the concordat conceded that it was in part answerable to a temporal power. Only very rarely in western Christendom, as in the papal states of later history or in Calvin's Geneva, was the spiritual power identical with the temporal one. Since it was at least arguable that the Church could no longer serve its divine purpose without temporal possessions, the regulation of the obligations of its bishops and abbots respectively to spiritual and temporal powers needed open acknowledgement and regulation. The solution was most famously established in this early concordat.

The Worms concordat did not, of course, remove further controversy, which continued to be fuelled by such matters as clerical immunity from the secular courts and ecclesiastical exemptions from taxation. In England John of Salisbury (c. 1115–80), later bishop

of Chartres, witnessed Becket's murder in 1170 and developed his view of the secular primacy of ecclesiastical over civil authority that lay behind the practice of Innocent III (1160/1–1216), who ineffectively annulled *Magna carta* because it had been agreed without papal consent. In return King John handed over his domains as a papal fief.

It was the 13th century that saw the full measure of the canonists' claims that the spiritual power was prior and superior to the temporal power, but by its end Boniface VIII was being forced partly to withdraw his claims that clerical property was of its nature exempt from royal taxation. Civil authorities, especially the English kings, began more strictly to circumscribe the economic and legal rights of the clergy, while by the early-14th century Marsilio of Padua (c. 1275–c. 1342) was defending the simple subordination of the church to the state.

It was in the late-15th century that the widespread use of concordats redefined the theology of the relationship between spiritual and temporal powers by the creation of national churches. The nation states began at this date to consist of much larger units than hitherto. In Eastern Europe in the late-15th century Matthias Corvinus created the kingdom of Hungary, Casimir IV created a much larger Poland, and Ivan III brought together the Russian principalities as a single nation. On the Italian peninsula the popes absorbed the smaller independent cities into the papal state, and in western Europe Spain was unified by the merging of Castile and Aragón in 1474, while Louis XI of France took over Anjou, Maine, Provence, Roussillon, Artois, and Burgundy, finally annexing the duchy of Brittany in 1491. England was united under Tudor hegemony after the battle of Bosworth Field in 1485.

The system that was devised certainly had theological implications. Larger secular administrative burdens and Renaissance reform of non-clerical education appeared to justify the transfer of senior ecclesiastics to administrative posts, leaving their pastoral responsibilities to be fulfilled by substitutes, and the transfer of ecclesiastical revenues to charitable or educational foundations—as at Christ Church, Oxford, or at Ingoldstadt—or even to national treasuries. In 1438 the French clergy issued the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, upholding the right of the French church to administer its own temporal property independently of Rome, and to be granted automatic papal ratification for nomination to vacant benefices. Eugene IV protested, but in 1447 he made a similar agreement with the German Electors, although the papacy under Nicholas V won something back at the 1448 concordat of Vienna.

In Spain the crown annexed the grand masterships of the military religious orders established during the

Crusades, and in 1476 the Spanish Cortes won the transfer of further legal powers to the crown. In 1482 Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain obtained an incipient right of nomination to bishoprics, which was later strengthened. From 1493 papal bulls could be published in Spain only after royal assent, and the Inquisition—in Spain a secular institution—was granted sufficient ecclesiastical jurisdiction to complete the hegemony of secular over ecclesiastical sovereignty. In France papal decrees, including in the 16th century those of the Council of Trent, remained without force until registered by the *parlements*. In England the chief justice Sir William Hussey could assert in 1485 that the king was superior to the pope within his realm.

In order to prevent clashes of civil and sacred jurisdictions, it became common practice in the early-16th century for lord chancellors already endowed with the plenitude of civil jurisdiction, like Ximenes in Spain, du Prat in France, and Wolsey in England, to be made papal legates *a latere*, giving them within their own territories the plenitude of papal jurisdiction. The closing of monasteries and the diversion of their funds in England to his Oxford foundation was set in motion by Wolsey with full papal powers to act as he did.

In the trade-offs of successive concordats, what was safeguarded was not the real power to nominate bishops or to receive ecclesiastical revenues, but the right of monarchs to exercise a widening civil jurisdiction, to name certain candidates for benefices, and often to receive ecclesiastical revenues, particularly from vacant benefices, while the right of Rome to supply all ecclesiastical jurisdiction required by nominees of national churches was safeguarded. The repudiation of Rome as the source of all spiritual jurisdiction, rather than any single unifying doctrine, was almost constitutive of the major 16th-century schismatic movements, as the unfolding of events in England makes clear. Henry VIII repudiated Roman spiritual jurisdiction and usurped the Church's ultimate teaching authority, but pursued anti-Lutheran religious policies for years after his break with Rome.

The theological implications of the European creation of national churches need therefore to be distinguished. In countries, provinces, and regions that remained in communion with Rome, the pope provided the ultimate source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, however much the real power to run their own ecclesiastical affairs devolved onto the nation states. In territories that broke with Rome, ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions had both to be generated from within. With the birth of the modern world, in which countries contained citizens of different religious affiliations, it became necessary as well as normal for different religious communions to accept spiritual jurisdiction according to their own traditions.

In America the situation differed from state to state, with separation of church and state in nine of the original thirteen British colonies. The First Amendment to the Constitution subsequently prohibited the establishment of any religion and maintained the freedom of all to practice their religion. These provisions have been interpreted strictly by the Supreme Court, which has enforced the strict neutrality of the state in religious matters, thereby not only according with the dominant modern theology of church-state relations, but also creating an exemplar for it.

The existence of countries that continue to have established religions is scarcely a matter of great theological consequence, since the function of the religious affiliations and structures retained as established in such countries is, in so far as their established position is concerned, almost entirely administrative and ceremonial, as in Presbyterian Scotland or Anglican England. In neither country is there any constraint to practice the established religion or impediment to the practice of any other. The Church was disestablished in Wales in 1920, but in England the sovereign remains

governor of the Church, appoints its senior officials on political advice, and still exercises widespread powers of patronage.

Some anomalies and difficulties remain in that established churches are normally in a position to exercise an influence greater than that warranted by their moral authority alone on legislation affecting the ethical norms that they profess, as for instance those concerning divorce, birth control, homosexual behavior, and modern techniques of fertilization. It can, however, be argued that the ability of established churches to exercise political pressure on legislation compromising the ethical norms to which they adhere is universally slight, and that the anomalies it entails are outweighed by the social and ceremonial contribution that the remaining established churches make to national life. The modern theology of a total separation of temporal and spiritual authorities is essentially uncompromised by the preservation of such ancient religious privileges as have been retained within modern states.

ANTHONY LEVI

Natural Religion. *See Deism and Theism*

Natural Theology

Natural theology refers to a knowledge* of God from the creatures, independently of revelation*. Natural theology underlines the relationship between the “book of nature” and the reasonable nature of man. Throughout history*, it expressed a tension between Christian claims of the universal and the historic contingencies of Christianity. In the 20th century, natural theology, a question disputed between Catholics and Protestants, showed a tendency to become a sign of two theological attitudes.

a) Pre-Christian Concept of Natural Theology. The notion of natural theology was already present among the Greeks, who did not oppose it to a *supernatural* theology, but distinguished it from *mythical* theology—that of poets, and from *political** theology, which corresponded to the official civic religion. The *physical* theology of philosophers designated the knowledge of a divine expressed within the nature of things. Augustine* borrowed Varron’s distinction of three types of theology*: the *mythicon*, the *physicon*,

and the *civile*, and he was the first to Latinize the expression of natural or physical theology (see *De Civitate Dei* VI, chapter V).

b) Natural Theology as Natural Knowledge of God. Even if the presocratics were not only physicists, but in some way the first theologians (see Jaeger, 1947), Christian thought could only view natural theology as being, if not opposite, then at least completely subordinated to the plenary revelation of God in Jesus Christ. With Tertullian*, natural theology plays but a secondary role, but he acknowledges a natural knowledge of God that relies either on the testimony of the exterior world (*Apologia* 18, 1), or on the testimony of the soul*, which enjoys a congenital knowledge of God (*Apologia* 17, 6; see also *l'anima naturaliter christiana*). Thus Augustine, who got the expression of natural theology from Varron, especially insists on the goodness of the creation* against the gnostic—that is, the identity of the Creator and the Redeemer. The two “books,” he contends—the *Liber Naturae* and the *Liber Scripturae*—should actually be attributed to the same author. This dual knowledge of God is present again in Bonaventure* (*Brevil.* II, 5.11), who asserts that the book of nature, made less legible because of sin*, has become once again legible thanks to the book* of Scriptures.

The term natural theology is not found per se in Thomas* Aquinas, who doesn't mention the book of nature either, and rejects the Platonists' work *physica theologia* as idolatrous (*Summa Theologica* IIa IIae, q. 94, a. 1 c). However, in his work *De Deo uno*, where he exposes the *praeambula fidei* (“preambles of faith”), he defends the legitimacy of the natural knowledge of God and of his main attributes* (see *Summa Theologica* Ia, q.12, a. 12). These questions *De Deo uno* represent the rational moment of the supernatural knowledge (supernatural*) of God. Faith perfects the power of reason*, as grace* perfects the power of nature*. He who adheres to God's existence by confessing the first article of the *Creed*, but who is capable of furthermore proving the existence of God, believes in a more noble manner (*De veritate*. q. 12, a. 12).

Therefore, it would be improper to talk of “natural theology” with regard to the natural knowledge of God that a theology understood as *intellectus fidei* requires for its own equilibrium. This equilibrium, however, would not be respected thereafter. By the time of the Renaissance, the first presentation of natural theology in monograph form appeared, the *theologia naturalis seu Liber creaturarum* by Raymond Sebond (1487), whom Montaigne praised (see *Essais* I. II, chapter 12). In the 18th century, under the influence of Leibniz* and his theodicy, the *theologia naturalis* (1736–37) by

Christian Wolff, discussed in his *Special Metaphysics*, would systematize a natural theology turned autonomous—in the context of the *Aufklärung*, it would become the science of religion within the limits of understanding.

c) During the Reformation. Neither the expression nor the idea of natural theology were to be found among the Reformers. The scripturary principle and the principle of justification* by faith alone do not lead them to exclude all natural knowledge of God. Using Romans 1:19 and 2:14, Luther* admits that natural reason might lead to some knowledge of God, whose action is manifested in nature. A correct reading of the book of the Bible* leads to a better reading of the book of nature and only reinforces faith in the creation. Calvin*, who admits a knowledge of God inherent in the human spirit, acknowledges a dual manifestation of God in creation and in the redemptive work.

d) Refutation of Natural Theology by Karl Barth. Barth violently rejects the possibility of a natural knowledge of God, as defined by Vatican* I (*DS* 1785) and he even calls the *analogia entis*, supported and illustrated by the Jesuit philosopher E. Przywara (*Analogia entis*, Munich, 1932) “the invention of the Antichrist” (*KD* I/1, preface). “The vitality of natural theology is the vitality of man as such” (*KD* I/1, 185). Thinking itself able to consider the Creator without considering the Redeemer at the same time, natural theology splits the idea of God and claims to know the true God by making an abstraction of the revelation. In fact, however, Barth contends that “one knows God through God and only through God” (*KD* I/1, 47). Not only is his position in open conflict with Catholic theology, but it also hardens the Reformers' doctrine: proof can be seen in his polemic against E. Brunner (who was trying to retain a Christian natural theology imposed by the existence of a revelation of God stemming from the creation) and in the manner with which he moved away from Bultmann* (who, by defining man as a “question of God,” confirmed a necessary *precomprehension* of God).

e) Beyond the Polemic. Barth's polemic conception—natural theology understood as an attempt to subordinate the revelation to an authority foreign to its essence—in fact led to a better interpretation of Vatican I's teachings on the capacity of knowing God in the light of reason. The council* did not rule on any particular historic form of natural theology and did not claim that the natural knowledge of God must *precede* the knowledge of faith. It defended a *principle*, that of the rational moment of Christian faith, or more precisely its

transcendental condition (see Bouillard 1957). In contemporary theology, the question of natural theology is no longer really a matter of denominational controversy, despite the brilliant exception of E. Jüngel and his (Barthian) defense and illustration of a theology “more natural” than any natural theology. Protestant theologians such as W. Pannenberg have rehabilitated a certain natural theology while Catholic theologians are the representatives of a kerygmatic theology. Natural theology is more used as a revelator between two types of theologies: theology marked by *manifestation*, which insists on the presence of God in all that is, and theology marked by *proclamation*, which denounces all attempts at idolatry* in the name of the word* of God.

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See also **Barth, Karl; Existence of God, Proofs of; Knowledge of God; Reason; Revelation; Vatican I**

Naturalism

The term “naturalism” has a large spectrum of meanings and usages, from the fields of sciences to the figurative arts, and to literary production in general. It should be kept in mind, however, that it was originally coined by theologians. These theologians, in the atmosphere of disputes on the relationships between nature* and grace*, intended to qualify a general attitude with regards to natural and historical reality, the attitude that excludes “supernatural” realities and interventions, or does not take them into account (*see e.g. the syllabus of Pius IX, §1–7, DS 2901–2907*). The term’s connotation is evidently negative: it is about errors that eventually must be refuted and in any case condemned; these mistakes are deemed to be caused on the one hand by an appreciation of human nature that is too optimistic, and on the other hand by the conviction that everything can be explained and founded by way of causes and natural forces.

In this light, it is only in a metaphoric way that one could speak of naturalism with regard to classical thought: indeed, if we measure them by referring to Christian theology*, any theoretical perspective and any practical behavior anterior (or exterior) to the Judeo-Christian action (“revelation*”) could only be naturalist. And if, on the contrary, we speak of classical thought by following its own principles, we will realize that the connotations and spheres of application of the concept of nature vary from school to school, and especially since in many cases, nature is not at all the ultimate horizon of things, neither of speculation nor of action. In the Middle Ages, however, and more particularly in the 12th century, the reappropriation of Greek thought and the discovery of Arabic sciences by the Latin West posed the problem in terms that would be inherited by modernity. The problem that confronted all then was to understand how a model of the

universe completely transparent to reason*, made up of a hierarchical series of causes (including the Primary Cause) that exerted their causality in a necessary mode and sufficed to explain the true nature of things, could reconcile itself with the idea of a world dependent of the free will of a God* who makes himself known by revealing himself. Likewise, the idea of man building his own ethics* in an autonomous fashion through the exercise of the intellect (that is to say following his own nature), and able to reach in this life a felicity in place of beatitude*, seemed irreconcilable with the main themes of Christian thought, which were the notions of sin* and grace. In the second half of the 13th century, however, a group of Christian intellectuals, professors at the faculty of arts at the University of Paris, proposed the simultaneous adoption of two models—a concord between faith* and science. Their thesis was that, in spite of appearances, the two models did not oppose each other, provided their principles and methods were rigorously distinguished: revelations and miracles* characterized faith and theology, reason and natural causes, science and philosophy*. This solution would be officially pushed back with the condemnation promulgated by the bishop of Paris, Etienne Tempier, on 7 March 1277 (Hissette 1977; Bianchi 1990; Libera 1991). Beyond the only theses concerned, it was the rebirth of a secular philosophy in a Christian milieu that the bishop and his theological counselors condemned: the emergence of a philosophy claiming its own autonomy from theology. Its proponents did not deny the existence of something superior to reason and natural causes; they even stated its possibility—but by giving up this field to theology and in recusing all interference of the truths of faith in a scientific and philosophical inquiry, they indeed posed a new challenge to theology.

The “naturalist” attitude was known for a long time under the name of “theory of the double truth*” (thus Tempier: “Indeed they say that certain things are true according to philosophy, which are not true according to Catholic faith, as if there were two truths.” *Charularium Universitatis Parisiensis* I, 542). Also linked to the doctrines of the eternity of the world, of the unicity of human intellect and of the reign of necessity in moral and physical things, the “double truth,” according to Renan and Mandonnet, would have been the characteristic of Averroism, often considered as the medieval beginning of all modern naturalism. A better knowledge of the texts and authors, however, showed that, if by Averroism one means a body of doctrines accepted by a compact and quite identifiable group of thinkers, then Averroism never existed (and many theses regarded as typical of Averroism do not come from Averroes). In the same way, no-one ever defended a

doctrine of double truth. Indeed, for all the medieval proponents of the independence of the philosophical, the truth of faith remained the absolute truth. It is true, though, that beyond doctrinal differences, these “philosophers” (Masters of Arts) jointly worked toward the intellectual construction of a physical and ethical world that would do without miracles or *post mortem* rewards and punishments*.

The condemnations of 1277 had deep and lasting effects on the intellectual history of Western Europe, but the model that continued to prevail was the one legitimizing a strict separation between philosophy and theology, between causes or natural laws and the miraculous intervention of an omnipotent God. From John of Jandun and Marsilius of Padua to Agustino Nifo and Pietro Pomponazzi, the philosophers would continue simultaneously to recognize the limits of a strictly rational and natural approach to the real, and to reject all foreign intervention in philosophy’s principles and methods.

In the thoughts of the Parisian professors of the 13th century, a theory laden with consequences began to prevail: one could recognize the possibility of divine interventions (or even angelic, if not diabolic) infringing on the ordinary course of nature, but this did not exclude that the scientist would seek the possibility of driving everything back to natural causes, including events apparently extraordinary. This was done, for example, for visions in dreams and magical practices (Fioravanti 1966–67): Boethius of Dacia indeed reduced the firsts to being nothing but the imaginative transcription of physiological and pathological states, and Singer of Brabant stated that the *virtutes naturales* of elements and bodies (*see* soul*-heart-body) sufficed, in their diversity, to explain the second. In this way, philosophy and science always pushed back their limits, and pushed back the supernatural* toward a horizon always further away. This type of interpretation, present all through the 14th century, would multiply and strengthen near the end of the 15th and 16th centuries. Pomponazzi (*De incantationibus, de fato*) would explain the miracles, almost in the same way of Giordano Bruno, by already having recourse to exclusively psychophysical causes; he would place the highest human faculties in a system of natural forces, according to which it is useless to resort to external interventions to cause and explain each fact, not only physical, but also moral and historical, including the appearance of the great revealed religions, as well as the life and the character of their founder.

In the 16th century, this all-encompassing nature would progressively assume the characteristics of a subject that has an intrinsic force of development and self-organization. This type of natural materialism would

survive Cartesian dualism, and would even inherit some of its characteristics by going from vitalism to mechanism: the matter and quantity of the movement then became the ultimate principles through which all diversity of events, not only physical but also psychological and ethical, could be renewed. An important part of the Enlightenment would support this program (La Mettrie, Holbach). From then on, the simple possibility that a being transcending nature could intervene in it could not be denied; and the belief in transcendent entities reduced itself to psychological processes that are individual or collective, completely natural and thus completely comprehensible from a rational point of view (Hume, *The Natural History of Religion*, 1757).

The varied naturalism of the 19th century (biological naturalism of Moleschott, evolutionary naturalism by Darwin) would maintain the general idea of nature as completely self-sufficient totality, fully intelligible by human reason (maybe in the terms of an indefinite progress). The totaling and metaphysical character of this idea of nature, however, would be criticized in the twentieth century in numerous trends of thought. The conviction would grow that man, the only being capable of a symbolic approach by means of language, was not reducible to his pure natural dimension. From naturalism, however, we keep the conviction that it is not acceptable, in the field of natural sciences*, to have recourse to first principles that transcend the course of this nature.

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See also **Intellectualism; Sciences of Nature; Paganism; Philosophy; Revelation; Supernatural**

Nature

The concept of nature was imposed on Christian theology* from without. It does not correspond to any Hebrew term. In the Old Testament it appears only in the deuterocanonical books (Wis 7:20, 13:1, and 19:18), while in the New Testament it signifies merely the being* or normal order of things according to their origin, type, and definition (Jas 3:7). The pagans, for example, naturally follow the Law* (Rom 2:14 and

2:27) to which the Jews are bound by their birth (Gal 2:15). In Christianity, unlike gnosticism*, nature implies no negative or positive judgment. It merely serves to denote the totality of beings whom Christ* has come to save. Mankind is, of course, destined to participate in another nature, the divine nature (2 Pt 1:4), but God in his freedom is all-powerful over created nature; he can even intervene in it—for example

to graft the branch of the pagans “against nature” onto the trunk of the Jewish nation (Rom 11:21–24). Moreover, the contradiction between the animate body (*see* soul*-heart-body) and the Holy* Spirit must finally be resolved (1 Cor 15:44), and the natural world become transparent to the Kingdom* of God (Mk 4:30–32 and 13:28–29).

The concept of nature was to play a considerable role in the patristic era, starting from the basis of a neutral definition: “Nature is nothing other than what one considers a thing to be in its kind” (Augustine, *De moribus ecclesiae*, 2, 2; PL 32, 134 b). Trinitarian and christological thought implied a distinction between the concepts of nature and person*, while the Pelagian controversy involved a confrontation between nature and grace*.

a) Nature and Person. God is unique in his nature, and the divine persons share in this same essence. According to the Cappadocians, *physis* was equivalent to *ousia*, and the term “consubstantial*” (Nicaea* I) could be replaced by “connatural” (Basil*, *Against Eunomius* II, 580 b). It was then possible to say that God was “one nature in three hypostases” (Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum* VIII; PG 76, 904 C). In Christology*, the concept of nature gave rise above all to numerous misunderstandings. Athanasius* thought it appropriate to place the emphasis on the unity of God, who made himself flesh “in order to save men and to do them good, so that, by participating in humankind, he might enable it to participate in the divine and spiritual nature” (*Life of Anthony* 74, 4; SC 400, 324). Apollinarius spoke of Christ as an incarnation of the divine nature: “A single nature of God the incarnate Word*” (monophysitism*). For the Antiochenes, on the other hand, two hypostases (human and divine) were united in Christ to form his person* (*prosopon*). Cyril, who took up Apollinarius’s formula (which he believed to be Athanasius’s) and rejected what seemed to him to be a division of God, spoke of a single hypostasis and a single nature. At this time the terms had no strict technical sense. The definition of Chalcedon*, in clarifying Christology*, was to impose a rigorous definition of the concept of nature: Christ was “a single person” in which were united “two natures,” divine and human.

b) Nature and Grace. The opposition between nature and grace is based on these Trinitarian and christological considerations: Christ is the Son of God by nature, while man is so by adoption (Cyril of Alexandria, *The saurus* XII, 189 AB). Hence, so Pelagius considered, it was necessary to affirm the goodness of human nature, its liberty*, and its power to do good* (*De natura*, 604;

see Pelagianism*) in order to give homage to the Creator. For Augustine*, on the other hand, a doctrine that considered man to be capable of good on his own accord rendered Christ’s incarnation* and sacrifice* superfluous: “Man’s nature was originally created without sin* and without any vice; but man’s present nature, by which everyone is descended from Adam*, is already in need of the physician, for it is not in good health [*sana*]” (*De natura et gratia*, PL 44, 249; BAug 21, 248). Inasmuch as it was created, all nature was good; and consequently all evil* derived from man and was but a distortion of the good. The corruption of nature had two aspects: it was both the automatic consequence of sin and the result of divine punishment. Having sinned of his free will, man was punished by way of his own sin, and lost his power of self-mastery. So was this corruption total? Augustine’s initial response is unsystematic: in the *De Natura et Gratia* he wavers between the notions of man’s subservience to bad habits, a weakening of free will, and its complete disappearance. Subsequently, in his *De Correptione et Gratia*, he is inclined to defend the idea of a radical loss of liberty.

These extreme developments were not all accepted by Catholic tradition*, though the concept of “tainted nature” was taken up by the Council of Orange in 529 (CChr.SL 148 A, 55; DS 174), and again by the Council of Trent* (5, 239; DS 174). According to Anselm*, the fall of the devil resulted from his voluntary abandonment of righteous will. Paradoxically, if God did not give him the gift of perseverance, it was because he did not accept it (*The Fall of the Devil*, or *De Casu Diaboli*, ch. 3). In the 12th century, however, theology was faced with the rediscovery of the sciences* of nature (School of Chartres*; Speer 1995); and in the 13th century it encountered the Aristotelian concept of nature: a nature that formed the object of physics, that had its own autonomy and stability, and in which theology could perceive only an unchanging capacity for the receipt of grace. From this point, the opposition between nature and grace grew stronger.

For Scholasticism*, the nature created by God obeyed the laws conferred upon it by its creator (Bonaventure, II *Sent.* d. 34, a. 1, q. 3, ad 4 prop. neg.). To act against these laws would be to contravene his very decision. There was thus an autonomy in the natural order.

Then divine omnipotence* promptly appeared as another focus, external to the previous one, and theology was to hesitate between the extremes of naturalism* and the absolute exaltation of omnipotence (nominalism*). Emphasized by Luther* (*Heidelberg Dispute*, 1518, WA 1, 350–74), the corruption of nature was played down on the Catholic side by Robert Bellarmine* (*De Controversis Christianae Fidei*, *De Gra-*

tia Primi Hominis 5, 12): “The corruption of nature does not result from the lack of a natural gift, nor from the attainment of an evil state, but from the simple absence of the supernatural gift” (see Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism). The debate remains open between Catholics and Protestants, Catholic thinking being characterized by the harmony between nature and grace, while the radical corruption of nature remains an essential element of Protestant dogmatics*.

Finally, one might ask whether the concept of nature, as applied to mankind, retains its clarity and relevance, when man is a transcendent being not confined within limits assigned *a priori* (Rahner 1954).

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See also **Being; Grace; Naturalism; Supernatural**

Negative Theology

I. Apophaticism and Neoplatonism

1. Definition of Negation (apophasis, apohairesis)

The Greek term *apohairesis* denotes the motion of discarding (*remotio*), cutting off, or taking away something (Plato, *Critias* 46 c). It is the opposite of *prosthesis*, the action of placing (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 13). It is a mathematical term: in the *Metaphysics* A2, 982, a. 28 Aristotle opposes *apohairesis* to *prosthesis* as “subtraction” is to “addition.” It is also a term in logic: in Aristotle’s *Posterior Analytics* (I, 18, 7) *ex apohaireseôs* signifies “by abstraction,” and this sense was taken up by numerous Latin translations that render *apohairesis* by *abstractio*. *Apohairesis* is opposed to *thesis* as negation is to affirmation, but it is also distinguished from *apophasis* (which equally signifies negation) inasmuch as *apohairesis* denotes a movement beyond.

Latin translators rendered *apohairesis*, according to context, either by the concrete sense of “cutting off” or “suppression” (*ablatio*), or by the sense of abstraction (*abstractio*) or negation (*negatio*). Thomas* Aquinas noted the two meanings of *apohairesis*, and translated it by *remotio*, mostly in his earliest works, and thereafter by *negatio*.

- 1) For Aristotle the apohaeretic method was a pro-

cess of separation or subtraction that led to the grasping (*noësis*) of an intelligible form or an essence. This method of separation or cutting off is abstraction. It proceeds from the complex to the simple and from the visible to the invisible.

- 2) This method is represented in the work of other Middle Platonic writers such as Alcinous, who in his *Didaskalikos* (ch. 12) distinguishes four ways by which the human mind may raise itself to God*: affirmation, analogy*, transcendence, and negation.

2. Plato’s Parmenides and its Neoplatonic Commentaries

a) The key text for any study of negative* theology is the first hypothesis of the *Parmenides* (“The One is one”), in which after asserting that “the One in no way partakes of being*, and that it does not even have enough being to be one, since immediately it would be and would partake of being” (141 e), Parmenides reaches this formidable assertion: “It appears indeed, on the contrary, both that the One is not one, and that the One is not” (141 e)—which is a negation of the hypothesis itself. The conclusion of the first hypothesis is

thus the unknowable and ineffable nature of the One: “Therefore it has no name*; of it there is neither a definition, nor knowledge, nor sensation, nor opinion” (*Parm.* 142 a).

b) This apophaticism recurs in the Neoplatonic commentaries on the *Parmenides*, both the anonymous commentary whose author has been identified as Porphyry by P. Hadot (*Porphyre et Marius Victorinus*, Paris, 1968), and that by Proclus. It is equally to be found in the apophatic theology of Pseudo-Dionysius*.

c) For Plotinus, as for Plato, the first principle lies beyond *ousia*. Unlike Plato, however, Plotinus asks what chance we have of knowing this transcendent principle, the One, which is neither being nor thought. Only the One, the first hypostasis, is simple, whereas in the second hypostasis, the intellect, there is a duality of being and thought. It is therefore not possible to conceive of the One, but only to have a non-intellectual apprehension of it, which is a kind of mystical* experience. This experience is described in the *Enneads* in terms borrowed from the love-madness of Plato’s *Phaedra* and *Symposium*. “The Plotinian mystical experience is a kind of oscillation between the intellectual intuition of the thought which conceives itself, and the amorous ecstasy of the thought which loses itself in its principle.” (Hadot, *EU*, vol. 22, p. 497). Mystical experience and negative theology remain distinct, however: “It is mystical experience which is the basis of rational theology, not the reverse” (*ibid.*).

d) It is in the work of Damascius (c. 458–533) that the negative method becomes most radical. In his treatise *On the First Principles*, he expresses perfectly the paradox of a first principle of everything that cannot be outside everything (since then it would not be the principle), yet which must at the same time transcend everything (if it is really the first principle). These difficulties lead to a radical apophaticism: “We demonstrate our ignorance and our incapacity to speak of it [*aphasia*]. . . . Our ignorance regarding it is total, and we know it neither as knowable or as unknowable” (see J. Combès’s preface to his edition of the treatise *On the First Principles*, v. 1, CUFr, Paris, 1986).

II. Negative Theology and Mystical Theology

1. Apophatic Theology

a) *Philo of Alexandria and the First Church Fathers.* Philo was the originator of a whole school of thought concerning the incomprehensibility of the divine

essence (*ousia*): “The greatest good is to understand that God, according to his essence [*kata to einai*], is incomprehensible [*akatalèptos*]” (*Poster.* 15).

The assertion that knowledge* of the divine essence is beyond the natural powers of human beings is a commonplace of the earliest Christian theologians (Justin, *Dialogue* 127, 2; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* II, 2; Irenaeus* of Lyons, *Adv. Haer.* IV, 20, 5; Origen, *Against Celsus* VII, 42).

b) *Eunomian crisis and Its Refutation by the Cappadocians.* It was, however, in response to the heresy of Eunomius, who identified the divine essence with the nature of the unbegotten (*agennètos*) and thereby denied incomprehensibility, that a Christian negative theology was really developed by the Cappadocians and John Chrysostom*. For Eunomius, the concept of the unbegotten exactly (*akribôs*) expressed the divine essence, so that the latter no longer presented any mystery*, and we knew God as he knew himself: “God knows no more of his being than do we; his being is no clearer to him than to us” (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* IV, 7).

Basil* of Caesarea and Gregory* of Nyssa, in their respective treatises *Against Eunomius*, then demonstrated that there was no concept that exactly expressed the divine essence, since it remained unknowable, and attempted to define the properties and relations of the divine persons*. John Chrysostom, meanwhile, took up the arguments of the Cappadocians in two series of homilies against the Eunomians, delivered at Antioch in 386–87 and at Constantinople after 397, which he collected into his *Treatise on the Incomprehensibility of God*. “God’s essence is incomprehensible to any creature” (IV, 6). This was as true for natural reason* as for the Bible*: the psalmist “is seized with vertigo before the infinite and yawning ocean of God’s wisdom*” (Ps 138:6); Moses testifies that none see God and live (Ex 33:20); and Paul says that God’s judgments are unsearchable and his ways “inscrutable” (Rom 11:33; see also Is 53:8).

So the vocabulary of negative theology became established. It employs New Testament terms such as invisible (*aoratos*), unutterable (*arrètos*), indescribable (*anekdiègètos*), unfathomable (*anereunètos*) and inaccessible (*aprositos*). Others come from Philo: inconceivable (*aperinoètos*), impossible to delimit (*aperigraptos*), to represent (*askhèmatistos*) or to contemplate (*atheatos*). Finally the term *aphatos*, ineffable, comes from Neoplatonism. This vocabulary is found in the Byzantine liturgy* of St John Chrysostom and St Basil, in Byzantine spiritual texts, and in the works of Maximus* the Confessor and Symeon the New Theologian.

2. Affirmative and Negative Theology According to Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite.

Dionysius was the first, in his *Mystical Theology*, to systematize the relationship between affirmative or cataphatic theology and negative or apophatic theology, and then to propose a rigorous theory of negation.

a) *Status of Negation.* Negation is defined from three points of view:

- 1) As the non-contradiction of affirmations and negations—there is no contradiction between negation and affirmation. This would be the case were one to restrict oneself to the realm of the existents, but it is not the case when dealing with the transcendent Cause.
- 2) As a surpassing of all privation. Negation is not practiced by means of privation (*kata sterèsin*) but, as is the case when speaking of the Darkness, by means of transcendence or superiority (*kath' hyperokhèn*). The Darkness is another negative metaphor for the transcendence of the inaccessible light.

To say that negation (*aphairesis*) is not a privation (*sterèsis*) is first of all to assert that there is no privation in the Cause, which is “above privations,” and thereby to assert some positivity of negation by transcendence (*hyperokhikè aphaire-sis*), which increases the negation. This idea would be developed later by medieval writers such as Thomas Aquinas, for whom negation, when it concerned God, was a negation of privation itself.

- 3) As being beyond all negation and all position. The surpassing of privation is reinforced by a surpassing of negation and position. Here Dionysius uses the term *aphairesis* in place of *apophasis*, in the opposition *aphairesis–thesis*.

b) *Dual Limit of Negation.* Negative theology is thus defined by a dual transcendence of the Cause, which marks its dual (lower and upper) limit.

- 1) The negation of privation. On the one hand, negative theology is not a negation by privation, but by transcendence; on the other hand, it is itself transcended by the Cause, which is beyond negation and position. “We affirm nothing,” says Dionysius, “and deny nothing, for the one Cause is beyond all affirmation, and transcendence beyond all negation” (MT V, 1048 B). There is thus a reinforcement of negation and of transcendence: the fact of affirming something is denied, and the fact of denying something is denied. There is a progression from “neither...nor...” to “nothing.”

- 2) The beyond of negation. What does this “nothing” mean? This is the final question of negative theology, and becomes apparent in its very transcendence. This nothing is the opposite of the beyond. It is the same to say “the Cause is beyond negation and position” as to say “we affirm nothing and deny nothing.” The “nothing” means that we cannot affirm or deny the transcendent Cause as if it were a “something,” nor speak of That which is above being (*hyperousios*) as if it were a being (*on*). The absolute nature of Dionysius’s final assertion—“we affirm or deny nothing”—sets out the absolute transcendence of the Cause without however invalidating negative theology. God is beyond everything, but this does not imply the destruction of language. And insofar as it is still a theo-logy, negative theology is able to avoid the two pitfalls of the reduction of God to an idolatrous representation (see Marion 1977) and the collapse of any possibility of a discourse on God.

Thomas Aquinas showed in his critique of Maimonides that radical apophaticism destroys the very possibility of a language about God. Admittedly God remains unknown in his essence, inasmuch as he is supersedential, but he cannot be totally unknown. And while “idolatry*” reduces God to the representation of a something, of a this or that, radical apophaticism destroys negative theology itself as a possible discourse on God (see A. Osorio-Osorio, “Maïmonides: El lenguaje de la teología negativa sobre el conocimiento de Dios,” *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter*, MM 1981; A. Wohlman, “Théologie négative et analogie,” in his *Thomas d’Aquin et Maïmonide: Un dialogue exemplaire*, Paris, 1988).

c) *Negation and Eminence.* God is thus named, in a naming according to his eminence, as “He who is beyond all essence and knowledge,” “He who is beyond everything,” “He who surpasses everything,” “He who is totally unknown,” “He who transcends vision and knowledge,” “the Ineffable,” “the Cause of everything who is above everything,” and “the transcendence of Him who is absolutely detached from everything and who is beyond everything.”

A dual series of adjectives prefixed by *hyper-* and privative *alpha* is used to describe him. On the one hand, he is beyond Being, the Good*, and the Divine (*hyperousios*, *hyperagathos*, *hypertheos*), super-luminous (*hyperphaès*) and super-unknowable (*hyperagnòstos*). On the other hand, he is invisible (*aoratos*, *atheatos*), impalpable (*anaphès*), ineffable (*arrètos*), lacking intellect (*anous*), speech (*alogos*), life (*azòos*), and sub-

stance (*anousios*), and inexpressible (*aphthegtos*). God may be referred to as Silence (*sigè*), Tranquility (*hè-sukhia*), or Ineffability (*aphthegsia*). He eludes all sight and all contact, as he does all knowledge. This is why the mystic, in order to know him, must carry out a “binding” of all the operations of the senses and the intelligence: the suspension of all knowledge or the absence of all intellectual activity (*anenergèsia*), the closing of the mouth (*aphthegsia*) and of the eyes (*ablèpsia*), the absence of vision and knowledge (*agnòsia*). So Moses, in penetrating the truly mystical cloud of unknowing, “shuts his eyes to all the apprehensions of knowledge and frees himself from the spectacle and the spectators.”

III. Negative Theology and Learned Ignorance

1. Thomas Aquinas

Dionysius’s doctrine of negative theology meets with “prudent correction” (V. Lossky) in the work of Thomas Aquinas, for whom God is not beyond being, but “being itself subsisting,” *ipsum esse subsistens*, who confers upon *esse* itself the nature of the unnameable. We know that God is, the *an sit*, but not what he is, the *quid est*.

Thomas locates himself unambiguously within the Dionysian tradition when he says that we join with God, not merely as with an unknown, but actually inasmuch as he is unknown, *tanquam ignotum* or *quasi ignotum*. “The peak of our knowledge in this life, as Dionysius says in his work *De mystica Theologia*, is that ‘we are joined with God as with an unknown’; this results from our knowing of him what he is not, his essence remaining absolutely hidden from us [*quid vero sit penitus manet ignotum*]. Hence, to emphasize the ignorance of this sublime knowledge, it is said of Moses that he ‘approached the obscurity in which God dwells’ [*quod accessit ad caliginem in qua est Deus*]” (CG, 1. III, c. 49; see also *In Boethium de Trinitate*, q. 1, a. 2, ad 1 and *ST Ia*, q. 12, a. 13, ad 1: *In hac vita non cognoscamus de Deo quid est, et sic ei quasi ignoto coniungimus*). It is nonetheless possible to speak of Thomas’s God: the *via eminentia*, endowed by Thomas with a positivity that it lacked in the work of Dionysius, enables him to develop a theo-logy.

2. Meister Eckhart

Following Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, Meister Eckhart (see V. Lossky, *Théologie négative et connaissance de Dieu chez Maître Eckhart*, Paris, 1960, and E. Zum Brunn and Alain de Libera, *Métaphysique du Verbe et Théologie négative*, Paris, 1984) also maintains that the name* of God is at once the *nomen innominabile* and the *nomen omnominabile*. The op-

position between the *poluônumon* and the *anônumon* corresponds to the two theologies, affirmative and negative, and the latter is more perfect than the former because it focuses on the ineffable nature. Eckhart also draws on Thomas Aquinas, however: the *esse innominabile* is an *esse absconditum*; and in his commentary on *Cum quaeris nomen meum, quod est mirabile*, Eckhart is also conscious of how Thomas had treated it. With the *Parisian Questions*, however, Eckhart commits himself to the Dionysian view of God beyond being: defining the *esse* as the *esse* of created beings, he obliges himself to state that God, being pure intellect, is *non ens* or *non esse*. So the theologian follows an intellectual mode of ascent that forces him to leave behind created things in order to try to reach God in himself, in his “unity” (*einigkeit*) or his “solitude” (*wüestunge*), two terms brought together in the German Sermon 12. In German Sermon 9, Eckhart goes as far as to deny the attribution of pure being to God: “I would be saying something equally unjust if I called God an essence as if I were to call the sun pale or black. God is neither one thing nor another.” Later however, he adds: “By saying that God is not a being and that he is superior to being, I have not denied him being: on the contrary, I have exalted being in God.”

In a third period, Eckhart was to return to a solemn declaration of the equivalence of being and God: *esse est Deus*. This was no rejection of negative theology, however, since being remains mysterious and hidden: *deus sub ratione esse et essentiae est quasi dormiens et latens absconditus in se ipso* (*Exp. in Io.*, C., f. 122b).

3. Nicholas of Cusa

Nicholas of Cusa set out his negative theology in the *De Docta Ignorantia* (1440), an expression he borrowed from Augustine. The crux of this doctrine is the “coincidence of opposites.” Human beings are part of the world of duality; in order to raise themselves to God, however, they must attain the place where opposites are absorbed or reconciled into unity, or where they coincide in God. The divine names imposed by reason are contrasted with their opposites—for example unity and plurality, identity and otherness—but these opposites coincide in God, and it is through this coincidence that they befit God (§25). This is why “the theology of negation is so necessary... for the theology of affirmation, that without it God would not be worshipped as the infinite* God, but rather as a creature.... Sacred ignorance has taught us that God is ineffable.... We speak of God more truly through removal and negation, as the great Dionysius [does]” (Chap. 26).

4. Angelus Silesius

Silesius (1624–77) comes at the end of the great Rhineland*-Flemish mystical tradition of Tauler, Eckhart, Ruusbroec and Henry Suso, all of whom in their own way lie within the apophatic current originating with Dionysius. In the *Cherubinischer Wandersmann*, he goes even further than them in the expression of negativity, and even talks of superdeity as a way of expressing the bare and indefinable nature of the deity*: “What is said of God is not yet enough for me: Superdeity is my life and my light.” One must take oneself beyond the self and even beyond God: “Whither should I strive? Even into a desert, beyond God himself”; and “If God did not wish to take me beyond God, I would know how to force him by pure love*.” God is expressed by silence: “If you wish to express the being of eternity*, you must first abjure all speech.”

5. Mystical Theology and Negative Theology in the Twentieth Century: V. Lossky

The apophatic current that originated with Dionysius, enriched by the Carmelite experience of the “dark night,” continued up until the 17th century with the work of Cardinal de Bérulle*. However, while the Jesuits continued to write treatises on mystical theology in the 17th century, interest in these issues waned in the 18th century—there was presumably a conflict between mysticism and the Enlightenment, which aimed to dispel mystery. It wasn’t until the 20th century, and the renewal of interest in mysticism within both Catholicism* and Orthodoxy*, that we could pick up the thread of the *via negativa* intrinsic to all mystical theology.

Two books illustrate this renewal: A. Stolz O.S.B., *Théologie de la mystique*, Chèvotogne, 1947, and V. Lossky, *Théologie mystique de l’Église d’Orient*, Paris, 1944. The latter situates himself explicitly within the Dionysian tradition*, and regards apophatic theology as inseparable from the mystical theology of the Eastern Church*. In his conclusion—which he was to repeat in a lecture on the Trinity* and apophasis—he shows that the Trinity, and in particular the person of the Holy* Spirit, can only be understood in terms of the apophatic approach: “The apophaticism characteristic of the Eastern Church’s mystical theology ultimately appears to us as bearing witness to the plenitude of the Holy Spirit, a person who remains unknown, for all that he fills all things and guides them towards their final accomplishment.” (245)

IV. The Inexpressible and Silence

Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus Logico-philosophicus* presents issues analogous to those set out by Damascius.

The opposition is no longer between the whole and the principle, but between language, or the world*, and its meaning: “That which is expressed in language, we can only express by language” (4. 121). Certainly, everything is not expressible; and to that which can be expressed logically, Wittgenstein opposes an inexpressible that cannot be uttered, but which can be shown. Propositions “show” the logical form of reality; what is shown, however, is not of the order of logic, but of the “mystical”: “The mystical (*das Mystische*) is not ‘how the world is,’ but ‘the fact that it is’” (6. 44). Mystical experience cannot say to itself, “Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent” (7). Not only is the meaning of the utterable unutterable, but the end of language, as of all negative theology, is silence.

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See also Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite; Eternity of God; Jealousy, Divine; Justice, Divine; Knowledge, Divine; Mysticism; Omnipotence, Divine; Omnipresence, Divine; Simplicity, Divine.

Neoplatonism

For a broad understanding of the nature of Plato's contribution to the development of Christian theology from the fourth century onwards (and chiefly in the West), it is necessary to consider the reasons for which Christian thought has needed in successive waves to turn for its intellectual base to what since the 18th century has been known as Neoplatonism. This was an amalgam of elements of Stoic, Aristotelian, and Pythagorean thought, and the development by Plotinus (A.D. 205–270/1) of Plato's "middle period" metaphysics. It dominated the philosophical thinking of the ancient Mediterranean world from the middle of the third century to the closing of the pagan schools by Justinian in A.D. 529.

1. Sources and Documents

a) The most important early Neoplatonist document, synthesizing earlier Stoic, Aristotelian, and Pythagorean traditions but based on a development of Plato's metaphysics, is the *Enneads* of Plotinus, edited by Porphyry (232/3–c. 305), his disciple and biographer, only after his death. The *Enneads*, six groups of nine essays (54 developed from an earlier arrangement into 48) originally circulated for discussion among the pupils at his fashionable classes in Rome, are written in a confusing mixture of dialectic, allegory, analysis, and exegesis. They do not constitute a systematic metaphysics, but lean toward the view that all modes of being derive from a single immaterial and impersonal force, the 'One' of Plato's *Parmenides* and the 'Good' of the *Republic*, at once the source of all being and all values. All existence is related to this impersonal force by its degree of Oneness, which is higher in beings that transcend the temporal and the spatial.

The degrees of being envisaged by Plotinus were often later to be represented by a series of concentric circles denoting relative distance from the centre, the absolutely One. The descending degrees of reality move through pure mind (*nous*), within which are Plato's forms, the world soul (*psyché*), which creates time and space, and nature (*physis*), which projects the physical world. These sorts of existence are marked by increasing individuation and diminishing unity. Uninformed and unintelligible matter is the outermost circumference or boundary of all existence. Human

beings possess all three major principles of reality and can attain unity within themselves in ecstasy, and even momentary identification with the One.

Plotinus had joined the Persian expedition of Gordian III in A.D. 242, and spent two years studying Persian and Indian philosophy in the East before the assassination of Gordian by his troops forced him to take refuge at Antioch, from where he moved to Rome in 245. It is to his study of oriental religion and philosophy that we owe the incorporation into his own thought of elements of the oriental doctrine of emanation against which Christian theology developed the Hebrew doctrine of creation* *ex nihilo*.

Plotinus himself had studied under Ammonius Saccas in Alexandria, and alongside his own mystical doctrine there entered into the Neoplatonist amalgam elements of the oriental modes of worship that had been easily accessible in the Alexandria of Plotinus's youth, as well as Judaic and Christian thinking, which had originated chiefly in Philo's attempts to present christianized Judaism, with its transcendent monotheistic Hebrew divinity, in acceptably Hellenistic attire to Greek-speaking pagans and the Jewish diaspora. In fourth century Neoplatonism there were therefore logically incompatible elements drawn from oriental and Jewish sources, to which were added some elements from early gnosticism (*see* gnosis*) as well as the Platonic mysticism of Plotinus.

Neoplatonism in the fourth century was neither a religion nor a coherent philosophy. Harnack is reduced to describing it as a "mood," characterized by "the instinctive certainty that there is a supreme good, lying beyond empirical experience," which is not a purely intellectual good (article "Neoplatonism" in the classic 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911). To this "emotional dream" which "treated the old world of fable as the reflection of a higher reality" can be ascribed the realization that "man cannot live by knowledge alone," and it continues to nurture the type of dedication that, effecting a renunciation of the world, "is never able to form a clear conception of the object of its own aspiration."

b) This attitude and the values it sustained were transmitted to the Middle Ages not only by Augustine, who was heavily dependent on Plotinus; not only by

Origen*, and Gregory* of Nyssa, and by the Chalcidius commentary on the *Timaeus* by which Plato was himself chiefly remembered; but also in two collections of the greatest importance in later centuries, giving high Christian authority to Neoplatonist doctrines and attitudes, the *Corpus hermeticum* and the *Corpus Dionysiacum*.

The *Corpus hermeticum* is a series of treatises written in Greek probably in the second and third centuries by non-Christians living in Egypt, but in the 15th century Italian Renaissance understood as a single work and called after the first treatise, the *Poimandres* (*Pimander*). Its authorship was ascribed to Hermes (Mercury) Trismegistus, believed to have received it as an original divine revelation, in content homogeneous with the first five books of the Old Testament, which it was often believed to have ante-dated. Its content was thought to have been handed down through Orpheus, Aglaophemus, Pythagoras, and Philolaus (the list appears frequently and is often modified) to Plato, who was considered to have visited Egypt, where he is thought to have come into contact with the Mosaic tradition. As a result its content was thought necessarily to accord with the teaching of the Judeo-Christian revelation, since it ultimately derived from the same source.

The *Corpus Dionysiacum*, dating from the late-fifth or early-sixth century, consists of the *Celestial Hierarchy*, the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *The Divine Names*, the *Mystical Theology*, and ten letters all ascribed during the whole of the Middle Ages to Dionysius, Saint Paul's first convert at Athens (Acts 17:33–34), but now ascribed to an otherwise anonymous author referred to as Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. This Dionysius, amalgamated by Gregory of Tours (c. 538–94) with the Dionysius sent to evangelize the Gauls, claimed to have known the apostles, to have seen the darkening of the sun at the death of Jesus, and to have been present at the dormition of the mother of Jesus. For the Renaissance, therefore, this corpus, too, linked Neoplatonism with Christianity, particularly in its teaching on the celestial and terrestrial hierarchies and on its division of the spiritual life into the three sequential categories of initiation/purgation, illumination, and perfection. For the French it had the added advantage of providing apostolic tradition and continuity for the French church, which could now trace its origins back to Saint Paul, whose doctrinal authority was thought equal to that of Saint Peter, the first bishop of Rome, giving the Gallican church parity of standing with the church of Rome.

2. Transmission and Influence

While the influence of Neoplatonism on Christian theological thinking is pervasive, enduring, and complex, there are clearly identifiable historical waves of

specific recourse by Christian thinkers to Neoplatonism as contained in one or other of the three main sources.

a) Augustine's dependence on Plotinus in his anti-Manichaean* polemic, and his subsequent position for at least a millennium and a half as the father of Western theology, ensured that Plotinian Neoplatonism should provide the Christian theology of creation with its basic structure, placing the human body and soul between the angelic and the purely material creations. The image of concentric circles of being was called on implicitly or explicitly to oppose the different forms of cosmic dualism which did not cease to appear until the Renaissance. Augustine's Plotinian understanding of the body-soul relationship, which underlay his quest for the image of God in human beings, also provided the major Scholastic theologians with the basic anthropological categories that led them to distinguish cognitive and volitive activities and assign them to different human "faculties" of the soul, intellect, and will.

b) In mystical theology the Rhineland* mystics of the 14th century and their successors in the Low Countries, France, and Spain needed to have recourse to a different Neoplatonist tradition to explain mystical experiences that occurred outside the boundaries of discursive knowing. Post-Renaissance theologians such as André du Val (1564–1638), the French commentator on Aquinas, transformed what the mystics had referred to as the "high-point" of the soul (*apex mentis*), for which Scholastic anthropology did not account, into the "heart," seat of both knowledge and virtue.

c) The Italian Renaissance, as represented chiefly by Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), translator of the hermetic corpus and pseudo-Dionysius, and both translator and commentator on Plato and Plotinus, whose thought was developed by Pico Della Mirandola (1463–94), exploited the full Neoplatonist tradition finally to provide a theoretical basis for the Renaissance enhancement of human dignity. Neoplatonism allowed Ficino, and those thinkers north of the Alps like Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1460–1536) who relied on him, to provide a way round the Scholastic impasse in which no orthodox theology of grace could escape making God's predestinatory decrees arbitrary. Neoplatonist assumptions allowed the obliteration of distinctions between nature and grace and made emotional love between human beings potentially the first step on the ladder ascending to divine love.

c). A current of Neoplatonist exemplarism transmitted by Augustine had, even during the high Middle

Ages, provided an alternative epistemology to theories of knowledge relying on the abstraction of some essence (or “quidditas,” or “haecceitas”) from an external object by an *intellectus agens*. Such exemplarist theories of knowledge ultimately underlay the thought of philosophers such as Descartes* and Malebranche, who were intent on preserving an immaterial and immortal principle of knowledge in the human body–soul. When Locke riposted against Descartes the possibility of “thinking matter,” he unleashed the line

of philosophical speculation that finally resulted in German idealism and Hegel’s phenomenology.

Augustine’s dominance, the Rhineland mystics, and the human anthropology of the Renaissance provide only examples. In the history of western theology, Neoplatonism as defined above is to be found, as Harnack saw, behind all attempts to see the good, and in particular the spiritual fulfillment of the individual, in a realm outside the knowledge in which, for Aquinas and the Aristotelian Scholastic tradition, beatitude* itself consisted.

ANTHONY LEVI

Neoscholasticism. *See* Thomism

Nestorianism

(a) *From Antioch to Constantinople.* Nestorius was born near the Euphrates in Syria at some time in the last 25 years of the fourth century. Having been a monk in the monastery of Euprepios, he became a priest in Antioch*, and was trained in theology at that city’s celebrated school. In 428, Emperor Theodosius II appointed Nestorius as Bishop and Patriarch of Constantinople (patriarchate*), where he became prominent from the outset in the struggle against Arianism* and Apollinarianism*. The difficulties that eventually led to his deposition and exile began when he supported one of his priests who had been accused of challenging the orthodoxy of applying the title *Theotokos* (“Mother of God”) to Mary*. Nestorius was concerned to safeguard the transcendental nature of the Word*, the Son of God, and to maintain without compromise the distinction between the humanity and the divinity of Jesus*. He therefore recoiled from the use of any expression that might imply “communication” of properties (or idioms*) between these two natures.

(b) *Nestorius’s Christology.* In response to rep-
rimands from Cyril*, Archbishop of Alexandria*,

Nestorius put forward the following exegesis of the introduction of the symbol of the *Theotokos* at Nicaea (*DCO* II/1, 115):

You have interpreted the tradition of these holy Fathers in a superficial way and have fallen into a pardonable ignorance. You have concluded that they said that the Word, coeternal with the Father, is passible [*pathetos*]. However, this divine gathering of Fathers did not say that the consubstantial [*homoousios*] divinity is passible, nor that the Word, coeternal with the Father, was recently engendered, nor that the Word, which restored its Temple after it was destroyed, has been resurrected.

Without any warning, Nestorius moves from the concrete term “Word” to the abstract term “divinity,” attributing to Cyril the notion that the events in the story of Jesus affected him because of his divinity. Nestorius then goes on (*DCO* II/1, 115–17):

They [the Fathers] say, I believe, therefore . . . in Our Lord Jesus Christ, his Only Son. Observe how they place first, as fundamentals, “Lord,” “Jesus,” “Christ,” “only begotten,” those names shared by his divinity and his humanity, and then construct the tradition of the incarnation,

the resurrection, and the passion. In thus putting forward certain names with meanings common to both natures, their goal was to show that what concerns his filiation cannot be separated from what concerns his lordship, and that, within the uniqueness of this filiation, what concerns the two natures is no longer at risk of disappearing because of confusion.

Nestorius speaks of words shared by the two natures (“Lord,” “Jesus,” “Christ,” and so on) as if they are simply the sum of the natures that they unite (divinity and humanity). In his explanation, these words that Nestorius says are shared by the two natures do not describe a new ontological structure that could take account of their unification in Jesus, and therefore have no formal reference to what it is forbidden to separate (*DCO* II/1, 118–19):

In every case where holy Scripture mentions the economy of the Lord, the generation and the passion that are presented are not those of Christ’s divinity, but those of his humanity. It follows that the Holy Virgin ought to be given the more precise title of Mother of Christ [*Christotokos*] rather than Mother of God [*Theotokos*].

Here too, Nestorius makes an equation between humanity and Christ, on the one hand, and between divinity and God, on the other. Each nature is assimilated to a concrete subject (*DCO* II/1, 120–23):

It is good, and in conformity with the gospel tradition, to confess that the body is the Temple of the divinity of the Son, a Temple unified in accordance with a supreme and divine conjunction [*sunapheia*], so that the nature of the divinity appropriates that which belongs to this Temple. However, to attribute to the Word, in the name of this appropriation, the properties of the flesh in this conjunction—I mean generation, suffering, and mortality—is, my brother, either to take up the disturbed thinking of the Greeks, or to fall sick with the madness of Apollinarius, Arius, or other heretics.

Clearly, however much Nestorius feared confusion between the two natures, he was still capable of saying that the nature of the divinity appropriates that which belongs to the “Temple.” On the other hand, it is not clear how the conjunction (*sunapheia*) that is at issue in this passage can be anything other than a moral combination. Accordingly, Nestorius seems to compromise the integrity of the two natures, and to assume a duality between two concrete subjects, Jesus and the Word. In his defense, it might be pointed out that, on the eve of the Council of Ephesus*, the notions being deployed here did not have the precision and the clarity that they were to acquire two centuries later.

(c) *Condemnation and Exile.* At Ephesus in 431, following the reading of his second letter to Cyril (*DCO*

II/1, 113–25), Nestorius was banished by the Emperor to a monastery near Antioch, and then sent into exile in Arabia, Libya, and Egypt. He wrote several texts in his own defense, notably the *Tragoedia* and the *Book of Heraclides of Damas*, of which a version in Syriac was discovered in 1895. Neither Nestorius’s statements about the relationship between the two natures in Christ—their interpenetration (circumincession*), inhabitation, accreditation, or confirmation—nor his statements on the meaning of *prosopon* (the mode of appearance of a concrete nature) removed all the doubts from his somewhat clumsy thinking. He died at around the time when the Council of Chalcedon* was beginning (451), believing himself to be in full accord with the Christology* of Flavian of Constantinople and of Pope* Leo I.

(d) *Syriac Tradition.* Nestorius’s own teachings must be distinguished from those of the Antiochene bishops* who rejected the Act of Union of 433 and gave their support to a “Nestorian” tradition in a declaration issued in 486. The Assyrian Church of the East (the Nestorian Church of the Edessa region) rejected the conclusions of the Council of Ephesus on the communication of idioms and the application of the title of Mother of God to Mary. However, as early as the seventh century the theologians of this church ceased to take anything more than some terminology and metaphors from Nestorius. On 11 November 1994, the Nestorian and Catholic Churches agreed on a declaration about Christology that put an end to the disputes initiated at Ephesus (*Ist.*, 40/2 [1995], 233–35):

The Word of God...was incarnated through the power of the Holy Spirit by assuming from the Holy Virgin Mary a flesh animated by a rational soul, with which it was united indissolubly from the moment of conception...His divinity and his humanity are united in one person...The difference between these natures is preserved in him...but, far from constituting one thing and another thing, divinity and humanity are united in the person of the one and only Son of God and Lord, Jesus Christ, the object of a single worship. Christ was therefore not an ordinary human being whom God adopted, in order to reside within him and inspire him...but the very word of God, engendered by the Father...was born from a mother without a human father. The humanity to which the blessed Virgin Mary gave birth has always been that of the Son of God himself. This is why the Assyrian Church of the East prays to the Virgin Mary as Mother of Christ Our Lord and Savior. In the light of this same faith, the Catholic tradition addresses the Virgin Mary as Mother of God and also as Mother of Christ.

The study of the “Nestorius case” has been taken up with some enthusiasm during the 20th century, fre-

quently with a degree of sympathy toward Nestorius, thanks to the editing of his writings, by F. Loofs and by P. Bedjan, and to research, most notably by E. Amann, L.I. Scipioni, M.V. Anastos, and L. Abramowski.

GILLES LANGEVIN

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See also Chalcedon, Council of; Christ/Christology; Cyril of Alexandria; Ephesus, Council of; Hypostatic Union

“New Theology.” *See* Lubac, Henri Sonier de

Newman, John Henry

1801–1890

a) Life. John Henry Newman was born in London on 21 February 1801. Having become a student at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1817, then Fellow of Oriel College and Vicar of Saint Mary's, the university parish church, he lived in that town until his conversion to Catholicism on 9 October 1845. Entrusted with founding in England the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, he set up his community in Birmingham, where he died on 11 August 1890. In 1879 Pope Leo XIII had made him a cardinal.

Newman's output is many-faceted (literature, history, philosophy, pedagogy, morality, spirituality). The core of his theological thought is based on the statement that access to revelation* comes about after an ascent that starts from natural* theology and leads through obedience to the moral conscience* up to the plenitude of the truth* revealed in all its multiplicity: the Holy* Scripture, Tradition*, the Church*, and the sacraments*.

b) Natural Knowledge, Revealed Knowledge. For Newman, the above descriptions represent two sources

of our knowledge, distinct and yet linked together in the same individual, who knows facts through evidence or from demonstration and who believes with the steadfast certainty that faith* imparts to him. What is at stake in the relations of the two types of knowledge, which must become a perfect harmony, is revealed truth, which is threatened by a hegemonic rationality. Newman's writings on this question—the *University Sermons* (1826–43) and *The Grammar of Assent* (1870)—provide a good introduction to the more theological parts of his works.

At the end of the 18th century a school of apologetics, called the Evidential School, had arisen in order to study the challenges to revealed knowledge, insofar as they were founded on the requirement of rational proof. This school's ideas, and particularly those of its chief representative, W. Paley (1743–1805), did not please Newman, for Paley admitted that the proofs of Christian truth should have the rigor of a logical demonstration: he thus reduced faith to a rational belief and demanded the abandonment of unprovable

statements of faith. In the *University Sermons*, Newman created a balance between the two forms of knowledge. Firstly he showed that knowing facts and believing are two of man's equally valid abilities; and then, that the rational evidence is not as clear and the mental certainty that stems from it is not as firm as the philosophers state. Borrowing the arguments of the Anglican bishop and philosopher J. Butler (1692–1752), he applied himself to proving, with numerous examples, that belief is a generally practiced human behavior, exercised far beyond the sphere of religious doctrines.

Newman not only concerned himself with the object of faith, but also with the defense of the believer. On the latter point he asserted every Christian's right, whether or not he could give his reasons for it, to believe with the same certainty that Newman observed in his own self. It is from this viewpoint that the *Grammar of Assent* clarifies the mechanics of inference that lead to assent, the logic of the "sense of inference," that is, of the "illative sense," which those mechanisms put into play, and the transition from notional assent (assent given to notions) to real assent (assent given to the realities named by these notions).

Yet Newman did not entrust the search for religious truth to pure intellectuality. On the contrary, this search is supported by a moral disposition that serves as its foundation and directs it toward its ultimate goal. It corresponds to the appeal to the moral conscience, and requires deeds subject to its orders. These orders come from outside and from above every individual, and they imply a supreme judge of human actions*. Spurring man to go outside himself in search of the one of whom conscience is the voice, this moral conscience prepares him also to accept a revelation if one should present itself. Obeying his own conscience impels man to compare its commandments with the teachings of the gospels. Therefore, the existence of conscience is not only an argument in favor of the existence* of God: it also disposes man to acknowledge the teachings of revealed religion. In answer to the British statesman W.E. Gladstone (1809–1898), who in 1874 had publicly expressed his fears that British Catholics would no longer be loyal subjects of Her Britannic Majesty if they accepted, as was their duty as Catholics, the dogma* of Papal infallibility* proclaimed during Vatican* I, Newman gave a reminder of that authority* of moral conscience. Writing, in the name of British Catholics, *A Letter Addressed to the Duke of Norfolk* (1875; the dukes of Norfolk are the premier lay Catholics in England), he defended the primacy of moral conscience over any other authority: in every individual, conscience is "the vicar of Christ*."

c) *The Relations between Holy Scripture and Tradition: Anglicanism's "Middle Way."* Through his contribution to the birth of the Oxford movement, Newman wanted to work on a systematic exposition of Anglican theology that would allow Anglicanism* to be seen as a *via media* or "middle way" between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism*. For Newman, the foundation of Anglican doctrine was the apostolic and patristic doctrine contained in the creeds of faith. And in his first book, *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (1833), he explained that the Church had triumphed over Arianism* because of its fidelity to the tradition of the apostles*, that is, to the *credo* which, "in those ancient times, was the chief source of instruction, in particular for the understanding of the obscure passages in the Scriptures" (134–35). The relations between scripture and tradition form the main theme of his *Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church Viewed Relative to Romanism and Popular Protestantism* (1837). There Newman defines the Church's teaching task: it receives the tradition as a rule of faith and conduct which it then expounds; all the same, this tradition is always "subordinate and auxiliary," while "the Scriptures are the foundation of all proof." The expression "fundamental doctrines," borrowed from the Anglican theologians R. Hooker (1554–1600), W. Laud (1573–1645), and E. Stillingfleet (1635–1699), refers to one of the most important foundations of the *via media*, that is, the doctrines contained in the three principal ancient symbols. These doctrines can already be found in Scripture and have been clearly specified in these symbols in order to answer the heretics and to instruct the faithful: accepted "everywhere and always by everyone" (according to Vincent of Lerins's canon from the *Commonitorium*) they form the "episcopal tradition." Alongside the fundamental doctrines, other doctrines have appeared in the Church's various branches: the Roman branch, the Greek branch, and the Anglican branch. These other doctrines form the "prophetic tradition," which varies from one Church to another, and they serve to explain the episcopal tradition without having the authority to do so. At the Council of Trent* the Roman Church had imposed such non-fundamental doctrines, granting them the same authority as the ancient doctrines. Conversely, by acknowledging only the authority of Scripture and of the private judgment of each believer, the Protestants had abandoned the fundamental doctrines. And yet, explained Newman in his *Apostolical Tradition* (1836) and in *Tract 85* (1835), it is impossible to prove the great doctrines of the divinity of Jesus* by means of scriptural references which exclude the reader's referring also to the tradition that formulated them. Anglicanism is indeed, therefore, the *via media* between the

extremes—that is, between the corruptions added by the Catholics, and the deficits—in other words, the losses—sanctioned by the Protestants.

His *Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification* (1838) also set out to define the Anglican position. The polemic was directed against the Protestant extremists. There he again asserted the Church's responsibility, its priestly or sacramental duty. Newman protested against the danger represented by the private feeling of being justified (justification*) by faith alone, without taking into consideration the external rituals or the obligation to live in conformity with this faith; and he gave a reminder about the role of the sacraments as instruments of grace*, as well as about the necessity for good works.

His exposition of the *via media* came to an end with his publication of *Tract 90*: the Thirty-nine Articles of Anglicanism can be understood in a Catholic sense because they are compatible with the doctrine of the Early Church. For Newman it was a matter of proving the factual reality of the *via media*. But the Oxford theologians rejected the tract and the bishops condemned it. Moreover, by extending his reading of the Fathers*, Newman became convinced that “the old Catholic truth” did not lie in the Church of England but in the Church of Rome*. Superimposing the present and former states of the Church, he perceived first of all, concerning the Monophysite* heresy, that the Church of Rome remained in his own time the same as it had been then, while the Church of England stood in the position of the Monophysites. And then he realized, with regard to the Arian crisis, that the Protestants took the same stance as the Arians had done and the Anglicans that of the semi-Arians, while the Catholics of that time believed as they still did in Newman's own day.

d) *Development of the Christian Doctrine.* Newman had believed for a long time that the Roman additions to primitive doctrine were corruptions. But the very direction of his thought brought him to reconsider his stance. If the additions made to doctrine were not corruptions, they ought to integrate with doctrine and explain it: in short, they should constitute its development.

At the end of 1842, having identified the principle of development as a fundamental phenomenon, he studied it first in itself and then applied it to the dogmas of the Catholic Church (*University Sermons* No. XV and *Essay on Development of Christian Doctrine*). Basing himself on the Scriptures (Lk 2:19), Newman thought that the case of Mary* illustrated the use of reason in the examination of the doctrines of the faith. The formation of the Catholic doctrines resembled an idea that is born, grows, makes progress, protects itself from deviations while feeding on other ideas, and becomes increasingly

precise as it develops. This process culminates in dogmatic statements, whose function is to expose hitherto latent aspects of the idea. In reality, things could not be otherwise once a great idea arose in the mind (moreover, Newman also showed this in the idea of a university). In order to justify the application of this principle to divine revelation, Newman stressed that, whatever might be the mystery* of God, the idea of revelation included the communication of teachings addressed to the human intellect and therefore grasped according to this intellect's laws. If ever that ceased to be the case, one could no longer speak of revelation; but if God really speaks, what he communicates can be heard and understood by man according to the law of his own mind, and understood from more than one angle.

His *Essay on Development of the Christian Doctrine* is a reworking of the philosophical analysis of development and a very thorough verification of that idea in the form of an analysis of the Roman Church's doctrines. In it, Newman enumerates the categories applicable to the development of Christianity (political, logical, historical, ethical, metaphysical) and studies the seven signs of the idea's true development: preservation of the type, continuity of the principles, capacity to be assimilated, logical progression, anticipation of the future, active preservation of the past, enduring vigor.

He then draws two consequences that historical investigation would have to verify: firstly, if Christianity corresponded to the development of the idea it would undergo such a development; secondly, if development was shown to have happened, one should expect to find an infallible authority. Development is indeed an unpredictable effect and is only recognized retrospectively; it occurs under the stress of circumstances and appeals to an authority that controls its energies and whose existence should be no surprise. This authority should not reside in each individual's private judgment, for the individual is not infallible, nor should it reside in the Anglican use of the canon of Lerins, which Newman had put to a fruitless test with regard to the *via media*: it was found at the present time, he contended, in the Catholic Church. The remainder of this work is devoted to applying the signs of true development to numerous doctrines. Newman shows how the historical continuity of doctrine resulted from a dialogue between the teaching Church and the Church that receives instruction, with both of these aspects playing their role in the preservation of the truth.

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PIERRE GAUTHIER

See also Anglicanism; Blondel, Maurice; Credibility; Dogma; Lubac, Henri Sonier de; Mono-physics; Sensus fidei; Vatican I

Nicaea-Constantinople, Symbols of. *See* Creeds

Nicaea I, Council of

A.D. 325

The First Council* of Nicaea, the first of seven ecumenical councils celebrated in the early Church*, is like the matrix for all of them. The proof is the praise showered upon the Council by the Fathers of Nicaea* II (held in 787), who remarked that they were putting finishing touches to the conciliar work of the earlier times of Christianity, at the very place where God* had inaugurated the Christian era. Two representatives of the Bishop* of Rome* took part in Nicaea I, which was labeled “ecumenical” by two direct witnesses, Eusebius of Caesarea and Athanasius* of Alexandria. Consid-

ered at first to have a territorial scope, the term quickly acquired authority. Such a council legislates in the Emperor’s name for all his subjects by enunciating divine truth* and law*, for which the Church stands guarantor everywhere.

a) History and Stakes. After his final victory over Licinius, on 19 September 324, Constantine wanted to organize a general meeting of the eastern episcopate at Ancyra (Ankara) in Galatia, in order to solve all the ecclesiastical disputes and crown his pacifying work.

He had underestimated the gravity of the conflict triggered five years earlier in Alexandria by the excommunication of Arius. Some personal letters of Constantine, brought toward the end of 324 by his theological counselor, Hosius of Cordova, to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria and to his priest Arius, attest his lack of knowledge concerning the dogmatic stakes. A synod* held in the presence of Hosius at Antioch reinforced the division of minds by ruling that Alexander was right. Hosius informed the emperor that it was urgent to deal with the Alexandrine matter by putting it on the agenda of the General Council he was planning to hold. Constantine sped up the preparations of the Council by holding it in Nicaea, in the immediate vicinity of Nicomedia, where he was residing. He would put the Imperial Post at the participants' disposal, and he would see that they get lodging and board at his own expense. Finally, the Council would be followed by the celebration, on 25 July, of the 20th anniversary of his accession to the imperial dignity.

In June 325, at the solemn inauguration, approximately 300 bishops were in attendance (from the 360s on, the symbolic number of 318 was to be adopted, following the number of Abraham's servants in Genesis 4:14). The Acts of that Council being lost, it is difficult to be more precise. The Emperor read a welcoming speech in Latin. Eusebius of Nicomedia, Metropolitan of the province of Bithynia, where the assembly was taking place, thanked him. Constantine himself chaired this first sitting, as well as the subsequent ones, but he left to Hosius the responsibility of conducting the doctrinal debate. Constantine intervened on several occasions and ratified the decisions made; in his capacity as *pontifex maximus* of the whole Empire, he had, in fact, the responsibility of establishing a religious peace duly controlled in the provinces that had recently fallen under his supreme authority.

All the parties in the dispute had been summoned. Arius himself was present, accompanied by his friends. Among the bishops engaged in the controversy over Arius's condemnation, it was possible to distinguish three groups. The first gathered around Alexander of Alexandria. The second group gathered around the intransigent Eustathius of Antioch; he was influencing the decision to excommunicate Arius again, on the grounds of his own conception (shared by Marcellus of Ancyra) of the *unique* Trinitarian *hypostasis*, whereas Alexander and his group had censored Arius in the name of the Origenian doctrine of the *three* divine *hypostases*. Finally, there was the group led by Eusebius of Nicomedia; it had rallied to that same Origenian tradition, but it had been more conservative and more favorable to Arius ever since the beginning of the dispute, primarily to trigger some trouble for the bishop of Alexandria.

A creed*, to which was added an anathema, was adopted on 19 June and submitted to the imperial authority by the Nicene assembly. Eusebius of Caesarea mentioned this Anti-Arian credo in his *Letter to the Church of Caesarea* (Opitz, III, U. 22), which was written as soon as the Council was over. Arius and two compatriots from Libya, Bishops Secundus of Ptolemais and Theonas of Marmarica, refused to sign. They were excommunicated, and then sent away in exile. This same Eusebius related that the Emperor recommended from the very beginning of the debates to have the word *homoousios* ("consubstantial*") inserted into the creed being prepared (U. 22, 7). Eusebius himself had, during the first sitting, presented his own profession of faith, which was in accordance with the baptismal liturgy* of Caesarea; he had done so in order to demonstrate his orthodoxy*, following the censorship he had sustained from the Antioch synod a few months earlier.

The creed of Nicaea is different from Eusebius's profession of faith; it is connected to the baptismal tradition of Antioch and of Jerusalem*. The Commission entrusted with writing its final version tried hard to formulate an acceptable interpretation, closer to the Scriptures*, of the nonbiblical attribute *homoousios*, by placing prior to it some significant explanatory notes. In Nicomedia, before the opening of the great imperial synod, Alexander of Alexandria had perhaps agreed with Hosius to resort to the "consubstantial" (Philostorgius). For all these circumstances, we have to rely, however, on mere conjectures. From the 350s on, the eastern bishops, who were hostile to the Alexandrine see, increased the number of synods intended to eliminate the controversial term from the official formula of faith. Athanasius of Alexandria had the merit of opposing, at the cost of an Episcopal ministry severely perturbed, what represented to his eyes a confusion of political matters and of the rule of faith. The cause of Nicaea ended up prevailing.

Aside from the business of dealing with the Arius affair, the Nicene Fathers had to take care of two more major stakes: the old dispute regarding the exact date for celebrating Easter and the elimination of the Melitian schism* in Egypt (Melicius, Bishop of Lycopolis, had opposed the patriarch, Peter of Alexandria, about the reintegration into the church of Christians who had apostatized during Diocletian's persecution, and had illegitimately ordained bishops). Decrees were promulgated regarding these points, as well as other aspects of ecclesiastical* discipline.

The activities of the Council were perhaps closed by 19 June, and certainly before 25 July. On 25 July, Constantine invited the whole assembly to a banquet in his summer palace, where the synod had taken place. Eu-

sebius of Caesarea delivered there a famous eulogy, glorifying the reign of peace established by Constantine over the whole Empire; and he did so in light of his own political* theology of the divine Logos.

The Nicene formula of faith became, from the fourth century on, the central issue at stake in the doctrinal controversies. A solemn reading of that formula was delivered at the First Council of Constantinople* (381), which added to it a more elaborate mention of the article concerning the Holy* Spirit. The creed of Nicaea-Constantinople was later acclaimed in Ephesus* (431) and in Chalcedon* (451). It is still being recited in our Eucharistic liturgies.

b) Canonical Decrees. Concerning the Paschal matter, the compromise decision that was reached (a decision that did not assume necessarily the form of an actual decree) was to insist that the Churches of Rome and Alexandria reach an agreement every time their respective calculations demanded, in theory, dates that were different. The bishop of Alexandria was entrusted with the task of announcing every year the exact date for Easter.

The synodal letter which, beside an encyclical letter from the Emperor, informed the Alexandrians about all these matters, transmitted as well the particularly moderate recommendations of the Council that aimed at curbing the Melitian schism: Melitius would remain a bishop, under house arrest; he would lose his ordaining powers; the bishops, priests*, and deacons* he had ordained would keep their titles and responsibilities, as subordinates of Alexander, following a new imposition of hands.

The 20 canons of Nicaea confirm the rules in practice and eliminate the abuses. Six of them set the structures of government* straight. Canon 4 imposes a minimum of three bishops as co-celebrants in an episcopal consecration. Canon 5 approves the Metropolitan synods in spring and autumn. Canon 6 consecrates the primacy, over vast regions, of the sees of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch. Canon 7 adds the privilege of honor recognized to the Church of Jerusalem, and so the ancient structure of the four Mother Churches identifying with a Petrine foundation was thus canonized. Canons 15 and 16 object to the mobility of the clergy

from one diocese to another. Canons 1 (on eunuchs), 3 (on cohabitation with women), 17 (on usury), 18 (on deacons), and 19 (on deaconesses) deal with matters concerning the clergy. Four canons organize the penitential discipline, in a by-and-large lenient way. They are: canon 11 (dealing with Christians implicated in the persecution's unforeseen turn of events, the *lapsi*); canon 12 (on soldiers); canon 13 (on the dying), and canon 14 (on catechumens). Finally, canon 8 settles the question of the schismatic Novatians, and canon 9 settles the matter of the Paulinists, Christians who had remained faithful to Paul of Samosata. Canon 20 forbids genuflection on Sundays and on Whitsuntide.

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CHARLES KANNENGIESSER

See also Arianism; Athanasius; Consubstantial; Trinity

Nicaea II, Council of

A.D. 787

The Second Council of Nicaea was the seventh ecumenical council*. It confirmed its entire faithfulness to the teaching of the ecumenical councils that had preceded it. By way of this faithfulness it wanted to guarantee the legitimacy of the cult* of images*. Because of the great difficulty in assessing the respective parts played by each of a variety of causes, historians give divergent interpretations of the iconoclastic quarrel and of its causes (see Brown, 1973). Possible causes include the pressure created by Islam with its conquering strength, the internal crisis of the Byzantine Empire, and the latent clash of two theologies that followed Nicaea II. It was also with Nicaea II and the reception it had that the gradual separation of Eastern and Western Christianity became clearer.

1. History

a) Iconodules and Iconoclasts (Seventh–Ninth Centuries). Nicaea II was preceded and followed by two periods of controversy over images (iconoclasm). From 692 on, canon 82 of the so-called Quinisext Council, which has been identified as the “first official evidence of a stand by the Church* in the matter of images” (Grabar 1957), forbids the representation of Christ* as a lamb, such an image resorting more to the typology of the old covenant* than to incarnation* (Dumeige 1978): “We order that Christ our God*, who removes the sins* from the world*, be henceforth painted according to his human form in the images, instead of the former representation as a lamb; thus, recognizing in him the splendor of the Word*'s humility, we will be led to remember his life in the flesh, his passion*, his salutary death and the redemption he brought to the world.”

In 726, while the caliphs were intensifying their fight against the Christian images (decree of Yazid II in 723), the Byzantine Emperor Leo III inaugurated an iconoclastic policy. This first attitude triumphed at the Council of Hieria, convened in 754 by Emperor Constantine V, which was attended by 338 iconoclastic bishops*. Any type of image cult was forbidden as heretical. The decisions of Hieria thus created a *de facto* separation between Constantinople and the other patriarchates*. In response, Pope Stephen III convened

at the Lateran, in 769, a synod* that condemned Hieria and thus supported the primacy of Rome*. In 786 Empress Irene convened a council, to be held at Nicaea the following year. The sessions of Nicaea II were presided over by the patriarch of Constantinople, and the five patriarchates were represented; Pope Adrian I sent two legates. The decisions of the Council provoked strong reactions among the iconoclasts, and there was a long wait until 843 for the iconophiles to prevail, at long last, thanks to Empress Theodora and Patriarch Methodius. The solemn restoration of Christ's image at the entrance of the imperial palace, on 11 March 843, marks the “triumph of orthodoxy,” a festival inscribed since then in the liturgical calendar of Eastern Christianity (“the Sunday of Orthodoxy”).

b) Protagonists and Stakes of Nicaea II. Some actions, including the destruction and reestablishment of images and imperial coins bearing or not bearing the image of Christ (see Grabar 1957) and some written documents marked the different steps of the crisis. The works that survived and reached us concern mostly the defense of images, because Nicaea II proceeded to destroy the iconoclastic documents. In any case, far from being a manifestation of popular piety (see Brown 1973, who challenges the very relevance of that concept for early Christianity), the crisis proved that the cult of images was state business. The Constantinian Empire had already decided in the fourth century that the cross was a good sign of its victory; the *acheiropoietae* signs of Christ (those not created by human hands) had subsequently increased in number (Grabar 1957).

From the sixth century on, the cult of the *Theotokos* experienced new growth in Constantinople. This growth came together with the encouragement given to the reverence for images and relics* (Cameron 1978). A role of intercession and of protection for the Eastern capital was in fact recognized for Mary* (this was particularly obvious during the siege of the city in 726), and the controversy regarding the images may be interpreted partly as an interrogation, more insistent during a troubled period, of the manner in which mediations between God and men can be made clearer.

Starting with the reign of Leo III, the succession of

iconophile and iconoclastic emperors and the divisions of the Eastern episcopate played a major role. A theocratic concept of power (“I am an emperor and a priest,” according to a declaration attributed to Leo III—see Dagron 1996) and the emperors’ interventions in matters of dogma* created conflicts between emperor and patriarch, and also between Constantinople and Rome. Within the pentarchy of the five patriarchates—considered, since the reign of Justinian I, to be of equal dignity (see Schatz in Boespflug-Lossky 1987), Rome tended to assert its preeminence. But it was the rise of Frankish power in the West, then the Carolingian Empire, that helped Roman primacy against the East and accelerated separation.

Other aspects are more difficult to assess, such as the role and the position of the Eastern monastic communities. They were rather iconophile prior to Nicaea II, as evidenced by the role of the monk George of Cyprus; but later they were divided. Under the influence of Origenism (see Schönborn 1976), iconoclastic tendencies appeared; they were interpreted also as the sign of some opposition between the city, where the seat of power was situated, and the rural areas (Brown, 1973).

2. Doctrinal Work

In order to rule on the matter of images, the *horos*, or final decree, relied on “the tradition* of the Catholic Church*,” and the Council declared itself first as ecumenical by anathematizing the decisions of Hieria (Dumeige 1978). The *horos* referred then specifically to a christological declaration by Basil* of Caesarea: “the honor paid to the image goes to the prototype” (*Traité du S.E.*, 18, 45). Then it ordered the following: “As is the case for the representation of the precious and uplifting cross, venerable and holy images, mosaics and other works of art made in any other respectable manner should be placed in God’s holy churches, on holy objects and clothes, on walls and boards, in homes and on the roads; the image of our Lord, our God and Savior Jesus Christ, that of our Immaculate Lady, the Holy Mother of God, those of the angels*, worthy of our respect, those of all the Saints and the Just.”

The iconodules’ recourse to a christological argumentation should not lead to an increase in dogmatic dispute. The definitions of Chalcedon* are recognized on both sides, and the hypothesis of a connection between iconoclasm and Monophysitism* is as contested nowadays as that of a correlation with Nestorianism* (Desreumeaux and Dalmais in Boespflug-Lossky 1987). It is in fact the very meaning of the word *icon*, or *image*, which is at the source of the difficulties. For the iconoclasts, Christ alone is the unique and perfect image (see Col 1:15), and the divinity can be commu-

nicated through images only in the consecrated realities of the cross, the churches, and the Eucharist*. The answer given by the defenders of the images is founded on a theology of incarnation. If they state, like their adversaries, that God is *aperigraptos*, or “uncircumscribable,” Jesus*, the Son who has come in the flesh, can be represented because he is *perigraptos*, or “circumscribable” (anathema 1). As a corollary, Mary, the saints, and the angels can also be represented. And to bring an end to the accusations of idolatry* made by the Christian iconoclasts and by Islam, the fathers of Nicaea II make a clear distinction between veneration (*proskunèsis*) and adoration (*latreia*). Reserved for God, adoration confesses his salvific power; on the other hand, the veneration of images recognizes that they have merely the value of signs.

When added to the erroneous translation of *proskunèsis* into *adoratio* in the Latin Acts of Nicaea II, the ambivalence of the term *icon* meant that there had to be a deeper, more thorough examination of this theological matter before the council could get a full reception.

3. Reception

a) *In the East.* The *Discourse Against Those Who Reject Images*, written by John Damascene around 730, offered a first elaboration of the concept of image and of its various meanings; in the “icons,” the *Discourse* perceived, at first, material images pertaining, as all matter does, to the grace* of the Creator. Being the first defenders of the images, John Damascene, the patriarch Germanus of Constantinople, and George of Cyprus had been anathematized by the Council of Hieria. The decisions of Nicaea II were not sufficient to put an end to the controversy. In fact, at the beginning of the ninth century, the emperors Nicephorus and Leo V were openly opposed, and the latter openly went over to iconoclasm. A council convened at the Hagia Sophia in 815 condemned the decisions made by Nicaea II and brought Hieria’s decisions back into force. Faced with this second iconoclastic reaction, Patriarch Nicephorus (*Antirrhetici*) and Theodore of Studium offered further new expositions of the iconodulic theology (Schönborn 1976). The images had to wait until 843 to be solemnly reestablished; and under Photius’s patriarchate, a council spelled out the official condemnation of iconoclasm.

b) *In the West.* The reception of Nicaea II is one of the stakes in the opposition that asserted itself in the eighth and ninth centuries between the Pope and the Carolingian Empire. While Pope Adrian manifested his agreement with Nicaea II, the Council of Frankfurt,

convened by Charlemagne in 794, condemned the “veneration” (*adoratio*) of images. The *Livres carolins*, composed around 791–94 by theologians from Charlemagne’s entourage, defined what was to be, throughout the Middle Ages, the Western theological opinion regarding images. Quoting the declarations of Gregory* the Great, they asserted that images have a pedagogical, catechetical, and ornamental value (see Schmitt in Boespflug-Lossky 1987), but that Eucharist alone could act as a full memorial of the salutary incarnation. It was thus that a theological shifting took place, from image to sacrament*; it was to be of central importance in medieval Western Europe and during the Counter-Reformation.

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FRANÇOIS BÖSPFLUG ET FRANÇOISE VINEL

See also **Cult; Church and State; Images**

Nicholas of Cusa

1401–1464

a) Life. Nicholas of Cusa—in Latin, Nicolaus Cusanus or Nicolaus Treverensis—was born in Cues on the Moselle. He studied philosophy* in Heidelberg (1416–17), ecclesiastical law in Padua (1417–23)—as well as mathematics, natural sciences*, and especially Aristotelianism*—returning to studies in philosophy and theology* in Köln (from 1425) under the guidance of Eymeric de Campo, who introduced him to the works of the late-medieval heirs of Albert* the Great and Raymond Lulle. On two occasions (in 1428 and 1435) Nicholas refused the chair of canon law* offered him by the University of Louvain. In 1432, during the Council of Basel*, he intervened in the political struggles that were stirring up the Church; initially conciliarist, he rallied to the Roman camp in 1437. After this he undertook important diplomatic missions, accompanying the emperor and the patriarch

of Constantinople to the 1438 council of union in Ferrara-Florence. He was named cardinal in 1448, and bishop of Brixen in 1450. This led to a series of journeys of legation and inspection, notably to provincial synods* in Salzburg, Magdeburg, Mainz, and Köln. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Turkish threat awakened his interest in Islam and led him to elaborate a philosophy of religion* that reconciled the different confessions. Following a disagreement with Duke Sigismond of the Tyrol, he left Brixen in 1458 to assume important functions in Rome and in Italy. He died on 11 August 1464 in Todi (Umbria).

b) Doctrines. One of the objectives of Nicholas of Cusa was to reform the life of Church* and State in the furtherance of religious peace*. In *De concordantia catholica* (1432–33) he traced the paradigm of a uni-

versal Christian order, following the schema “Spirit-soul*-body”: the one Church is the place where the divine Spirit, the sacerdotal soul, and the body of believers should be in harmonious agreement. In *De pace fidei* (1453) he defended the idea of a “single religion . . . in a diversity of rites” (VI, n. 16, H. VII, 15, 16 *Sq*), arguing that, more than any other religion, Christianity is in a position to respond to the expectations of the various national religions. In *Cribratio Alchorani* (Critique of the Koran, 1460–61), Nicholas tried to explain the mysteries* of the Christian faith to Muslims. *De docta ignorantia* (1440) is generally considered Nicholas’s major philosophico-theological work. The method of learned ignorance, by which the incomprehensible is understood in an incomprehensible way (*incomprehensibile incomprehensibiliter comprehendere*)—that is, imprecisely and approximatively—makes it possible to determine the absolute maximum that cannot be surpassed; since this maximum has no opposite, it is not opposed to a minimum, but on the contrary coincides with it (*De docta ign.* I, 4, H. I, 10, 4–16). This unique reality—which actually exists (*actu*) as a maximum and which simultaneously, as a minimum, is every possible being (*omne possibile est*)—according to the belief of all peoples, is God* (*ibid.*, I, 2, H. I, 7, 3–15). Nicholas of Cusa then deals with the universe, which he conceives of as a “contracted maximum” (*maximum contractum*) because it does not precede and does not connect the contradictory opposites, but only the contraries (II, 4, H. I, 73, 8–16); a soul cannot be attributed to it, God being himself the soul and spirit of the world* (II, 9, H. I, 95, 29–96, 4). God is at the same time the center and the circumference of the universe, a notion that deprives the earth of the central position it occupies in ancient cosmology (II, 11, H. I, 100, 10–16). Nicholas concludes by turning to Christ*, conceived as a maximum that is both absolute and contracted (III, 2, H. I, 123, 11 s).

De coniecturis (written before 1444) expounds a conjectural method of knowledge*, but Nicholas clearly forgets his own theory in speaking of the mental unity of God *divinaliter* (*De coni.* I, 6, H. III, 31, 4), that is, from the viewpoint of divine unity itself, determining it as pure negation (*ibid.*, I, 8, H. III, 38, 12–39, 3): the Neoplatonic tetrad “God-reason-intellect-body” is carried over here into a process of emanation/return and at the same time built—a point that Nicholas was not to develop anywhere else—into the concept of *mens*, spirit, that encompasses these four unities (*ibid.*, I, 4, H. III, 18, 3–19, 1).

All his life Nicholas of Cusa sought to shape the most appropriate idea of God possible, while keeping his eyes fixed on the trinitarian structure of the divin-

ity. In these approaches formulated in philosophical terms, he particularly attempted to retain that which is not known to philosophers (*De venatione sapientiae* XXV, n. 73, H. XII, 71, 24–26): the Holy* Spirit. God is not only absolute possibility and absolute reality, he is also the connection (*nexus*) between the two (*Triologus de possest* 6, H. XI/2, 7, 16–8, 17). But Nicholas (see *De ven. sap.* XIV, n. 40, H. XII, 39, 1 s) believed that no idea could better express God than the idea of “non-other” (*non aliud*); this non-other, against all Aristotelian logic and insofar as it defines itself by itself, is the quiddity of all quiddities. And this is the definition posited by Nicholas in 1462: the non-other is none other than the non-other (*De non aliud* I, H. XIII, 4, 29 *Sq*). In this trinitarian definition of self, the non-other is itself and therefore transcendent, but at the same time it is immanent to all that is other than it, because the other is none other than the other (Stallmach 1989).

Concerning Nicholas’s numerous mathematical writings (most of them composed in the period 1445–59), one observation should be made: just as God is at the origin of the real, the human mind is the source from which numbers are born. Geometrical figures, by their symbolic nature, make it possible to illustrate the coincidence of opposites (*coincidentia oppositorum*) in God. Reason (*ratio*), the principle of mathematical content, is not able to understand exactly the imparticipable truth*, the divine essence, any more than is intellect (*intellectus*), in which opposites can agree but not coincide.

c) Reception of Nicholas of Cusa’s Work. As a theologian engaged in the field of philosophy, Nicholas was especially concerned to establish the inadequacy of the “Aristotelian sect” of his time; he considered himself an innovator. He had to write an apology against Johannes Wenck de Herrenberg, who did not understand his ideas. His theory of coincidence was also criticized by Vincent d’Aggsbach, whereas it was favorably received by Bernard de Waging, Eymeric de Campo, Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples, Gérard Roussel, Giordano Bruno, Athanasius Kircher, and Leibniz*. His ideas were afterward accommodated within a fideist perspective, or transmitted second hand; it was only in the 20th century that a critical edition of his complete works was published, stimulating an intense labor of interpretation.

d) Critical Perspectives. We will simply observe that although Nicholas of Cusa, in the context of his philosophical theology, was constantly inventing new concepts of God understood as a coincidence of opposites, and also advanced many innovative ideas in cosmol-

ogy, he nonetheless remained faithful to a hierarchical model that, relative to God, excluded the thought of absolute auto-causality (*God causa sui*) and regression to the infinite. In a word, Nicholas of Cusa saw God as the cause of all but not of himself. God is infinite*, but he is also his own limit, beyond which it is impossible to go back. These are questions that a philosophico-critical theology must face today. It could lead to a new, philosophically justifiable idea of God as absolute possibility.

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BURKHARD MOJSISCH

See also **Cosmos; Infinite; Knowledge of God; Negative Theology; Religion, Theology of**

Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm

1844–1900

Nietzsche’s self-presentation in *Ecce Homo* centers on what he sees as a veritable “crisis” in the history of thought, a crisis that imposes on him at least two tasks. One is the reinterpretation of the whole of Western history* from the perspective of nihilism. In this regard Nietzsche should be understood as analyzing an upheaval that affects our own era first and foremost. The other task is the proclamation of a new philosophy*, grounded in a new set of values and capable of being characterized as “the gay science” (to borrow the title of his 1882 book). Nietzsche is a radical philosopher because of the questions he asks, his undertaking to

destroy the foundations of philosophy, and his desire to invent a new way of thinking. He remains, even today, one of the most controversial figures in the history of philosophy.

1. Nietzsche and His Image

The son of a Lutheran pastor, Nietzsche grew up in a religious and moral atmosphere permeated by a biblical and pietist spirit. From this starting point, and continuing right up to the end, he developed a merciless and ever more violent philosophical critique of religion and, more specifically, of Christianity.

Nietzsche was born in Röcken (Saxony) on 15 October 1844 and was educated in one of the best institutions of the time, the Schulpforta, before going on to study classical philology and, briefly but intensely, theology. He was appointed a professor of classical philology at the age of 25, but just ten years later he was compelled to resign. He succumbed to insanity at the age of 44 and died at Weimar on 25 September 1900, in his 56th year. During his 20 years of public activity, and in defiance of his failing health, Nietzsche displayed an exceptional intellectual fecundity. All his writings were initially received with total incomprehension, from his first published book, *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (1872, *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music*), and his youthful critiques of the culture of his time, to the texts of his maturity—*Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* (1878, *Human, All Too Human*), *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* (1882, *The Gay Science*), *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1883–85, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*), *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (1886, *Beyond Good and Evil*), and *Zur Genealogie der Moral* (1887, *On the Genealogy of Morals*)—and then the vehement writings of his last period, *Der Antichrist* (1895, *The Antichrist*) and *Ecce Homo* (published posthumously in 1908). Even the way in which his ideas are formulated presents difficulties, since he simultaneously communicates them and uses esotericisms, aphorisms, and other stylistic methods to disguise them. They cry out for interpretation. “It is difficult to make oneself understood”—and perhaps Nietzsche himself did not even think that being understood was desirable.

Philosophical interpretations of Nietzsche’s works have been undertaken by such thinkers as Martin Heidegger*, Karl Jaspers, and K. Löwith. More recently, however, French and Italian interpreters have adopted a new approach. Going back to the authors who preceded Nietzsche in the history of thought, they examine the structural aspects of his style in order to decipher his intentions from the perspective of a theory of culture. Meanwhile, theological studies have made it increasingly clear that Nietzsche’s ideas need to be handled with subtlety.

2. Destruction as New Foundation

The destruction of metaphysics undertaken by Nietzsche—“philosophy by hammer blows”—has a clear purpose: to liberate the will from all constraints. The first discourse of *Also sprach Zarathustra*, “On the Three Metamorphoses,” lays out the chain of events by which the will may be liberated from all belief in a prior truth and from all duty, and at last given over in full to the power of affirming and creating life. Hence, Nietzsche’s philosophical project may be interpreted as an unconditional affirmation of humanity in respect

of what is appropriate to humanity: *homo semper maior*. This aristocratic and elitist “experimental philosophy” (e.g., *KGW* VIII, 3, 288) is informed by the paths of an individuality that is capable of giving form to the world* and is embodied in “higher exemplars” (*KGW* III, 1, 313).

To this end, Nietzsche mounts a systematic critique of language, reason*, truth*, and morality—“We do not possess truth” (*KGW* V, 1, 382)—and, finally, of religion, and of Christianity first and foremost. In other words, he criticizes everything that might constrain this affirmation of humanity or of will, whether in the name of being* (in a beyond, or in terms of a “true” world), or in the name of the good* (morality). Accordingly, Nietzsche is hostile to any form of “background world,” to every naive or dogmatic belief in something beyond this Earth and this life, in a single being, self-identical and eternal, who knows nothing about becoming and the tragedy of experience. More specifically, he is hostile to any moral foundation for truth, which he interprets as the archetype for such background worlds. The Socratic figure of the theorizing man and the Platonic ideal of a “true world” are the earliest forms of this enfeebling of life that Nietzsche diagnoses and contests, although modern culture has produced many more of them. His aim is to set in train a “countermovement” (e.g., *KGW* VIII, 2, 432) in opposition to the will to self-negation and general decay, and to rediscover, through an apprehension of the Earth, the power of affirming life.

Nietzsche’s most original ideas and images are expressions of his conception of a world dominated by affirmation. They include the “eternal return,” the *Übermensch* (“superman” or “higher man”), *amor fati* (“love of fate”), and “Dionysus”; but, above all, there is the “will to power,” conceived as the power of life desiring itself, the essence of all reality. This is not to be interpreted as a substance in the traditional sense. Indeed, this phrase indicates the distance that Nietzsche traveled—and expressed ever more clearly over the course of his intellectual development—away from his first philosophical master, Arthur Schopenhauer. For Nietzsche, the will desires itself and tends to surpass itself in desiring its own growth, which is why it is the will to power. Being more powerful is its way of desiring and of affirming itself.

3. Critique of Religion and Christianity

The critical dimension of Nietzsche’s work culminates in a confrontation with Christianity. The rejection of “background worlds” leads into the theme of the “death of God.” Since Christianity is “Platonism for the people” (*Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, Preface), the critique of the one is naturally a continuation of the critique of

the other. However, Nietzsche's polemic becomes more radical in the writings of his last period, giving rise, in the form of a self-interpretation, to the phrase "Dionysus against the Crucified" (*KGW* VIII, 3, 58).

a) God and the Gods. The famous statement that "God is dead" (*Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* 125), adopted not so long ago by "theologians of the death of God" (J.J. Altizer, W. Hamilton), was intended to describe the irreversible historical process of liberation from the traditional concept of God. However, Nietzsche has more than this simple observation in mind. He also seeks to confirm its legitimacy ("revaluation of values"), to show how God and religion may have been born ("genealogy"), and to justify the possibility of a different interpretation of the divine ("Dionysus").

It follows that Nietzsche's denunciation of the concept of God should be extended into a denunciation of the reactive forces that have constructed the concept. Nietzsche's "genealogical" project is intended to uncover, in the background of every system or concept, the instinct that has produced it. Behind morality and the concept of God, "genealogy" reveals the hidden intention to avenge oneself on life. God must die because he is, at least partially, connected with those reactive forces—resentment, bad conscience*, the ascetic ideal—that Nietzsche subjects to an implacable inquisition. Here the emphasis is no longer on the very existence of God, but on the power of humanity, its strength or weakness: "He who no longer finds greatness in God will not find it anywhere, and must either deny it or...create it" (*KGW* VII, 1, 28). What has been regarded until now as "divine" has entailed the "diminishing" of humanity (*KGW* III, 25).

Against the reduction of both the divine and the human that has resulted from asceticism*, and from distrust of the world, Nietzsche seeks to establish a new doctrine in which the divine retains a place, but within a new framework: that of the innocence of the world, and the complete, tragic, Dionysian affirmation of existence. Hence, Nietzsche can call for the creation of new gods, in line with his wishes. His philosophy entails a rejection of the idea of a transcendent divine subject, endowed with responsibility and "total awareness" (providence*); but it also entails a protest against commonplace forms of agnosticism* and atheism*. Between "monotonothism" (belief in a boring God; *Der Antichrist* 19) on the one hand, and atheism on the other, Nietzsche seeks to define a polytheistic conception of existence: "In fact, only the moral God has been surpassed" (*KGW* VIII, 1, 217). In other words, in the European context God has become an abstract, Platonic/Christian deity, understood, even within the structures of language, as a negation of life in all its fullness and abyssal depths.

b) Christianity and the Church. Nietzsche's critique of religion reaches its most concentrated expression in his attack on Christianity and the image of the priest*, the image *par excellence* of bad conscience. From Nietzsche's perspective, the devaluing of this world that is implied in the doctrines of sin*, redemption on the cross, and resurrection*, along with the moral practices of Christianity, represents "the most extravagant variation on the theme of morality" (*Die Geburt der Tragödie*, Preface, 5). Christianity has inoculated Europe with a "moral ontology" (*KGW* VIII, 1, 273); it is a religion of decadence, "an example of the alteration of personality" (VIII, 3, 98). The history of Christianity is thus a history of sin and guilt, a history of misfortune.

Nietzsche's specific target is Paul and his successors: "The Church was built in opposition to the gospel" (*Der Antichrist* 36). Yet, in praising Jesus* for his exemplary "practice" (*Der Antichrist* 35), free from resentment and moralizing, in opposition to a Church that believes in things, conditions, and effects "that do not exist" (*KGW* VIII, 3, 125), Nietzsche merely appears to avoid criticizing him. In fact, and most notably in his last period, he tags "Jesus' psychological type" (*KGW* VIII, 2, 407–08 and 417–20; *Der Antichrist* 29), and the message that Jesus conveyed, with the label of the blessed naïf, the "idiot," belonging to a past age that was unaware of the reality of existence. It is true that Nietzsche eloquently contrasts Jesus' simple and radical "good news" with the subtle and vengeful "bad news" (*Der Antichrist* 39) of Paul and the Church, which promises salvation* as a reward, and he also reduces Christianity to a "simple phenomenon of consciousness" (*Der Antichrist* 39). Yet both the good news and the bad news are alike envisaged from a Protestant perspective, informed by dialogue with outstanding thinkers of the day, such as D.F. Strauss, Ernest Renan, Wellhausen, and Tolstoy. In fact, they are interconnected, since they are both infinitely far removed from the "gospel of the future" (*KGW* VIII, 2, 432), the gospel of the Antichrist, who, by contrast to Jesus and Christianity, is not content to deny reality, but creates it. The claim that Nietzsche attacked Christianity only in its distorted form cannot be sustained except by neglecting patent facts, by neutralizing his undeniable intentions, and by devaluing (above all with the intention of recuperating Nietzsche) the hostile attitude that Nietzsche intended.

4. Questions and Confrontation

Nietzsche's destructive enterprise poses some fundamental questions for a religion that has connections with metaphysics. The Christian ethics of resentment (servile and gregarious), and the dogmatic* theology that corresponds to it and precedes it, are caught up in an irreversible process of "self-overcoming" (*Zur Genealogie*

der Moral III, 27). Nietzsche denies that this form of Christianity has any capacity or will to make a grand affirmation. By contrast he describes nihilism as the “logic, taken to its final consequences” (*KGW* VIII, 2, 432), of values and ideals that are Christian above all.

Nietzsche’s philosophy also leaves certain questions open with regard to his own enterprise, over and above the possibility that it depends on what it seeks to surpass. Is the Platonism that Nietzsche hoped to overthrow incorporated into his worldview? To what extent is the figure of Zarathustra derived from the Christ* of the Gospels (as opposed to the historical Zoroaster who is Nietzsche’s nominal model)? Nietzsche’s philosophy demands a response from theology, an unavoidable confrontation with the thinker who presents himself as “the implacable enemy of Christianity” (*Ecce Homo*, “Why I am so wise,” 7). In the end the main concern of his philosophy is to make an affirmation: he presents it as a confrontation between a Yes and a No, and as consisting in singing the song of Yes and Amen (*Also sprach Zarathustra*, “The Seven Seals”). Yet what is it that we must say Yes to? What must we recognize as the highest form of affirmation? Is it simply a matter of affirming the self, the will that is certain of itself, that extends its power and takes possession of the world by establishing new values? It is necessary to inquire whether all of Nietzsche’s texts belong within the same perspective, and to wonder, for example, what exactly it is that must be loved with *amor fati*. Nietzsche does not say that the affirmation of the “eternal return” is solely directed toward the self, any more than he says that it is directed toward God. Nietzsche’s philosophy, which is so often polemical, also calls for interpretation wherever it seeks to surmount its own violence. As for the polemic itself,

Nietzsche frequently uses it to raise questions that he then neglects or leaves unresolved, such as the implacable and irreconcilable nature of reality*, or the nonevangelical cult* of God, Christ, and the Church, transformed into simple instruments of authority. He thus gives believers occasion to return critically to themselves. Yet his provocation also invites those who have faith* to think more about what they hope to mean. Whatever objections may be raised to them, his iconoclastic and demystifying attacks should nonetheless provide food for theological thought, clearing a path for a deeper understanding of biblical faith in the service of a living Christian practice.

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See also **Atheism; Freud, Sigmund; Heidegger, Martin; Marx, Karl; Paganism; Secularization**

Nominalism

I. Terminology

We can distinguish two forms of nominalism, one narrowly defined in relation to logic and theory of knowledge, and the other, more broadly, taking into consideration metaphysical, ethical, and theological matters as well.

1. Nominalism in the Strict Sense

In the strict sense, nominalism is the theory holding that there is nothing outside the human mind corresponding to general terms such as *man* or *living thing* (universals). The term *man* refers to concrete individuals, not to a universal thing like humanity, in which in-

dividual men can be said to participate. The universality of the term, the fact that it corresponds to different individuals, does not have to do with what is signified (with the *significatum*) but with the manner in which the signified is designated by the term (with the *significatio*). The universal term, therefore, derives its universality from an activity of the human intellect, which is able to form universal concepts applicable to different individuals.

This universality thus exists only in the human mind, not outside it (differentiating nominalism from realism). For a nominalist, a universal is a sign (*signum*) and not a thing outside the mind (*res*). And because every science necessarily uses universal terms and looks for the universality of concrete phenomena, the theory implies that the object of the various sciences is not merely reality outside the mind, but that reality as it is expressed and signified by universal propositions. Nominalism thus makes a strict distinction between concrete reality (the real order of the *res*) and discourse concerning concrete reality (the rational order of *signa*). In nominalist theory, all sciences, including theology*, are conceptual constructions of reality; their structure depends on the manner in which man can know reality and on the way in which he can speak about it.

2. Nominalism in the Broad Sense

Nominalist epistemology is based on a few philosophical and theological propositions that make up nominalism in the broad sense, and the theological relevance of nominalism appears in this context. Reality is made up of different individual things, each of which exists in itself. There are no universal things, such as “humanity,” that give particular things their nature and being. There is no super-individual system of *universalia ante rem* and *universalia in re* structuring and necessarily determining reality. God* can make each individual exist without another. Particular created beings thus have a direct link with God. God is not obligated to act through a series of created causes organized hierarchically. If he likes, he can intervene directly and immediately anywhere in his creation*. In his activity, God is entirely free and omnipotent. The power through which God has ordered creation as it is is called *potentia dei ordinata*. However, God might have acted differently; he might have made a different creation; this power that would have made it possible for him to act in a way other than the way he in fact did act is known as *potentia dei absoluta*.

The role played by the notion of *potentia dei absoluta* in nominalist philosophy* and theology is primarily a heuristic one. If God, *de potentia dei absoluta*, can make A exist without B, that means that A and B

are two particular things that do not necessarily depend on one another, even if in reality they always exist together. It is possible that God has ordered creation in such a way that when the words of the Eucharistic consecration are spoken, *hoc est enim corpus meum*, the bread is thereby transubstantiated, but that does not mean that these words are always necessarily required. Because of his omnipotence, God himself is able to fulfill the function of the words. This heuristic principle is applied in epistemology, in the doctrine of grace* and the sacraments*, and in morality, as well as in other areas. Neither nature* nor the economy of salvation* has an internal structure giving either of them a necessary organization. In every detail, they are determined by a divine will that depends on nothing (voluntarism*).

The question that defines nominalism in the strict sense goes back to the ancient debate on the ontological status of universals, as set forth in the *Isagogè* of Porphyry. However, it did not really take shape until the 12th century, when the term *nominales* was used for the first time. In the 14th and 15th centuries it resurfaced in a more pronounced form, in which the term *nominales* was joined by *terministae* and *moderni*. This later form of nominalism deeply influenced the intellectual climate of the time; it strongly contributed to the birth of the modern conception of the sciences and of Reformation theology. Because of its critical epistemology and its emphasis on divine will, nominalism has provoked resistance up to the present, particularly on the part of Thomists.

II. 12th Century

Twelfth-century nominalism originated in the areas of grammar and logic—that is, in areas of knowledge dealing with propositions and nouns. The vocalism of Roscelin that reduced universals to mere noises seems to have been the final harbinger of nominalism (Jolivet 1992). The influence of theories of logic and semantics was felt at the time in theology—for example with reference to the object of faith*—and in Christology*, so that it is possible to speak of theological nominalism. The concept of *nominales* is found after 1150 in some texts, where it designates contemporary thinkers in general. It is difficult to determine with certainty when this current disappeared, but it must have been in the late 12th or early 13th century, at the time of the formation of universities. In general, the sources speak of an anonymous *nominalis*, of *nominales*, or of *opinio nominalis*, and not of particular individuals, which makes identification of the theories more difficult. The sources nevertheless provide information on the content of views that were considered nominalist at the

time. They concern principally the ontological status of genus and species, the distinction between language and reality, the doctrine of the *unitas nominis*; and the conceptions of logical inference. The sources also show that in the 12th century the views of the *nominales* were often contrasted to those of the *reales*. We sometimes find the expression *theologus nominalis*.

1. Genus and Species

The anonymous 12th-century treatise *De universalibus* attributes to the *nominales* the view that genera and species are only words (*vocabula*). The argument goes back to Aristotle's *Categories*, where the naming of a first substance "states" (*proferri*) the species rather than the genus. "To be stated" is a property of words (*voces*); this is why genera and species are words (Iwakuma-Ebbesen 1992). We find an analogous view in the *Summa* of Peter of Capua (shortly after 1200), although he replaces the term *vox* ("word") with *nomen* ("name"). Peter of Capua says that, according to the nominalists, genera and species are names (*nos nominales ... dicimus genera et species esse nomina*). The work further establishes a contrast between the nominalists' view and that of the *reales* (Iwakuma-Ebbesen 1992).

The same view is set forth in the early-13th-century nominalist treatise *Positiones nominalium*. According to the anonymous author, the nominalists agree in saying that universal terms, such as *genus* and *species*, are names—*consentimus quod universalia sicut genera et species sunt nomina*. Against the *reales*, they thus demonstrate that there is nothing in reality but particular individuals—*nihil est praeter particulare* (Ebbesen 1991). Albert* the Great interpreted the nominalist argument in conceptual terms. In his commentary on Porphyry, where he deals with the ontological status of genus and species, he attributes to the nominalists the view that the generality (*communitas*) of universal terms (*universalia*) to which particular things that come under the universal term are related exists only in the intellect (Borgnet ed. I, 19b). The interpretation proposed by Albert exercised strong influence on later views of the nominalist argument. It corresponds to what was considered typical of nominalism in the 15th century.

2. Language and Reality

The doctrine that the order of language is different from the order of reality is also characteristic of the nominalism of the 12th century. Propositional assertions are complex verbal realities made up of simple verbal realities rather than complex things made up of simple things. For example, according to the *Summa Brevis sit* (1160) by Robert de Paris, the nominalists

distinguish the subject of a predicate (*predicatum*) from the subject of a saying (*locutio*) in such a way that only terms (*termini*) are subjects of predicates. In fact, terms are attributed only to terms. Real things, on the other hand, can be subjects only of sayings. And in fact, sayings deal with reality (Kneepkens 1987). An analogous distinction is noted in the nominalist treatise *De praedicatione*, in which the anonymous author contrasts an expression in which things are said of things (*res de re praedicari*) to one in which terms are said of terms (*terminum de termino*), and the first form of predication is attributed to the *reales*. The author, who calls himself a nominalist, prefers the second form, *nos terminum de termino* (Iwakuma-Ebbesen 1992).

3. Unitas Nominis

The theory of the *unitas nominis* is found primarily in works of the early-13th century. It states that the same event can be signified in different ways. It played a major role in the debates on the immutability* of divine knowledge* and on the immutable truth of a faith expressed at different moments in time*. The proposition *Pf* "Christ will be born" is true before the birth of Christ*, whereas the proposition *Pp* "Christ is born" is false. After the birth of Christ, the opposite is true; at that point *Pf* is false and *Pp* is true. That raises the question of whether the faith of Abraham is the same as the faith of Paul. Because the nominalists held the opinion that the content of faith is immutable, they resolved the problem by distinguishing what is signified from the way in which it is signified. The signified of *Pf* and *Pp* is identical (the birth of Christ), but the ways in which it is signified are different (the verb tenses are different).

In his *Summa*, Peter of Capua contrasts the views of the *nominales* and the *reales* on this point. He takes as his point of departure the question of divine knowledge. According to the *reales*, it is true that I exist now (*me esse*), whereas beforehand this was not true; this is why God knows now that I exist, whereas earlier He did not. The *nominales*, on the other hand, claim that the *me esse* was true from the beginning of creation (*a principio mundi*), but that earlier it was signified by the proposition *ego erit tunc* ("I will be at such a time"), and now it is signified by *ego sum* ("I myself am"). At this moment, then, God does not know any more than He knew earlier (Iwakuma-Ebbesen 1992).

Later in the *Summa*, Peter of Capua discusses the faith of the Old Testament and that of the New. He says that for the *nominales*, Abraham never believed that Christ would come (*Christum esse venturum*), for to say that "Christ will come" means even now that he will still come (*Christum esse venturum est ipsum*

modo esse venturum). Abraham, therefore, believed the same thing that we believe—that is, that Christ has come (*Christum venisse*), for although that is now expressed by the proposition “Christ has come,” in Abraham’s time it was said that “Christ will come” (Iwakuma-Ebbesen 1992). In the *Summa* (1206–10) of Prévostin, the view of the *nominales* is presented concisely in the formulation “what is true once will always be true” (*quod semel est verum, semper erit verum*); this is why Abraham believed that Christ was born—*Christum esse natum*—and not that Christ would be born—*Christum esse nasciturum* (ibid.).

In an anonymous commentary on the *Sentences*, Peter Lombard’s view—God knows neither more nor less than he has known (Tertia, Ed., 1, 293)—is compared to the nominalist argument that what is once true will always be true (Iwakuma-Ebbesen 1992). This is also the case in the *Summa aurea* of Guillaume d’Auxerre (Ribailleur, Ed., 1, 181). The argument is also noted as the *opinio nominalium* in the works of Albert the Great (Borgnet, Ed. 26, 350 *b*) and Bonaventure* (*Opera omnia* 1, 740b). According to Bonaventure, this was the argument that gave the nominalists their name—*dicti sunt nominales, quia fundabant positionem suam super nomini unitatem* (Chenu 1935–36).

4. Logical Inference

In some 12th-century treatises, the doctrine of the nominalists is related to a few rules concerning logical inference. For example, the anonymous *Fragmentum Monacense* attributes to the *nominales* the view that a negative proposition cannot be deduced from an affirmative one (Iwakuma 1993). A later work, the *Obligationes Parisienses*, describes as incoherent the rule that the acceptance of a false proposition makes it possible to accept and prove any contingent thing (De Rijk 1975). Finally, the anonymous author of the treatise *De communibus distinctionibus* mentions the opinion of the *nominales* that from the impossible comes anything at all—*ex impossibili sequitur quidlibet*. According to the author, this view is opposed to that of the *reales* that nothing comes from the impossible—*ex impossibili nihil sequitur* (De Rijk 1988).

5. Theologicus Nominalis

In his commentary on Job, written in the third quarter of the 12th century, Pierre le Chantre uses the expression *nominalis theologicus* to characterize a theologian who considers only the name of Christ (*nomen Christi*) and not the thing designated by that name (the divinity and the humanity of Christ), unlike the *theologus reales* (Landgraf 1943). A sermon of the late 12th century by Hubert of Balsema also contrasts the *theologi reales* to the *neutraliter nominales vel nominaliter*

neutrales, and he makes a clearly negative judgment of these *nominales*; they are not as good disciples of Christ (*christiani*) as the *reales*, because their doctrine is without commitment and it has little value (*parum valet*) (d’Alverny 1984).

III. 14th and 15th Centuries

After the 13th century, *nominales* was no longer used to designate contemporary thinkers. It reappears in the sources for the first time in the early-15th century. These sources show that the concept of *nominales* in the late Middle Ages derived its meaning from the debate between the philosophical schools (*via nominalium* against *via realium*) of the time. The discussion focused in the first place on the ontological status of human concepts and their relation to reality. For example, in a 1403 letter, Guillaume Euvrie wrote that the *nominales* of his time reduced all the differences between divine attributes* and divine ideas to mere differences between human concepts (*humanae conceptiones*). The letter includes among the *nominales* such 14th-century thinkers as Adam of Wodeham, Gregory of Rimini, and Henry of Oyta (Pellerin 1967–68). In his *De universalis reali* (1406–18), Jean de Maisonneuve, a disciple of Albert the Great, criticized the view of the *epicuri literales* (Weiler 1968, 137), a term that his disciple Emeric of Campo transformed into *epicurei nominales* (*Invectiva* 117; see also *Tractatus* fol. 2v). These followers of Albert the Great connected the nominalist argument to the view that universals are nothing but concepts in the human mind—*universalia post rem*. William of Ockham, Jean Buridan, and Marsilius of Inghen were known as its most significant defenders. In a 1423 work, Jean Gerson identified the *nominales* with the *terministae*, apparently in connection with problems of logic—*logici, quos alii vocant terministas seu nominales* (OC 10, 127).

The situation had scarcely changed in the late-15th century. Fourteenth-century writers were those principally named, and the question at issue was always the status of human concepts in relation to reality. The edict of Louis XI of France against nominalism (1473) mentioned the following names: William of Ockham, Jean de Mirecourt, Gregory of Rimini, Jean Buridan, Pierre d’Ailly, Marsilius of Inghen, Adam of Wodeham, Jean Dorp, and Albert of Saxony (Ehrle 1925). The nominalists replied to Louis XI’s edict in 1474; in their view, with respect to divine attributes, there is a distinction between the order of language and the order of reality, and this is why the differences between the concepts of language do not always correspond to differences in reality—*illi doctores “nominales” dicti sunt qui non multiplicant res principaliter per termi-*

nos secundum multiplicationem terminorum. The *reales*, on the other hand, in the view of the *nominales*, claim that every conceptual distinction refers to a distinction in reality—“*reales*” *autem qui econtra res multiplicatas contendunt secundum multiplicatam terminorum* (Ehrle 1925).

In the late Middle Ages, the concept of nominalism was thus attached to 14th-century writers, although it did not come to prominence until the 15th century. This historical fact makes it difficult to determine the precise content of “nominalism” in the late Middle Ages. But there are apparently clear correspondences among the 14th-century writers mentioned above, particularly with respect to universals and divine attributes.

1. William of Ockham

In his *De universali reali*, Jean de Maisonneuve saw the ideas of William of Ockham (c. 1300–c. 1350) as the origin of nominalism (Weiler 1968). The modern literature similarly considers Ockham as the first important representative of the nominalism of the late Middle Ages. This does not, however, mean that all of his ideas that are nominalist in character originate with Ockham himself. For example, his doctrine of the *potentia dei absoluta* is rooted in the traditions of the 13th century (Courtenay 1990), and the emphases on the individual and on voluntarism refer to passages of Duns* Scotus. Ockham’s nominalism, in any event, provides important elements in the areas of logic and epistemology, and divine attributes and ethics*.

a) *Logic and Epistemology*. Ockham defends the idea that universals exist only in the human mind, not outside it. Reality is made up only of individuals, and universals are also individual things—signs in the human mind. The generality of the universal, therefore, has to do only with its function as a sign that can be a sign for several things—*quodlibet universale est una res singularis, et ideo non est universale nisi per significationem, quia est signum plurium* (OTh 1, 48). Human knowledge begins with the knowledge of individual things. These individual things are the object of an intuitive grasp (*notitia intuitiva*) when they are known in such a way that the knower has an immediate certainty (*notitia evidens*) of the existence or nonexistence of the thing known. This has to do with the knowledge not only of necessary truths but also of contingent truths. If, on the other hand, it is impossible to deduce from knowledge of the thing its existence or nonexistence, we are dealing with abstract knowledge (*notitia abstractiva*). And that applies to memory or conceptual knowledge, deduced from sense perception (OTh 1, 30–33).

The question of the status of intuitive knowledge led to one of the most interesting problems in the application of the concept of divine omnipotence (*potentia dei absoluta*), whether God can deceive man. In his omnipotence (*de potentia dei absoluta*), can God assume the role of an intuitively grasped object and thereby give the knower the immediate certainty of the existence of the thing known, whereas in reality the thing does not exist? In the first book of his commentary on the *Sentences*, Ockham concedes this possibility. God can do everything that a created cause is capable of doing; he can thus cause immediate certainty; and, in addition, he can bring into existence everything existing in itself (*res absoluta*) without anything else. Intuitive knowledge of a thing is an activity of the soul* and exists in the soul; it can therefore be caused by God even if the thing known does not exist (OTh 1, 37–39).

In his later *Quodlibeta*, however, Ockham speaks with more reticence and shows that there is a contradiction in God causing in man an immediate grasp of, for instance, “this whiteness is” (*haec albedo est*), if that whiteness does not exist (OTh 9, 499). Divine omnipotence is thus limited by the principle of non-contradiction (ibid., 604), and immediate knowledge of the existence of a nonexistent object cannot be produced by God. This can also be applied to the intuitive (beatific) vision* of the divine essence. In this vision, God cannot deceive man, because although he can replace any created cause by His own causality, it will always be necessary, if he wishes to cause in man the intuitive knowledge of his essence, for he himself to exist as first cause. If man knows that God exists by basing himself on an intuitive vision, it is certain that God exists (ibid., 605–06).

b) *Divine Attributes*. Ockham distinguishes two ways in which divine attributes—knowledge, will, and so on—can be conceived: first, as an attributive perfection really identical to God (*perfectio attributalis*) and, second, as a thing in the human mind applicable to God (*conceptus* or *nomen attributalis*). The first conception concerns reality itself, and the second the way in which man thinks or speaks about reality; and according to Ockham, the answer to the question of the plurality and the ontological status of the attributes will be different depending on whether it is a question of the reality itself or of thinking about the reality. In the first case, there are not several attributes but a single perfection, perfectly one and identical to God. In the second case, on the other hand (attribute as predicate), the attribute is not really identical to God, but only a concept or a sign in the human mind. If we are dealing with predicates, then it is possible to say that God has several attributes. Hence, plurality does not

exist in God but only in the human mind (*OTh* 2, 61–62).

c) *Ethics*. In Ockham's ethics, there is no supreme principle intelligible in itself to man. All ethical norms have been established by the omnipotent will of God. This certainly does not mean that the moral order is entirely arbitrary. The will of God is in fact identical to his intellect and his wisdom*, and he always acts according to *recta ratio*, which means that divine law* and natural law are identical (*OTh* 4, 610; 5, 352–53).

2. Adam of Wodeham

The thought of Adam of Wodeham, in the first half of the 14th century, is related to the nominalism of Ockham in various respects. Adam, too, defends the position that universals are only signs signifying particular things in a general way—*sunt communes et universales in repraesentando quodlibet tale, licet nullum distincte* (Gál-Wood Ed., 1, 21). Like Ockham, he also defends the idea that there is a distinction, with respect to divine attributes, between the order of language and the order of reality. In God the attributes are identified with the divine essence so that they cannot be distinguished from one another. On the level of language, however, they have to be understood as signs freely established by man and attributed to God—*sunt quaedam signa mentalia vel ad placitum instituta quae Deo attribuimus per praedicationem*. Each sign is a particular thing, and this is why the attributes really are different (*differunt realiter*) on the level of language (Gál-Wood Ed., 2, 324). But unlike Ockham, with respect to the object of knowledge, Adam of Wodeham holds to the doctrine of *complexe significabilia*, a concept that strikingly corresponds to the 12th-century nominalist doctrine of *unitas nominis* (Gál 1977).

3. Gregory of Rimini

The influence of Ockham and Adam of Wodeham can be clearly seen in the *Lectura* of Gregory of Rimini (c. 1300–49). He shares their opinion on universals: they exist only in the human mind, not outside it. Gregory also claims that reality consists only of particular things. Like Ockham and Wodeham, his epistemology gives priority to knowledge of the particular over knowledge of the universal (Würsdörfer 1917). His conception of divine attributes also clearly corresponds to that of the two other nominalists (Trapp Ed., 2, 88). Finally, like Adam of Wodeham, Gregory of Rimini defends the theory of *complexe significabile* as the object of knowledge. He does this in particular in his explanation of divine knowledge. God knows things that may be signified by a single word (*incomplexe*), for example men and angels*, and he knows

things that can be designated by a collection of different words, such as “fire heats wood.” Gregory calls similar connections *enuntabilia* or *cognoscibilia complexe significabilia* (Trapp Ed., 227–28). And if he speaks of *enuntabilia* and not, like Ockham, of propositions, in order to name the objects of knowledge, this is because, according to him, the object of a judgment is not a proposition but what is meant by it (Nuchelmans 1973).

4. Marsilius of Inghen

The 15th-century sources also include Marsilius of Inghen (c. 1340–96) among the most important nominalists. A comparison of Marsilius's ideas with those of the other theologians mentioned clearly shows correspondences. Universals exist only in the human mind. Humanity (*humanitas*) in general does not exist. Even abstracting from all the individual characteristics of Socrates, the humanity of Socrates remains particular—it is only the humanity of Socrates (Strasbourg Ed., fol. 3 r).

Like the other nominalists, Marsilius clearly distinguishes the order of language from the order of reality. Divine attributes are identical to the divine essence, as attributive perfections (*perfectiones attributales*), but they are distinguished from divine essence in human thought as attributive concepts—*licet enim intellectus et voluntas, intelligere et velle sint in deo omnimodo idem, tamen apud nos in mente nostra diversos conceptus de essentia dei important*, or “even though in God the intellect and the will, thought and desire are absolutely identical, in our minds they imply different concepts of the divine essence” (Strasbourg Ed., fol. 61 r).

The thought of Marsilius nevertheless contains significant differences from that of his predecessors. For example, he criticizes Ockham's doctrine of ideas and the conception of *complexe significabile* (Hoenen 1993) as an attributive concept in Adam of Wodeham and Gregory of Rimini.

5. Gabriel Biel

In 1508 the University of Salamanca established a chair of nominalist theology (*cátedra de nominales*) for the study of the works of Marsilius of Inghen and Gabriel Biel (Andrés 1976). Gabriel Biel (1418–95) was included among the nominalists along with Marsilius because his commentary on the *Sentences* was in fact nothing but an *abbreviatura* of Ockham's *Scriptum*, made obvious by the correspondences in structure and content. According to Biel, the universal exists only in the human mind; it is a particular thing that signifies several things equally; its generality exists only at the level of the signifier—*esse universale nihil aliud*

est quam repraesentare vel significare plures res singulares univoce (Werbeck-Hofmann Ed., 1, 180).

Biel also follows Ockham on the question of divine attributes. He distinguishes between the attribute as a thing identified with God in reality (*res ipsa quae est perfecta*) and the attribute as a sign that can be predicated about God (*signum praedicabile de re perfecta*; Werbeck-Hofmann Ed., 1, 147–50). In the first case as opposed to the second, there are not several perfections or attributes. However, Biel clearly distances himself from Ockham in matters of ethics. In fact, he accepts the existence of an objective norm in morality. One who sins acts not only against God but against right reason* (*contra quamlibet rectam rationem*). One commits a sin* by acting against *recta ratio*, and this would be true even if God did not exist—*si per impossibile deus non esset*. The norm for action is immutable and identical for everyone (Werbeck-Hofmann Ed., 2, 612). On this point, Biel follows Gregory of Rimini (Trapp Ed., 6, 235).

IV. Historiography

The historiography of nominalism began as early as 1474 when, in response to the edict of Louis XI, the nominalists presented an outline of the history of their school. The description is highly rhetorical (Kaluza 1995), but it nevertheless had a significant influence on the later image of nominalism. Two other works also influenced that image: the *Annales Boiorum* of Aventinus in the 16th century, in which Ockham, Gregory of Rimini, and Marsilius of Inghen are considered as *antesignani nominalistarum* (Trapp 1956), and the *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis* of Du Boulay in the 17th century.

In the 20th century, we should distinguish two angles of approach to the nominalism of the 12th century. The first considers nominalism primarily as a doctrine of universals (Vignaux 1930), whereas the second emphasizes the theory of the *unitas nominis* (Chenu 1935–36). These two approaches are still present in current research, although attempts have been made to combine them (Courtenay 1991). Until the 1960s, research on the nominalism of the 14th and 15th centuries was dominated by a negative judgment: by emphasizing the *potentia dei absoluta*, nominalism had made itself fundamentally skeptical (Michalski 1969) and disrupted the synthesis of faith and reason accomplished by the Scholasticism of the 13th century (Gilson 1938). Thanks to modern critical editions of nominalist writers and studies based on new sources (Baudry 1949; Boehner 1958; Oberman 1967, 1981; Courtenay 1978, 1984; Tachau 1988; Kaluza 1988), that negative image has been corrected. It has thus

been possible to bring to light the specific contribution of nominalism to the development of philosophy and theology.

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See also Luther, Martin; Omnipotence, Divine; Realism; Scholasticism; Voluntarism

Notes, Theological

The preservation of faith* and discipline—the pairing *fides et mores*, whose scope has expanded and contracted from age to age—has been the object of constant vigilance on the part of Christian communities ever since the time of the apostles. Through the great Eastern councils*, the patristic age laid down the key points of orthodoxy and orthopraxy by means of creeds and canons; or, more often, in the form of condemnations, the most solemn of which was the anathema, long taken to imply heresy*. Nonetheless it was not until the rise of a speculative theological science, linked to the appearance and growth of the universities and the mendicant orders, that the use of increasingly precise and numerous “notes” arose and became widespread. These notes served to indicate, positively

or negatively, the value of expressions of dogma* or of the doctrine peripheral to it, which was constantly growing in volume as a result of theological conclusions extending the *revelabile*. The great Parisian condemnation of 1277 (*see also* philosophy*, truth*) already illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of a system that the teaching authority*—in the first instance the Roman pontiff—was to borrow directly from the universities. The theology* faculties of the latter, in the course of their doctoral assemblies, would continue to advance numerous doctrinal opinions that, in the cases of Paris and its college of the Sorbonne, of Oxford and Köln, and later of Leuven, Douai, Alcalá, and Salamanca, met with considerable acceptance. Thus there was a distinction between the scholarly

judgments of the universities, given *doctrinaliter*, and the authoritative judgment of the organs of the magisterium*—the bishops* as judges of the faith, the council, the Roman pontiff—given *judicialiter*, with canonical consequences if *assertores* were involved and displayed obstinacy. Only the collapse of the old political and ecclesiastical regimes at the end of the 18th century put an end to this regulatory activity carried out by the great *studia generalia* of Catholic Europe, and to that of the tribunals of the Inquisition, which while operating on a penal level did not leave aside the examination of doctrines. By the 19th century only the Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, or Roman Holy Office, survived. Founded in 1542, placed at the head of all the dicasteries in 1588, with the pope* as its prefect, and given the title of “supreme” in 1907, it retains a monopoly on the pronouncing of “censures” (denoting error) and the offering of “qualifications” (denoting the relationship to revealed truth or common doctrine).

Until the last century the Church* tended to clarify dogma by the negative approach of condemnations much more than by the positive one of canons, expositions of faith, or formularies, and in consequence notes of censure—until they gradually disappeared from the acts of the magisterium—attracted the attention of theologians more than did qualifications. As far as the latter are concerned, mention should be made of the attempts at classification presented by Holden in his *Divinae fidei analysis* (1652), Amort in his *Demonstratio critica religionis catholicae* (1741), Blau in his *Regula fidei catholicae* (1780), and Chrismann in his *Regula fidei catholicae et collectio dogmatum credendorum* (1792), and by the dogmatic specialists of the Germanic world and the Roman College, which after 1870 became the Gregorian University. This scale of relationship to revealed truth was closely dependent on the work of speculative thought, which alone makes it possible to determine the scope of specific concepts such as “dogma of faith,” “positively revealed,” “to be believed as a matter of divine faith,” “article of Catholic faith,” “virtually a matter of faith,” “theological conclusion,” “apostolic tradition,” “probable doctrine,” “dogmatic fact,” “morally certain,” “practice of the Church,” and so on. While the existence of a “hierarchy of truths*” can be recognized, applying it is an extremely sensitive matter: the idea of “faith,” like the opposite one of “heresy,” has only slowly assumed the character of a noetic concept, and has long included elements that would nowadays be placed in the moral or disciplinary field. This is particularly true of censures: over the centuries, especially since texts began to be disseminated by means of printing, these had been carried to a degree of complexity that from the 16th cen-

tury made the *ars notandi* a theological specialty in its own right, with veritable experts, whether university doctors, members of religious orders, or advisers and qualificators of the Holy Offices. In the course of dissecting theological writings, these experts were sometimes tempted to stray imperceptibly from the strictly doctrinal and prudential register—the detecting of heresy or various forms of error—to that of a virtuoso exercise that came closer to a critical revision of the texts.

Consideration of the principal notes of censure confirms this progressive broadening of scope: if a proposition is judged “heretical,” “close to heresy,” “erroneous,” “close to error,” or even “reckless,” the normative judgment speaks for itself—even if it is not always clear, in the case of the note “heretical,” that the contrary proposition is *ipso facto* to be taken as a matter of faith. But it is a much more delicate matter to apply censures to a proposition, without leaving any room for objection, when such censures are aimed at every nuance of thought and expression, every latent meaning that can be contained in texts whose construction is usually highly elaborate and that lend themselves to countless ambiguities. This refinement in interpretation, encouraged by the asymptotic nature of error, led the experts to increase the number of notes—over a hundred certified by use. They range from those previously quoted that are directly concerned with the dogmatic substance of statements, to those that principally condemn the form—such as “misleading and ill-sounding,” “offensive to piety” (*piarum aurium offensiva*), “insulting to the Church,” or “ambiguous”—to others that judge the effect—such as “impious,” “scandalous,” “blasphemous,” “seditious,” or “schismatic”—and to yet others, even subtler in their application, that focus on latent meanings that may be brought out by circumstances of time, place, or person, such as “suggestive of heresy,” “suggestive of error,” “unlikely,” “false,” “questionable,” and so on. The most complete inventory of and commentary on notes of censure is to be found in the survey by Father Antonio Sessa (Antonius de Panormo), *Scrutinium doctrinarum qualificandis assertionibus, thesibus ac libris conducentium*... (Rome, 1709, folio). They were subsequently also considered by Du Plessis d’Argentré and C. L. de Montaigne, to name only the French.

Faced with a proliferation that was compromising the purifying role of censure and offering ample scope to *odium theologicum*, the teaching authority reacted. It went so far as to specify, in the conclusion to the decree of 2 March 1679 that condemned 65 laxist propositions, “that doctors, Scholastics, or whosoever else, should refrain henceforth from all offensive accusations... and use neither censure, nor note, nor polemi-

cal judgment against propositions commonly held in Catholic circles, as long as the Holy See has not pronounced judgment on these propositions.” This prohibition was repeated by Benedict XIV in his constitution *Sollicita ac provida* of 9 July 1753. Perhaps what was needed above all was to require the censors to give reasons for their judgments. Indeed, it is the most striking feature of the note system (which has never been officially codified, remaining a purely practical procedure whose secret is now lost) that no explanation is ever given for why a particular note is applied to a proposition. Because of this, the way is left open for suspicions of arbitrariness and for endless objections on the part of the authors or theological schools concerned. This characteristic was shared with the Roman Index, which did not justify its proscriptions, but confined itself—in even the most favorable cases—to a *donec corrigatur* (signifying a work placed on the Index “until it has been corrected”) without any further detail to shed light on the errors committed.

This lack of precision seems to have troubled neither the experts nor the teaching Church, in an age of rationality convinced that the meaning of a text could be condensed into a proposition without loss of substance, and that the doctrinal value of such a proposition could be unambiguously fixed. Nonetheless, difficulties soon became evident when it was necessary to go beyond the censure of categorical negations of the Catholic faith—for example Luther’s theses and those of the Protestants—to the unearthing of errors concealed in the depths of the text. For all that the possibility of judging propositions in themselves was maintained (*absolute objective, ut jacent, ut verba sonant*), there was often a tendency toward an examination of context (*in sensu auctoris, in sensu ab assertoribus intento*). This in no way implied that the target was the author’s personal meaning, his intimate thoughts, which God alone knew; but rather the sense that arose from a reading of the whole text of which the propositions formed a summary, made expressive by their concision. These propositions did not have to appear word for word, *verbatim*, in the text to which they were attributed, as in the case of the famous five propositions of Jansen’s *Augustinus* (see Jansenism*). It was enough that an examination of the writing or book in question should allow the understanding of a “proper and natural” sense that could be qualified by a theological note—positive or negative—applied to the proposition considered in its “obvious sense.”

The exact application of notes of censure to each proposition gave rise to as much difficulty as the relationship of propositions to a corpus (book, theses, university course). Censure could be brought to bear *speciatim* or *singillatim*, in other words individually;

each proposition was qualified by the note or notes that applied to it. But censures could also be inflicted *globatim*, overall, the frequent comment *respective* indicating that each note applied of necessity to one or more propositions, none of which was exempt, but without specifying which one or ones. This left the reader, and especially the theologian, the task of allocating the notes. The deficiencies of this procedure, commonly used despite its (sometimes intentional) lack of rigor, became clear when 101 propositions taken from Quesnel’s *Réflexions morales* were condemned by the bull *Unigenitus* of 8 September 1713: more than twenty notes of censure were applied “respectively”, leading to endless quibbling over which heresy or errors should be attributed to each proposition. The court of Rome displayed more care over the condemnation of the canons of the synod* of Pistoia by the bull *Auctorem fidei* of 28 August 1794, which censured each proposition *singillatim*, one by one, and in addition referred to the Acts of the synod for the provenance of the proposition, thus forestalling any dispute over the facts.

What kind and degree of approval (*assensus*) is any believer to extend, then, to a decision that fixes, by means of notes (whether qualifications or censures), the value of a theological text or statement in relation to an author’s doctrine? The collegial judgment of the universities involved a scholarly competence that called for serious consideration of the *doctrina communis* expressed by it. The same went for the pronouncements of the Holy Offices of Spain, Portugal, and Italy. In the case of the Roman congregation of the Holy Office, decrees have been given “in common form,” *in forma communi*, involving the sole authority of the college of cardinals of the Inquisition and demanding complete submission; or “in specific form,” *in forma specifica*, with the express approval of the Roman pontiff. In the latter form, decrees constitute pronouncements that, like any act of the ordinary pontifical magisterium, call forth a religious assent, *ore et corde*, on a par with that extended to the bulls, constitutions, and briefs that can come directly from the head of the Church and contain condemnations of points of textual dogma. The judgment of the Roman pontiff may bear the marks of a solemn pronouncement—for example *declaramus, damnamus, definimus*—but infallibility* concerning points of dogma, including decisions on theological texts, has not been defined: the First Vatican* Council left this point aside, but on the other hand distinguished between *credenda* and *tenenda*, according to whether “divinely revealed truths” or “truths related to revealed truths” were involved. While Clement XI, in the bull *Vineam Domini Sabaoth* of 16 July 1705, rejected a simple *silentium*

obsequiosum, or mere outward deference, he did not go so far as to call for an act of divine faith, but contented himself with a reception by “inward obedience,” *interius obsequendo, quae vera est orthodoxi hominis oboedientia*—a type of *assensus* confirmed by the decree *Lamentabili* of 8 July 1907, prop. 7.

In order to take account of this type of assent a number of theologians since the 18th century have proposed the idea of an “ecclesiastical faith,” justified by the infallibility of the Church and not directly by “the authority of the revealing God.” This has aroused strong opposition from Thomists, who maintain that points of dogma are also infallibly defined by the Church and are the object of divine faith in the same way as biblical revelation or the dogmatic definitions of the Councils or the Roman pontiffs. The analyses of P. Guérard des Lauriers, O.P., *Les dimensions de la foi* (1952, specifically excursus VIII–XI), made a decisive contribution to the clarification of this subject, even if some commentators have seen in the appeal to divine faith a danger of overemphasizing the magisterium. It is in any case “close to being a matter of faith” nowadays that the infallibility of the Church extends to that which is related to revealed truth. However, anyone who was to withhold his complete assent, *internus assensus*, to the condemnation of a doctrine advanced by theological texts, whether or not it had been evaluated by notes of censure, would not in consequence be a heretic—there being no negation of a truth directly revealed and proposed as such by the Church—but would be gravely culpable and wide open to the suspicion of heresy.

The International Theological Commission has recently called for a re-evaluation of theological notes: “It is to be regretted that the science of doctrinal qualifications has been to some extent relegated to obsolescence by the moderns. It is nonetheless useful in the interpretation of dogma, and for that reason should be revived and developed further” (*Enchiridion Vaticanum* 11, *Documenti ufficiali della Santa Sede*. 1988–1989, 1991, no 75, p. 1749).

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See also **Heresy; Loci theologici; Magisterium; Theology; Truth**

Nothingness

The concept of nothingness (*nihil*) or non-being (*non ens*), absolute (*ouk on*) or relative (*mè on*), is one of the

key concepts in the history of metaphysics, from the *Poem* of Parmenides, Plato's *Parmenides*, or, on the

Sophist side, Gorgias's treatise *Peri tou mèn ontos* (*On the Non-existent*) to Heidegger's* *Was ist Metaphysik?* or Sartre's *L'être et le néant*. Theology* has used the concept in a number of ways. On the one hand it has been called on with regard to questions and doctrines, often of considerable importance: most notably God*'s transcendence (that which is beyond being* has been conceptualized as non-being), creation* (conceived as *ex nihilo*), and evil* (error or sin* as participation in nothingness). On the other hand the concepts of annihilation or obliteration have been employed in order to view the dogma* of the Incarnation* in terms of the Son's kenosis*, or to consider ideas as essential as conversion* in the history of piety, or destitution in that of asceticism*; or indeed to apply the theme of "nihilation" (perhaps "the liberation of the consciousness from reality through denial") to Hell* (Augustine, *En. in Ps.* 38) or to illuminate the spiritual, rather than merely psychological, basis of suicide (self-hatred as a desire for non-being). We will mention here only those points that are not given an article of their own in this work.

Beside the scriptural references offered by the doctrine of creation, the negation of God (Ps 13:1 and 52:2; see atheism*), and the moral analysis of the emptiness and vanity of the human condition (Jb, Eccl), Christian meditation on nothingness has centered upon a small number of decisive biblical passages: Ps 41:8 (the abysses of God and of sin), Gal 6:3 and Ps 38:6 (the direct opposition in the texts of the Septuagint and the Vulgate between *substance* and *nothingness*: "[Jesus] made himself nothing, taking the form of a servant" (Phil 2:7 (exinanition, or abasement) and above all Romans 4:17 (God "calls into existence the things that do not exist"), and Jn 1:3–4 with its well-known problem of punctuation and the two main readings that the position of the caesura imply: "Without him was not anything made that was made; in him was life," or "Without him was not any thing made. That which has been made was life in him."

1. Mystical Theology: God as Cause and Nothingness

The way of negation allows theology to say what God is not: "We know not what God is, but what he is not" (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* V, 11). But from the knowledge of what God is not, and even of the fact that he is no known being, it does not follow that he does not exist. The impossibility of knowing God, insofar as he transcends all existence, including being (like the Neoplatonists' "One"), and even the One itself (in opposition to the Neoplatonists), does not imply that he should be characterized by nothingness—which would in any case be opposed to the letter of Ex. 3:14. The

concept of God as nothingness was therefore not necessary to the negative way or to apophasis. According to Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite, while super-essentiality "has no being according to the manner of any other being" (*Divine Names* 1, 1), the way of eminence (or cataphasis) grasps the fact that the cause of all things has no part of being, but also no part of non-being (*Mystical Theology* 5). For this reason God, who transcends both that which exists and that which does not, is not in opposition to anything, even to nothing. What brought about the progression—from the view of this transcendence (represented by the oxymorons of "shadow more than luminous" or "shadowy beams") as the superessential cause, having no part of what is, to the perilous formulations that went beyond the negations and declared it to be nothingness—was the realization that the mode of unknowing was like any mode of knowledge* for God (*Divine Names* 7, 3; see also the *Ambigua* of Maximus* the Confessor, PG 91, 1232). From this point, Dionysius's commentators would take the plunge and complete this "metamorphosis of apophasis" (A. Gouhier). So John of Scythopolis wrote: "Do not consider that the divine is, but cannot be comprehended; think rather that it is not; such indeed is knowledge in unknowing" (*Commentary on the Divine Names*, PG 4, 245 c). And in the words of Maximus the Confessor: "By reason of his super-being, the name* which is most appropriate for God is non-being . . . The two names of being and non-being should both be strictly applicable to God, even while neither of them is exactly fitting. The first is appropriate inasmuch as God is the cause of all things, the second through the eminence of the abstractive cause of the whole being of existing things" (prologue to the *Mystagogy*, PG 91, 664 b). Among Latin authors, John the Scot Eriugena in his *De Divisione naturae* distinguished five modes of opposition between being (that which can be perceived by the senses or understood by the intellect) and (relative) non-being, and made God the first type of non-being, since it was by the excellence of his nature that he was beyond the grasp of the senses and the intellect: "The divine nature . . . is nothingness, it exceeds all beings not inasmuch as it is not itself being, but inasmuch as all beings proceed from it" (*De Divisione naturae* 1. II, 589 B). However, for this whole tradition of commentators on the Dionysian corpus the key point is the following: it is always the method of causality that justifies the use of the concept of nothingness to conceive of God as the supereminent cause. This doctrine would be reinforced by the mystical* tradition (Hadewijch of Antwerp, Suso, Angela of Foligno). Thus even in the context of mystical theology, what is at stake is at bottom creation and causality; hence, con-

versely, the importance of this theologoumenon* to the history of metaphysics.

2. Natural Theology: Nothingness and the Intelligible

a) *Renaissance Cosmologies.* Speculations on nothingness formed an essential part of the Christian Platonism* of the Renaissance, which took the hierarchical cosmologies of Dionysius and Maximus and added a strong affirmation of God's transcendence. The opposition between God and nothingness, "a non-being immense and infinite in its action" but from which a proof of God's existence* can be drawn (since the existence of the impossible implies that of the necessary), is the prime example of "the art of opposites" that Charles de Bovelles developed after Nicholas* of Cusa: the paradoxical *Liber de nihilo* (1510) concludes with a restatement of the most daring theses of the Dionysian tradition, in particular the one that "links the name of nothingness to God...pronouncing in mystery* that God is nothing [*nihil*]" (c. 11). However, Bovelles firmly insists on the fundamental discontinuity or incommensurability that separates every creature from the Creator, and gives this gap the name of *assurrectio*. While laying claim to the paradoxes of the "coincidence of opposites," Renaissance natural* theology was thus able to avoid overstepping the prohibition set out in the Augustinian *De natura boni*: "It is an audacious sacrilege to equate nothingness and God" (X). This prohibition was intended to counter the Manichaeans who attempted to assign the same status to the Son born of (*de*) God and the creatures made by (*ab*) him "from nothingness, that is to say from (*ex*) that which absolutely is not" (I). The idea that creatures were *de nihilo* and had been drawn *ex nihilo a Deo* (though *ex Deo* could also be employed in this context), while the "begotten" Son was *de* and *ex Deo*, was constantly asserted. For this reason the idea that the self could tend toward nothingness was to be understood on an ontic and not simply a spiritual level (Gal 6:3; Augustine*, *De civitate Dei* XIV, XIII; En. in Ps 134:6; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus humilitatis* IV, 15).

b) *Protestant Metaphysics.* From the moment when modern metaphysics, finding fulfillment in ontology, defined the extant as the conceivable and thus subjugated being to representation, the opposition of *ens* and *nihil* was displaced. Johannes Clauberg (1622–65), the heir to Rudolf Goclenius (1547–1628) and Clemens Timpler (1567–1624), pronounced this dictum: "The extant is everything that can be conceived (intelligible), and nothing whatever can be op-

posed to it" (*Ontosophia*, §4). For this reason it was the most general of concepts, absolutely indeterminate, preceding the separation of something (*aliquid*, which could in turn be divided into substance and accident) from nothing (*nihil*). In spite of being a Catholic, N. Malebranche (1638–1715) developed a comparable metaphysics: to "think of nothing" was to have "the vague notion of being in general"—in other words, to sense the "clear, intimate, necessary presence of God" (*Recherche de la vérité* III, II, 8). Kant* falls within this tradition by way of the *Tractatus philosophicus de nihilo* by Martin Schoock (1614–69), Leibniz*, Wolff's (1679–1754) *Ontologia* (§132 *Sq*), and above all Baumgarten's (1714–62) *Metaphysica* (§7)—all these were writers who considered being primarily as the possibility of being. The conclusion of the transcendental analytics in the *Critique of Pure Reason* summarizes four senses of nothing (*nichts*): 1) the void concept without an object (*ens rationis*), a simple fiction such as the noumenon; 2) the void object of a concept (*nihil privativum*), in other words the negation of reality, such as cold; 3) the void intuition without an object (*ens imaginarium*), such as pure space and time*; 4) the void object without a concept (*nihil negativum*), the contradictory. The identification of being and nothingness was asserted in turn by Hegel* in his *Wissenschaft der Logik*: "Being and nothingness are the same thing" (Ed. of 1817, §40–41), an identification that attacks the idea of God as the absolute, "being in all being-there or supreme being (*das höchste Wesen*), since these definitions express him only in terms of pure negativity or indeterminacy. Rehabilitating the theologoumenon of creation *ex nihilo*, Schelling*'s later philosophy* in turn reworks the difference between the *mè on*—the negation of a position, simple nothingness, pure indefinite possibility—and the *ouk on*, the position of negation, the Nothing (*Philosophie der Offenbarung*), which expresses the doctrine of creation and makes possible the linking of natural theology and revelation* at the outset of positive philosophy. Once again, however, this takes place by way of a notion of God, "the Lord of being," as cause.

3. The Three Nothingnesses of Mankind

In the *Miroir des âmes simples et anéanties*, Marguerite Porete (†1310) identifies liberty* ("*franchise*") with annihilation. To know one's nothingness is, for the simple soul, neither to know nor to wish anything. The "desire for nothingness" disencumbers ("*descombre*") it of everything (including God) and leaves it free for union with God. No longer having a will of its own, the soul no longer feels desire except through the divine will. In Rhineland*-Flemish mysticism, especially in the work of Meister Eckhart, anni-

hilation is in the same way a condition of divinization. The return to nothingness enables the creature to attain the being that it had in God before any creation. It also entails becoming the place where divine goodness must necessarily unfold, in keeping with the Dionysian principle: the good* diffuses of its own accord. “Deep calls to deep” (Ps 42:7) was thus an obligatory scriptural reference-point (and was commented on by John the Scot Eriugena). Mention must also be made of the anonymous 14th century mystical treatise *The Cloud of Unknowing*, whose influence was considerable, and Harphius’s *Theologia mystica*; and, as late as the beginning of the 17th century, *La perle évangélique* (1602) by Dom Beaucousin. Jean Orcibal has assessed the influence of the northern mystics on the spirituality of Carmel* and John* of the Cross, in whose work the concept of annihilation appears in the form of destitution: the “dark night” is the equivalent, in John’s contemplation*, of the negation of everything created, its nothingness.

The influence of the *corpus dionysiacum*, which can be clearly discerned throughout the Middle Ages, was however never so strong as at the beginning of the 17th century. Its remarkable translation into French by the Feuillant Jean de Saint-François (Goulu) in 1608 was of the highest importance for the vocabulary of mystical theology. What Louis Cognet has referred to as the “abstract school” kept alive the heritage of Rhineland-Flemish mysticism, by way of Benet of Canfield’s *Rule of Perfection* (1593) in particular. Bérulle* was its foremost exponent, which did not prevent him from producing an original body of work and highlighting, after Canfield and his *praxis annihilationis* (*Rule of Perfection* 3, 9), a christological understanding of nothingness. Bérulle enumerates “three sorts of nothingness: the nothingness from which God draws us by creation, the nothingness to which Adam* consigned us by his sin, and the nothingness into which we must enter with the Son of God, who annihilates himself in order to atone for us” (*Opusculs de piété*, 136).

Bérulle relies on Romans 4:17 to show that “nothingness relates to God” inasmuch as he is capable of fulfilling all his desires; and so we should imitate the “nothingness of being” from which God drew us in order to flee the second nothingness (that which Adam brought upon us) and place ourselves within the third by imitating the “annihilated state” of Jesus*: “We are a nothingness that strives toward nothingness, that seeks nothingness...that fills itself with nothingness, and that ultimately ruins and destroys itself for a nothingness. Whereas we should be a nothingness, in truth (for it befits us by nature), but a nothingness in the hand of God...a nothingness referred to God” (ibid., 111).

The concept of abnegation expresses this last sense (ibid., 132), and assigns its achievement to what Bérulle calls mystical theology (ibid., 8), by way of opposition to positive* theology and Scholastic* theology: it is abnegation that shapes the Christian’s spiritual and sacrificial annihilation to the objective annihilation of Christ.

4. Anthropology: Mankind as Midpoint between God and Nothingness

The concept of nothingness has on several occasions made it possible to assign mankind a metaphysical status, no longer as nothingness but as a midpoint between God and nothingness. Man is metaphysically limited (metaphysical sickness) because his status as creature means that he participates in nothingness: theodicies from Augustine onwards explain error, and on occasions sin, in these terms. Breaking free from the problematics of mankind’s *situation* in the universe of the medieval and Renaissance cosmologies, Descartes defined man’s *position* for the first time (*Stellung*, Heidegger 1961): “I am as it were a middle point between God and nothingness [*medium quid inter Deum et nihil*], situated in other words in such a way between the supreme being and non-being [*inter summum ens et non ens*] that, in truth, there is nothing to be found in me that could lead me into error, inasmuch as a supreme being has made me; but...if I consider myself as partaking in some way of nothingness or non-being, that is to say as I am not myself the supreme being, I find myself vulnerable to an infinity of lapses” (*Meditatio* IV). Pascal* took note of this new problematics in his *Pensées* in order to describe man’s relationship both to God and to nature: “What is man in nature? A nothingness with respect to the infinite*, an everything with respect to nothingness, a middle point between nothing and everything.” What is at stake in the possibility of error is nothing less than liberty, in other words subjectivity as a matter of “leaving it to oneself” (Heidegger 1961). With *Sein und Zeit* (1927) and *Was ist Metaphysik?* (1929), Heidegger started from the analysis of anguish, the affect that most fundamentally reveals nothingness, to illuminate the intrinsic connection between nothingness and human existence: “Nothingness is the condition which makes possible the revelation of the extant as such for the *Dasein*” (1929).

It is not clear whether contemporary spiritual* theology recognizes annihilation, or whether the concept of nothingness remains relevant to present-day speculative theology. At the very least its history shows that for Christianity the attribution to God of the concept of being has never ceased to be problematical.

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See also Being; Bérulle, Pierre de; Creation; Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite; God; Heidegger, Martin; Incarnation; Infinite; John of the Cross; Kenosis; Mysticism; Negative Theology; Platonism, Christian; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism

Novatianism

The Novatian schism* lastingly affected the early Church*. After the edict of Decius in late 249, requiring all subjects of the Roman Empire to honor the gods, and the ensuing wave of persecution, the Church had to deal with the question of the many *lapsi*, members of the clergy or laity* who asked to rejoin the Christian community after having apostatized. In 251, Cornelius was elected bishop* of Rome*, and with him the party of clemency won out. The correspon-

dence on this question between Cornelius and Bishop Cyprian* of Carthage indicates the role played by the bishop of Rome in defining the attitude to adopt toward the *lapsi* (*Ep.* 49 and 50, letters to Cyprian included in Cyprian's correspondence; *Ep.* 55 from Cyprian).

Novatian was at the time an influential Roman priest whose theological works were thoroughly orthodox (he is noteworthy as the author of the first treatise on the

Trinity* in Latin), but against Cornelius and Cyprian he represented a rigid position influenced by Montanism*. With ecclesiology* and ethics* calling for the same firmness, Novatian and his disciples refused penance* for the *lapsi*, as for adulterers. In response to the election of Cornelius, Novatian also had himself elected pope by his supporters, initiating the schism. He was joined in Rome by some members of the clergy of Africa, including Novat (the two names Novat and Novatian were often confused by writers in antiquity), and both were excommunicated by a council called by Cyprian in 251. Indeed, it was their combined opposition to Cyprian and Cornelius that brought the supporters of the two men together, because Novat had at first been noted for excessive indulgence toward the *lapsi*.

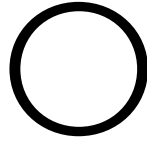
The Novatian Church was then established and its influence spread in the West, in the African Church (Cyprian wrote his treatise, *The Unity of the Catholic Church*, against the Novatianists), and as far as Asia Minor. In the late-fourth century, Ambrose* of Milan attacked the Novatianists in his treatise on penance

(SC 179). Like the Montanists and Donatists with whom they have frequently been associated, the Novatianists, the “pure” (*katharoi*) as they called themselves, expressed one of the recurring questions of the early Church: are the perfect the only ones worthy to be a part of the Church? The conflict also marks a stage in the development of the recognition of the role of the bishop of Rome.

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See also Catharism; Donatism; Martyrdom; Tertullian



Obligation

In moral theology*, the concept of a command of God* functions either to indicate the ultimate origin of moral obligation, or to determine its content, or to provide a means by which we come to know what it requires of us. It does not explain the concept of obligation as such.

a) What It Is That Obliges. For materialists such as Hobbes (1588–1679), obligation is reducible to the instinct for survival. What obliges us is the fear of pain and death*. When enlightened by prudence*, our instinct will lead us to enter into mutually advantageous contracts with other people, but whatever obligations such contracts entail, they are secondary and instrumental to the primary obligation to avoid death.

Theologians standing in the teleological tradition of Augustine* and Thomas* Aquinas also regard moral obligation as reducible but not to a nonmoral category. They hold that, beyond fearing death, human beings naturally desire to pursue good* and that the preservation of life is only one of a range of goods, which also includes such things as friendship and knowledge of the truth*. Proportionals (proportionalsism*) such as R. A. McCormick argue that our basic obligation is to realize as many goods as much as possible and, if need be, to promote some at the expense of others. Other writers (e.g., John Finnis and Germain Grisez) argue that our basic obligation is not to intend harm to any good. In either case, the binding force of obligation is reducible not only to the terror of death or to any desire

but specifically to the desire to maintain and promote goods.

However, those moral theologians who stand in the deontological tradition of Kant* contend that obligation is not reducible at all: it is entirely *sui generis*. What binds us is not desire or inclination but sheer respect for the moral law*; or, better, what binds us is the intrinsic authority of the law, which elicits our respect. (Barth*'s emphasis on obedience to God's command may fairly be read as a theological version of this position.) For Kantians, one cannot therefore reduce moral obligation to a nonmoral desire. However, they leave unanswered the question, Why should we respect the moral law?; for them, the question is, moreover, immoral, and to ask it is simply to withhold recognition of the law's nature as an axiom of practical reason*.

Nevertheless, the question does seem a reasonable one. The fact that it is perfectly intelligible to ask of any law, What purpose does it serve?, suggests that law is not in and of itself axiomatic. Let us take two of Kant's formulations of the "categorical imperative": "Act only according to that maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law" and "Act so that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or that of another, always as an end and never as a means only" (*Foundations*, section 2). These prescriptions are, in fact, intelligible only as specifications of respect for certain goods that they presuppose, the good of being reasonable and the good

of “humanity,” or, more precisely, the moral autonomy of the human individual.

b) Subjective and Objective Obligation. The distinction between the objective aspect and the subjective aspect of obligation is made most forcibly by Kant, who makes the subjective aspect crucial. “Duty” refers not so much to particular acts that we are obliged to perform as to the motive for the right or good action; and it is the motive that determines the act’s moral quality. Moral goodness resides only in that principle of will that acts out of respect for the moral law, that is, out of “a sense of duty.” Kant understood his theory to explain the commonsense judgment that someone who performs his objective duty (e.g., caring for his elderly parents) out of a selfish motive (greed for a legacy) deserves no credit. In order to be morally praiseworthy, we must act not only *as* duty requires but also *because* duty requires it.

Motivation also mattered a great deal to Aquinas, who argues that we should always do as our conscience* instructs, even when it is erroneous (*STh* Ia IIae, q. 19, a. 5). We should always do what we mistakenly think is right rather than contradict our moral understanding. In placing such emphasis on the subjective perception of obligation, both Aquinas and Kant signal the high importance that they ascribe to the virtue of the moral agent, although Aquinas discriminates between the subjective moral quality of the agent and the objective moral quality of his act. For him, conscience is necessarily related to the objective order of morality.

At the opposite extreme are the consequentialists, for whom all that matters is that one fulfills one’s objective obligation to perform the act that will affect the greater proportion of good in a given set of circumstances.

c) Conflicts of Obligations. There are cases where *prima facie* obligations—such as keeping promises, telling the truth, and not harming others—are in conflict and where no one act can possibly fulfill them all. In such a case, one’s obligation must be determined by which obligation is the more important. Quite how such an estimate is to be made is not clear. Of those who have posed this problem, W. D. Ross (1877–1940), refuses to admit any hierarchy of duties and places his faith in intuition (*The Right and the Good*, Oxford, 1930). Consequentialists, on the other hand, resolve the problem by acknowledging only one obligation—namely, to perform that act whose consequences are most beneficial—and by calculating which act that is. However, critics of consequentialism such as Grisez and Finnis argue that this calculation

has only the appearance of reason and that cases where meeting one obligation (e.g., telling the truth) involves failing to meet another (e.g., not harming others) should be resolved by taking as a basic obligation that of not intending harm and then applying the principle of double effect (intention*).

Some philosophers prefer to distinguish between obligation and duty. “Duty” is taken to refer to an obligation entailed by our role in an institution, a role that we may not have chosen—for example, the duties of parents toward their children and of children toward their parents. One of the contrasts, then, between duty and obligation is between what is natural and what is contractual. Another is between what is personal and partial and what is impersonal and impartial. The issue here is whether duties to family* or fellow countrymen take priority over obligations to strangers.

d) God’s Reason as the Ultimate Ground of Obligation. In moral theology, the ground of obligation is located in God. If it is located in God’s reason, then it will be mediated to human beings through conscience’s grasp of the moral order or natural law by which God has structured created reality and that reflects the eternal law of God’s own mind. Obligation will then be understood in terms of the pursuit of certain natural ends (Aquinas) or conformity to the axioms of practical reason (Kant).

Within this metaethical scheme, the commands of God in the Bible*—especially the Decalogue*—are restatements of what the created moral order requires. According to Aquinas, such restatement is necessary on account of the obscurity into which sin* casts the moral understanding. By contrast, according to Kant, whose confidence in the capacities of practical reason was supreme, revealed morality is redundant: the teaching and example of Jesus* should be measured against the norms of reason, not vice versa (*Foundations*, section 2).

e) God’s Will as the Ultimate Ground of Obligation. Some theologians have preferred to locate the foundation of obligation in God’s will. Our moral obligations are established by divine commands. These are found preeminently in the Bible though sometimes also in occasional utterances by the Holy* Spirit. There are several lines of argument in this type of voluntarism*: that the will transcends reason; that, since God is omnipotent, he cannot be constrained by laws and is free to command as he wills; that there is a need to account for passages in the Bible where God commands something immoral—most famously, that Abraham should sacrifice his son (Gn 22:1–19); that there is a need to disturb the complacency or rigidity of an ethical ratio-

nalism* that pretends to absolute comprehensiveness; or that there is a need to assert the importance of responsibility and authenticity against moral conformism. The first three factors inspire the voluntarist metaethic and the ethics of divine command characteristic of John Duns* Scotus, William of Ockham (1284/85–1349), and, through Ockham, of Luther*. The last two factors were the predominant influences on Kierkegaard* (*see Fear and Trembling, OC 5*, pp. 97–109) and Barth (*KD II/2*).

There are four main objections to this type of ethics. First, God's sovereignty requires him to be free only of external constraints, not of the internal order of his own reason; second, an ethics of command does not take adequate account of the first person of the Trinity*, the Father* or Creator; third, the biblical passages in which God is presented as commanding something immoral can be accounted for as expressions of a theology not yet sufficiently enlightened by Jesus Christ; and, fourth, if God can trump moral reason arbitrarily, by what criteria can we discriminate between a command of God and a wicked whim?

f) God's Commands in the Bible. Whereas Catholicism has regarded biblical prescriptions as an auxiliary means of apprehending our moral obligations, Protestants have tended to regard them as the primary means. Some Calvinists (Calvinism*) and Lutherans (Lutheranism*) have made the Ten Commandments (Ex 20:1–17; Dt 5:6–21) the basis of their ethics (e.g., the *Loci communes theologici* of John Gerhardt [1582–1637]). On the other hand, Anabaptists (e.g., John H. Yoder and Stanley Hauerwas) have thought it more appropriate for a Christian ethic to take its moral norms from the gospel* and from the example of Christ*. Barth, whose ethics shares this Christocentric focus, is wary of the moralistic and legalistic effects of attending too soon to moral prescriptions and insists that both the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount be interpreted in the larger context of the history of salvation*.

g) God's Commands in the Church. Counter-Reformation Catholicism saw Protestantism*'s affirmation of the right to private interpretation of Scripture as a factor of anarchy and strongly affirmed the role of the magisterium (the Church's teaching authority) in moral as well as theological matters. Under pressure from the strife kindled by Jansenism* and from the

threats posed by the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and Napoleon, this authority became increasingly concentrated in episcopal and papal hands. According to some conservative theories of the magisterium (e.g., Grisez's), certain episcopal and papal pronouncements, interpreting natural or revealed morality, are so immune from criticism and require such deference as to carry an authority difficult to distinguish in practice from that of God himself. An alternative ecclesiology*, more Pauline*, more Protestant, and perhaps more in line with Vatican* II (*see Gaudium et Spes*), sees the Church as a community rather than a hierarchy* and thinks that the knowledge of God's commandments is disseminated by dialogue rather than by official pronouncements.

However, the process of dialogue and the exercise of authority should not be regarded as alternatives. Dialogue seldom achieves consensus, and when it is about basic moral problems, it ought not to be resolved simply in favor of majority opinion. Therefore, persons of recognized expertise and wisdom* need to be vested with the authority to make judgments and to define what the Church believes God's commands to be. Nevertheless, if such judgments are to be made responsibly, it is arguable that they will always follow honest consideration of contrary opinion and remain open to the possibility of future revision, should reason require it.

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NIGEL BIGGAR

See also Authority; Ethics; Law; Liberty

Ockham, William of. *See* Nominalism

Olivi, Peter John (Olieu, Pierre Jean). *See* Bonaventure; Millenarianism

Omnipotence, Divine

a) *Omnipotent or All-Powerful?* Judaism* is founded on the memory of God*'s power: "By strength of hand, the Lord has brought you out from this place" (Ex 13:3). He can save his chosen people everywhere and do what he wants for them. Israel*'s strength lies in God (Gn 32:29), for YHWH is the only Omnipotent: From him comes the Creation*, the election*, the victory (Dt 4:32–39). This sovereign universal power is free—"he does whatsoever he pleases" (Ps 115:3; *see also* Is 46:10)—but it is a loving power (Ps 86:15–17). This power intervenes in history* and controls the planets and all the forces in the universe.

In the Hebrew Bible*, God is given the names Sabaoth—"the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel" (1 Sm 17:45)—and El-Shaddai ("Habitant of the Mountains"; Gn 17:1), translated in the Greek Septuagint as *pantokratôr* ("all-powerful") in 170 occurrences. Thus, the divine force is presented as a free power that dominates (*kratein*) everything (*to pan*), combining the initiative of salvation* and the power that maintains the cosmos*. Numerous texts proclaim God's sovereignty over everything. "Lord, Lord, all-powerful King, the universe is in thy power, and no one can challenge thee... for thou hast made the heavens and the earth" (Est 4:17 b). The saving power creates, preserves, and destroys. "Nothing is too hard" for God (Gn 18:14 and Jer 32:17; *see also* Lk 1:37). But divine will is not arbitrary; it yields before the power it

has granted to man (Gn 19:22). Thus, the All Mighty becomes God's proper name*: "All Mighty is his name" (Ex 15:3, Vulgate). In the New Testament, this name has a liturgical function. Hymns of praise recall the pact with God, his paternity, his reign, his eternity* (once in 2 Cor 6:18 and nine times in Revelations). There he speaks in an eschatological context, to regulate the world for Christ*'s Easter glorification.

The term *pantokratôr* occurs in the earliest of the creeds. It passes from the Old Testament to the Christian liturgy* to mean the only God, Father* of his people* and of the world*. Since all the other occurrences of the term *pantokratôr* are posterior to the Septuagint (Montevecchi 1957), it is useless to look there for a cosmological principle inherited from philosophy*. It is more worthwhile to list the varied uses of *kratein*. Followed by the genitive it means "to rein, to dominate": *Pantokratôr* equals Lord of the universe; followed by the accusative it means instead "to hold in one's power, to seize" (Mk 1:31). God penetrates to the heart of everything by means of his power. A Stoic connotation, meaning the maintenance of the world by Providence*, a comparison with Plato's demigod, preserving what he creates (*Timaeus* 41 a), and its close connections to Zeus *pankratês* ("who upholds everything"), to Jupiter *omnipotens, rerum omnium potens*, make omnipotence gravitate toward the second meaning.

For Theophilus of Antioch, God was the creator, “but he is called *pantokratôr* because he holds (*kratei*) and embraces everything (*ta panta*)” (I, 4, 64; see *Epistle to Diognetus*, 7, 2, p. 66). Omnipotence slants the generation of the Son and the creation of the world toward God’s transmission of his glory* to the resurrected Christ: “In fact it is through his Son that the Father is omnipotent” (Origen*, *Princ.*, 1, 2, 10). The term thus includes the cosmic function (adopted from the Hellenic heritage) in a Trinitarian synthesis: “When we hear the name of *pantokratôr*; our thought is that God maintains everything in existence” (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* 2, 126, 366). The link should thus be made between biblical omnipotence (Almightiness, power *over* everything) and philosophical omnipotence (Greek *pantodunamos*, *able to do* everything; Geach 1973).

The controversies over the Trinity modified its meaning: God’s paternity is focused on the engendering of the Son (Filiation*), so much so that omnipotence expresses the identity between the God of the prophets*, whose name is All-Mighty, and the Father of the Lord. Since the act of creation was no longer evoked by the paternity, it was added as a development of omnipotence: “creator of heaven and earth” (Kelly 1950). Contrary to the Arians, who restricted omnipotence to the Father alone, Athanasius* gave a reminder of Christ’s universal reign: “Omnipotent is the Father and omnipotent is the son” (*Letter to Serapion* 2, 611). Then omnipotence became an attribute* common to the three Persons*. The symbol *Quicumque* became its radical echo: “All powerful is the Father, all powerful is the Son, all powerful is the Spirit; and yet there are not three all-powerful persons, but a single Omnipotent one” (DS 75). Nonetheless, Christ *pantokratôr* remains at the center of the Byzantine churches’ iconographic program (Capizzi 1964).

Latin distinguishes precisely two attributes: *omnitenens* and *omnipotens* (Augustine*, *Confessions* XI, 13, 15; CSEL 33, 290), the first, *omnitenens*, coined to translate *pantokratôr* (Pseudo-Tertullian, *Carmen adversus Marcionem* V, 9, 5, 1089 A), while *omnipotens* translates *pantodunamos* and refers to “the power to do all things”—“who is omnipotent if not he who can do everything?” (*The Trinity* IV, 20, 27; 197). But usage would give *omnipotentia* both meanings, as D. Petau would already know (1644, reedition 1885). A new problem arose from this equivocal meaning: God can do what he wills, but “he cannot die, he cannot sin, he cannot lie, he cannot make a mistake” (Augustine, *Enchiridion* 24, 96). Can he really do everything? Origen answered already: “God can do everything that he can do without ceasing to be God, to be good, to be wise.” One should particularly *not* understand “that he

can even do unjust things but he does not want to.” “Neither can God perpetrate an injustice, for the power to commit an injustice is contrary to his divinity and to his omnipotence”—his nature entails the absolute impossibility of committing evil, and that does not depend on his will (*Against Celsus* 3, 70; 158–61). Augustine’s reply soon came: “All that, he cannot do it, for if he could, he would not be omnipotent” (*Enchiridion* 24, 96, 100). Omnipotence should be seen not as an isolated attribute but as that of the good God, who would cease to be himself if he ceased to be good, immortal, and so on. “If God can be what he does not want to be, he is not omnipotent” (PL 38, 1068; see *Sermons* 213 and 214).

b) Middle Ages: Absolute Power and Well-Ordered Power. In the Middle Ages divine omnipotence was a fact held in common by all the revealed religions, including Islam (Koran 46, 32). Reacting against God’s submission to Good* and considering every attribute in itself, medieval theology* demanded that divine power should be asserted as infinite* to the highest degree (Peter Lombard, *Sentences* I, d. 43, §1). Believing that God’s power was limited by his goodness or his will would amount to denying him certain perfections. Countering Jerome (*Ep.* 22:5; 150), Peter Damien thought that God could make a deflowered virgin a virgin again; he could even cause it to be that something that had existed had not existed, for instance, that Rome* had never existed. Abelard stressed the necessary conformity of God’s works with good, to the point of asserting that God could do only what he did do and that he could not make the world better than he made it. He was condemned, and Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* criticized him severely (Boulnois 1994).

For Anselm, Christ did not sin and was incapable of wanting to sin because he did not want to, having himself placed these restrictions on himself; there were, therefore, things that God could do but that he had refused to do (*Cur Deus homo?* 2,5. 10. 17; see Courtenay 1984). The foundation was thus laid for a distinction between *absolute power*—what God can do, within the scope of his power taken in the strict sense, but what he does not do—and *well-ordered power*—what God has freely chosen to do and that he knows through his prescience (Pseudo-Hugo of Saint Victor, *Quaestiones in epistolam ad Romanos* q. 91, 457; Hugo of Saint-Cher, *Sentences*, Boulnois 1994).

The 13th-century authors tackled anew this purely logical opposition between pure absolute power and God’s ordered autorestriction of this power. A new paradigm, often attributed to nominalism* but derived from John Duns* Scotus and interpreted by means of a

political model, appeared in the 14th century: ordered power is the autorestriction of the law*; absolute power is the power to act de facto by making an exception to the law. Henceforth, absolute power changed from being an abstract concept to become an operational one that invaded every field of thought—cosmology, morality, and theology. The present order could always be suspended by a divine intervention. God could lie, deceive, and demand that man hate him. The world lost its order and God his intelligibility.

c) *Modern Contemporary Period: The Sovereign and the Watchmaker.* Luther's attacks destroyed the distinction between absolute power and well-ordered power: "I call God's omnipotence not that power through which he does not do many things that he could do, but that real power by which he does absolutely everything powerfully, in the same way as the Scriptures call his omnipotence" (*De servo arbitrio*, WA 18, 718). Either God is subservient to destiny (*fatum*), just like the pagan gods, or God knows the future and is all-powerful, and in that case man can do nothing—human freedom and divine omnipotence are contradictory. Absolute power took on a political meaning and meant the absolute power of the prince. Thus, the modern period hesitates between two models of power: the absolute ruler and the watchmaker subjected to the mechanisms of existence (E. Randi 1986).

Montaigne reasserted forcefully the omnipotence of God in comparison with mathematical truths (*Essais* II, 12), and Descartes* went so far as to suggest the creation of the eternal truths. On the other hand, Giordano Bruno fiercely rejected the existence of an absolute power belonging to God that would extend further than the necessary order of nature* (*De immenso* III, 1, *Opera* I, 1, 320). For Spinoza, well-ordered power was the equivalent of God's ordinary power—that is, the necessity of nature (*Cogitata metaphysica* II, 9).

Modern metaphysics fell into the aporia of God either as the watchmaker, subservient to the order of the world (deism*), or as the arbitrary sovereign. In reaction to that, contemporary thought distrusts omnipotence. Karl Barth* gives the reminder that omnipotence is commanded by divine election. Process* theology, and H. Jonas in Jewish thought, frankly denies omnipotence. Should the baby be thrown out with the bathwater? It is perhaps enough to become sober, to remember that power is always controlled by charity and that it is allied to human powerlessness through Christ's self-abasement. That view would simply be a return to the biblical and Patristic meaning, in which God is "Lord of all," which does not precisely mean "capable of doing anything whatsoever."

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See also Attribute, Divine; Eternity of God; Images; Immutability/Impassibility; Justice, Divine; Knowledge, Divine; Omnipresence, Divine; Scholasticism; Simplicity, Divine

Omnipresence, Divine

a) Concept and Definition. Many forms of presence are attributed to God* in theology*: presence (“habitation”) in the soul* of the just, presence in Christ*, presence of Christ in the Eucharist* and in the Church*. The term “omnipresence” conveys an idea of divine ubiquity: the presence of the Creator, as first cause, throughout his creation*.

In Christianity this ubiquity is not, strictly speaking, defined; it appears in the notion of divine immensity (*Symb. Ath.*, DS 75): God cannot be localized (*incapabilis*) or circumscribed (*incircumscriptus*) (*Conc. Lat.* 649, DS 504, with regard to Christ according to his divinity). Vatican* I (*COD* 805, 33–34) adopted the terms of Thomas* Aquinas (*ST* Ia, q. 8, a. 2) when he comments on Peter Lombard’s concept of omnipresence *per potentiam, praesentiam, essentiam*, by power, by presence, by essence (*see infra*, d.).

The 46th of the 99 names* given to God by Islamic thinkers (al-Djurdjani, Sharasthani) is the Omnipresent (*al-wasi*).

b) Sources in Scripture. The Old Testament speaks of the presence of God in creation and with his people* without making a clear distinction. God is said to be immense (Bar 3, 25), present in all parts of the world that he fills. This is noted particularly in Psalms 138:7–12, the text most often cited in theological tradition*, and carried over into line 115 of the II surat of the Koran (Nm 39; Jer 23:24; Is 6:2; Wis 1:4); his grandeur surpasses the world (Jb 11:8–9; 1 Kgs 8:27). Elsewhere, he makes a promise of his presence to the Fathers (Gn 17:7, 26:24, 28:15), to Moses (Ex 3:12, 39:4), to Joshua and the judges (Jos 1:5; Jgs 6:16; 1 Sm 3:19), to the kings and prophets* (2 Sm 7:9; 2 Kgs 18:7; Jer 1:8–19), and to humanity in the announcement of Emmanuel (Is 7:14; Ps 46:8).

The doctrine is not directly present in the New Testament; it is expressed in such a way that the divine omnipresence is limited to a presence within every human being (Acts 17:28; 1 Cor 15:28). Jesus* also makes a promise to abide with the disciples (Mt 28:20; Lk 22:30, 23:42), with those who pray in his name (Mt 18:20). He lives in those who have faith* (Gal 2:20; Eph 3:17), even if his corporeal absence is preferable (Jn 16:7). He will be all in all (1 Cor 13, 12). His presence for all believers (Rev 3:20) is not limited to any

people (Col 3:11) or place (Jn 4:21). The hymnal fragment of Ephesians 4:6 is a chant about “*a unique God and father of everything who is above all, through all, and in all*”; the hymn in *Colossians* 1:15–18 is a chant to Christ “*in whom everything subsists*”; this is the scriptural text that particularly nourished the meditation of Teilhard of Chardin.

c) First Elaboration by the Fathers. The omnipresence of the first Principle was not thematized in Greek thought. The Stoicists represented a material God diffused like a fluid throughout the universe (*SVF* II, 306–8). But Plotinus’s concept, directed against the Stoicists, had a stronger influence on the patristic tradition because it was compatible with the idea of the omnipresence of the incorporeal and immutable (present in a place but without movement to lead it there), that is, the omnipresence of the soul to the body and of being* to the totality of beings (*Enn.* VI, 4 and 5).

For the Fathers*, the attribution of omnipresence answered the need to keep God limitless but entailed a danger of pantheism*, which the Stoicists apparently did not resist.

The Greek Fathers (first mention in Clement of Rome, who cites Ps 138, Epistle to the Corinthians, c. 28, nos. 1–4) articulated their thought on omnipresence around the notion of divine immensity: God escapes all limits (*aperigraphos*), all measure (*ametrètos*), all location (*akhôrètos*). Origen* reviewed all the biblical expressions that assign a place to God (PG 11, 485–86 D). He argued for divine incorporeity: “incorporeal” is used in the sense of “without body” (*SC* 252, 86–97). The dialogue with the Samaritan woman (Jn 4:24) clearly shows that God is spirit. All of these themes were pursued, notably by Gregory* of Nyssa in *Against Eunomius* III (PG 45, 603), thereafter frequently cited. John Damascene devoted a chapter of *Orthodox Faith* (I 13, PG 94, 869) to the question. He contributed to Scholasticism* a doctrine formulated with an Aristotelian vocabulary in which corporeal place is distinguished from spiritual place, the latter being the space where a spirit is manifest; God alone, among all spirits, manifests his power in all places (852 C–853 A). The Latin tradition interpreted this as meaning that God is not circumscriptively present (like a body in a corporeal place) or definitively

present (like a spirit manifest in a place) but fully present (because he contains all things in all places).

The Latin Fathers inherited the Greek determination of omnipresence based on immensity, but their thought was more strongly influenced by the Stoicist concept of corporeality. Though Tertullian*, Hilary*, and Ambrose* (PL 16, 552) all emphasized the presence of God altogether in all places (*Deus ubique totus*), they did not always eschew Stoic images of liquid or luminous fluid penetrating all things. Once freed of these images, which he had employed during his Manichean period (*Confessions* I, 2 and 3), Augustine* formulated the most developed doctrine of omnipresence given by any of the Latins. In the letter to Dardanus (*Letter* 187), which he himself called “letter on divine omnipresence” (n. 11–21), he added to the precedent themes a derivation of omnipresence from divine creative causality. Along with Gregory* the Great, he was the authority most cited by the Scholastics.

d) Scholastics. It is nonetheless erroneous to attribute to Gregory, via the *Song of Songs Commentary* (c. 5), the triad *per potentiam, praesentiam, essentiam*, as did all the medieval doctors after it was introduced by Peter Lombard (*Sent.* I, d. 37, c. 1). In fact the origin is unknown. These mysterious words, associated with diverse commentaries, constitute the most original contribution of the Scholastics, who developed the two foundations of omnipresence established by the Fathers: immensity and the causal relation between God and creatures. The former alone guarantees the substantial, eternal nature of omnipresence, while the latter connects it to the actual existence of creatures.

Hugh of Saint Victor’s teaching on the creative and preservative causality of God (PL 176, 825 C, 826 B, 828 C) was a significant contribution to the systematization of Augustine’s doctrine and is worthy of mention beside Anselm*’s speculations on the vocabulary of omnipresence (v. *Monologion* XX–XXIV). Arguing against Honorius of Autun’s assertion of a ubiquity *potentialiter* but a presence of God in heaven *substantialiter* (PL 172, 1111 C), Anselm affirmed that the omnipresence is substantial because God is substantially identical with his power.

Thirteenth-century authors pursued this development in their commentaries on Peter Lombard. Thomas Aquinas’s argument stands out because it is based on the principles of Aristotle’s physics (notably CG III, 68) instead of creative action. Its most outstanding positive characteristic is the integration of divine ubiquity into metaphysics of being. The mode of presence remains the traditional one of operation: God is said to be present in all things as the causal agent because he is the cause of being of everything. But this

causality does not maintain the transcendence of the cause with regard to the effect because the participation ensures a certain immanence that reinforces the notion of presence. Between his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and his *Somme théologique* (Ia, q. 8, a. 1–2), Thomas changed his interpretation of Lombard’s triad and revived the explanation of Albert* the Great (*In Sent.* I, d. 37, a. 6). Thereafter he attached the presence *per potentiam* to divine government, the *per praesentiam* to divine science, and the *per essentiam* to the creation (and preservation).

e) Development of the Concept. Subsequent developments of the doctrine of omnipresence fit into the systematic framework of the Scholastics. It became a matter of intense debate in the Protestant movement with the ubiquity controversy (the eucharistic presence explained by the ubiquity of the risen body of Christ), which led to a long-term division between the Lutherans and the Reformed. A secular controversy in which Clarke and Newton were pitted against Leibniz* gave new life to this divine attribute, this time by questioning its attachment to space (which Newton clearly distinguished from God; see Funkenstein 1986).

The question of the presence (and absence) of God was carried over into contemporary theology and concretized by Barth* (KD II/1, 395–451) with a test of traditional developments on ubiquity. The localizations attributed to God in Scripture (heaven, the temple, the human heart, Jesus) should not be withdrawn, but these places are not all places of God to the same degree. Barth would seem to question the sharp distinction between different modes of presence (by nature, by grace, by union), seeing them as simply a distinction of degrees, culminating in Jesus. Catholic theology (Congar 1958) chooses to place greater emphasis on the Church, the body of Christ, as the privileged place of God.

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See also **Aseitas; Attributes, Divine; Eternity of God; Immutability/Impassibility; Justice, Divine; Knowledge, Divine; Mercy; Omnipotence, Divine; Simplicity, Divine**

Omniscience, Divine. *See* **Knowledge, Divine**

Ontologism

1. The Problem

a) Concept. The word *ontologism* comes from the *Introduzione* (III, 53) by V. Gioberti (1801–52). Against psychologism, which subordinated being* to the idea and was thereby allied with relativism* and subjectivism, Gioberti claimed that his ideas had an ontological foundation. On this basis, ontologism asserts that only the intuitive knowledge* of God makes all other forms of real knowledge possible, for only God* truly is.

b) Risk of Pantheism. A doctrine of this kind might tend toward pantheism*, which led to Gioberti's works being put on the Index of Forbidden Books (1852), the prohibition against teaching seven ontologist propositions (1861), and, finally (1887), the criticism of 40 propositions taken from Rosmini (1797–1855). Were these challenges from Rome* aimed at a hidden pantheism in ontologism or at ontologism itself? Those who were called ontologists attacked pantheism in any event. Already in the 17th century, Nicholas Malebranche (1638–1715), from whom the ontologists claimed descent, had opposed Spinoza (1632–77). In

the 19th century, Gioberti criticized figures who were influenced by German idealism, such as V. Cousin (1792–1867). In the 20th century, Pantaleo Carabellese (1877–1948), the last advocate of ontologism, wrote polemics against G. Gentile (1874–1944). In fact, if ontologism remains within certain limits, it does not eliminate the plurality of consciousnesses. The thesis of the vision in God, as set forth by Malebranche, does not imply that of the vision of God or that of the identity of the principles of the intellect with the divine essence.

2. In the 17th Century

a) Malebranche. For Malebranche (*Entretiens* V), the light that illuminates the mind comes not from the nature of weak and distracted man but from the Eternal. An extension of the argument attributes an active role in knowledge to "vision in God." "The mind can see what there is in God who represents created beings, since that is very spiritual, very intelligible, and very present to the mind" (*Recherche*... III, vi). This doctrine does not deny the distinction between natural knowledge (in God, *in via*) and beatific vision (of God, *in patria*). Vision in God is not of God.

b) Gerdil. In 1748, Cardinal H.-S. Gerdil (1718–1802) gave a more “ontologist” twist to Malebranche’s theses. All knowledge is an intelligible union with being. God is immediately perceived not in His ineffable essence but in His attribute* of “being.” Knowing what is thus consists in knowing God in His being, which is simple and infinite*. The infinity of the divine being is the basis for His action. Human knowledge is passive. Everything in it that is active comes from God. We therefore know only in and through the Creator.

3. 19th Century

a) In Italy. According to the *Nuovo Saggio* (1830) of A. Rosmini-Serbati, we become aware of indeterminate and universal being immediately and prior to any judgment. The idea of being is fragmented into modifications that arise at the time of its application to experience*. However, Rosmini objects to a conception in the “vision in God” that is too “ontologist,” like that of Malebranche. We see God not directly but rather mediated through the idea of being. (For Gioberti, on the other hand, the mediation of the idea of being is of no use, for in order to be foundational, an intuition must have something to do with the real, not with the possible.) By thus distinguishing between the idea of being and God, Rosmini in fact moves away from ontologism. According to followers of Rosmini, the criticism of 1887 (see the proposition that “in the order of the created, something of the divine, or that which belongs to the divine nature, is manifested in itself immediately to the human intellect”) is a call for prudence* of thought rather than a condemnation.

b) In France and Belgium. For the *Ontologie* (1856–57) of F. Hugonin (1823–98), there are no created truths because the truth is absolute or it does not exist. We thus see all truth in the absolute—that is, in God. “Being, the law of thought, the being of truth, is God Himself substantially and not purely ideal” (I, 95). Hugonin asserts that we perceive all truth in the existence of God because we have no knowledge of His ineffable essence.

Ontologism was taught in Louvain before the Thomist revival brought about by *Aeterni Patris* (1879). For the *Essais* (1860) of G. Ubaghs (1800–1875), ontologism is Christian philosophy*. If reason is defined by the totality of truths according to which each human being naturally makes judgments, and because those truths are not the work of the created being who finds them before making judgments about them, but the work of God, and finally, because those truths are God, for in God attributes are God

Himself, then reason judging reasonably necessarily judges in and through God.

c) Condemnation of 18 September 1861 (DS 1841–47). These doctrines unquestionably risked abolishing any distance between the intellect and God. The Holy Office, therefore, published a decree that spread alarm among ontologists who wished to defend the faith*. Of the suspect propositions, we note here the second and the fifth: “The being that we know in all things and without which we know nothing is the divine being” (this proposition confuses the *ens commune* and the *esse subsistens*). “Ideas are modifications of the idea through which God understands Himself simply as *ens*” (this echoes Spinozist ideas, along with elements from Rosmini).

As for the first proposition, the reason for its condemnation is not obvious: “An immediate knowledge of God that is at least habitual is essential to human intelligence, which can know nothing without it; this knowledge is the light of the intellect.” Faith says that there is an immediate communication from God to the reasoning created being. Roman authority* was in this instance probably attacking the particular form of ontologism articulated by traditionalism*. This form presupposed a revelation* of God at the origin of history* and a kind of continuing historical innateness through time that would make any effort on the part of freedom and the intelligence to know God futile.

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See also **Aseitas; Being; Creation; Descartes, René; Infinite; Intellectualism; Nature; Rationalism; Reason; Truth**

Ontology. *See* **Being**

Ontotheology. *See* **Being**

Optatus of Milevis. *See* **Donatism**

Oratory. *See* **Bérulle, Pierre de; Newman, John Henry**

Orders, Minor

So as to distinguish them from the major or holy orders of subdeacon, deacon, and priest, for a long time Catholic theology* designated as minor orders* those lower ministries that received an ordination* of either a permanent nature or as an interim stage on the way to

the reception of major orders. The early Church*, by contrast, made a clear distinction between the ordained ministries, received through the laying* on of hands (those of bishops*, priests*, and deacons*), and the other ministries, which were instituted without ordina-

tion. The oldest document concerning ordinations, the *Apostolic Tradition*, a document that might date from the first third of the third century and is attributed to Hippolytus of Rome, states the instituted ministry of widows, lectors, and subdeacons. In the year 251, Pope Cornelius listed for the bishop of Antioch the lower ministries in the Church of Rome*: subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, and doorkeepers (quoted by Eusebius, *HE* VI, 43, 11). The overlapping of subdeacons and acolytes arose from the fact that in Rome at that time there were as many subdeacons as deacons. This overlap never happened in the East, where the only lower ministries in common use were lectors and subdeacons (with the meaning of acolyte).

During the course of the centuries, the functions vouched for by Pope Cornelius were exercised in different ways (particularly between Rome and the Frankish countries), either in a permanent way, for the service of the liturgy*, or often as steps toward a higher order, the preliminary step being, since the time of Gregory* the Great, entering clerical ranks. On the other hand, the difference between the institution of the lower ministries and ordinations, properly speaking, lost its clear distinction.

Before the Middle Ages the notion of a holy order seems somewhat imprecise in the Roman vocabulary. It was applied to the subdiaconate and to the higher orders when the marriage* of subdeacons had been forbidden at Lateran* I in 1123 (can. 21) and at Lateran* II in 1139 (can. 6). Henceforward, the subdiaconate was no longer a minor order.

The Council of Trent* attempted to adapt the minor orders for a new situation in the Church and the liturgy but without managing to carry it through (sess. XXIII [1563], reform decree, can. 17).

After Pius XII had drawn attention, through his Constitution *Sacramentum Ordinis* (1947), to the legitimate importance of the three orders of diaconate, priesthood, and episcopate and after Vatican* II had confirmed the sacramental validity of the episcopate in the context of the participation of all the laity* in liturgical roles by means of its *Motu proprio Ministeria quaedam* (1972) (*CIC* 1983, can. 1035), Paul VI replaced the idea of minor orders with that of instituted ministries, a category that was reduced to two groups (lectors and acolytes) by doing away with the other minor orders and the subdiaconate. From then on, entry into clerical ranks would be through ordination into the diaconate.

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See also Ministry; Ordination/Order

Ordination/Order

I. New Testament

Like *episkopos* and *diakonos*, the Greek term *kheirotonia*, "laying on of hands" or "ordination," is secular in origin. Ordination—that is, access to a ministry* through the laying* on of hands along with a prayer in the context of a liturgy* of the Christian assembly—is attested with certainty only in the pastoral epistles (1 Tm 4:14; 2 Tm 1:6; *see also* 1 Tm 5:22). Did Jewish ordination provide a model? There is little consensus on this point because that ordination is difficult to reconstitute. In Christian ordination, the laying on of

hands falls to the *presbyterium* and is accompanied by prophetic words (1 Tm 1:16, 4:14); the assembly plays the role of witness (1 Tm 6:12; 2 Tm 2:2). Ordination confers on the ordinand a gift of the Holy* Spirit, in particular to see to the transmission of the gospel* (2 Tm 2:2; *see also* 1:14).

II. Basic Structures of Christian Ordination

No liturgy of ordination has come down to us from the second century. However, *Clement's First Letter* states

that ministers are chosen with the consent of the whole Church* (1 Clement 44:3) and that they retain their position for life (1 Clement 44:3–5), and it formulates the idea of a succession beginning with the apostles* (1 Clement 42:4, 43:1, 44:2). By the middle of the third century, Cyprian* already had a precise conception of access to the position of bishop*: under the judgment* of God*, the people* and the clergy* of the local* Church contribute their votes and their witness; the consensus of neighboring bishops is also required.

The earliest ritual that has come down to us is the *Apostolic Tradition* attributed to Hippolytus of Rome. It is certainly pre-Constantinian, although it may contain later revisions, and its basic structures represent the most classic form of Christian ordination. The *Apostolic Tradition* was accepted in Syria and Egypt, and its influence can be seen in all current Eastern rituals. It also served as a model for the liturgical reform of ordinations after Vatican* II (Pontifical of 1968, revised in 1990).

For the intervening history of rites, governed principally by the Roman-Germanic Pontifical of the 10th century, modified by William Durandus, bishop of Mende, in the 13th century, and its theological interpretation, see P. De Clerck (1985). The focus here will be on the understanding of ordination expressed in current rites, which have explicitly revived the *Apostolic Tradition*.

1. Ordination as Bishop

In the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, the ordination of the head of the local Church, the bishop, is the principal center of attention, all the more because parishes did not yet exist. Here is the text: “The person ordained as bishop should be chosen by all the people.... When his name has been pronounced and he has been accepted, the people will gather with the *presbyterium* and the bishops who are present on Sunday. With the consent of all, the bishops should perform the laying on of hands and the people watch and do nothing. All should be silent, praying in their hearts that the Holy Spirit might come down. After that, one of the bishops present, at the request of all, should lay his hands on the one who has been made bishop and pray, saying: [the text of the prayer follows].”

a) Access to the Office. (1) Meaning of the Role Attributed to the Members of the Local Church: Christians played an active role in ordination—that is, in the choice and the liturgical entry into office by the one who presided over their Church. This role was expressed in four procedures, which were integral parts of ordination: election, witness, epiclesis, and reception.

Election. Although we do not know the details of the procedure (the clergy played a special role), the principle of election by the people was clearly affirmed in both East and West. For Pope Celestine in the mid-fifth century, “no one should be given as bishop to a community that does not want him” (*Letters* 4:5), and Leo the Great prescribed that “the one who is to preside over all should be elected by all” (*Letters* 10:6). Practice went through serious vicissitudes, including the intervention of secular authorities and the monopoly of certain clergy beginning in the 13th century, but the principle remained fixed in the general law* of the Catholic Church until 1917. Paradoxically, the “election day holiday” of the British monarch reflects the same principle.

The import of the principle is clear: congregation and ordained ministers are partners and share responsibility for the Church of God, according to a structure that binds and distinguishes all and some. Vocation for the ministry is a call from God mediated by the Christians and those who preside over the Church.

Witness. The *Apostolic Tradition* 2 indicates the agreement that is necessary, which was established by voting in all later rituals; it is concerned with the qualities and abilities of the ordinand and his faith*. There remain today a questioning of the people and a profession of faith before the assembly.

The import of the principle is clear: congregation and ordained ministers are together responsible for apostolic faith; the succession of some in the ministry is rooted in the faith of all; the lists of succession prove it because they are established according to the succession in a particular church, not according to the uninterrupted chain of the laying on of hands (L. Koep, *Bischofsliste*, RAC 2, 410–15). Faithful to this view, Catholic and Orthodox Churches thus still state today that “the minister receives from his church, faithful to the tradition*, the Word* that he transmits” (Munich 1982, II, DC 79, 941–45).

Epiclesis. “All should pray... that the Holy Spirit might come down”: The ministry is conceived as a gift of God to His Church; hence, the relation of a church to the pastor whom it elects is not that of electors to a representative. Ministry in the name of Christ* is also a ministry in the Holy Spirit.

Reception. The community of the baptized, who also have the Holy Spirit, accepts the ministry of the bishop as a gift and not as an emanation from the community, and this gift must continue to be accepted. Canon* law still requires it of priests (see CIC, can. 1741, §3).

(2) Meaning of the Role Attributed to Neighboring Bishops: The *Apostolic Tradition* prescribes the participation of neighboring bishops. Nicaea (can. 4, COD 8)

requires the participation of all the bishops in the province, three at a minimum, with the others agreeing in writing; the rule is still in force in the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. The categories describing the action of the congregation can also describe that of the bishops.

Election. They also participate in the choice of the person; their role grew over time.

Witness. Coming from churches that have the apostolic faith, the bishops present attest that the church in which the ordination is taking place, as well as its future leader questioned in the presence of the people, have the same apostolic faith.

Epiclesis. The whole assembly is the subject of the epiclesis*, but only the bishops perform the laying on of hands for this purpose.

Reception. The bishops receive the newly ordained as one of their own. As early as Nicaea (can. 5, *COD* 9, 8–12), if a Church did not accept an ordination, it was not valid; the correctness of the liturgical performance and the will of the ordinands could have no effect if they were not carried out in explicit communion* with the other local churches.

The theological import of these procedures is clear: the cooperation among neighboring churches in the ordination of a bishop shows that they are in solidarity, (partners in the service of apostolic faith), that tradition creates communion, and that succession in the ministry presupposes both. The pneumatological aspect of the procedure, finally, excludes reduction of ordination to the schema of a transmission of power and simultaneously excludes the reduction of the Church to its hierarchy*.

b) Content of the Office Conferred by Ordination. The bishop is elected, receives the laying on of hands, and enters into his duties by presiding over the Eucharist* at his own ordination, in a single liturgical continuum (*Apostolic Tradition* 4). The first millennium had no absolute ordinations (ordinations of bishops not designated to occupy a see). Chalcedon (can. 6, *COD* 90) had declared null and void any ordination of a priest* or deacon* that had not been done for a particular Church, but in 1198 Pope Innocent III contravened this rule (*Patrologia Latina* 214:68). The meaning of the rule is clear: ordination is concerned first with the Church and not the person ordained; the power received is not personal but tied to the office received, even if one of the purposes of epiclesis is to make the person suitable for the office. This constitutes a theological criterion. To think that ordination is primarily an incorporation into a college succeeding the college of apostles and that the charge of a church is secondary would be doubly mistaken; it would respect neither the

articulation between church and ministry nor the nature of powers conferred through ordination (see Yves Congar, *Ministères et communion ecclésiale*, Paris, 1971).

To set forth the content of the office of bishop, it is possible for the most part to follow the *Apostolic Tradition*. The office is:

- (1) A gift intended to guide the Church in the tradition of the apostles. The Holy Spirit confers on the bishop a *pneuma hégemonikon*, the spirit “given to the holy apostles who established the Church in every land” (*Apostolic Tradition* 3). The bishop must be able to guide the Church according to the gospel, the book of which has been opened on his shoulders during ordination since the fourth century.
- (2) A presiding in and for communion. The very structure of ordination is full of meaning. Elected by his Church and accepted by it to be at its head, the bishop is in a position to represent it before all others. But able to become a bishop only with the cooperation of the heads of neighboring churches, who accept him into their college, he also represents the entire Church in his own. The symbol and the task are clearly expressed: located both in his church and in the face of it, the bishop is in both senses the link between communion and the service of Catholic unity.
- (3) A ministry of pastor. After the *pneuma hégemonikon*, the *Apostolic Tradition* 3 asks for the bishop the grace to be “the pastor of the flock,” the classic designation of his ministry even today.
- (4) A priestly ministry. In two places, the *Apostolic Tradition* 3 asks that the bishop may exercise the “great priesthood”—offering of gifts and the power to forgive sins*. This begins the development of a priestly interpretation of the ordained ministry, which applies first to the bishop and then to the priest.

2. Ordination to the Priesthood

Is the priest elected by the people? The case is not as clear as it is for the bishop. At least the bishop, in choosing the priest, must ask the opinion of the clergy and the congregation, as the current Roman ritual still indicates with the question, “Do you know if they are worthy?” Another important characteristic, found in the *Apostolic Tradition* 7 and continuing today, is that priests perform the laying on of hands on the ordinand after the bishop—they too make up a college. The ministry of the priests is described by the gift that they

receive: “a spirit of grace* and counsel so that they may help to govern Thy people.” No further details are given.

3. Ordination of Deacons

The deacon is apparently more directly chosen by the bishop because he is an even closer associate of the bishop than the priest. The *Apostolic Tradition* 8 prescribes that only the bishop performs the laying on of hands in his case “because he is not ordained for the priesthood* but for the service of the bishop, to do what the bishop tells him to do,” and also because “he is not part of the council of the clergy, but tells the bishop what is necessary.” It is asked that he have “the spirit of grace and zeal to serve the Church.”

4. Other Ordinations

For the bishop, the priest, and the deacon, the *Apostolic Tradition* speaks of ordination (*kheirotonia*); for the other orders (lector, subdeacon, exorcist, and widow), it speaks of institution (*katastasis*), the first appearance of minor orders*. Does the current proliferation of ministries entrusted to the baptized call for their revitalization under different names and with different contents? The question is open.

III. Ecumenical Rapprochements and Open Questions

1. Rapprochements

A consensus is now taking shape among the Churches engaged in bilateral or multilateral dialogue on the ministries (with the exception of the Congregationalists) that recognizes the fruitfulness of the basic concepts of ordination that can be derived from the *Apostolic Tradition*: election and calling, witness, epiclesis, reception, powers involved in the office, collegiality* of ordained ministries, articulation between all and some in the apostolic and priestly ministry, and the fragility of absolute ordinations—these are the bases from which the changes necessary to resolve remaining questions are now being proposed.

2. Open Questions

a) *Convergences Are Emerging on the Threefold Division of Ordained Ministries.* On the one hand, Vatican II restored the diaconate as a permanent ministry and made a clearer distinction between the offices of priest and bishop while recognizing that these forms of ministry are *ab antiquo* (LG 28) rather than from divine law. The abolition of minor orders in 1973 also clarified the scope of the ordained ministry. According to a doc-

ument proposed for ecumenical consideration, the *BEM* (Lima, 1982, n. 25–16 and 28–31), an ecclesiological agreement on the threefold form of the ordained ministry is possible, on condition that the personal authority* of ministers be more clearly articulated with their collegial and synodal authority. The Lutherans, for example, have agreed throughout the world to restore the office of bishop on condition that its theological import be clarified. In the dialogue between Catholics and Lutherans, the document *Church and Justification* (1993) is a sign of an historic opening (n. 204, DC 91, 1994, 840): “The difference remaining in the theological and ecclesiological scope that should be recognized for the ministry of the bishop, connected to the historical succession, loses its acuteness when Lutherans can grant to the ministry of the bishop a value that makes restoration of full communion with the institution of the bishop desirable, and when the Catholics recognize that the ministry of the Lutheran Churches . . . carries out essential functions of the ministry that Jesus Christ instituted in His Church, and when there is no challenge to the status of Lutheran Churches as Churches. The difference in the importance given to the historical office of bishop is then interpreted so that the doctrine of justification* is no longer at issue, and so that the restoration of full communion in the institution of the bishop is therefore no longer a theological impossibility.”

b) *Connection between the Concrete Church and the Ordained Ministry Is Necessary.* Agreement in this context can be reached on the mutual belonging of ministry and Church. The ministry no more emanates from the Church than the Church depends entirely on the ministry. Hence, the practice of absolute ordination (which appeared late, in the 13th century, but became common practice in the Catholic Church) seems all the more problematic in a time when the Church is seen primarily as a communion of local churches. And following a similar kind of reasoning, it is possible to agree to interpret the indelible character of ordination not as a grace given to a person for himself but as a spiritual authorization for a ministry. From this derives the fact that Churches today that practice ordination never repeat it.

c) Although the theological understanding of collegiality is not always unanimous among Catholics, it has nevertheless become an integral part of the daily life of the Church through the restoration of the importance of the structures of the *presbyterium* and through the institutionalization of conferences of bishops.

d) Whereas Protestant theology* gives the name of sacraments* only to the spiritual actions necessary for

salvation* (baptism* and the Eucharist*), the Council of Trent* defined ordination as a sacrament (*DS* 1766, 1773). However, this divergence is in the process of being overcome; the designation of ordination as a sacrament was not rejected in principle in the early Reformation (*Apol. CA* XIII, 11); moreover, it can be said today that it is the bearer of grace and that it “cannot be reduced to a sort of nomination to and installation in a church office” (International Catholic-Lutheran Commission, 1981, §§32–33).

*e) The ordination of women**, practiced by all the Reformed Churches since the mid-1990s, remains a matter under discussion between them and the Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

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See also Bishop; Collegiality; Communion; Deacon; Epiclesis; Ministry; Presbyter/Priest; Reception; Sacrament

Origen

c. 185–c. 250

Alongside Augustine*, Origen was the dominant figure in Christian theology* during its first five centuries. Both in his lifetime and later, he was the one theologian who aroused the strongest and most conflicting feelings. What is known as “Origenism” covers a range of doctrinal and spiritual concepts as well as a form of exegesis* that Origen initiated and that was to be developed after his time both in the East and in the West. The denunciation of an Origenist tendency at the Second Council of Constantinople* in 553 led to the condemnation of Origen himself and to the disappearance of a very large part of his work.

a) Life. Origen's life is relatively well known, thanks to Eusebius of Caesarea, who devoted almost the whole of Book VI of his *Historia ecclesiastica* to him. It appears he was born into a Christian family in Alexandria circa 185. He successively taught grammar, catechesis*, and Christian philosophy*. Under the influence of a patron, Ambrose, who had converted

Origen to the faith*, he reluctantly agreed to start writing, although he was already more than 30 years old. After several journeys, to Palestine, Arabia, and perhaps Rome, he left the Egyptian metropolis once and for all in or around 232, having met with the hostility of the local bishop*, Demetrius. The second half of Origen's life was spent mainly in Caesarea, in Palestine, where he was ordained as a priest* and continued to teach. At the request of Ambrose, he also continued his literary endeavors. He was invited to take part in several regional councils* in order to bring back to the orthodox faith certain bishops whose Trinitarian beliefs had caused problems. In 250, during the Decian persecution, Origen was arrested and tortured. His health broken, he died shortly after, probably in Tyre.

b) Works. Barely one-quarter of Origen's immense literary output remains in existence, and a large number of those texts that have survived are available only

in Latin versions composed by Rufinus and Jerome around the first decade of the fifth century. Setting aside his letters, which have almost all been lost, we may divide his work into two groups: his studies of Scripture, including commentaries, homilies, and “notes” (or “scholia”), and his treatises, which deal with theology, spirituality, and apologetics. In his commentaries, homilies, and, more rarely, scholia, Origen explained almost every scriptural text and returned several times to the same books of the Bible*. According to ancient testimony, he composed some 260 “volumes” (books) of commentary and almost 500 homilies. Today, there are no more than 31 volumes of commentaries, including some in Greek on Matthew and John and some in Latin on the Song of Songs and Romans, as well as 205 homilies, among which only 21 are in Greek. While the loss of some important commentaries, notably on Genesis, is to be deplored, the disappearance of his major treatises, which aroused controversy in Origen’s lifetime, is even more serious. They include *On Natures*, *Dialogue with Candide*, *Stromata*, and *On the Resurrection*. Fortunately, we do possess his most important theological work, the treatise *De Principiis*, a Latin translation of *Peri Archôn*, and his massive apologetic work for Christianity, *Contra Celsum*.

c) *Intended Readership and Issues Addressed.* Informed by a vast biblical and philosophical culture, Origen’s work is addressed primarily to Christians committed to improving themselves intellectually, morally, and spiritually. His treatises and commentaries gave him opportunities to develop a scholarly theology intended for “advanced” Christians, such as his patron Ambrose, while his homilies reveal his concern to provide edification for the community as a whole.

Origen aimed his most sustained and fiercest polemics at gnosis* and Marcionism*, but he also engaged in dialogue with Gnostics. His desire for dialogue is still more evident in his dealings with Judaism*—he learned about its methods and traditions from a Hebrew teacher—and with Platonic philosophy, to which he was apparently introduced by the Neoplatonist Ammonius Saccas, who was Plotinus’s teacher.

d) *Origen and the Bible.* Scripture, for Origen, was the source of all wisdom* and thus became the main focus of all his work. He approached it as a philologist, a grammarian, and a theologian. His capacity for textual analysis and critical editing is illustrated by the *Hexapla*, of which only fragments remain. This was an edition of the Old Testament laid out in six columns, in

which the Hebrew text, transliterated in Greek letters, was accompanied by the Septuagint and other Greek translations by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. One of the objectives of this remarkable research tool was to pinpoint the differences between the Hebrew text used by Jews and the Greek Septuagint used by Christians.

However, Origen’s renown as a biblical scholar rests principally on his work as a theoretician of hermeneutics* and a practitioner of allegorical exegesis. Following in the tradition of Philo and of Clement of Alexandria*, he defended and developed a notion of the spiritual sense of Scripture* as being its fundamental meaning. Readers must receive the spirit of Christ* if they are to grasp, over and above the letter of the text, the meaning that the divine Spirit has placed within it. Origen established rules by which to reach this spiritual sense, which is always mysterious and which is related to the triune God*, to the intelligible world*, and to the end of time. One of his rules is that the Old Testament is to be interpreted by way of the New Testament, which in turn is to be interpreted by reference to the person* and revelation* of Christ. Another rule is that the interpreter must place any specific passage being studied in relation to the whole of Scripture. This approach requires rigorous attention to the words of the text and their various uses in order to distinguish their figurative or allegorical meanings, and it depends on the presupposition that Scripture forms a single entity.

Origen made the discovery of the spiritual sense the overriding objective of his interpretation, but he did not neglect research into the literal or historical sense (the history of Israel*, the acts and gestures of Christ, or testimony on the primitive Christian community). Hence, more often than not, his exegesis covers both the literal and the spiritual levels, although occasionally he refers to a third sense that he calls “moral,” though he is not very specific about what it is.

e) *As Theologian.* The *Peri Archôn* defines and accomplishes a theological program that had no precedent or counterpart in the patristic era: that of developing, on the basis of symbols, on the faith of the Church, and on Scripture, a coherent doctrine of God, humanity, and the world. The requirement of coherence led Origen to formulate certain hypotheses that were later held against him: the preexistence of souls*; the succession of worlds, which continues until every spirit has freely accomplished its conversion* to God; and the identical nature of the initial condition and the final condition. The inclusion of these and other hypotheses points to an important characteristic of Origen’s method that has often been misunderstood: his consis-

tent commitment to research, which led him, whenever he was faced with a difficulty, to propose (rather than assert) a solution in the form of an “exercise.”

Within the system that Origen constructed, the decisive roles are played by the goodness of God and the liberty* of human beings. The Fall was caused by an evil use of liberty by created spirits, but this same liberty, educated and assisted by divine providence*, will lead human beings to a constant contemplation* of the triune God.

The *Peri Archôn* also represents a significant stage in the development of the doctrine of the Trinity*, notably in the two sections on the Holy* Spirit, in which Origen emphasizes both its individual substance and its two functions, the charismatic and the gnoseological.

Origen's Christology* is complex. God the Son is both subordinate to the Father* and equal to him and exercises a multitude of revelatory and mediating functions that are indicated by the diverse epithets (*epinoiai*) that Scripture applies to him. Since before the Incarnation* he has taken on an unfallen human soul. His Incarnation is salvific in the sense that it conveys the full revelation of God and provides a model for the human will completely and freely subject to God.

f) The Spiritual. Knowledge* of God and contemplation of him are to be acquired through spiritual understanding of Scripture and imitation of the incarnate Logos. Human beings, each composed of a spirit, a soul*, and a body, are engaged in combat with themselves. The soul, the seat of free will, is subject to the passions: on the one hand, it is drawn away by the body, but on the other hand, the spirit, which is part of the divine Spirit, induces the soul to direct itself toward God. This struggle is not played out solely within each human being, for it is related to the struggle between the angels* and the demons* and, beyond them, between Christ and Satan. Asceticism*, prayer*, and the practice of the virtues* are all weapons that allow human beings to continue the fight to the point of victory. But the decisive weapon is the power, the light, and the love* that Christ, the image of the invisible God, brings to human beings when he comes to dwell and grow within them. In this way, Christ makes human beings into participants in his own character as image, and believers are gradually transformed into spiritual and perfect beings who can attain the contemplation of God through union with Christ. However, perfect vision is not attainable in this world. Origen's ideal is a mystical one (mysticism*), yet his works do not contain any clear testimony to any mystical or ecstatic experience of his own.

g) Origenism after Origen. During his lifetime and throughout subsequent history, Origen has been attacked and defended, and the *Peri Archôn* has often become the focus of controversies. The liveliest debates took place between the fourth and sixth centuries. Origen's admirers, some of them enthusiastic, others more moderate, included Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius*, Hilary* of Poitiers, Didymus, Basil* of Caesarea, Gregory* of Nazianzus, Gregory* of Nyssa, Evagrius, Ambrose*, Rufinus, and Jerome (in his early years). In the fourth century, two works, full of quotations, were entirely devoted to Origen: Pamphilus of Caesarea's *Apology for Origen* and the *Philocalia*, traditionally attributed to Gregory of Nazianzen and Basil of Caesarea. Origen's opponents included Methodius of Olympia, Eustathes of Antioch, Peter of Alexandria, Epiphanes, Theophilus of Alexandria, and Jerome (at a later stage).

The controversies that developed around Origen's legacy from the fourth century on are not immediately accessible. They were concerned with elements of Origen's thinking—such as the preexistence of souls, apocatastasis*, the doctrine of the resurrected body, eternal creation*, subordinationism*, and his excessive use of allegory—but they also brought in elements that were foreign to his ideas, that contradicted them, or that were falsified by some of his readers. In the West these controversies culminated in Jerome's spectacular conversion to the anti-Origenist cause around 400; in the East they culminated in the condemnation of both Origen and the Origenists in the middle of the sixth century.

Origen's thought inevitably influenced the exegetical labors and theological reflections of later centuries and was also developed within monastic circles. From its earliest stages, Egyptian anchoritic monasticism* took from Origen's spirituality such themes as asceticism, spiritual combat, and the struggle against demons. In the closing years of the fourth century, there were readers of Origen among the monks of Nitria and the Kellia, practicing a highly intellectual form of speculation that gave rise to problems because it rejected any form of piety related to material reality and any Christian use of anthropomorphism*. It was in this milieu that Evagrius (346–99) developed a theological system (see in particular his *Gnostic Chapters*) structured around hypotheses concerning the creation of intellects by God and the ultimate restoration of primal unity. During the first half of the sixth century, Evagrius's version of Origenism won support among the monks of Palestine: it was in order to suppress them that, in 543 and 553 (at Constantinople II), Justinian condemned a form of Origenism that was closer to Evagrius's teachings than to those of Origen himself.

The loss of the majority of Origen's writings was the direct result of this condemnation. It must be noted that Origen nonetheless continued to influence the scholarly theology of the East, both indirectly through such theologians as Gregory of Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa and more directly through the work of those who quite often used his commentaries in compiling exegetical sequences. In the West, throughout the Middle Ages, exegesis continued to be dominated by the Origenist principles, which had previously been used by Hilary, Ambrose, and Jerome. During the Renaissance, Origen was rediscovered for the first time, notably by Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus*, while the Reformers, in particular Luther*, displayed some serious reservations about his allegorical exegesis. More recently, in the middle of the 20th century, Origen's works, methods, and ideas have been brought to the forefront once again by theologians such as Henri Sonier de Lubac*, H. Rahner*, and Hans Urs von Balthasar*, all of whom have played a decisive role in the renewal of Catholic theology.

- Most of Origen's texts appear in GCS and SC; *see also* PG 11–17.

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***See also* Alexandria, School of; Anthropology; Resurrection of the Dead; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Spiritual Theology; Translations of the Bible; Trinity**

Orthodox Church. *See* **Orthodoxy**

Orthodoxy

A. Doctrinal Orthodoxy according to the Churches

The concept of “orthodoxy”—*orthè doxa*, right opinion—was known and used outside Christianity: its Christian field of application became established as the complementary concepts of heterodoxy and heresy* were defined. Its use stems from a fundamental claim of Christian communities: to hand down words that are *true*, to *define* the meaning of these words, and finally to decide whether any given words uttered within their midst *contradict* the defined faith*. The believer’s orthodoxy is thus measured by what he or she believes and confesses: the orthodox person is one who on the one hand believes and confesses what the Church* believes and confesses (*material* orthodoxy) and on the other *wants* to believe and confess what the Church believes and confesses (*formal* orthodoxy). Since only a person who engages in the literal repetition of creeds and confessions of faith or who entrusts entirely to the Church the responsibility of saying what he or she believes (*see* Bague [1981] on “blind faith”) may be assured of faultless orthodoxy, error is always possible, whether it is born of ignorance (an *idiot*a may say things that are *materially* heretical while at the same time fully and firmly intending to confess the faith of the Church rather than his own private choices) or of conceptual mistakes. The theologian may, in good faith, say things today that the Church’s instruments of doctrinal decision—popes*, councils*, and bishops*—may tomorrow decide to be inadequate or erroneous: so, for example, a large part of Origen’s Christology* suffers from subordinationist tendencies, even though Origen fully and firmly confessed the faith of the pre-Nicene *catholica*, whose words lacked the precision of the vocabulary that was formally adopted between Nicaea and Chalcedon. However, just as orthodoxy has two faces, objective (*fides quae creditur*) and subjective (*fides qua creditur*), so too heterodoxy may be deliberate: a person who says things that are judged materially heretical by the Church (which in so doing exercises its *munus docendi*, its teaching function) in the course of a legitimate proceeding will be found guilty of *formal* heresy in many cases if he or she persists in saying them after such a judgment.

To the concept of orthodoxy should be added that of “indifferent matters” (*adiaphora*). These matters fall

into two categories: theological or quasi-theological questions that do not form part of the faith of the Church (questions of liturgical ceremonial, the celibacy of the priesthood*, and so on) and legitimate differences in the expression of the content of that faith (*see* inculturation* and theological schools). Legitimate dissent does exist, then, and has recently been fiercely debated within Catholicism* (*see* Dulles 1996)—but while its theoretical rights are clear, the limits within which they may be exercised vary from Church to Church (a given question may be an *adiaphoron* for Protestantism*, e.g., the apostolic* succession of hierarchs, while for the Catholic and Orthodox Churches it is nonnegotiable), and the exercise of this dissent raises difficult problems in terms of the ethics of Church life. In addition, moral commandments “related to revealed truths” may be so closely associated with the content of the faith (to the extent of receiving what Protestant theology* calls the *status confessionis*) that their violation gives rise to a situation of “ethical heresy” (*see* the *Bekennende Kirche* on the subject of anti-Semitism as a heresy, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches on apartheid as a heresy, and Pope John Paul II on unconditional respect for life). In Catholic circles, this is doubtless what the CEC means at §88 by “truths having a necessary connection with the former [i.e., the truths contained within revelation]” (*see also* §2035, which is more explicit). On the other hand, this is not what is to be understood when ecclesiastical texts refer to “morals” (e.g., in the expression *fides et mores*): in this context the word denotes the discipline of the Church, that which governs its own life, especially in liturgical matters; “morals” does not signify morality.

The use of the concept of orthodoxy obviously varies according to the faith confessed by each Church and the official procedures that each Church sets out to judge it by. In practice, these procedures are intended not so much to set out an orthodoxy in positive terms as to define its boundaries negatively; any interpretation that is explicitly not condemned is assumed to be orthodox, at least until a possible condemnation—of which the most serious form is traditionally the anathema, which is a formal notice of heresy.

- 1) In the Churches that describe themselves as “orthodox,” doctrinal orthodoxy is judged in terms of material and formal conformity with the doctrinal decisions of the seven councils recognized as “ecumenical,” from Nicaea* I to Nicaea* II (in the case of the Churches referred to as “pre-Chalcedonian,” conformity with the doctrinal decrees of the first two or three of these councils), it being understood that each council ratifies some development of the doctrines and that it is the responsibility of the College of Bishops to impart the teachings of the “Fathers” and bring them up to date for every age. Moreover, an influential current in recent Orthodox theology has suggested making Palamism (Gregory* Palamas) a preferred yardstick for the Orthodox faith.
- 2) The Roman Catholic Church also relies on the criterion of fidelity to the Fathers and the councils (albeit that it additionally recognizes as “ecumenical” the 14 general synods* of the Western Church between Constantinople* IV and Vatican* II) but accords the bishop of Rome* considerably wider powers of doctrinal definition than are conferred on the patriarchs by the Orthodox Churches. Within the defined limits of his infallible teaching, it also grants him the power solemnly to confer the highest possible orthodoxy on statements of faith (the power of dogmatizing).
- 3) The Churches that originated in the Reformation vary in their criteria. The Lutheran tradition links *scriptural principle* and *denominational principle* in such a way that ancient creeds* (the Nicene-Constantinopolitan, Apostles’, and Athanasian creeds) and 16th-century books of doctrine, considered as a “normalized norm,” constitute a proper exegesis of the unique “normative, not normalized norm,” which is the Word* of God. The Anglican tradition has also furnished itself with a denominational charter—the Thirty-nine Articles—alongside Scripture and the three ecumenical creeds; but it advances no official and normative interpretation of the articles and accepts as orthodox (or at least as not heterodox) any possible reading that does not violate the letter of them. As for the Calvinist Churches, not all have retained their 16th- or 17th-century confessions of faith in their present-day constitutions,

but all live by reference to Scripture, the ancient creeds, and books of doctrine. Finally, the so-called free Churches accord to the scriptural principle alone the right of assessing sound Christian opinion but are able to maintain this principle strictly only by basing it on a theory of the inspiration of the Scriptures and, often, by extracting from Scripture “fundamental articles” on which Christianity stands or falls (fundamentalism*).

It is also noteworthy that while Catholicism has developed a very subtle set of theological criteria, orthodoxy has never become a precise theological designation within this (theological notes*). Moreover, the close link between faith as confessed and faith as lived out, between doctrinal orthodoxy and a life faithful to the Gospels, has been especially insisted on in recent theology, in which the concept of *orthopraxis* is frequently invoked to convey that it is not confessions of faith alone that make a Christian. Finally, it should be remarked that doctrinal orthodoxy is expressed within all Christian denominations by liturgical traditions compatible with the confessed faith: not only in liturgical texts but also in liturgical acts, such as the veneration (or not) of images*, blessings*, the layout of places of worship, and so on. The *lex orandi* of the Churches expresses the faith that they confess, whether explicitly or implicitly (the classic example of the latter being Trinitarian orthodoxy, which was implicitly present in Christian doxologies long before it was made explicit by a council; see Basil*).

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See also **Heresy; Notes Theological; Race; Schism**

B. The Orthodox Church

The Orthodox Church obviously retains the general sense that orthodoxy quite quickly assumed during Christian antiquity; however, as *doxa* also means glory*, the term has been reinterpreted in such a way as to emphasize the doxological character of the Orthodox faith, its character of righteous glorification—just as in the case of its Slavonic equivalent, “pravo-slavie,” *slava* (glory) is understood more than the original *slovo* (word). This faith is that of the communion* of Orthodox Churches or, in a second sense, of Orthodoxy: Orthodoxy comprises a group of Churches, mostly Chalcedonian but also pre-Chalcedonian, united under the general title of Orthodox Churches.

The Orthodox Church, like the Catholic Church, sees itself as the Church that dates back uninterruptedly to Pentecost: it therefore considers itself to be one, holy, catholic, and apostolic. From a doctrinal point of view, it was the Code of Justinian that brought together the fundamental principles of the Orthodox faith on the basis of the “four councils” of Nicaea*, Constantinople* I, Ephesus*, and Chalcedon*, supplemented by Constantinople* II and III as well as the important Nicaea* II. John of Damascus’s *De fide orthodoxa* is a classic presentation of this doctrinal corpus. The gradual breach between Catholicism* and Orthodoxy saw the Orthodox Church assimilated into a conception of the Christian East, the Greco-Byzantine world. However, Constantinople, for all its unrivaled importance—known as the “New Rome” since the first Council of Constantinople and capital of the Roman Empire—was not the whole East. Besides, for over a thousand years, Catholics and Orthodox formed one single Church with varied and multiple liturgical traditions*: these two Churches “not originating in the Reformation” have much in common, as the present climate of the ecumenical movement makes all the clearer.

Besides political factors (the sack of Constantinople in 1204, the forced reintegration into Orthodoxy of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholics in 1945, and so on) and cultural (languages, liturgies*) and intellectual ones (Orthodox theology* is dominated by the major figures of Athanasius* of Alexandria and the three great Cappadocian doctors, Basil* of Caesarea, Gregory* of Nyssa, and Gregory* of Nazianzene), the separation between the Orthodox East and the West has a doctrinal and an ecclesiological cause. 1) On the one hand, the unilateral addition of the Filioque* to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed and above all its medieval

interpretation as implying the procession of the Holy* Spirit from the Father* and Son “as from a single principle” remain unacceptable to Orthodoxy (though this does not prevent a possible Orthodox interpretation of the Filioque in the economic order and in the eternal radiance of that which the Three have in common—what the Greek Fathers* called “energies” and the Latin Fathers “communion”). 2) On the other hand, Orthodoxy accepts neither the pope*’s universal jurisdiction* nor the concept of infallibility* as defined by Vatican* I. However, Pope John Paul II’s encyclical *Ut unum sint* (25 May 1995) declares that it is time to attend to the *manner* in which universal presidency should be exercised in the Church—a task that has already been begun by the COE’s commission on Faith and Constitution (a commission of which the Catholic Church is a full member despite not being a member of the COE). Thus, the two main points separating Catholics and Orthodox now seem capable of solution.

Orthodoxy is made up of local* Churches in full communion with one another; they are thus “sister-Churches” under the presidency (since the break with Rome*) of the patriarchate* of Constantinople. The universal primate, like that of each local Church, is a *primus inter pares*, first among equals; each bishop* has full responsibility for his diocese. The primate encourages the maintenance of unity* and intervenes locally only if he is asked to. The basis of Orthodox ecclesiology* is territorial rather than national. While numerous Churches are more or less coincident with sovereign states, nationalism—in the sense of the identification of Orthodoxy with one ethnic group—was condemned as a heresy*, “phyletism,” at the synod of Constantinople in 1872. Despite its unanimous condemnation, however, phyletism remains the chief temptation of contemporary Orthodoxy, with the result that often several jurisdictions coexist in areas where Orthodoxy is dispersed.

The local Churches are in the first place the ancient patriarchates, which together with Rome formed the “pentarchy”: Constantinople (*see* at Istanbul), Antioch (*see* at Damascus and jurisdiction over Syria and Lebanon, a vestige of the territorial and nonnational principle), Alexandria, and Jerusalem*. The other autocephalous Churches (those that elect their own primate) comprise the patriarchates of Moscow (numerically the most important, including the provinces of Ukraine and Belarus, which today enjoy considerable autonomy), Georgia (a very ancient Church, originating in the conversion* by Nino), Romania (second

in numerical terms), Serbia and Bulgaria, and the Churches of Greece, Cyprus (also ancient), the Czech Republic (Bohemia and Moravia) and Slovakia, Poland, Albania (in the process of revival), and, smallest of all, Sinai. The remaining Churches are “autonomous” (the election of the primate is confirmed by the primate of an autocephalous Church), such as those of Finland, Crete, and Japan. America’s autocephalous Church (the Orthodox Church in America) is still not officially recognized by Constantinople. Finally, there are missions* in China, Korea, and several African countries.

The Orthodox liturgical tradition is a veritable patristic anthology, well served by its splendor and the force of its symbols. The Syro-Byzantine cycles (fixed and mobile) are available in their entirety to the French

reader, in the translation by D. Guillaume (Rome). It may be concluded that the vitality of the Orthodox faith is due largely to the richness of its liturgy.

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See also Chalcedon, Council of; Church-State; Filioque; Gregory Palamas; Hesychasm; Orthodoxy, Modern and Contemporary; Patriarchate

Orthodoxy, Modern and Contemporary

Modern Orthodoxy can be considered the result of the fall of Constantinople (1453). At that time the great majority of the Orthodox world was under Muslim occupation. Already, from the seventh century on, the former patriarchates of the East, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem*, were under the yoke of Arab Mohammedanism. In the 15th century, the younger autocephalous Serbian and Bulgarian Churches* fell into the hands of the Turks, after Constantinople and the eastern part of the Empire. Russia, which was freeing itself from the Mongol yoke and whose political power was rising, represented the notable exception. However, despite the fall of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, the “New Rome” (Constantinople* I, 381, canon 3) held on to its place as the primatial see of Orthodoxy just as long as communion* was not reestablished with the first Rome*. After Russia became an empire, certain people were tempted to give it the ranking of a “third Rome,” but this more political than ecclesiological opinion would never be taken seriously.

a) *Attempts at Union between Constantinople and Rome.* Before the Turkish invasion, Constantinople was a center of intense intellectual activity. In the 14th

century, in particular, on account of an imperial policy oriented toward the reestablishment of a union with Rome, interest in Latin culture saw considerable growth, including from people such as Nicholas Cabasilas (mid-14th century). But, although in his *An Explanation of the Divine Liturgy* (SC 4 bis) Cabasilas proved quite exceptional by his recognition of the plurality of rites, in particular of the Latin tradition (Meyendorff 1982), he proved less so in his knowledge of Latin culture. Gathered around Emperor John Cantacuzene, a whole group in fact (Demetrius Cydones and his brother Prochoros should be mentioned) showed deep interest in the philosophical and theological Latin revival. Augustine’s major works and Thomas* Aquinas’s *Summa Theologica* were translated into Greek. Nonetheless, these Latinophile intellectuals were not opposed to Hesychasm*, as shown by Cabasilas’s example. But it is true that at the beginning of the 15th century, access to the chief sources of Latin theology* did not really bear fruit, as the failure of the Council of Ferrare-Florence in 1438–39 attests.

After the aborted union of Florence and under the Ottoman occupation, contact with the Christian West did not cease entirely. To be sure, Constantinople’s fall inspired in the majority of Orthodox believers a lean-

ing toward conservatism. For this reason, in most of Orthodoxy at about this period, the Syriac-Byzantine liturgical tradition was frozen in the form in which it still exists today in traditionalist circles, which are in the majority in contemporary Orthodoxy. However, the empire's fall brought with it a phenomenon whose consequences for Orthodoxy would be important and enduring. At that time, many Orthodox believers left to study in the universities of Western Christendom. And from the 15th to the 17th centuries, instead of facilitating an authentic theological dialogue between the Greeks and the Latins, these contacts would result in what could be called the infiltration into Orthodoxy of the various trends in Western Catholic and even in Protestant Christianity.

Before we look at what G. Florovsky (1937) calls the "Babylonian captivity" of Orthodoxy, an event should be mentioned that represents another form of contact with the West and that also had long-term consequences: the Union of Brest-Litovsk of 1596. The Orthodox minority in southwestern Russia (the future Ukraine and Byelorussia and part of Poland), which belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom, suffered strong pressure from the King's Catholic Lords, who tried to assimilate it. These Orthodox believers appealed to the pope* for protection under the terms of the decrees of the Council of Florence, which recognized liturgical and canonic pluralism (in particular, the use of the Byzantine rite and the ordination* of married men as deacons and priests). Thus, it came about that six out of the eight bishops* present at the synod* of Brest-Litovsk (including the metropolitan of Kiev, Michel Ragoza) placed themselves under Rome's jurisdiction* and became "Greek-Catholics" (or Uniates, a pejorative term).

Southwestern Russia and other parts of Eastern Europe, such as Romania, are not the only places where Catholics of the Eastern rite can be found. The Near East had already had the Maronite Church since the 12th century. In the 16th century, the "Chaldean" Church was formed; later, the Syrian Catholic, Melchite Catholic, Armenian Catholic, and Coptic Catholic Churches sprung up. There is a Greek-Catholic Church in Greece and others further away, in India and in Ethiopia. The "Greek Catholic" Churches are far from being alike. Each region of the world offers an individual example, and the "problem of Uniatism," the central point on the agenda of the Orthodox-Catholic dialogue today, cannot be treated as a unified whole.

b) The Influence of Western Christianity. Alongside these questions of "union," which belong to the jurisdictional and ecclesiological fields, Orthodoxy and Western Christianity had some unusual encounters in

which an Orthodoxy that was becoming "repetitive" was trying to have a dialogue with Latin theologians who held to the concepts of late Scholasticism* or those of the Reformation movements. Exchanges took place from 1570 to 1580 between Jakob Andreae and Martin Crusius, Lutheran theologians from Tübingen, and the patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremias II, who had been sent a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession. The two parties came to a dead end, however, because they could not really understand each other. Among the points they discussed were grace* and free will, Scripture and Tradition, prayer for the dead, and the invocation of saints (Ware 1963).

Although Patriarch Jeremias II was able to counter the doctrines of the Reformation with an Orthodox criticism, that was not the case with one of his successors, Cyril Loukaris (1572–1638). Born in Crete, Loukaris studied in Venice, then in Padua, where he acquired a knowledge of Latin theology. He attended as a priest* the synod of Brest-Litovsk, where he represented the patriarchate of Constantinople. In 1602 he became the patriarch of Alexandria and in 1620 of Constantinople. Little by little, his favorable attitude toward the Church of Rome changed into an increasingly marked fellow feeling with the Churches born of the Reformation. Once on the throne of Constantinople, Loukaris fought the Catholic influence in the Ottoman Empire. To that end he used the Protestant arguments, and his *Confession* of his Orthodox faith, published in Latin in Geneva in 1629, is clearly inspired by Calvinism*. This *Confession*, whose original is in Geneva, was immediately translated into French (four times), into English, into German (twice), and finally into Greek, all in Geneva. After many vicissitudes, Cyril was strangled to death by Sultan Murad's janissaries.

The Protestant influence is clearly expressed in a letter that one of the creators of the Union of Brest-Litovsk sent to the patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios Pegas (who had studied in Augsburg). The letter says that, in Alexandria, Calvin* now stood in Athanasius's place; in Constantinople, Luther* (an allusion to Cyril Loukaris); and, in Jerusalem, Zwingli* (Florovsky 1937). Despite this tirade, the fact is that Cyril Loukaris's Calvinism was repudiated by the majority of his Orthodox brothers, notably by six local councils (Constantinople, 1638; Kiev, 1640; Jassy, 1642; Constantinople, 1672; Jerusalem, 1672; and Constantinople, 1691). In addition, it was and harshly condemned by two very able 17th-century theologians, Peter Moghila, the metropolitan of Kiev, and Dositheus, the patriarch of Jerusalem. Each of the two composed a confession of the Orthodox faith*. And this is where the Latin influences in Orthodoxy come fully to light.

Peter Moghila (1597–1647), born to a noble family in Moldavia, studied at the University of Paris and then in Poland before he became the abbé of the “Laura” of the Crypts of Kiev in 1627 and the metropolitan of Kiev in 1632. (Kiev was a prestigious town, even though Moscow had supplanted it as a primate see since the 14th century and would become a patriarchate in 1589.) Moghila tried to raise the educational level of clerical studies, which were extremely deficient. Paradoxically, his aim was to fight the Greek-Catholic influence encouraged by the King of Poland. Obviously, the Catholics found it easy to say that Orthodoxy had converted to Protestantism in the person of its patriarch primate, Cyril Loukaris. It was to answer him that Peter Moghila composed his *Orthodox Confession* in 1640. This *Confession*, written in Latin, neglected traditional Orthodox theology and reproduced what could be found in the post-Trent Catholic catechism textbooks. On several points it adopted purely and simply medieval Western theological positions: consecration of the eucharistic gifts restricted to the recital of the institution and concept of transubstantiation, affirmation of purgatory’s existence, and the seven sacraments*. (It was also Peter Moghila who introduced into the traditional wording of absolution, which speaks only of pardon granted by God, a second part that speaks of absolution *by the priest*, who has received a *special authority* for this purpose). Approved as it stood in Kiev in 1640, translated into Greek (with corrections concerning the Eucharist* and purgatory), the *Confession* was accepted at the local Council of Jassy in 1642, then in Constantinople in 1643. According to several historians (including Meyendorff [1960] and Ware [1963]), this document is the most “Latin” of those found among the official or “symbolic” Orthodox texts.

The *Confession* of Dositheus, patriarch of Jerusalem from 1669 to 1707, is another very systematic reply to Cyril Loukaris’s Calvinist *Confession*. Born in 1641 in the Peloponnese, from a modest background, Dositheus was placed very young in a monastery near Corinth. In 1637 he entered the service of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and in 1669 he was appointed to this see by a synod held in Constantinople. In 1672 Dositheus got his *Confession* approved by a council held in Jerusalem (in Bethlehem in fact), and this text is known most often as *The Proceedings of the Council of Jerusalem*. It is an extremely important document because not only do a considerable number of Orthodox believers still profess today an Orthodoxy close to this text but the majority of the non-Orthodox think it the most official expression of Orthodoxy.

In reality, like Peter Moghila, Dositheus was strongly inspired by the Catholic Reform and the

Council of Trent*. He restricted himself to using against Protestantism the Catholic arguments on free will and grace, predestination*, the Church and the Scriptures, and the number and nature of the sacraments. He defended the thesis according to which sinners’ souls* could be purified after death* (a doctrine close to that of purgatory), and, finally, he conceptualized the eucharistic conversion by identifying *metousiôsis* and *transsubstantiation*—that is, by adopting the Scholastic conceptuality to make a technical term of Eastern theology out of a Latin notion.

The Moghila and Dositheus *Confessions* were very important. In their wake, all Orthodox theological teaching was imbued for a long time with the ubiquitous Latin influences in the textbooks used in the seminaries and the theological academies. In Russia, all theological teaching would be done in Latin until the end of the 19th century and even at the beginning of the 20th. Its considerable effect can still be seen in Russia, which is now emerging from a long period of “imposed silence,” during which it had been almost impossible to acquire a worthwhile theological training. However, it can also be observed elsewhere despite various current theological revivals. And although a few individual exceptions exist here and there, it can be said that the inheritance in a degraded form of the Moghila and Dositheus *Confessions*, completed by Latin theology textbooks, shows an almost total lack of theological reflection, as George Florovsky (1937) stated forcibly. The abundant and interesting aspects of Latin (or Lutheran) theology are conspicuous by their absence. Perhaps it should be added that Peter the Great, who was not a theologian, took an interest in Protestantism, but solely from an ecclesiological viewpoint, in order to better watch over the organization of the Church in his state. It is difficult, therefore, not to speak of a decline when describing the theology of Orthodoxy from the 17th to the 19th centuries.

The 17th century would witness a schism* in Russia (which has still not been healed). The liturgical books were corrected to make them consistent with the Greek originals, which had been altered by Western influences. These corrections, undertaken by the patriarch of Moscow, Nikon (1605–81), provoked a strong reaction on the part of those who have become known in history* as the “Old Believers,” who were excommunicated in 1667 and persecuted. Their most remarkable representative was Archpriest Avvakum, a strong opponent of all Western influences.

c) *The Revival of the Hesychastic Tradition.* Alongside these Latinizing developments, the Hesychastic tradition remained alive in monasticism*, notably at

Mount Athos, but also in Russian monasteries such as the Trinity, founded by Serge de Radonège (c. 1314–92), in which flourished a remarkable growth of iconography in the Hesychastic spirit, particularly with Andrei Rublev (c. 1370–c. 1430). Then, in the 18th century, in the middle of the Enlightenment, the renaissance of the Hesychastic tradition occurred, first at Mount Athos and then in the whole of the Orthodox world. It was spurred by the compilation of a vast anthology of texts by Fathers of the desert and spiritual writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. These ascetic and mystical texts, which focused on perpetual prayer* or the prayer of Jesus*, were collected by Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain (1748–1809) and Macarios Notaras (1731–1805), the metropolitan of Corinth, and published in Greek in Venice in 1783 under the title *Philocalia* (“Love of What Is Beautiful”). This collection’s influence can hardly be overstated. Nicodemus himself was also inspired by other Western spiritual texts, particularly those of Ignatian spirituality*, which proves again the compatibility of an attachment to Hesychasm and an interest in Latin spirituality.

The *Philocalia* began to be circulated in earnest thanks to a Ukrainian, Païssij Velitchkovsky (1722–94), who, unhappy with the spirit of theological studies in Kiev, left for Mount Athos, where he grew friendly with Nicodemus and got acquainted with the Hesychastic tradition. In 1763 Païssij left for Moldavia, where a little later he became the abbot of the monastery of Neamt, a big spiritual center of more than 500 monks who under his guidance undertook to translate the Greek Fathers into Slavonic. He himself translated the *Philocalia*, published in Moscow in 1795 (five volumes). In his own spiritual direction, Païssij was something of a partisan of ascetic monasticism and insisted on obedience to a spiritual father or *starets* (“elder”). Certainly the most prestigious *starets* was the world-renowned Seraphim of Sarov (1759–1833), whose dialogue with Nicolas Motovilov made known the Hesychastic experience of the Light of Tabor. In the 16th century, Russia also experienced the classic conflict between monastic reformers who accepted gifts of land and money, such as Joseph of Volokolamsk (1439–1515), and those who would not accept such gifts, such as Nil Sorsky (1433–1508). It is worth observing that both Joseph and Nils were canonized.

In its Slavonic version, the *Philocalia* was primarily the instrument of a strong monastic revival in Russia. In particular, an important center inhabited by *startsy* (plural of *starets*) grew up from 1829 on: the famous “Desert of Optino.” This center’s influence went far beyond the monastic world, and no one is unaware of

the interest taken in it by writers such as Gogol, Dostoyevsky, and Tolstoy and such slavophiles as Alexis Khomiakov (1804–60) and Vladimir Solovyov* (1853–1900). Moreover, the spiritual revival did not touch only intellectual circles, as attested to by *Accounts of a Pilgrim*, a famous anonymous work written in a very popular style and imbued with perpetual prayer. In this work, the pilgrim, a simple peasant, travels with a copy of the *Philocalia*, in the edition obtained for the first time in a single volume (1857) by Bishop Ignatius Brianchaninov (1807–67). Between 1876 and 1889, another spiritual type, Theophanus the Recluse (1815–94), published the first complete (five-volume) edition of the work in Russian—and his own work and his correspondence are themselves very copious. It should be added that in the 20th century an even more ample edition (11 volumes in 1990) was produced in Romania by one of the greatest Romanian theologians of our century, Dimitru Staniloae.

d) Religious Philosophy and Contemporary Theology. Alongside the spiritual rebirth, from the middle of the 19th century, Russia witnessed a rediscovery of the fathers* of the Church in the big academies of theology, where critical editions, translations into Russian, and studies on the Fathers began to be published. This trend increased steadily until 1917. Even today, the theologians of Russia, many of whom know only Russian, use these translations. This patriotic revival was to bear fruit in the 20th century and especially abroad. However, as early as the middle of the 19th century, there sprang up a bishop-theologian who rediscovered the authentically Orthodox tradition and whose preaching* traveled beyond the Russian frontiers. He was Philaret Drozdov (1782–1867), the metropolitan of Moscow. (Peter the Great had suppressed the patriarchate, which was replaced by a synod.) Although Philaret had great respect for the Council of Jerusalem of 1672, he approved of the famous 1848 Encyclical in which the Eastern patriarchs answered Pope Pius IX’s appeal “to the East.” Philaret’s sermons, which urged the conversion of the mind in order to contemplate the mystery*, were translated into French as early as 1866 (three volumes, Paris). The 19th century also saw important thinkers and theologians. Khomiakov and Solovyov were doubtless the most creative among them.

The man who was considered the first original Russian theologian, Alexis Khomiakov (1804–60), born into the landed gentry, was a former military man. With Ivan Kirievsky (1806–56), he became the founder of the slavophile movement and a lay* theologian. Under the obvious influence of the *Philocalia*, as well as of the rediscovery of the Fathers, he reacted against borrowing from the theology of the schools of

the West and advocated a return to the sources of Orthodox tradition—that is, to a sense of the Church situated above “Romanism” (“unity* without freedom*”) and above “Protestantism” (freedom without unity”). Khomiakov also reacted against German idealism (Schelling*, Hegel*), which was very influential in Russia. He wrote mainly in French, and *L’Eglise latin et le protestantisme au point de vue de l’Eglise de l’orient*, articles collected by his son, were published in Lausanne in 1872. Khomiakov coined the Russian neologism *Sobornost*. Based on the Slavonic translation of “Catholic” in the creed (*Katholikè* = *sobornaia*), the word *sobor* means “synod” or “council” (also “Church”), giving rise to the idea of “conciliarity” to describe the Orthodox Church.

Vladimir Solovyov (1853–1900) provides a typical example of the birth of a Russian religious philosophy* by way of German idealism. A slavophile at first, he eventually progressed toward a more open attitude toward the West and devoted himself to a search for Christian unity (he would die in communion with the Roman Church). One of his chief contributions to Orthodox thought was the introduction of the feminine principle of “Wisdom” (*Sophia*) as the soul of the world. His Sophianism would have descendants in two great 20th-century theologians, Paul Florensky (1882–1952) and Serge Bulgakov (1871–1944).

In Russia, the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th were characterized by an ecclesial activity in continuous expansion, and the preparation of a council for renovation struck many as a necessity. The Council of Moscow (1917–18) reestablished the patriarchate under Patrick Tikhon (recently canonized) and undertook a considerable renewal of Russian Orthodoxy’s liturgical, canonic, and academic structures. If the persecution had not begun immediately after the Bolshevik revolution, this council would have been able to represent for worldwide Orthodoxy the equivalent of what Vatican* II represented for Catholicism*.

In Greece, too, the beginning of the 20th century saw the renaissance of a more vital Orthodoxy that was expressed in the *Zoé*, the *Sotèr*, and the *Apostolikè diakonia* movements and in the works of great systematicians, such as Christos Androustos (1869–1935), Panagiotis Trembelas (1886–1977), and Ioannis Karmiris (1904–91).

The most productive revival of Orthodoxy in the 20th century was, nonetheless, the result of the Bolshevik revolution, which exiled the best minds among the Russian intelligentsia. The Russian exiles regrouped in Prague, where they founded a university, and then in Paris, where they started an institute of Orthodox theology (Paris, Saint-Serge, 1925). It was in these institutions that the various revivals (religious philosophy,

study of the Fathers, reflections on the different aspects of liturgical life) bore their fruits.

Religious philosophy was represented in the persons of such philosophers as Nicolas Berdiaev (1874–1948), Simon Frank (1877–1950), and Nicolas O. Lossky (1870–1965) but also among the theologians, heirs to religious philosophy, such as Serge Bulgakov, who developed his Sophianism as an attempt to explain the relationship between God* and the creature, until his condemnation in 1936 by the synod of Russia (or what remained of it), a doctrinal condemnation and not, as has been said, a political one. This line of theology inspired by philosophy would show up again in Paul Evdokimov (1901–70), who was also the heir to the patristic revival.

This patristic revival itself was the creation of two amateur theologians (neither one of them had in fact studied in a theological institute): George Florovsky (1893–1973), a jurist by training, and Vladimir Lossky (1903–58), a historian of Western medievalism. Neither one had much interest in religious philosophy, and they taught that authentic Orthodoxy consisted not only of a knowledge of the Fathers but also of a way of thinking modeled on the Fathers today and for today. Their theology was adopted by such Russians as John Meyendorff (1926–92) and Alexander Schmemmann (1921–83), who developed a “liturgical theology,” and by Boris Brobinskoy as well as by such Frenchmen as Olivier Clément (who also inherited from religious philosophy), by such Greeks as Panagiotis Nellas (1936–86) and Christos Yannaras, and by others too, including the Englishman Kallistos (Ware), bishop of Diokleia.

The 20th century also experienced an ecclesiological renaissance focused on the idea of communion*, with Nicolas Afanassiev (1893–1966) and Metropolitan Jean de Pergame (Zizioulas). Finally, spurred by Leonid Ouspensky (1902–87), there was a revival of the theology of the icon, which spread throughout the West and was not limited to Orthodoxy alone (see, e.g., C. Schönborn, *L’icône de Christ*, 1976, and even *CEC*, 1992, 1159–62). A “theology” of liturgical music was also proposed by Maxime Kovalevsky (1903–88), composer, philosopher, and theologian.

A “great and holy pan-Orthodox Council” has been in preparation for several decades. The very process of its preparation is an opportunity to re-create the conciliar fabric of an Orthodoxy that has suffered greatly during the 20th century, especially from its jurisdictional divisions.

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See also **Heresy; Notes, Theological; Race; Schism**

P

Paganism

A. Biblical Theology

The adjective “pagan” comes from the Latin *paganus*, which means “country-dweller,” often with a negative connotation. Its meaning as “non-Christian,” idolater, appeared in the third century in the context of a Christianity that was primarily urban. Previously, in biblical history*, other oppositions had been presented: Israel* confronts foreign “nations” or *gôyim*. The Greek Bible translates this Hebrew word with the plural *ethnè*. The New Testament adds (five times) the adjective *ethnikos* (belonging to the nations), and the Latin versions translate these two terms respectively by *gentes* (the Gentiles) and *gentilis*.

a) *Old Testament*. Choice*, consecration to the holy God (Lv 19:2), implies a radical separation from all ritual and moral impurity. The *gôyim* are impure (Lv 20:26); they are deprived of circumcision, the sign of the covenant* (Gn 17:11). The prophets (prophet* and prophecy) of the exile excluded these “uncircumcised” from the Holy Land and from the temple* to come (Is 52:1; Ez 44:4). The concern with purity* affects everyday relations. Although dietary rules (Lv 11) do not forbid sharing a table with *gôyim*, they make it complicated (e. g., Jdt 10:5, 12:1–4, 17ff.). The Israelites forbid lending at interest among themselves, but they practice it with pagans (Dt 23:21); they even give pagans meat of dubious cleanness (Dt 14:21). Marriages are made with *gôyim* (see R. de Vaux, *Institutions de l’Ancien Testament*, 1957). But Deuteronomy 7:1–4 prohibits these marriages, which lead the Israelites to

“to serve other gods.” Thus, Israel fears the seduction of idolatry* and relies on war* to destroy the cults that threaten the Yahwist faith* (Dt 7:5f.).

Attitudes vary according to situation. Priestly circles favor the assimilation of foreigners, particularly through circumcision (Ex 12:44), when Israel finds itself too much of a minority in its own land (Grelot VT 6, 1956). On the other hand, in the late fifth century, Nehemiah and Ezra were concerned about the dilution of Jewish identity in the midst of non-Jews, and demanded “separation” from foreign women (Ezr 10; Neh 13; see Dion 1975).

Political history influenced the judgment* of the chosen people* on their Canaanite neighbors and on the traditional oppressors (Assyria, Babylon, Egypt). While Canaan symbolizes the idolatry that is to be destroyed, the name of Sodom sums up pagan immorality (Is 1:9) and the name of Babel (Babylon) evokes the arrogance of the rivals of YHWH (Is 47; Ps 137). In this context the prophets composed “oracles against the nations.” According to them, God would carry out his eschatological vengeance*, in just compensation, by subjecting to Israel the *gôyim* who had enslaved it (Is 45:14–17, 60:1ff.). But he would also restore his honor, which had been tarnished by the sins* of Israel (Ez 36:23f.). As early as the seventh century Amos included Judah/Israel among the peoples subject to judgment (Am 1:3–2:16). In fact, God evaluates the conduct of all nations according to the same rules of morality (e.g., the relations between Tyre and Edom,

Am 1:9f.), and chosenness is not a privilege without obligation (Am 9:7).

The complaints of the small nation against the powerful *gôyim* can be understood in the light of history. But other elements in the Old Testament point in different directions. For example, the *gôyim* are not circumcised, but Israel confesses itself uncircumcised in its heart, unfaithful to the Lord (Dt 10:16; Jer 9:24). The Canaanites are delivered by God to the conquering army of Israel; but, because of her faith, Rahab the Canaanite is accepted among the chosen people (Jos 2:1–21, 6:22–25). The burden of old conflicts prohibits the acceptance of Moabites and Ammonites (Dt 23:4–9), but Ruth the Moabite becomes the ancestor of David (Ru 4:13ff.); *see also* the case of Achior the Ammonite in Judith 5:5–6A:21; 13:5–10 (Dion 1975). The genealogy of Jesus* includes Rahab and Ruth (Mt 1:5). This remission of punishment, which sees in certain *gôyim* an exemplary faith and discovers within Israel the impiety for which other nations are reproached, fosters the universalism* of the Old Testament.

b) From the Old Testament to the New Testament. By foretelling an unavoidable cosmic judgment (*see* Dn 7), the apocalyptic prophets hardened the antagonism toward pagans; but they also altered its borders, since the camp of darkness now also included impious Jews.

Around 174 B.C., a faction of the leaders of Jerusalem* opted for a Hellenization*, which threatened the religion of Israel (1 Macc 1:10–15, 41–64). It was then that the word “Judaism*” appeared (struggle for Jewish values 2 Macc 2:21, 8:1, 14:38), in opposition to “Hellenism” (2 Macc 4:13).

According to the apocalypses of Enoch, the *gôyim* will not suffer an unbending judgment, since they know a pre-Mosaic law* demanding respect for the cosmic order (1 Enoch 82:1ff.) and for social justice* (1 Enoch 94–100). Although the prolific literature of the Jewish diaspora emphasizes the analogy between the revelation* of Israel and Hellenistic values

(Conzelmann 1981), it also stigmatizes the immorality of the pagans and their difficulty in recognizing the Creator (Wis 13–14; *see* Sibylline Oracles III. 29–45). Romans 1:18–32 was to repeat this assessment in order to establish universal salvation on the single justice of God (Cerfaux 1954). Jesus knew the opposition between Israel and the *gôyim*, but he defined a new and more decisive border between those who accepted his message and those who rejected it. Thus the impenitent cities of Lake Tiberias are guiltier than ancient Sodom (Mt 11:20–24; *see* 10:15); and chosenness is not a safe-conduct for a final salvation that will include many pagans (Lk 13: 28ff. and parallel passages; Jeremias 1956).

In the Judeo-Christian circle that is reflected in Matthew, the *ethnikos*, along with the publican, remains the natural type of the sinner (Mt 18:17; *see* 5:47, 6:7). According to this circle, mission* should be confined, in imitation of Jesus, “to the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Mt 10:5f., 23, 15:24); only after that, by its example, will the Jewish community restored in Christ draw the rest of humanity to salvation (Mt 13–16f.). Matthew notes this position with respect. But, for him, Jesus has completed his mission as Messiah* of Israel and, through his Resurrection*, has received a universal power. Mission must therefore now open itself to all the *gôyim*, without discrimination (Mt 28:16–20).

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***See also* Choice; Idolatry; Israel; Kingdom of God; Mission/Evangelization; Purity/Impurity; Universalism; War**

B. Historical Theology

In its threefold reality—social, intellectual, and religious—it was the Roman Empire that embodied the biblical reality of paganism for the Christianity of the early centuries; and it was in thinking concretely about

the relationship between Christianity and Classical Antiquity that the earliest Christian theologies (theology*) established their relations with nonbelievers, more precisely with those among them who did not be-

long to the people of Israel*. As a nonbeliever the pagan was defined in negative terms; he was primarily the idolater, the member of a social body whose cohesion was guaranteed by false gods. But because Christianity understood itself from the very beginning as being charged with a universal mission, pagans were also an intended audience for the gospel. Furthermore, by virtue of a consistently developed doctrine of creation* and of providence*, patristic thought, in a movement that began with Justin and culminated with Eusebius of Caesarea, came to interpret pagan experience as a certain *expectation* of the gospel and a *preparation* for it.

Between the Peace* of the Church* and the end of the patristic age, paganism ceased to possess a social and religious reality within the confines of the Roman world. Since Theodosius, the Eastern Church existed on the lands of an empire of which Christianity was the official religion, and on the lands of the Eastern Empire, the Church had to deal with Arian heretics more than with pagans. In the same period, paganism had ceased to represent an intellectual entity in relation to which Christianity would have to take a position. The Empire still contained pagan intellectuals, but the Church now occupied the position of transmitter of the classical legacy. Outside cities the *paganus* had probably not disappeared, and the underlying presence of pre-Christian observances was to be a perpetual problem for a “multitudinist” Church whose task was now to proclaim the gospel within itself just as much as to the outside world. In any case, from then on the pagan no longer had the qualities of the Greek or the Roman in whom the quest for wisdom* fostered objections to Christianity.

The nominal Christian became an “internal” pagan who later became the target for actual missions (mission*/evangelization). The pagan on the fringes of the Church would be the Muslim, who demanded from Christianity (particularly Byzantine Christianity) a vigorous reaffirmation of its monotheism*, but never appeared as the representative of a culture awaiting evangelization—the relationship of medieval Christianity to Islam was in fact modeled on its relationship to heresies (heresy*). Finally, the “external” pagan would come to be represented by any member of those societies that had newly appeared in Christian consciousness as a result of the conquest of new worlds. The *conquista* again raised theoretical problems of evangelization in an acute form and a new Christian evaluation of non-Christian religious experiences became an urgent necessity. To attitudes of violent negation, for which the paganism of the “Indian” was merely barbarism, were opposed methods of evangelization respectful of the new recipients of the gospel (B. de Las Casas, the Jesuit missions of Paraguay, among others),

or even reaffirmations of patristic themes (e.g., Luther* defined the theological status of the Indians as a situation of “waiting,” a definition taken up and extended by the Pietist theologian Zinzendorf).

It should also no doubt be noted that the Renaissance experienced a revival of the cultural ideals of classical antiquity (already at work, in fact, since the Averroist Aristotelianism of the faculties of arts in the 13th century had brought about the rebirth of a strictly Hellenic ideal of the philosophical life), which was in part accompanied by the reappearance of a pagan quasi-religiosity. Christianity entered into modernity by learning that it was no longer the only guardian of ancient *paideia*, that the *philosophia Christi* was no longer universally considered as the paradigm of the life worth living, and that the evangelization of the intelligence was a task to be undertaken rather than one already accomplished.

An intense missionary life (from the 16th to the late 19th century), then the conclusion (often critical) of centuries of mission by a genuine flowering of the theology of missions has led recent theology to adopt a new branch, the “theology of religions” (religions*, theology of). To this is owed simultaneously a new awareness of major theological problems—“salvation* of unbelievers,” “evangelization and inculturation*,” and so forth—the vigorous reaffirmation of patristic solutions, and, in some cases, innovative theories. An ecclesiology* wishing to reach its maximum dimensions was thus able to investigate the theme of the Church descended from Abel, *Ecclesia ab Abel* (Y. Congar). In a theology concerned with establishing a “transcendental” bond between God* and humanity, the non-Christian might then appear in the guise of the “anonymous Christian” (K. Rahner*). A renewed hermeneutics* of non-Christian religions has been able to draw attention to the “unknown Christ* of Hinduism” (R. Pannikar), or to the pre-comprehensions of the Christian experience* provided by the *vodun* of Bénin (B. Adoukonou). As a conclusion as well as an encouragement, the declaration *Nostra aetate* and the decree *Ad gentes* of Vatican* II, which were not addressed only to Catholics, finally set out the guidelines for a missionary praxis and theory conceived of on the privileged model of a “dialogue” with non-Christian religions, and which accepted as a first recommendation the need to “uncover with joy and respect the seeds of the Word*” hidden in non-Christian experiences (AG 11; see Dournes 1963). The term *paganism* itself has disappeared, except in a passage of AG 9, where its meaning is not negative.

These theological discourses have, however, been produced in a period in which the Christianity of the West, in the name of “secularization*,” is experiencing

a phenomenon that cannot be interpreted solely in terms of the erosion of traditional religious meanings, because it is also accompanied by a certain anarchic reappropriation of a totally non-Christian form of religion, frequently called post-Christian. Nietzsche* is no doubt the intellectual source of this phenomenon, not content to proclaim the “death” of God, but also embracing the cause of Dionysus against that of the Crucified One. The question of paganism can thus be raised again; and since a “neo-paganism” has appeared that bears no relation, beyond an occasional borrowing, to traditional religions, it has to be posed in new terms. It will perhaps be the role of a theological hermeneutics of the end of modernity to ask whether pagan experience (whatever the variety of styles it may adopt) is not dialectically linked to an atheism* that was initially considered as the sole spring of secularization—in short, whether in the world* reduced to its “world-being,” it is not the same thing to live “without God” (Eph 2:12) as to live under the anonymous protection of numinous beliefs. And to this end, it will always be necessary that the highly differentiated work of the theology of religions also set aside a place for the theology of religion itself.

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See also Hellenization of Christianity; Inculturation; Mission/Evangelization; Philosophy; Religion, Theology of

Pagans

The theology* of pagans as individuals or groups should be distinguished both from believers and from heretics who have lapsed from belief. The theology of pagans is particularly important because, historically, it created complications for generations of Christians, particularly but not only in the late Middle Ages, and while unevangelized continents were being discovered during the Renaissance*.

If the pagans could be saved without evangelization, what necessary role, if any, did the Church* play in the mediation of salvation to the individual, whether pagan or Christian? If the pagans could not be admitted to the beatifying vision* of God, was God not creating rational beings who were ineluctably destined to have the final satisfaction demanded by their nature

thwarted through no fault of their own? Was it possible so to construe the theology of the creation* and fall that human nature was not itself inscribed with an aspiration to a supernatural destiny, but might find the only satisfaction it was owed by its creator in a purely natural felicity? Would such a solution also dispose of difficulties about those dying before the birth of Jesus*, or unbaptized as infants?

The intensity of debate occasioned by these questions for 1,500 years necessarily affected the development of doctrine in western Christendom. It explains the strength of current movements in theological thinking, like salvation history, which make such Scholastic questions otiose by by-passing the whole Augustinian understanding of original sin*, grace*, and individual

salvation* and the Neoplatonist (Neoplatonism*) gradations of being on which they are predicated.

It was with Augustine* that the debate became acute, although it was dominated by the ancient Greek assumption, taken for granted by Aquinas and systematized by such Renaissance authors as Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino, that being itself admits of discrete degrees. In the formal exposition given to it during the Renaissance, an exposition derived by Ficino from Plotinus and no doubt from the various hierarchies of the Dionysian corpus, the theory was modified to place humanity mid point in the order of things, with God alone having the plenitude of being, and after him coming the angels* as pure spirits, humanity as body-soul, the animals*, and then the inanimate creation.

The assumption that there was a hierarchy* of being created a host of problems for the Scholastics, including their theology of beatitude*, which required “un-created” grace or participation in the divine being itself. But what principally concerns us here is that, on the assumption of any such hierarchy, aspiration and fulfillment do not cross from one order to another. Flowers do not aspire to bark. Human nature cannot itself aspire to, accept, or be fulfilled by a supernatural* satisfaction. It is true that human nature could have been considered to have been retrospectively endowed with an aspiration to supernatural fulfillment by virtue of the redemption, but that solution carried the heretical implication that the unevangelized pagans, too, would have shared that aspiration.

God would manifestly have been unjust in creating human beings destined to be deprived of the beatitude, which alone could fulfill their aspirations, or salvation would not have depended, as it was defined to depend, on orthodoxy* of belief. The moral theologians of the later Middle Ages struggled for centuries to define the minimum creedal content of the faith* without which there could be no justification*. Invariably they insisted at least on an acknowledgement of the existence of a God who remunerated after death, and even as late as the second half of the 20th century, Catholic theological textbooks normally insisted on belief in God’s triune form as absolutely necessary for salvation.

From Augustine in the fifth century to Aquinas in the 13th, there was no doubt that human nature aspired to a fulfillment that was supernatural. It was not until the publication of Henri de Lubac*’s 1946 *Surnaturel*, which had to be withdrawn, and the refinement of de Lubac’s view by Karl Rahner*, that a theologically acceptable explanation was elaborated for the aspirations of redeemed humanity to supernatural fulfillment, and with it the conceptual explanation of the implied act of faith necessary for salvation.

There was now no need to suppose that non-believers innocent of personal sin and capable of virtual or implied acts of faith were bound, along with unbaptized babies, to inhabit forever the *limbo* in which the saints of the Old Testament had waited for admission to heaven until its portals were opened by the risen Christ*. The act of faith implicit in all moral activity could be seen as depending on justifying grace whose availability became, by virtue of the redemption, an inviolable human right. Personal moral self-determination, involving the acceptance of sanctifying grace, could be asserted without Pelagian implications, and implicit acts of faith with no creedal content could be considered to create an invisible affiliation to the perhaps unknown or even repudiated Church, normally identified with the visible hierarchical institution. It was essentially the need to account for the fate of virtuous pagans that drove theology forward toward this solution, while discussion of the destiny of unbaptized babies forced the formal abandonment of the assumption that there were grades of being. Their redeemed human nature demanded that their ultimate felicity be in the supernatural order.

What de Lubac, Rahner, their precursors and followers, had achieved naturally meant a breakdown of the fundamental metaphysical assumption that there were orders of being. This, and not Pelagianism*, was the real flaw in Molina’s theology, and its rectification was at the root of the theology of Michel de Bay (Baius) and of its defense by Cornelius Jansen, both of whom were forced into the alternative heresy of refusing any power of autonomous self-determination—“free will”—to rational human adults. If human nature was elevated to supernatural status in Adam*, then after the fall it retained that aspiration, and human beings could do nothing at all to avoid damnation. Salvation depended on an inevitably arbitrary selection by God of individuals from among the *massa damnata* on whom irresistible efficacious grace was to be bestowed.

The Scholastic dilemma about pagan salvation therefore concerned matters of fundamental importance to all Christian theology, from the nature and purpose of the Church to the modality of salvation within it, and even, as Hebrews xi makes clear, outside it. The question, much discussed in the first four centuries while Christian theology was still in its formative stage, became acute during the high Middle Ages. The canonical work on its history is still Louis Capéran’s 1912 *Le Problème du salut des infidèles. Essai historique*, and it confirms that the problem was indeed by and large limited to Latin, that is essentially Augustinian, Christendom. For the Greeks, Christ’s “descent into hell” offered pagans a chance of posthumous conversion*.

The intolerance of the western Church was beginning to increase from perhaps the 12th century, when the first public lynchings for heterodoxy are recorded. Gratian, although himself hostile to the death penalty for heresy, drew attention to its possible justification in terms of the Roman law *Quisquis*, which transformed the crime of injuring the *maiestas* of the Roman people into that of injuring the *maiestas* of the emperor, and carried the sentence of death, the confiscation of goods, posthumous dishonor, and the exclusion of heirs from office.

This was easily extended to cover counterfeiting, since the emperor's image appeared on the coinage, and in the Middle Ages came to be used for any sort of treason, and in particular to the offense to God included in the crime of disbelief in his revelation. The death penalty for heresy* was introduced into legislation in Aragon by 1197, into France under Louis VIII and Louis IX, and into the empire between 1234 and 1238. Innocent IV extended it to the whole of western Christendom in 1252. In his bull *Unam sanctam* of 1302 Boniface VIII laid down formally that there could be no salvation outside the Church, itself conceived essentially as the communion of believers. That doctrine was reiterated in the 1564 profession of faith of the Council of Trent*, and was not withdrawn in any document of the magisterium until the bull *Cum occasione* of 1653, which condemned the view attributed to Jansen that it was heretical to hold that Christ had died for all humanity.

The formal teaching of the Church, no doubt not universally enforced, precluded the salvation of pagans for a good three and a half centuries, during which the unevangelized continents were discovered. The result, naturally, was the huge and hugely dangerous missionary endeavor of the newly founded missionary orders, and the administrative modifications needed to deal

with the missions. In 1622 Gregory XV established the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

A century earlier, encouraged by the abbot Trithemius and developing the idea of mitigated punishment after death for the unevangelized, Claude Seyssel had had recourse to the state of natural felicity without either the beatific vision or any pain of loss and the state of limbo, a solution that worked only on the hypothesis that human beings did not in fact have supernatural aspirations. Luther and Melancthon on the other hand had no doubt that God had his faithful among the unevangelized, and therefore saw less urgency in missionary activity in the New World. Nevertheless, the majority of 16th-century theologians on both sides of the schisms believed in the damnation of the pagans, or retreated between such hypotheses as that of Zwingli*, that the apostles had actually themselves evangelized most of the globe. Erasmus had come very near to stating openly that Cicero had been saved.

As the theology needed to solve the problem of the non-evangelized was forced into a more liberal stance, theologians like Suarez* began to speak of faith *in voto*, that is, by desire. It meant a religious attitude that would have been Christian had its holder known the gospel message. Finally, of course, it was the problem of morally upright and religious unbelievers, "pagans," that forced the rethinking of the Church's nature and function in the history of salvation that has taken place with growing intensity since the Second World War, having barely been adumbrated much before it.

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See also Paganism

Pantheism

"Pantheist," coined by John Toland (*Socinianism Truly Stated*, 1705), joins two Greek words: *pan* (all) and *theos* (god). The noun "pantheism" spread rapidly. A good deal of confusion was created by the practice, soon adopted, of applying the term retrospectively to

earlier metaphysical or theological doctrines and of considering pantheism, as deism* had been in the past, as a disguised atheism*. For example, the label was applied to any metaphysical or religious doctrine that, denying the idea of a transcendent creator god, identi-

fied God* and the world*, whether the world was seen as an emanation of God (following a Neoplatonic model); or even as the body of which God was the soul; or whether God was considered as the principle and unified totality of everything that is. “‘Panthéisme’ means both that everything is God and that it is the totality that is God” (Alain, *Définitions*). However, the doctrine does not have the same meaning if God is identified with the whole or with nature as it does if the totality of existents is related to God, in whom all things, according to Paul (Acts 17:28), are said to have “*life, movement, and being*.” C. Krause (1781–1832) coined *panentheism* to designate the doctrine that everything is in God without implying that everything is God. In fact, when it comes to philosophies (philosophy*) such as that of Spinoza, this term is more suitable than *pantheism*, which is primarily a polemical term.

The basic ontological presupposition is that of the singleness of being*. By means of a monist argument (or even the idea of a singleness of substance), which implies the immanence of God in everything that is, minds as well as bodies (soul*-heart-body), pantheism carries to its logical conclusion the idea of a substantial unity of all things. In this sense, a physical monism such as that of the Stoics (for whom every mind was a body, a warm breath, and even God a body made of pure fire) may be considered a form of pantheism. For its advocates, pantheism had as consequences the perfect intelligibility of all reality, a thoroughgoing necessitarianism (hence the impossibility of miracles [miracle*]), divine omnipresence*, and the ascent of all things to God: in short, a mysticism* without mystery*. But its adversaries saw other consequences: 1) the confusion of all things and the loss of individuality, a fortiori of all personality, both for God and for individual minds; 2) indifference in morality because of the lack of discrimination between all values: good* and evil*, the true and the false, freedom and necessity; 3) the equivalence of all beliefs and all religions and, in the end, the death of religion, morality, and politics.

a) History of Doctrines. Spinoza is generally considered as the archetype of the pantheist system and the model of all those that followed, because of the monism of substance and the modal status of finite individuals, in particular of man. An orthodox theologian would accept without difficulty the proposition that “nothing can either be or be conceived without God,” but not what immediately precedes it: “Whatever is, is in God” (*Ethics* I, Prop. XV). Spinozism is, however, rather a panentheism than pantheism, for if everything is in God, God is neither identical with the world nor with the totality of its modes. Indeed,

Spinoza maintains the distinction, of Scholastic* origin, between *natura naturans* (God as the principle of being and life irreducible to any particular living being) and *natura naturata*, the totality of infinite and finite modes. Since God is made up of an infinity of infinite attributes*, only two of which we possess—namely, thought and extension—Spinozistic metaphysics can be interpreted neither as a materialist pantheism nor as a spiritualist pantheism, because God is said to be both *res extensa* and *res cogitans*.

Since the refutation of the Abbot Maret, the term *pantheism* has been applied to henologist metaphysics, pre-Socratic (Xenophanes), and Neoplatonic (Plotinus, Proclus) metaphysics. But if the Principle or the First is indeed the source from which freely and necessarily proceeds everything that is, the One, which is “beyond being and essence,” as it is beyond any determination and thus any thing, can never be identified with the totality of beings of the second rank (the One that exists or the intellect, the soul of the world, individual souls, and bodies) that derive from it (procession) and reascend to it (conversion) following an eternal and infinite movement.

Just as questionable is the description as pantheist of religious doctrines with no personal divinity, such as Indian Brahmanism or Buddhism. When John the Scot Eriugena (c. 800–877) attempted in the *De divisione naturae* to transpose Neoplatonic arguments into the framework of Christian thought and vocabulary, he arrived at ambiguous formulations (created things, creative and not creative, come from God and return to God in accordance with an eternal process) and was condemned by Pope Honorius III in 1225. Another modality of pantheism appeared in Germany in the late 18th century and served to reconcile the ancient veneration of nature, the aspiration to a mystical fusion with God, and the Christian concept of salvation*. This is found in Goethe, as well as in the English poet, Byron.

b) Disputes of Pantheism. The question of pantheism became particularly acute with the dispute that arose in Germany out of Jacobi’s disclosure of a concealed pantheism (or more precisely a Spinozism) in Lessing. A correspondence followed with Mendelssohn (who defended a rationalist theism* opposed to Jacobi’s religion of feeling). This dispute, into which all German philosophers were drawn, played a decisive role in the genesis of German idealism. For example, it was by challenging the presumed necessary link between pantheism and fatalism that Schelling* made pantheism into the precondition for a “system of freedom.” The debate once again raised the questions of the reality of the external world, of the nature of existence, of the understanding of identity, and of the status of the absolute.

A second dispute arose in France around 1840. This concerned the spiritualism of the school of Victor Cousin (1792–1867) and the defense of an impersonal divine reason* (Francisque Bouillier 1813–99). “There is no possible middle term between Catholicism* and pantheism,” according to the Abbot Maret, who set out in his *Essai sur le panthéisme des sociétés modernes* what became the common form of the accusation, in Catholic terms: the refutation of a pantheism inherent in rationalist philosophies, which denied revelation* and necessarily led to fatalism, “to the cult of the senses, to the adoration of matter identified with spirit” (I. Goschler). This dispute explains the reaction among Cousin’s disciples (such as Jules Simon, 1814–96), who were concerned to distance themselves from Spinoza’s pantheism.

c) The theological condemnation comes from the fact that pantheism, by making everything that is into a necessary emanation of God, denies in principle creation* *ex nihilo* (the world or reality is eternal), the Incarnation*, the spirituality of God, and the distinction between nature and the supernatural*. What has been considered retrospectively as the earliest condemnations of pantheism concern in fact theological formulations attempting to express the relationship of man to God or the paths to salvation in a Neoplatonic language, as in John the Scot Eriugena (the translator of Proclus, among others). This is the case, for example, for the proposition that through his creatures, as so many theophanies (theophany*), God creates himself as God, that is, moves from ineffability to intelligibility (Amaury de Bène, condemned by the Council of Paris in 1210). It is also true for certain formulations of Meister Eckhart. The formal condemnation of pantheism by the Catholic Church* dates from the *Syllabus* (§1, *DS* 2901) of 1864, which condemns the identification of God and nature and the substantial identity of God with beings, from which follows the confusion of all values and all orders. The First Vatican* Council (*De fide catholica* [April 24, 1870], ch. 1: *De Deo omnium creatore*, *DS* 3023–25) declared that God is distinct from the world in reality and by his essence. And in canons 3 to 5 it anathematized a certain number of propositions considered to be pantheist, such as the substantial unity

of God and things, emanationism and the denial of creation *ex nihilo*, and the universal and indefinite character of a God who constitutes the totality of things in determining himself. Having ceased to be a theological position in the 20th century, pantheism is no longer the object of specific condemnation, except if we discern an implicit condemnation in the suspicion provoked by the thought of Teilhard of Chardin (1881–1955), sometimes considered as a resurgence of pantheism, even though he wrote in *Le phénomène humain* (1955): “...differentiated union. The parts perfect themselves and complete themselves in any organized totality. It is because they neglected this universal rule that so many pantheisms have led us astray into the cult of a great whole in which individuals were supposed to lose themselves like drops of water, to dissolve like grains of salt in the sea.” This is proof that pantheism has remained a polemical and reductive label in relation to the monist doctrines to which it should be applied.

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- J. Toland (1720), *Pantheisticon*.
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JACQUELINE LAGRÉE

See also Atheism; Deism and Theism; Omnipresence, Divine; Platonism, Christian; Vatican I, Council of

Pantocrator. *See Omnipotence, Divine*

Papias of Hierapolis. *See Apostolic Fathers*

Parable

1. A Method of Literary and Theological Expression of the Historic Jesus

a) *Sources.* As a teller of parables Jesus* joined the long Jewish Old Testament Tradition* of the *mashal*. In the Old Testament the *mashal* is a statement in the form of a comparison. The parable is a particular type of *mashal*. It aims to reveal the meaning of a person, object, or event by linking the subject—by means of a developed comparison—to another sphere of reality. The Old Testament includes five real parables: the one about the poor man's ewe that Nathan relays to David (2 Sm 12:1–7), Tekoa's parable (2 Sm 14:1–20), the parable of one of the Sons of the Prophets (1 Kgs 20:39–43), the Song of the Vineyard (Is 5:1–7), and the Parable of the Farmer (Is 28:23–29).

In the Jewish tradition, the *mashal* (*matla* in Aramaic) is a general term, used for any of a number of different types of figurative discourse, including simple comparison, developed example, parable, fable, allegory, symbol, saying, and maxim. Most of the rabbinic parables are authentic parables, to which should be added many allegories. Parables belong to the Haggada. "From a literary viewpoint, it is a form of the midrash, its *Sitz im Leben* [placement in social life] is the rabbinic homily, its aim is pedagogic" (Dietrich 1958). It borrows its wealth of imagery from everyday life. Thanks to the parable "one grasps the words of the Torah as a king finds a lost pearl in a palace thanks to the flame of a lamp" (*Midrash Genèse Rabbah* I, 8). *Parabolè* is the usual term in the New Testament (it is used 50 times); but John chooses the term *paroimia* (which he uses five times).

b) *Attribution.* In the unanimous opinion of the critics, parables are one of the most characteristic expressions of the historic Jesus' preaching*. The synoptic tradition (the Gospels* of Matthew, Mark, and Luke)

has preserved about 40 of them. This important collection makes it possible to discover Jesus' language, his pragmatic aims, and the theological heart of his message. However, only a critical analysis makes it possible to reconstitute the original form of Jesus' words, for Jesus himself wrote nothing down and the only documentation available today consists of the Greek translations of the parables preserved in the first three Gospels in the second half of the first century (*see also* the Gnostic *Gospel According to Thomas* 9, 64, 65, 107, etc.).

2. Forms of the Parable

Among the extant parables, the history of biblical forms, or genres, distinguishes the following categories: 1) The *word-image* is a rhetorical device in which the thing mentioned and the image are juxtaposed, without a particle of comparison, as in Mark 2:21–22. 2) The *metaphor* is an abridged comparison without a particle of comparison; the image is substituted for the thing meant, as in Matthew 5:13. 3) The *simile* is a comparison in which the thing meant and the image are ordered correctly in relation to each other by the particle of comparison *as* or *like*—for example, Matthew 24:27. 4) The *hyperbole* is an exaggeration of the image, as in Matthew 10:30. 5) The *similitude*, in the strict sense of *Gleichnis*, is a word-image or a developed comparison that brings to the language a typical scene of everyday life. Its persuasive powers come from the evocation of what is commonly accepted. What is not very clear or disputed is thus elucidated analogically by what is well known—for example, Luke 15:4–7. 6) The true *parable* (*Parabolè*) seems like the narration of a particular interesting event involving one or several people. It makes no appeal to common sense but gets its suggestive powers from the extraordinary episode that it evokes, as in Luke 15:3–7, the Parable of the Lost

Sheep. 7) The *exemplary narrative** is similar to the parable because of its narrative character, but it differs from it by its lack of a metaphoric dimension. It offers an example of behavior that calls for imitation, without any other transposition—for example, Luke 10:30–36. 8) The *Allegory* is “a developed metaphor in which each trait has its own meaning” (X. Léon-Dufour, *Dictionnaire du Nouveau Testament*), as in Mark 4:13–20.

3. From Comparison to Metaphor

Among the forms listed above, two of them, similitude and the parable proper, attract particular attention. The controversy centers on the way in which they should be interpreted. Recent research, enriched by work on the metaphor (see Jüngel, Ricoeur, and Wilder) has proposed a new reading of the parables (see J. D. Crossan, Funk, Harnisch, and Weder) without, at the same time, totally abandoning the classical approach proposed by A. Jülicher. The question of the historicity of the opening formula: “the Kingdom* of God is like . . .” is a possible starting point (but not the only one!), which might lead to the discovery of the solution to the discussion. If this formula goes back to the historic Jesus, the parables should be read as similes. If this introductory phrase is a later addition, then another method is required. Both types of images appear, in fact, in the most ancient examples of the tradition.

a) Analogy. In at least five cases the introductory formula seems to go back to the historic Jesus (Mk 4:26 and 4:30–31 and Mt 13:33 and 13:44). If that is so, the image (*Bildhälfte*) set in motion by the parable—an image that consists either of an everyday scene or of a particular instance—is at the service of the theme (*Sachhälfte*). In this hypothesis (see Jülicher) the parable aims at cognitive enhancement. Based on the principle of analogy*, it invites the reader to make a transfer of judgment. The concept discovered at the level of the image (*Bildhälfte*) should be carried over to the initial theme (*Sachhälfte*). From the moment that the addressee has discovered the *tertium comparationis*, which links the theme and the image, he is empowered to solve the problem the parable wanted to deal with, and he can do that by applying to the set problem the solution induced by the image. The parable thus functions as a transfer of judgment by analogy, it has a rhetorical function.

One should beware of all simplifications. The appeal to common sense, which characterizes the parable constructed on the model of a simile, can also appear in parables lacking an introductory formula (see, for instance, Lk 11:5–8 and 15:3–10). Only the analysis of the logical functioning of the parable makes it possible

to class it as a rhetorical parable-argument or as a parable-metaphor.

b) Change. However, it so happens that in their original phrasing the majority of the parables lack an introductory formula. How should these little fictional narratives be read then? Here the theory of metaphor is brought into play. The parable aims to be read as an expanded metaphor. What does that mean? In the poetic, the metaphor’s distinctive feature is the tension established between the word and the heterogeneous semantic field into which it is introduced. From the dissonance thus created flows a wealth of unexpected meaning. When the metaphor is got up as a narrative, the tension is embedded in the organization of the plot. This tension results from the collision of two conceptions of reality—that is, when an initial conception, derived from the ordinary and everyday, clashes with an extraordinary conception. This irruption of the extraordinary, although it may sometimes have dramatic reasons, responds, in fact, to deeper necessities. It is a matter of disconcerting the reader, of unsettling his image of the world, and of making him discover new existential possibilities. The parable then becomes a language of change.

c) Performativity. The above shows that Jesus’ parables are not in the first place a teaching about the reign/kingdom of God, but that the very enunciation by Jesus of a parable makes the reign/kingdom of God happen as an event in the present. This performative character of the parable signals at the same time that the identity of the speaker takes on a decisive significance. Only the one who claims to be the eschatological envoy of God* can create from the enunciation of a parable the space in which the reign/kingdom of God can become an event.

4. Message of the Parables

Jesus’ eschatological preaching, that is, the announcement of the fact that the kingdom of God is near, constitutes the central theme developed in the parables. This theme is approached from the following angle. What happens when God establishes his reign? How does this reign reveal itself in the midst of the world of men? How are human reality and existence affected by it?

According to Jesus’ parables, God enters the everyday in a hidden and unexpected way. He challenges reality as it is experienced; he transforms it and opens it onto a completely new and surprising future. For the listeners, this future comes to pass at the very moment when the parable is told by Jesus. A fragment of the eschatological kingdom, this future that bursts into the

present, transforms it into a place of happiness and promise*. It bears witness to the immeasurable love of God for all his creatures and to his gift to mankind of incomprehensible liberty*. The God who suddenly appears in the parables frees men from their problematic past, from their alienating attachments; he begins a new history* with them. According to Crossan's beautiful expression, the parables are "the house of God" in the midst of the history of man. If that is so, the parable is not simply a pedagogical tool that Jesus used to expound in a figurative way a theological theme and that could, when necessary, be dispensed with; it is only as a parable and in the shape of a parable that the reign of God can enter into language and appear before Jesus' listener.

The reign of God that comes as Jesus tells a parable, constitutes a call to conversion*. The required change is adhesion to Jesus in whose person the Kingdom is near and divine love is offered to all, particularly to the excluded. But if the parables are an appeal to change, they simultaneously make change possible. The Jesus of the parables gives what he demands.

5. Reception of the Parables in the Gospels

The transmission of the parables during the first Christian generations led to their being put into writing. This transfer to written form was a major event, for the parables thus became texts open to interpretation. The act of putting the parables into a narrative form, the developments and modifications they underwent, the commentaries to which they gave rise are so many traces of this interpretative work. The history of the reception of the parables in the Gospels raises the following question: Are we dealing with a history of textual corruption marked by the distortion of the parabolic tradition or are we faced with a story in which the true tradition of Jesus has been preserved? It does not seem wise to make a unilateral decision on this alternative, because consistent arguments can be marshaled for both theses. It can be said at the onset that, during the course of their transmission, the original form of Jesus' words has undeniably been modified.

Joachim Jeremias, in his influential book on the parables, brought up four characteristic elements of this process: 1) the putting into narrative form of the synoptic parables in the Gospels involved a transfer of communication—a change of the speaker and of the listener; 2) the parables were often slanted in an ethical sense; 3) the time of the Church* from Easter to the Parousia*,

with all its specific problems, was often inserted into the plot of the parables; 4) many parables were subjected to the process of allegorization. But, on the other hand, it should be noted that the history of the parable's reception is not necessarily the reflection of textual corruption; we should not exclude the idea that the processes of modification were induced by the parables themselves. Thus, the frequently observed secondary adjunction "the kingdom of God is like..." does no more than bring into the language the original theme of the parables—that is, the advent of God's reign.

Finally, the progressive Christologization of the parables (the inclusion of the parables in the evangelical narrative and the introduction of the person* of Jesus into the parable's narrative itself) does no more than assert in a pertinent way that the evangelical parables are inseparable from their original hearer. In the end, in order to evaluate in a relevant way whether the reception of the parables is marked with the seal of fidelity or of distortion, one should ask oneself, in each individual case, whether the parable has remained "that fictional narrative which makes the nearness of the *basileia* [Kingdom] happen as an event of which Christ* is an integral part" (Marguerat 1989).

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See also Hermeneutics; Jesus, Historical; Kingdom of God; Literary Genres in Scripture; Mystery; Narrative; Prophet and Prophecy; Wisdom

Paraclete. *See* **Holy Spirit**

Paradise. *See* **Life, Eternal; Vision, Beatific**

Parish. *See* **Local Church; Pastor**

Parousia

The Greek word *parousia* simply means “presence.” In Hellenistic usage, however, it was often used in a technical sense for the visit of a ruler or the manifestation of a god. The visit of an imperial ruler to a provincial city was a momentous occasion. Diodore of Sicily (4, 3, 3) tells of the cultic parousia of Dionysus in the Theban mysteries, and the parousia of a god could also be experienced in dreams.

In the New Testament, *parousia* is a technical term for the manifestation of Christ* in glory*. It occurs six times in the Thessalonian correspondence (1 Thes 2:19, 3:13, 4:15, 5:23; 2 Thes 2:1, 2:8), and once in Corinthians 15:23. In the synoptics, it is found only in Matthew, who uses it four times (24:3, 27, 37, 39) in his apocalyptic discourse. It also occurs in 1 John 2:28; 2 Peter 1:16, 3:4, and 3:12; and James 5:7f. The synoptic parallels to Matthew 24 point the way to Parousia in a Jewish context. Where Matthew speaks of the Parousia, Luke refers to the “Son of Man in his day” (Lk 17:24) or to the “days of the Son of Man” (17:26). It seems, therefore, that the term *parousia* is used pri-

marily in Hellenistic contexts to refer to the coming of the Lord. The more traditional Jewish expressions are “the day of the Lord” and the coming of the Son of Man. *Parousia* does not occur in Revelation, the New Testament work that is most preoccupied with the coming of the Lord.

The Christian expectation of the Parousia of Christ must be seen against the background of Israelite and Jewish traditions. The oldest traditions concern the manifestation of YHWH as a warrior who leads his people from the southern mountains to the promised land (Dt. 33:2–3; Jgs 5:4–5). The Psalms* reflect the expectation that God* will come to judge the Earth (Ps 98:9). The prophet* Amos, however, turns this expectation against the people of Israel*. For him, the day of the Lord will be a day of darkness and not light (Am 5:18). Thereafter, the prophets associate the day of the Lord with the terrible judgment* of God (e.g., Zep 1:14–15 and 2:2; Jl 1:15 and 2:1). In the Book of Daniel, however, the emphasis is once again on the deliverance of Israel. Daniel’s vision of “one like a son of

man” who comes on the clouds and receives a kingdom from the Ancient of Days (Dn 7) had enormous importance for early Christianity. The “one like a son of man” is clearly distinguished from YHWH, yet he rides on the clouds like a divine figure. From a very early time, this figure was identified as the Messiah*, even though he has a heavenly character (1 Enoch 37–71; 4 Ezr 13). We continue to find references to the coming of God in the Pseudepigrapha (e.g., 1 Enoch 1: 3–9; Assumption of Moses 10:3–7), but the advent of a messianic figure of God’s agent is more directly relevant to the Christian expectation of the Parousia of Christ.

In the New Testament, *Parousia* always refers to the coming of Christ in glory. This expectation must have arisen in the earliest stage of the Christian movement, after Easter. There can be little doubt that the formulation of this expectation in terms of the coming of the Son of Man originated in the Aramaic-speaking environment of Palestine. The use of the term *Parousia* in Paul’s letters is already a secondary development, which reformulates the expectation in Greek terminology for a Diaspora setting.

Matthew 24 provides the most complete description of the anticipated Parousia (compare the apocalyptic discourses in Mark 13 and Luke 26, where the term is not used). It will be preceded by various signs, but it will come “as lightning comes from the East and flashes as far as the West” (Mt 24:27). It will be accompanied by cosmic disturbances (the sun will be darkened, etc.) and then the Son of man will gather the

elect with the blast of a trumpet (24:31). The trumpet blast is also mentioned in 1 Thessalonians 4:16. In this passage, Paul makes it clear that he expects the Parousia within the lifetimes of his generation. The sense of anticipation and vigilance required by the imminence of the Parousia is vividly seen in Matthew’s parable* of the 10 bridesmaids (Mt 25:1–13): “Keep awake, therefore, for you know not the day nor the hour.” Where Matthew urges wakefulness, James calls for patience (Jas 5:7–8). Paul finds in the imminence of the Parousia a source of encouragement.

Parousia is never used in the New Testament with reference to the earthly life of Jesus. There is only one Parousia and it is not properly a “return.” It is the first coming of Christ in glory. Only later, in the early church*, do we find the idea of two Parousias (e.g., Justin, *Apologia* 52, 3; *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 14, 8; 49, 2 and 7; 53,1; 54,1). By then, the expectation of a glorious Parousia had receded into the future.

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Eschatology; Intertestament; Judgment; Messianism/Messiah; Son of Man

Participation. *See Analogy; Being*

Pascal, Blaise

1623–1662

In Pascal’s complete works the word “theology*” occurs very seldom and it is doubtful whether the idea it represents would in itself have interested him. The fa-

mous §65 of his *Pensées* mentions it only as a representative example of “diversity”: “Theology is a science, but at the same time how many sciences are

there?” No doubt Pascal would only have drafted a truly theological discourse at the close of his *Apologie de la religion chrétienne*. Several concepts or doctrines, however, can be defined as representing an undeniable theological endeavor on Pascal’s part.

a) Christology: Jesus Christ the Mediator. Despite his family’s (second) conversion under the influence of a disciple of Saint-Cyran in 1646, and despite his friendships at Port-Royal, Pascal would be known solely as a precocious scientific genius if he had not become aware of one certainty: nothing can separate us from the love* of God* that is in Jesus* Christ, according to Romans 8, 38 *et seq.* Apamphlet, called by its editors *Le Mémorial*, and dated 23 November 1654, attests to that awareness. Both existential and theoretical, this fundamental text unfolds the problematics of access to God: it is in Jesus Christ alone that God consents to manifest himself; God is “the God of Jesus Christ,” “not the God of the philosophers and scholars.” Access to God occurs within a struggle between separation, which is sin, and non-separation, which is acquired by conversion: “Jesus Christ, I separated myself from him: I fled from him, renounced him, crucified him. May I never be separated from him.” Pascal’s singularity consists in his simultaneous imagining of absolute separation, and even “the unconquerable difference between God and us” (§378; §418; *see also Le Mystère de Jésus*, §919), and conversion. The latter option is no longer understood as a *metanoia* or an *épistrophè* that would cause one to turn toward the being of which one is the image (Pascal never quotes Genesis 1, 26). Instead, conversion “consists of annihilating oneself” (§378), because it is Christ* himself who annihilates himself in one (Galatians 2:19 *Sq*; §919). The fact that Christ is the unique mediator means therefore that he is himself the disunion, the disproportion between God and man, the infinite* and the finite, holiness and sin: “In Jesus Christ all contradictions are brought into harmony” (§257), that is, not resolved but preserved and accepted. Conversely, God himself “regards men only through the mediator Jesus Christ” (*Lettre sur la mort de son père*, 1651).

b) Quarrels about Grace and the Morality of the Casuists. From the year 1655 onward, Pascal devoted the greater part of his energies to serving Port-Royal, firstly with his *Ecrits sur la grâce* (1655–56), and then, in the polemic against the Jesuits, by composing under a pseudonym the *Lettres écrites par Louis de Montalte à un provincial...* (1656–57), better known as *The Provincial Letters*. The first four deal with the question of grace*. The remainder attack the Jesuits on the grounds of their moral theology. They are called “the

new casuists,” and accused of having the “intention” of “corrupting morals” by means of their two highly effective weapons: the “doctrine of probabilism” and the “method of directing the intention.” In the *Provinciales* it is difficult to make a precise distinction between Pascal’s work, and that of Arnauld and Nicole, who prepared most of the documentation for him. Be that as it may, although *Les Provinciales* express a strictly Jansenist theology and morality, and although they became unprecedented bestsellers by using the clandestine press to carry into the public arena debates hitherto reserved for specialists, they are not totally exempt from a charge of unfairness in their treatment of the quotations borrowed from their Casuist adversaries. The magisterium* found the Jansenists in error regarding the question of grace: on the other hand it took its lead from the *Provinciales* as well as the *Ecrits des Curés de Paris* (the production of which Pascal had been involved in) by condemning laxism (1665–66). But the final failure of the *Provinciales* (Pascal put an end to their campaign with the 18th *Letter*, dated 24 March 1657, after the Bull *Ad sacram*’s condemnation of the “Five Propositions of Jansenism”) led Pascal to turn toward an ambitious project, his *Apologie de la religion*.

c) Apologetics: The Greatness and Wretchedness of Man. The *Conférence à Port-Royal* (probably 1657) laid out the traditional bipartite anthropology* of man’s greatness (*dignitas*) and wretchedness (*miseria*), which had already provided the organizing principle of the *Entretien avec M. de Sacy*. The *Conférence* used the idea of a “twofold state of the nature*” of humankind (§131), incomprehensible to philosophy*, in order to undertake to show, by following the Augustinian model of apologetics in his *De vera religione*, that there exists a true religion that alone can explain the “astonishing contradictions” of/in man (§149). For wretchedness and greatness should be attributed to different *objects*, to nature and to grace respectively, of which man is a synthesis just as Christ is a union of two natures. Man is undecipherable without the key to the two *states*: the state that he had at the creation* and the one in which he found himself after the Fall (Magnard 1975). In the prosopoeia of §149, Wisdom* tells men: “You are not in the state of your creation... Look at yourselves and see whether you do not find in yourselves the living characteristics of those two natures.” His ahistorical use of the concept of state is seemingly an original point among Pascal’s resumption of classical themes; even more original appears to be his fixing of man’s state between two extremes, called “the two infinities,” a theme that *Disproportion de l’homme* (§199) elaborates.

Other reflections and other documents (probably conceived earlier) and that make up the collection that is known today by the title *Pensées* later joined the fundamental structure of Pascal's projected *Apologie*, based on that bipartite anthropology. Two of them should be mentioned. Firstly, the material about miracles (miracle*) as proof of the truth* of the Christian religion, a reflection provoked by the miracle of the Holy Thorn. This occurred a year before the last Provincial Letter, on 24 March 1656, at Port-Royal in Paris, and cured Marguerite Périer, Pascal's niece, of a weeping fistula (the ecclesiological and apologetic issues arising from miracles of the Holy Thorn would remain very important throughout the 17th century). Secondly, the concept of figurative structures, which orders all the proofs drawn from the Bible* ("That the law* was a figure," §245—Pascal's interpretation of the Scriptures is always basically figurative, which is remarkable for the 17th century). Pascal accomplished groundbreaking work in this area: because, although his God is a hidden God, *Deus absconditus* (Is 45:15), it would be a matter of *seeing* him, something of which the Eucharist is the paradigm: "This sacrament contains at the same time both Jesus Christ's presence and his image" (§733).

d) *Ecclesiology: The Limbs of Thought.* Pascal's last reflection abandons apologetics to meditate on Paul's doctrine of the mystical body by setting out the broad lines of a "Christian morality, that is, by developing the passage about the "the reflections of the limbs." Pascal used the model of the relation between the body's limbs (soul*-heart-body) (Rom 12 and 1 Cor 12) in order to solve the problem of justified self-love*, according to the Cartesian definition of love (*Passions de l'âme*, art. 80): "In order to regulate the love one feels for oneself, one must imagine a body composed of thinking members, for we are members of the whole, and then we must see how each member ought to love itself" (§368).

The I loves itself legitimately only by loving the whole, that is by loving itself as the whole loves it: the legitimate love of oneself consists therefore in internalizing a difference: the I should love itself in the way that another—Christ—loves it. This is how Pascal understood 1 John 4, 19 ("We love because he first loved us"). Thereafter, Descartes* supplied the conceptual tools for thinking about Christ's body, since it is love that creates the whole. There followed a new reading of 1 Corinthians 12, 14ff. followed, which differs from its mystical interpretation: "By loving the body, it [the limb] loves itself, because it has no being except in the body, through the body, and for the body. 'Qui adhaeret Deo, unus spiritus est' [He who cleaves to God is a single spirit]" (§372). The Trinity*, very rarely

evoked by Pascal, forms its model: "We love ourselves because we are members of Jesus Christ; we love Jesus Christ because he is the body of which we are members. All is one, one is in the other, like the Three Persons [person*]" (§372).

The surprising metaphor according to which Christ is the body (and not the body's head) to which one belongs as a limb, and that the Port-Royal edition corrected, finds a parallel in the *Prière pour demander à Dieu le bon usage des maladies* (whose "thinking limbs" resemble his theological borrowing) that, after having addressed the Father, addresses the Son: "Your passion*, which you accomplish in your members, as far as the your body's perfect consummation." This original, somewhat Johannine-Cartesian doctrine of Christ's body, therefore constitutes a discourse on freedom of consent (§370), or on the identification of love and will. It is undoubtedly here that Pascal, making his final escape from the "narrow confines of Port-Royal" (Balthasar*), anticipates Rousseau by imagining a concrete figure of the will. Pascal's apologetics end with an "ecclesiological synthesis" (Martineau 1994), a synthesis accepted from the moment when "unity in love" forced Pascal to conceive "love as a unity."

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See also **Anthropology; Apologists; Augustine of Hippo; Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Casuistry; Christ and Christology; Conversion; Descartes, René; Ecclesiology; Jansenism; Love**

Pascal Mystery. *See* **Passover**

Paschasius Radbert. *See* **Eucharist**

Passion

A. Biblical Theology

Passio in Latin and *pathèma* in Greek mean "what one experiences," in feeling or suffering. The last meaning survives in English only for the passion of Christ*, the sum of his suffering, from his agony in Gethsemane (Mt 26: 36–46 and parallels) to his death on the cross and burial (Mt 27:50–61 and parallels). The expression "passion of Christ" is found nowhere in the New Testament, and the noun is used only in the plural *pathèmata*. The Gospels* do not use the substantive but the verb form, notably in foretelling the passion: "And he

began to teach them that the Son of man must suffer (*pathein*) many things, and be rejected...and be killed" (Mk 8:31 and parallels). The verb is also used without an object (without naming the types of sufferings) in Luke, Acts, and Hebrews, and in 1 Peter 2:21: "Christ also suffered (*epathen*) for you."

It is noteworthy that the Easter proclamation of Jesus'* resurrection* did not have the consequence of causing his passion to be understood as an unfortunate interlude that was soon remedied. On the contrary, be-

lievers were led to remember it all the better. Being the very fruit of his passion, the glory* of the Risen One revealed the value of his sufferings, which were understood as the source of “a newness of life” (Rom 6:4) and as providing “an example” to be followed (1 Pt 2:21).

a) Predictions. The narrative of the passion takes up a large part of the Gospels and forms a coherent whole. In the synoptics its importance is emphasized in advance by three predictions, which provide a structure for the second half of those Gospels (Mk 8:31–33, 9:31, 10:32–34 and parallels). The literary nature of this presentation should not lead us to doubt its historical basis. Jesus was aware that his words and actions were provoking growing hostility (*see* Mk 2:8, 3:5, and 3:22–23). Determined not to “resist one who is evil” (Mt 5:39), he foresaw the consequence and recognized in it an aspect of God’s plan as revealed in the Scriptures, a plan that would find fulfillment in divine victory (*see* Mt 21:38–42 and parallels; Gn 37:20, 45:17, and 50:20; and Is 52:13–53:12). We see the same thing in the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus’ trial is anticipated in the course of his public life (Jn 5:16–45, 8:12–59, and 10:24–39). Jesus shows himself to be aware that he is threatened with death (Jn 7:1, 7:19, 8:37, and 8:40). There are attempts to arrest Jesus (Jn 7:30, 7:44, and 10:39) and to stone him (Jn 8:59 and 10:31), though these do not meet with success, “because his hour had not yet come” (Jn 7:30 and 8:20).

b) Principal Facts. The passion narratives are not historical reconstructions but religious narratives* intended for use in preaching* and meditation. The passion is presented as a mysterious and very disconcerting event, even though it was predicted by Scripture (Mk 14:49 and parallels). The narratives show human sin*, as well as the divine manner of confronting that sin by bearing its terrible consequences. Written with surprising restraint, the narratives do not express pity at Jesus’ suffering. His agony, however, shows him afflicted with deathly sorrow (Mt 26:38 and parallels; Ps 42:6), which he overcomes by praying intensely (Mt 26:39–44 and parallels). Then comes the arrest on the Mount of Olives, brought about through Judas’ betrayal of his master (Mt 26:47–50 and parallels); Jesus forbids his disciples to offer any armed resistance (Mt 26:51–54 and parallels). Taken before the high priest, he is questioned and accused; it is decided that he should be put to death (Mt 26:57–66 and parallels). Peter*, who has come as far as the courtyard, loses courage and denies his master (Mt 26:69–75 and parallels). In the course of the night Jesus is subjected to harsh treatment (Mt 26:67–68 and parallels). In the

morning the Sanhedrin turns him over to the Roman authorities (Mt 27:2 and parallels). Pilate questions him (Mt 27:11–14 and parallel s), then makes an offer to the crowd either to release Jesus or a rebel called Barabbas (Mt 27:15–23 and parallels). Mocked by Roman soldiers, who crown him with thorns (Mt 27:27–31 and parallels), Jesus is whipped (Mt 27:26 and parallels), and taken to Calvary, where he is crucified between two thieves (Mt 27:31–38 and parallels). He dies on the cross, giving a loud cry (Mt 27:50 and parallels). A rich man takes care of his burial (Mt 27:57–61 and parallels). At more than one point, variations among the narratives and other considerations pose problems in establishing historical accuracy in the modern sense.

c) Spiritual Meaning. The beginnings of the synoptic narratives show that the passion is a part of God’s plan (Mt 26:42 and parallels) and was necessary for the fulfillment of Scripture* (26:54, 56 and parallels). The “must” of the passion predictions (Mk 8:31 and parallels) had already suggested this perspective. The narratives provide no other explanation as they unfold. The deeper sense of the events is never explained. It is in earlier portions of the Gospels that light is cast on the passion, as, for example, by Jesus’ words when he declares that he has come “to give his life as a ransom for many” (Mt 20:28 and parallels; *see also* Jn 6:51), and particularly by what he does during the Last Supper (Eucharist*). There he presents in advance his body and the blood he will shed, and he transforms these into a gift of himself to his disciples (Mt 26:26–28 and parallels). In this way he accomplishes a complete reversal of the meaning of the event: the execution of a condemned man, a radical break, is transformed into the foundation of a perfect covenant* (*see* 1 Cor 1:18–25). The Fourth Gospel provides the key to this accomplishment: The passion is a work of love*. The love given by God (Jn 3:16 and 15:9) has led Jesus to be “the good shepherd,” who “lays down his life for the sheep” (Jn 10:11). “Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends” (15:13; *see* 13:1; 19:30). The apostle Paul sees the passion in the same light (Rom 5:6–8, Gal 2:20, and Eph 5:2 and 25–27). Understood in this way, the cross of Christ, instead of seeming absurd and scandalous, is recognized as “the power of God and the wisdom of God” (1 Cor 1:24), for it is an instrument of redemption, of reconciliation, and of the covenant. According to Hebrews the passion is a new type of priestly sacrifice, which makes of Christ a perfect “mediator of a new covenant” (Heb 9:15). On the one hand, he is fully accepted by God, whose salvific will he has generously fulfilled (Heb 5:8–10 and 10:5–10). On the other

hand, he is closely united with the people, “his brethren,” whose suffering he has taken on himself (Heb 2:17–18).

d) Participation. To “share Christ’s sufferings” (1 Pt 4:13) is thus a grace* at the same time as a duty of love. One cannot be a disciple of Christ without bearing the cross after him (Mt 16:24 and parallels). Peter explains that it is a matter of “doing right” (1 Pt 2:15), even and especially when “you do right and suffer for it” (1 Pt 2:20). John declares: “we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren” (1 Jn 3:16). Paul insists on the necessity of participating in the passion in order to be united with Christ (Rom 8:17 and Phil 3:10). He calls his tribulations as an apostle* a sharing in “Christ’s sufferings” (2 Cor 1:5); they bring him comfort and great joy (2 Cor 7:4–7) and they are fruitful for the Church* (2 Cor 4:8–12 and Col 1:24).

e) Narrative Perspectives. While generally in agreement, each gospel narrative of the passion has its own perspective.

Writing with his customary spontaneity, Mark allows us to experience the shock of events, the disconcerting fulfillment of God’s plan. He bluntly describes Jesus’ fate as anguished, betrayed, denied, falsely accused, condemned, and crucified. To those who know how to read him, however, Mark shows light through the darkness. The passion, in his understanding, reveals the identity of Jesus, the “Son of God” (Mk 15:39; *see also* 14:61–62), as well as his work, which is that of putting an end to the old cult* and of building a new, immaterial, temple* so that human beings may meet God (Mk 14:58).

More ecclesial and doctrinal, Matthew sheds light on events by using Jesus’ own words (Mt 26:52–54) and by allusions to the Old Testament (Mt 26:38, 26:56, 27:9, 27:35, 27:43, and 27:46). The episode of the “blood money” (Mt 27:3–10) clearly establishes responsibility. Whereas a Gentile woman intervenes on the side of Jesus (Mt 27:19), his own people condemn him (Mt 27:25). Accompanied by an eschatological upheaval (Mt 27:51ff.; *see also* Mt 28:2–4), the death of Jesus provokes a collective confession of faith* (Mt 27:54).

Sometimes considered more of an historian, Luke moves the interrogation that Mark places at night to the morning (Lk 22:66–71) and adds an appearance before Herod (Lk 23:6–12). His narrative especially demonstrates the personal attachment of the disciple, seen in repeated affirmations of Jesus’ innocence (Lk 23:4, 23:14–15, 23:22, and 23:41), insistent exhortations (Lk 22:40, 22:46, 23:28–31, and 23:40), and the omission of offensive and cruel details, including ac-

counts of hostile witnesses, condemnation, and harsh treatment. The cross produces conversion* (23:47–48) and salvation* (23:42f.).

Very different from the others, John presents a glorifying passion (*see* Jn 12:27–28 and 17:1). Against their intention, Jesus’ enemies contribute to the manifestation of his glory as sovereign (Jn 18:6–9), royal (Jn 18:33–37, 19:2–5, and 19:22), and filial (Jn 19:7–11). The passion is a “lifting up” (Jn 3:14, 8:28, 12:32–33). The episode of the piercing of Jesus’ side demonstrates the fruitfulness of the passion and calls on us to contemplate the Crucified One (Jn 19:31–37).

The writings of the New Testament are unanimous in presenting the passion as the decisive victory of Christ and of God over evil* for the good of humanity. “By his blood” the sacrificial Lamb* has redeemed us and made of us “a kingdom and priests” (Rev 5:10), able to conquer by his blood (Rev 12:11).

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***See also* Death; Eucharist; Expiation; Gospels; Jesus, Historical; Lamb of God/Paschal Lamb; Passover; Sacrifice; Salvation; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Servant of YHWH; Violence**

B. Systematic Theology

If the term *the passion of Christ* designates the totality of Jesus' suffering, from his agony in the garden to his death and burial, as stated above, it also refers to an essential aspect of the mystery* of Jesus Christ and his Easter experience; the aspect that precedes and conditions the resurrection* and that could also be designated by the word *cross*. The New Testament clearly shows the prominent place that Christian faith*, from its very beginning, accorded to the passion and the cross of Christ as it was understood. Neither the great patristic tradition* nor contemporary theology* lags behind in this respect. For clarity, it is useful to distinguish and to bring together four aspects: historical, eschatological, soteriological, and theological.

1) Historical Event

There is no doubt that Jesus* died on the cross after a hurried trial and after having experienced a harsh night of anguish. Jesus suffered various kinds of ill treatment, was abandoned by his disciples, and was mocked by the soldiers who had come to seize him, as well as by the curious mob that had followed him. Not only cruel but dishonorable, the torture of the cross, as practiced by the Romans, was used particularly against slaves and against conquered enemies whom they wished to deride (Tacitus, *Hist.* IV. 11). This element alone is enough to indicate that the execution of Jesus had a political character, as indicated moreover by the inscription on the cross stating, "This is Jesus the King of the Jews" (Mt 27:37). However, Jesus was handed over to Pilate, representing Roman authority, by the Sanhedrin, the religious ruling body of the Jewish people, which was determined to bring him down with the accusation of blasphemy (Mt 26:57–66). Jesus had in fact claimed "I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days" (Mt 26:61). He had thereby—as with his behavior in general toward the sabbath*, sin*, and God* himself—undermined the principles and foundations of the Jewish religion and identified his person* with the fulfillment of the messianic hope* of his people*. Such blasphemy could only deserve death*.

But the passion and crucifixion of Jesus did not result only from the condemnation of human powers in opportunistic complicity with one another. These events were also, and even primarily, situated not only by a very conscious determination on the part of Jesus himself, but also—the first disciples soon discovered it—in the perspective of the fulfillment of a paradoxical divine intention. Just as much as it is intent on em-

phasizing the historicity of the passion, so is Christian faith intent on making it known that the passion enacted a drama that goes far beyond history*: In and through the passion of Jesus, God himself was "involved" (Balthasar*). The simple fact that the different New Testament traditions do not agree on the moment of the crucifixion shows that the evangelists wish to make their readers attentive to a meaning that goes beyond pure and simple historical fact. Whereas the synoptics present the Last Supper of Jesus as the new Passover, John by contrast places Jesus' death on the day of preparation for the Jewish Passover (John 19:14) in order to make Jesus appear as the true paschal lamb (John 19:36). In either case, the same historical reality is in question; the same event is being described. Contemporary scholarship tends to judge that John's version is more accurate; with the help of astronomical calculations, it has even specified that Jesus probably died on 7 April of the year 30.

2) Eschatological Dimension

The very motives that led Jesus to his passion and cross give the facts of the events a genuinely eschatological import. The accusation of blasphemy is revealing in this respect. In his attitude toward the temple, as in his public behavior as a whole, Jesus had expressed a veritable "demand for transcendence," a real "claim" (W. Pannenberg): a claim to echo in his speech (in the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount, and in the invocation of God as "Abba") the very "authority" of God; a claim to set forth in his action (the miracles* and exorcisms*, the meals with sinners, and the forgiveness of sins) the signs of the coming of the kingdom of God, only hoped for until then. With his coming and his public ministry, in his personal fate, and finally in his very being, the eschatological times were beginning. What until then had been only promised and expected, or only present "figuratively," was now beginning to be fulfilled "in actions and in truth*." The end of time had arrived, salvation* had been definitively offered, and the "new and eternal covenant*" according to God's plan had been established.

This was the reading that the disciples of Jesus thought they should make of his life, and of his passion and death, after they had been led to experience and confess his resurrection. But this post-Easter reading of the passion and the cross was nonetheless in direct consonance with what had gradually and with increasing clarity entered into Jesus' own consciousness

throughout his public ministry, as he confronted the reactions he provoked. Even if their formulation reflects in part a *vaticinia ex eventu*, there can be no doubt that the three foreshadowings of the passion (Mk 8:31, 9:31, and 10:33–34 and parallels) refer to the word and hence the consciousness of Jesus himself; the parable* of the wicked tenants (Mk 12:1–12) is sufficient evidence. The accounts of the Last Supper confirm it. Very probably authentic, the statement: “Truly, I say to you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God” (Mark 14:25), clearly shows that Jesus was convinced of two things. While, on the one hand, the passion and death toward which he was moving, and that he anticipated with the signs of bread and wine, seemed directly related to the eschatological character of his mission, they also seemed to him to make up both the culminating point and the basis for interpretation of that mission.

3) Soteriological Effect

Recognizing that the historical reality of the passion-cross-death sequence has an eschatological dimension implies the simultaneous recognition of its soteriological effect. According to Christian faith this sequence occupies an essential place in the revelatory and salvific plan of God. Why and how? An answer to these questions requires the development of a theology of salvation* and an understanding of how to interpret the cross and the death of Jesus as sacrifice*. However, it is appropriate first to specify the basis on which this confession of faith was developed. The essential point lies in the fact that, on the part of Jesus, the passion does not appear as something merely undergone, but rather clearly foreseen and formally accepted, in obedience to the mysterious and yet entirely loving will of the Father*. Indeed, this is the meaning Jesus’ words on two occasions. The first are spoken in prayer during his agony in Gethsemane: “My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt” (Mt 26:39 and parallels; Mk 14:36 adds the Hebrew *Abba*). Jesus makes the second utterance just before his death on the cross: “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” (Mk 15:34 and Mt 27:46), for this final expression is not only a cry of distress but also an invocation addressed to the Father in total surrender “into thy hands I commit my spirit” (see Lk 23:46).

In relation to the will of Jesus fulfilling the will of the Father, the passion seems to be set under the sign of a radical “for us” outside of which it would be only a nonsense and a scandal. Having come “for us and for our salvation,” Jesus went to his death and gave himself up to it—during the Last Supper Jesus offered the

gift of his life “for many” (Mk 14:24). This was to show how far the sin of human beings would go, for they would turn out to be capable of putting to death the “Holy and Righteous One” of God (Acts 3:14). It would also reveal to them that not only were they not rejected, but that God’s forgiveness was mercifully offered to them and that they continued to be loved by him despite all their sins, which they could now repent. All faith in salvation as the redemption brought by Christ originates there.

This point is all the more important because it merely brings to fulfillment—“to the end” (Jn 13:1)—what was characteristic of the teaching, the activity, and the existence of Jesus, because “the Son of man also came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many” (Mk 10:45). Similarly, according to his explicit teaching, believing in him, following in his footsteps, and being able to benefit from the salvation that he brings means that his disciples are also called upon to make themselves “the last of all and servant of all” (Mk 9:35 and parallels). Each believer in Christ must in turn “take up his cross” (Mk 8:34). Through the ordeals of the apostolic ministry*, the apostle* is led to supplement “what is lacking in Christ’s afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the church” (Col 1:24). We know the position held by the cross in the great Christian spiritual and mystical tradition (mysticism* of the passion or of the cross).

4) Theological Meaning

The fact remains, however, that the passion of Jesus could have that eschatological dimension and soteriological effect only to the degree that God himself was able to act through it and even truly engage himself in it. How can such a thing be accepted? How is it possible to reconcile weakness and suffering, abandonment, and even ignominy on the one hand, and sovereignty, lordship, and omnipotence—in other words, divinity—on the other?

a) The Scripture is clear: the hymn of Philippians 2:6–11 celebrates the *kenosis** of the one “who though he was in the form of God...emptied himself, taking the form of a servant...and being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross” But taking on the *condition* of servant did not bring about the loss of the divine *condition*. Christian faith asserts that it was as a man, and according to the common human condition—apart from sin, but including suffering and death—that Christ was incarnated, as God-the-Son in humanity.

The patristic tradition strove to hold the two aspects of the mystery together: the reality of the incarnation* of the Word (thus including vulnerability to suffering

and death) and the truth of the Word's divinity (despite the undermining of the immutability* and hence the impassibility that Greek philosophy* in general and Neoplatonic philosophy in particular considered characteristic of the divine). Ignatius of Antioch is a good example of this when he speaks of "the Timeless, the Unseen, the One who became visible for our sakes, who was beyond touch and passion, yet who for our sakes became subject to suffering and endured everything for us" (*To Polycarp* III. 2; see also Irenaeus*, *Adversus haereses* IV. 20. 4 and Tertullian*, *De Carne Christi* V. 4). There were many debates, from the Trinitarian controversies of the second half of the third century, those surrounding monarchianism and modalism* and Sabellianism, with the Patripassianism that they implied (Noetus in Smyrna and Praxeas in Carthage, attacked by Tertullian in Carthage and Hippolytus in Rome*), down to the Theopaschite dispute of the sixth century involving Scythian monks and their formulation: "The one of the Trinity* was crucified." But the aspect of the "communication of idioms*" that was at issue was finally understood by the Alexandrians as well as the Antiochenes and the Latins in the orthodox sense of the doctrine of Ephesus on the *Theotokos* (DS 263).

Several Fathers* of the Church, however, expressed original views, which contemporary theology will have occasion to reconsider. Origen* (*De Principiis* IV.2.4) pointed out that it would be less surprising that the Son was able to share our misery—and the Father himself experience something of human suffering—if it were seen that the entire "economy" is governed by divine compassion and mercy*. Hilary* (*De Trinitate* VIII.45), Gregory* of Nyssa (*Catechetical Orations*), and others suggested that this be seen not as the indication of a limit but as a sign of sovereign power and freedom. Maximus* the Confessor, arguing against monophysitism* and its monothelite revival, explained (Constantinople* III) that the existence in Christ of a complete human nature that remained distinct from divine nature—within the very union according to the single person of the Word*—permitted a true theology of the agony of Gethsemane.

b) Strongly shaped by the metaphysical approach, Scholastic* theology was on this point strongly challenged by the *theologia crucis* of Luther*. But although the theory of the "communication of idioms*" that Luther advocated clearly articulated the elements of the problem, it did not resolve it, as was shown by the development of the dispute over *kenosis* through the 16th and 17th centuries (schools of Giessen and Tübingen). German idealist philosophy—Hegel*, of course, above all—and the so-called *kenotic* theology derived from it in the 19th and 20th centuries in Germany, England,

and Russia, further sharpened awareness of the importance of what was at stake: If the Absolute must necessarily "externalize" itself, does it remain the Absolute? If it cannot, can Christ continue to be considered God? If it does, to what extent can we recognize a true humanity in Jesus in whom it is supposed to reveal itself?

c) All contemporary theologies, from that of "the death of God" and "process* theology" to the dialectical theology of Karl Barth* and the existential theology of Rudolf Bultmann*, and even "liberation* theology," have dealt more or less systematically with these questions, in confrontation with the "hard word" characteristic of modernity: "God is dead." All modern theologians recognize that they still have to confront this assertion. At least three of them—J. Moltmann and E. Jüngel on the one hand, and Hans Urs von Balthasar* on the other—have fostered significant advances in thinking, which we will describe briefly in concluding.

Among their propositions, the following elements are especially important: 1) The coming of the Son of God into humanity (incarnation) quite logically entailed that he had to experience passion and death, and even "descent* into Hell." 2) This represents neither an "alienation" nor a de-divinization of God, nor the manifestation in him of a limit, a lack, or a necessity, but the sovereignty free expression of a radical movement that can only be designated by the word "love*." 3) As a consequence, far from opposing to what indeed presents itself as a *kenosis* an objection derived from a preconceived idea of "God," we should make an effort to decipher his "essence" by starting with what he himself revealed of it in coming himself to open the way of Salvation to "what is not himself." 4) Beginning with that, we should learn to recognize that the divine power (omnipotence*, divine) is of the order of a love that is "communication," and a total "surrender" of the self. Such a love certainly entails and brings about some "effects of vulnerability," but that does not prevent him from being *all-powerful*. 5) In order to be effective in history, the self-communication of God must, however, already be verified from all eternity in the divine immanence itself. "The eternal intra-divine distinction between the Father and the Son is the theological-transcendental condition for the possibility of the self-alienation of God in the incarnation and on the cross (W. Kasper). As a consequence, it is the condition of his self-revelation*."

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See also Balthasar, Hans Urs von; Christ and Christology; Constantinople III, Council of; Descent into Hell; Ephesus, Council of; Jesus, Historical; Kenosis; Monophysitism; Monothelitism/Monoenergism; Resurrection of Christ; Salvation; Trinity

Passions

a) Hellenistic Background. For the Greeks, the problem of the passions revolved around two notions: self-rule (*autarkeia*) and self-control (*egkrateia*). Reason endows whoever possesses it with a measure of self-sufficiency and free choice. By contrast, the passions are involuntary perturbations of the soul* that threaten and sometimes eclipse reason. The question is the extent to which *egkrateia* can achieve and preserve *autarkeia* by repressing the passions or making them serve rational ends.

Both Plato and Aristotle insisted that virtue* involves subordinating the passions to reason: the morally imperfect life is the fruit of ignorance and passions. According to Plato, the passions are diseases, engendered by a principle of covetousness (*to epithumetikon*) and a principle of anger (*to thumikon*), both opposed to the principle of reason (*to logistikon*) (*Rep.* IV, 439 d–41 c). It should be noted, however, that the principle of anger is also the principle of a virtue, that is, the principle of courage. Aristotle takes a different line. Because the order of the passions is that of motions imposed upon us, passions do not make human beings either good or bad (*EN* II, 1105 b 29–06 a 2). The order of the virtues and vices is not that of motion, but of disposition; yet Aristotle certainly draws a contrast between "living in accordance with passions"

and the rational life (I, 1095 a 8–10; IX, 1169 a 1–5). Stoicism goes further. Identifying the rational and happy life with *apatheia*, the absence of feeling, and with *ataraxia*, the absence of internal disturbance, Stoicism in fact entailed identifying the passions with vices. Alongside *patheia*, passions that, as such, were seen as being contrary to nature, the Stoics also identified some *eupatheia*, "good" passions, such as joy, circumspection (*eulabeia*), and will; but such observations did not detract from their generally hostile attitude.

b) Early Christian Discussions. To begin with, these discussions do not stand out against the intellectual background of late antiquity. In the apostolic and subapostolic literature, the passions as such are neither affirmed nor rejected. Attention to the passions is generally limited to warnings against anger and "carnal lusts" (Jas 4:1, 1 Pt 2:11; *Didache* 1, 4; 2 *Clem.* 10). However, the literature of early Christian asceticism* is at times contemptuous of the passions, while the more urbane attitude of a moralist such as Clement of Alexandria seems thoroughly stoical: "the sacrifice that is acceptable to God is unswerving abstraction from the body and its passions" (*Stromata* 5, 11, 67). As late as the fourth century, even the most orthodox

christological reflections display a certain reluctance to associate the passions with the perfect human nature of Jesus*.

Autarkeia is not an ultimate value in the New Testament, where the term appears only in 2 Corinthians 9:8 and 1 Timothy 6:6, in addition to *autarkes* in Philippians 4:11, and all three occurrences are unemphatic. Reason and liberty* are fulfilled in desire for God, and hence in the surrender of autonomy. It is this surrender that true *egkrateia* both assists in and reflects (Hermas, *Shepherd* 2, 1–5). This relativization of *autarkeia* goes hand in hand with Christian affirmation of the body and its passibility. These developments positively affected Christian attitudes to the passions in three ways. First, the integration of passivity into the notion of human reason enabled theology* to distinguish less sharply between the realm of reason and the realm of the passions. Second, the new dignity attached both to the body and to its suffering was reflected in the dignity accorded to the passions themselves. Finally, increasing respect for the body, in the light of the incarnation* of the Word* and the resurrection* of the flesh* yielded a corresponding respect for the passions, inasmuch as these demonstrate the close connection between body and soul. The improved moral status of the passions is illustrated early on in the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, who comes close to equating the emotional passion of the Christian in his life of prayer*, the physical passion of Christian martyrdom, and the spiritual passion of the rational soul as it yields itself in faith to the divine initiative (e.g., *Ad Romanos* 6). In all three senses, passion rivals *autarkeia* as a mark of moral action* and spiritual attainment. Another positive conception of the passions was provided by Lactantius († c. 325–30), for whom, by contrast to both Aristotelianism and Stoicism, *affectus* (“passion”) “is like a natural fecundity of souls” (CSEL 19, 337). However, ethical condemnation of the passions continued within Monachism: thus, Evagrius, with his teaching of *praktike* (monastic asceticism), reprises the theme of *apatheia*, making it into “the flower of practice” (SC 171, 670).

c) *Augustine and Later Christian Thought.* The Christian reversal of values achieved its clearest articulation in Augustine*. For him, sin* lies not in the unruly passions but in the rational will that refuses to be moved by God, and so becomes enslaved by passion for created things. However, true love* of God is itself a kind of passion, and it brings virtuous passions in its train. Far from standing in opposition to the rational will, the passions, whether virtuous or vicious, reveal the will’s true inclinations. The healthy soul will experience healthy passions, including grief and anger, and

Augustine is loath to deny that the saints in heaven will experience at least the passions of joy and holy fear.

The exception to Augustine’s general account of the passions is his treatment of sexual desire, which can be rightly used but never innocently felt. It is notoriously easy to misread Augustine on this point. Despite his emphasis on the involuntary character of *libido*, Augustine’s negativity about sex is not a return to the glorification of *autarkeia*. On the contrary, Augustine insists that the involuntary character of sexual passion is the punishment inflicted on prideful reason, which has placed a higher value on self-rule than on submission to being ruled by God. It is not because sexual desire is a passion that Augustine condemns it, but because it is the otherwise unnecessary sign of spiritual perversity (*Civ. Dei* 14, 15). Whatever else we may say about Augustine’s view of sex, it does not constitute a rejection of the passions as such.

Thomas* Aquinas also locates sin in reason than in the passions, and provides an analysis of the connection between the passions, embodiment, and rational desire (*STh* Ia IIae, q. 22–48). Nevertheless, Aquinas’s subordination of will to intellect leads him to de-emphasize the intentional character of reason, thus opening a conceptual gap between desire and reason, and laying the groundwork for the problematizing of the notion of rational desire.

d) *Modern and Contemporary Discussions.* In the early modern period, a few theologians—notably Jonathan Edwards*—testified to continuing interest in the passions as indicators of the soul’s love for God, or lack thereof. Mostly, however, the early moderns betray two contradictory tendencies: either identifying reason with cognition only (e.g., Descartes, in an era marked, in France, by a renewal of interest in the Stoic theory of the passions); or unmasking reason as a function of “mere” passions and drives (e.g., David Hume [1711–76], *Treatise on Human Nature* 2, 2, 3). The second tendency has proved to be the more common one. Freud* asserts (with Augustine) that human reason is a dynamic of desire, but also claims (unlike Augustine) that reason is the expression of unconscious drives. Thus, the intentionality of reason reveals the irrationality of reason, and this irrational reason is in the service of passions whose object is only survival or pleasure.

Kant*’s moral project attempts once again to ground the rational will in the idea of a transcendent moral law*. Kant’s project may be understood largely as the recovery of Augustine’s understanding of reason, but this recovery is not possible without paying a high price: reason loses its passivity before God. Kant rehabilitates practical reason by defending it from any im-

putation of passivity: the “good will” is an autonomous legislator, free from the constraint or impulsion of any inclination, passion or divine command.

Recent theological discussion of the passions has been allied to an attempt to develop an understanding of rational desire that avoids the voluntarist and “decisionist” tendencies of Kantian ethics*, as well as the determinist presuppositions of Freudian psychology (McClendon 1986). This project involves attention to the human body, understood as the irreducible datum of selfhood (Ricoeur 1950, Wyschogrod 1990); reinterpretation of reason as a bodily and passionate faculty (Henry 1965); consideration of the moral status of human suffering (Porée 1993); and meditation upon the resurrection as it relates to Christian attitudes to embodiment (Bruaire 1968). At stake is the coherence of a Christian notion of freedom that also insists on human passivity in relation to the pure agency of God. At stake, also, is the making of passion into virtue.

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See also **Ethics; Ethics, Autonomy of; Ethics, Sexual; Voluntarism**

Passover

A. Biblical Theology

a) Origin of the Passover and Ritual. Originally, the Passover was a celebration for shepherds, whose flocks were their most important and most precious resource. This origin explains why the Passover was distinct from the other feasts of Israel*, in particular from the three pilgrimage* celebrations that are mentioned in the oldest liturgical calendars (Ex 23:14–17, 34:18–23) and that are indicative of a sedentary society (feast of unleavened bread, feast of weeks, feast of booth). The Passover is a spring festival; the celebration takes place at night, during the full moon; it brings together the whole family*. With the sacrifice of a year-old animal*, which is either a lamb or a kid, the head of the family fulfilled the ritual of the blood, and then he presided over a meal for which the flesh of the victim had been roasted. The ritual of the blood and the Passover supper are the most characteristic elements of the ancient Arabic sacrifice* and of the Israelites' Passover (J. Henninger).

The ritual of the blood consisted in anointing the poles of the tent with the blood of the paschal victim; it was an apotropaic ritual, with magical properties, intended to avert hostile powers and to protect the dwelling as well as those who live in it. Was it also aimed at protecting the cattle? This is possible, but the signs of such a practice in Pre-Islamic Arabia are extremely rare. In any case, the ritual was intended to ward off some beings outside the dwelling, since the anointing of blood was done only on the poles and on the lintel of the entrance (Ex 12:23). The blood ritual was to be associated with the ritual of the supper, which complemented it by representing communion* with the deity who dispenses rain and bestows fecundity on the flock. The Passover required neither sanctuary nor priest; it was a nocturnal celebration by the family.

According to Exodus 12:21ff., which is probably the oldest written account of the Passover, there is a rela-

tion between the ritual and YHWH's action that strikes Egypt and spares the homes of the Israelites. Next to God*, the written account presents another character, also capable of striking: he is the "destroying angel," whose identity is unclear. In this written account, he is a personal being (Ex 12:23), whereas another written account (Ex 12:13) transforms him into an impersonal power, in order to ensure the preeminence of the God of Israel. This destroying angel has been identified as the god of the plague in 2 Samuel 24, but the identification is far from certain. The destroying angel's presence is an element of the original Passover, but in the biblical account he is placed in a relationship of dependence with YHWH. He may have the power to strike, but he cannot do it against the Israelites. Although the account given in Exodus 12, 21 *Sq* does not mention the ritual of the supper, it must indeed have been real, but the Passover commemorates first of all the divine protection granted to the people of Israel.

b) Reform of the Passover. The oldest among the liturgical calendars (Ex 23:14–17, 34:18–23) do not mention the Passover, but Deuteronomy places it at the top of the calendar: "Observe the month of Abib and keep the Passover to the Lord your God, for in the month of Abib the Lord your God brought you out of Egypt by night" (Dt 16:1). The Passover is a nocturnal celebration related to the Exodus from Egypt. The main ritual, the sacrifice of the paschal victim, must take place in "the evening at sunset" (Dt 16:6). This indication is reinforced by the order to go back home in the morning (16:7). The celebration lasts from evening to morning, but that was possible only at the time when the Passover was not yet linked to the feast of the unleavened bread, which lasts seven days. This link was definitively established at the time of the post-exilic calendars (Lv 23:5–8; Nb 28:16ff., 25), but was already present in Deuteronomy 16:3–8, in which the seven-day duration necessarily included the feast of the unleavened bread.

The ritual, in Deuteronomy 16, is not greatly developed. The emphasis is on the place where the victim is sacrificed: "in the place that the Lord your God will choose" (16:5ff.). From then on the Passover becomes an official sacrifice celebrated in the central sanctuary. Furthermore, the animal that is being sacrificed may be taken from among the bigger cattle, which is a new feature; but this is easily understandable in a farming economy based in part on cattle-rearing. The victim must be cooked and not roasted, as was the case in the older ritual. Deuteronomy 16 tells of a paschal ritual in the local sanctuaries at a time prior to the end of the eighth century B.C.

Originally a family rite, in Deuteronomy the

Passover becomes an action that all the Israelites celebrate when they come to Jerusalem*; it is the action that reunites the people* in order that they may proclaim their faith* to the God who made possible their Exodus from Egypt. The Passover is thus a national celebration that contributes to unity among people, but it seems that such a significance was attributed to the celebration before the reign of Josias (*see* 2 Kgs 23:21ff.). The allusions to the Passover in the book of Is (30:29, 31:5: *psch*) date back to the reign of that king.

c) Passover According to Exodus 12:3–14. The most precise text regarding the Passover and its ritual is still Exodus 12:3–14. In it, the Passover is carefully dissociated, in the way it unfolds, from the celebration of the unleavened bread (Ex 12:15–21). The Passover must be celebrated in the first month of the year (12:2), in a calendar that starts in the spring, another departure from the preexilic custom that placed the start of the year in the autumn. The victim must be obtained on the tenth day of the first month and kept apart until the 14th, which is to become the date of the Passover (Lv 23:5); the throat of the victim is slit between the two evenings (Ex 12:16) and the Passover meal should take place at night (12:8). The ritual is described in great detail, including the description of the clothes that the participants must wear. In contrast to what is recorded in Deuteronomy, the ritual goes back to ancient customs; the ritual of the blood has its place, as in the original Passover; the victim is taken from among the smaller animals, lamb or kid; it is roasted on the fire. The celebration does not take place in the sanctuary; the meal is taken at home (12:43–46); the blood must be used to anoint the poles and the lintels of the houses (12:7, 13). The vocabulary of sacrifice does not appear in this written account; likewise, there is no mention of an altar. The motive of the celebration remains, however, the same: it is to celebrate the fact that YHWH punished the Egyptians and spared the Israelites as they were coming out of Egypt. The Passover must serve as a memorial for the people of Israel (12:14).

This text from Exodus 12:3–14 takes up an ancient ritual. But why the concern to be absolutely precise? The text may have helped the people to observe the Passover during their exile, when, deprived of a sanctuary, they found themselves no longer capable of celebrating the pilgrimage feasts. It is also understandable why all these precise instructions were placed in the book of Exodus before the episode on Sinai, during which God gave Moses his instructions concerning the way to organize the ritual of worship.

It should be mentioned, however, that the celebration of the Passover and that of the unleavened bread

are connected to the Exodus from Egypt and are linked to the law* concerning the firstborn (Ex 13:1f.; 11–16). This link finds its explanation in the account of the 10th plague (Ex 11), which befalls the firstborn of Egypt, a scourge that the Israelites are spared thanks to the paschal victim's blood (Ex 12:13). For this reason, Exodus 13:15 declares that all the firstborn of man must be “redeemed.” This does not mean, however, that the Passover is transformed into a ritual of offering concerning the firstborn of the flock.

d) Judaism and the New Testament. In early Judaism* the paschal celebration gave rise to the development of a genuine theology*. Thus, the Targum interpretive tradition* links the Passover with the episode of Genesis 22 on the binding (*aqedah*) of Isaac, as expressed in the poem of the “four nights” (Le Déaut 1963). The night of the Passover, memorial of salvation* for Israel, is also a reminder of God's covenant* with Abraham (*see* Gn 15:13f.), and also signals a future liberation (according to Wis 18:6).

In the New Testament, the Passover occupies a decisive place on two accounts. On the one hand, the death* of Jesus* takes place in the context of the Passover. Thus, in the Gospel* of John there is a recurrent mention of the Passover (Jn 2:13, 6:4, 11:55; *see* 5:1), but above all Jesus died on the day of the

Passover, as Jerusalem was experiencing the influx of a crowd of pilgrims for the feast. On the other hand, the meaning of Jesus' death is enhanced by the paschal symbolism. Jesus is the true paschal lamb* (Jn 1:29, 36, *see* Rev 5:6, 12); he was immolated at the time when the lambs intended for the paschal supper were being sacrificed in the Temple* (Jn 18:28, 19:36 quoting Ex 12:46 and Ps 34:21). Paschal symbolism can also be found in the synoptic Gospels, where the Last Supper (Eucharist*) has the characteristics of a paschal meal (Mt 26:26–29; Mk 14:22–25; Lk 22:14–20); and also in Paul (1 Cor 11:23). In the parable of the ten virgins (Mt 25:6), the arrival of the spouse in the middle of the night is a reminder of the messianic expectation linked to the paschal night.

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See also Book; Eucharist; Liturgy; Passion; Pilgrimage; Sacrifice; Scapegoat; Temple

B. Paschal Mystery in the Liturgy

From a historical point of view the expression “paschal mystery” designates the event of the death* and of the resurrection* of Christ*; from a liturgical point of view it indicates the sum of rituals that celebrate that event, every year at Eastertide, and every day in the Eucharist*.

a) From the Origins to the Fourth Century. The expression “mystery of the Passover” (*to tou paskha mustèrion*), which first came into use in the second century (SC 123, 94; 27, 125) as an equivalent of the Pauline formula “mystery of Christ” (Col 4:3; Eph 3:4), designates the whole of God*'s saving plan, announced in the Old Testament and realized in Christ. In earlier times, when the notion of the Passover particularly evoked the Passion*, it referred mainly to the immolation of Christ (1 Cor 5:7) but also to the tension between death and resurrection, between abasement

and exaltation, since the death of Christ is celebrated, in direct accordance with Johannine* theology, as the time of his glorification and as “the death out of which comes life.”

The expression “paschal mystery” takes on a fairly different significance among those who, following Origen*, interpret the Passover as a rite of passage, in the allegorical sense that Philo of Alexandria had already attributed to it. In this context the expression designates what is deepest in the historical facts and in the accounts (narrative*) that concern the Passover; it designates their mystical (mysticism*) meaning: the flesh of the paschal lamb* represents the Scriptures, with which we must sustain ourselves (GCS 7, 218).

Augustine* gives the paschal mystery its definitive formulation by making a double synthesis between Passion and passage, and between the passage of Christ and the passage of man: “With his Passion, the

Lord passed from death to life, and thus he opened the way for us who believe in his Resurrection also to pass from death to life" (CChr.SL 40, 1791).

Augustine distinguishes the Passover, celebrated "as a mystery" (*in sacramento*), from Christmas, and from all the other feasts that are celebrated as commemorations. By celebrating the Passover as a mystery, Christians not only recall an event whose anniversary is upon them, but they also understand and greet with their faith* the meaning that this event has "for them" (CSEL 34, 2, 170).

b) From Paschal Mystery to Liturgical Year. The notion of paschal mystery went through a profound change toward the end of the fourth century. A *synthetic celebration* included until then all the events of the Passover in one unique dialectic of death and life, like a unique mystery actualizing all the history* of salvation*, from the Exodus to the Parousia*. From then onwards, with the growing importance granted to other feasts such as Christmas, and under the influence of the rituals being followed in Jerusalem*, an *analytical celebration* started to make its appearance; this distinguished the different events from one another and commemorated each one on its anniversary day. Consideration for the unity of the mystery yielded priority to a historical concern for distribution over time*. We go from a unique celebration of the Passover to the paschal cycle, and then to the liturgical* year. For Leo the Great, the central importance of the paschal mystery resided uniquely in the fact that it offered in one single event, and more richly, what the various mysteries celebrated throughout the year in a partial manner (PL 54, 301).

In short, the name of the Passover became synonymous with "the Sunday of the Resurrection*," and, save for very rare exceptions (e.g., Rupert de Deutz, CChr.CM 7, 207), this has remained so up to the present; it lost its organic link with the Passion of Christ, which tended, for its part, to move from the domain of mystery to that of piety. The Resurrection itself came to be considered from an apologetic angle, as an argu-

ment in favor of Christ and of the Church*, rather than for its significance as a mystery.

c) Rediscovery of the Paschal Mystery. In more recent times the reform of the paschal rituals under Pius XII, preceded by the liturgical movement and by the *Mysterienlehre* (Mystery) (Casel, L. Bouyer), brought about a revival of interest in the paschal mystery. The original unity of death and resurrection has been reaffirmed, as well as the saving characteristic that they possess by rights (F.-X. Durrwell). The expression "paschal mystery" is sometimes employed to designate the whole process of redemption (Balthasar*), and we are also seeing an attempt to refound on the paschal mystery—and on the cross in particular—everything up to the theology* of the Trinity* (J. Moltmann).

Having rediscovered within the paschal mystery the unity of death and resurrection, theology is applying itself nowadays to shedding light on the close unity between the Incarnation* and the paschal mystery, and, as a consequence of this, to uniting the Greek soteriology of deification (holiness*) with the Latin soteriology of atonement and of redemption (J.-P. Jossua, Balthasar). What remains to be achieved is a deeper understanding of Pentecost, as the coming of the Holy* Spirit, in relation to the Incarnation and the paschal mystery.

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See also **Cult; Liturgy; Scripture, Senses of**

Pastor

From the Latin *pastor*, “shepherd,” the pastor is the head of a local* church. He is also called *parochus*, in charge of a parish (Latin *parochia*, from the Greek *paroikia*). *Pastor* is the usual Protestant term used to designate the minister of the local community. It is through him that Christ* brings together and builds the flock (the *congregatio*). The Second Vatican* Council gave new currency to the term within Catholicism* and speaks of the bishop* as a pastor.

a) Biblical Elements. In the Old Testament the common notions of shepherd and flock are applied to the relations between Israel* and its leaders: the king is charged by God* to be a shepherd for the people. The function is often badly performed, and we frequently hear the lament of a flock without a shepherd (1 Kgs 22:17; Zec 10:2; and so on), or whose bad shepherds (Jer 23:1–2 and Ez 34:2–4) will feel the judgment of God come down on them (Jer 23:34 and Zec 11:3 and 11:17). The prophets (prophet* and prophecy) foretell new and good shepherds (“shepherds after my own heart” in Jer 3:15, Cyrus in Is 44:28, and a new David in Ez 34:23–24), in the service of God, the supreme shepherd of his people (Ps 23, 80:2; Is 40:11; Jer 31:10; and Ez 34:11–13).

In the New Testament, Christ is the good shepherd (Jn 10:2, 10:11, 10:14–16, 10:27–28), just as he is the Lamb* of God who gives his life for his own (Jn 10:11 and 10:15 and Reve 7:17; *see also* Lk 15:3–5). He will exercise his pastoral function at the Last Judgment (1 Pt 5:4; *see also* Mt 25:32–33). It is to this pastor that we must turn in order to be saved (1 Pt 2:25 and Heb 13:20). He sends his disciples to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Mt 10:5–7; *see also* Mt 9:36–38), then to all nations (Mt 28:18–20; *see also* Acts 10). Peter* (Jn 21:15–17; *see also* Mt 16:17–19) occupies a privileged place in this pastoral mission that he transmits to the elders (1 Pt 5:1–3), as does Paul, who institutes presbyters (presbyter*/priest) to watch over the flock (Acts 20:17, 28–30). In order to maintain his Church*, God gives it prophets and evangelists, pastors and teachers (Eph 4:11; in this connection, *also see* the Pastoral Epistles, 1 and 2 Tm and Ti).

b) Ancient and Medieval Church. A common theme of early Christian art, the figure of the Good Shepherd

was used by the Fathers* of the Church to evoke Christ and the “pastoral” function of bishops and priests (priesthood*). It was linked particularly to their teaching responsibility: “He who is *pastor* should also be *magister*; no one in the Church can take the name of pastor if he cannot be the teacher of those for whom he is the pastor,” wrote Jerome (about 347–419; *Comm. Eph.*, 4, 11). Gregory* the Great was the author of a pastoral (*Liber Regulae Pastoralis*). Pastoral responsibility was exercised in relation with the patriarchs, and, for the Latin Church, particularly with the bishop of Rome*. It was centered on the “cure of souls,” *cura animarum*, the spiritual support of souls (soul*-heart-body). According to Thomas* Aquinas, the pastoral charge included *auctoritas* and *caritas*. In the Middle Ages, “pastoral” defined both the ministry* of the diocesan bishop and that of the parish priest.

c) Reformation Churches. The Lutheran Reformation introduced a new emphasis by focusing on the tasks of preaching* and catechesis*. In the local community, the pastor played the role of a bishop. He guarded its unity and acted as minister of the Word* and of the sacraments* (see *Augsburg Confession*, art. 5, 7, 14, and 28). In principle, by virtue of the universal priesthood*, every believer participated in the cure of souls, the *mutuum colloquium et consolatio fratrum* (*Articles of Smalcald*, art. 4); but this collective exercise of the pastoral ministry supplemented the particular ministry of the pastor without replacing it. In Calvinism*, the pastoral charge was the responsibility of four *offices* (pastor, elder, teacher, and deacon). In fulfilling his duty, the pastor would visit the faithful, lead the parish with the presbyters or elders (who were of the laity [lay*/laity]), and with them carry out church discipline (ecclesiastical* discipline). Pastors met frequently for sharing and spiritual development based on the study of the Holy* Scriptures. Pastor and presbyters led the consistory, which brought together several parishes, and they formed the synodal structure of a regional or national church. The deacons provided service for the poor and the ill; the teachers were responsible for schools and teaching (see *Ecclesiastical Ordinances from the Church of Geneva*, 1561). All churches derived from the Reformation generally adopted this conception, which required

from the pastor a high level of competence (note, e.g., the pastoral robe, an indication of his university training). A particular place was reserved for the pastoral family, the *Protestant presbytery*. Since Luther*, pastors have generally been married and assisted in their duties by their spouses. The pastoral ministry today is no longer confined to men; women are often pastors.

d) Contemporary Catholicism. Vatican II, following in the footsteps of Vatican* I, “Teaches and declares with it that Jesus Christ, the eternal pastor, has built holy Church by sending his apostles (apostle*), as he himself had been sent by the Father* (*see* Jn 20:21); he wanted their successors, that is, the bishops, to be pastors in his Church until the end of time” (LG 18). The unity of pastors is derived from the pastoral ministry of the successor of Peter (*see* the constitution *Pastor Aeternus* of Vatican I). Vatican II has confirmed his primacy of the pope and his infallible magisterium*. It emphasizes the teaching duty of the bishops, inseparable from their priestly duty and their ministry of church government* (LG 20:24–27). Priests participate in the pastoral ministry of the bishop; they are ministers of the Word* and of the sacraments (sacrament*), and in the first place of the Eucharist*. They are assisted by deacons “in the ‘diaconship’ of the liturgy*, of the Word, and of charity” (LG 20, 28, and 29).

e) Current Problems. In the contemporary context, the pastoral ministry is confronted with a number of challenges. The proclamation of the Word, the celebration of the sacraments, the cure of souls, the concern for the unity and the government of the community all remain

central. The many expectations of the parish and of society*, however, often make the pastor a “representative of the Church” who must provide for almost everything; and these demands, which presuppose an extraordinary availability may go beyond the human capacities of the pastor. His or her ministry also requires a high level of qualification (including in the areas of communication, pedagogy, and psychology), which gives rise to a tension between professionalism and vocation, and, in the highly institutionalized majority Churches, even a certain “bureaucratization” of the ministry. All confessional families have to meet these challenges.

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See also Apostolic Succession; Bishop; Deacon; Local Church; Ministry; Ordination/Order; Presbyter/Priest

Patriarchate

The title of patriarch was first used after the Council of Chalcedon*. It was long reserved for the most important sees, as determined by age, establishment by the apostles, and eminence of their position in the empire: Rome*, Constantinople (a “new Rome” after Constantinople* I)—Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem*—under the jurisdiction of Caesarea in Palestine until Chalcedon assigned it the fifth place in

order of precedence at the session of 26 October 451 (*see* G. Alberigo et al., *The Oecumeniques Councils* 1, History). These five patriarchates, which the imperial *novelles* (or constitutions) called the five senses of the empire, made up what was called the “pentarchy.” This was the group of influential bishoprics that divided up the “inhabited world” (or the known world), the *oikumenè*, into spheres of influence in which each patriarch

presided over the election of metropolitans and diocesan bishops (bishop*) and heard appeals. (For Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, *see* Nicaea* I, can. 6.) Each of these patriarchates was an “autocephalous” church (one that chose its own primate, as distinguished from an “autonomous” church, the primate of which was chosen with the participation of the primate of an autocephalous church). Not included in the pentarchy was the Church of Cyprus, which had been made autocephalous by the Council of Ephesus* (“Vote,” *DCO*, 160–61), and whose primate was an archbishop not a patriarch. Thus a patriarchate was a group of metropolises, capitals of provinces, presided over by a patriarch, generally corresponding, especially since the beginning of the Constantine period, to administrative divisions of the empire. A metropolis, presided over by a metropolitan or a metropolite, grouped together a certain number of dioceses (a diocese being a city with an Episcopal see, together with its dependent territory). These dioceses and metropolises met periodically, under the presidency of the patriarch, in a synod* or local council*. This practice is still followed in most Eastern, particularly Orthodox, churches, as well as in many Western churches (conferences of bishops, synods of Anglican provinces, and of Lutheran and Reformed Churches).

It should be noted that the patriarch, while playing the role of president within a patriarchate, was a bishop like other bishops, with no Episcopal power higher than that of the others. All bishops were equal, all participated in the same apostolic* succession, and all were similarly called upon to be guarantors of the true faith*. However, although the Episcopal power of a patriarch (or of a metropolitan) was the same as that of any other bishop and his title as primate essentially honorific, his role as president conferred on him a certain moral authority. For example, it devolved on him to approve elections of bishops for the provinces and metropolises in his jurisdiction; to preside over the election of metropolitans; and to call the synods or local councils (the Greek word *synodos* means “council”).

The pentarchy, as defined above, existed—with some tensions between Rome and Constantinople, which assumed the title of ecumenical patriarchate in 588, while still recognizing the traditional privileges of ancient Rome—until the gradual separation between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. When communion* with Rome was broken, it was quite natural that Constantinople, second in the order of precedence, would become the see of the primate of the Orthodox Church. It has remained so until now (and will until communion with Rome is restored).

With the development of the Church of Russia and the transfer in the 14th century of the primate’s see from Kiev to the new capital of Moscow, the autocephalous status of that church was solemnly recognized in 1589, when the ecumenical patriarch Jeremiah II came to consecrate the first patriarch of Moscow “and of all the Russias,” Job. The pentarchy was thus restored for a short time, with Moscow assuming the fifth place previously held by Jerusalem.

Later developments were increasingly related to the rise of nationalism, particularly in the 19th century. Autocephalous churches appeared (or reappeared) in significant numbers. These churches increasingly identified themselves with the territories of sovereign states and thus tended to become “national” and not simply local churches (the Church of Antioch remains an example of a truly territorial church: its primatial see is in Damascus and its territory covers Syria and Lebanon). As a result, patriarchates proliferated, and the title of patriarch, formerly reserved, as we have seen, for bishops occupying prestigious sees, became widespread. The Orthodox world now includes eight churches headed by patriarchs, and, in all, sixteen autocephalous or “autonomous” churches.

The title patriarch has no specifically theological meaning. It has the same ecclesiastical significance as those of other primates (archbishop, metropolitan, catholicos, the title varying from one church to the next). In the Orthodox Church the primate presides over a local church as *primus inter pares* and in communion with all the other primates. One of these primates is endowed with a universal presidency under the same conditions: it is, actually, the patriarch of Constantinople.

Finally, it should be noted that some patriarchates, such as Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, now have several patriarchs: one Orthodox, one Catholic, one pre-Chalcedonian, which is contrary to the most ancient canon* law.

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NICOLAS LOSSKY

***See also* Government, Church; Hierarchy; Infallibility; Irenaeus of Lyons; Lay/Laity; Magisterium; Ministry; Ordination/Order; Pastor; Pope; Priesthood**

Patripassianism. *See* **Modalism**

Paul of Tarsus. *See* **Pauline Theology**

Pauline Theology

The Pauline letters can be classified in three groups, from earliest to latest: 1) the letters known as ministry and recognized as authentic (1 Thes, 1 and 2 Cor, Gal, and Rom); 2) the prison letters, Philippians and Philemon, also authentic; Colossians and Ephesians, whose authenticity is questioned (as 2 Thes), considered by some as Deutero-Pauline; and 3) the Pastoral letters, 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, attributed by most exegetes to disciples of Paul (Bible*).

Paul's letters are not systematic, exhaustive expositions but circumstantial texts addressed to problems that arose in the first communities. However, they contain a number of constants that do not derive from circumstances or from the religious milieu (Jewish and/or Greek), but from Paul himself. This applies particularly to a generalized christologization of theological discourse.

I. A Christologized Theology

1. The Gospel That Is Christ

Paul was sent (1 Cor 1:17a) to preach the gospel that is Christ* (1 Thes 3:2; 1 Cor 9:12, 2:2; 2 Cor 1:19, 2:12, 4:4f., 9:13, 10:14; Gal 1:7; Rom 1:1ff., 15:19, 16:25; Phil 1:12–18, 27; Col 1:27; etc.), a gospel that is also “of God*” (1 Thes 2:2, 8f.; 2 Cor 11:7; Rom 15:16) because it fully and paradoxically manifests his impenetrable ways (Rom 11:33). Why must the apostle’s proclamation be essentially christological? The answer

is suggested at the end of the hymn in Philippians 2 (vv. 9ff.); if God glorified Jesus* and made him Lord so that all creation without exception recognizes him as such, how could one be excused for keeping silent about that lordship—and about all that preceded it. Accepting the gospel means believing in Jesus Christ. This is clearly illustrated in Romans 9:30–10, 21; the only reproach leveled against Israel* is that it refused the gospel, in other words Jesus Christ, in the name of fidelity to the Torah. To proclaim that divine justice* was fully and definitively manifest in Jesus Christ comes down to describing Christ’s course, presenting him crucified, dead, and raised to life for our salvation*.

Paul could not accept that anyone should preach or believe in “another Jesus” than the one he preaches (2 Cor 11:4), meaning a Jesus whose scandalous death is hidden, or a Jesus who came to put us back under the yoke of the law*. It is Christ’s death on the cross that determines the components of the evangelical message, and leads Paul to declare that circumcision (*see* Gal 5:11) cannot be an integral part of the gospel.

2. Christ and Salvation for All

Paul’s discourse on salvation is also fundamentally christologized. In it are recounted two complementary forms of salvific intervention that have taken place in the past: by God, who wished to show his justice and mercy* in sending Christ for our redemption or libera-

tion (*see*, among others, 2 Cor 5:18f., 5:21; Gal 4:4ff.; Rom 3:21–26, 5:8, 8:3f.; Col 1:22, 2:13; Eph 2:4f.), and by Christ (1 Thes 5:9f.; 1 Cor 8:11, 15:3; 2 Cor 5:14f., 8:9; Gal 1:4, 2:20, 3:13; Rom 5:6, 5:8, 5:12–19, 14:15; Phoe; 2:7f.; Col 2:14f.; Eph 2:13–17, 5:2, 5:23, 5:25). Depending on the thrust of his argument, Paul drew on different semantic fields to express the interventions of God and Christ: love*, grace*, redemption, liberation (from the law, from sin*, from death*), justification*, forgiveness, reconciliation, solidarity, obedience and humiliation, expiation* (or propitiation), sacrifice*, creation*, life, salvation. He also insisted on the efficacy and the universal scope of Christ's redemptive work.

Christ's salvific mediation is still exercised today because, being risen, he reigns over the living and the dead (1 Cor 15:23–28; Rom 14:9; Phil 2:10f.). Believers have died with him to the Law and to sin, and have been buried with him so as to live with him (Rom 6:1–11, 8:17; Col 2:11; Eph 2:4) and “for him” (2 Cor 5:15; Rom 14:7f.), to know him (Phil 3:8, 10; Col 2:2; Eph 3:19, 4:13), and even to live through him, because he lives, lives in them (Gal 2:20; Eph 3:17), his life (as Resuscitated) is manifest, shines in their mortal existence (2 Cor 3:18, 4:8, 4:11; Rom 8:29), they belong to him (1 Cor 3:23) and for them living is Christ (Phil 1:21; Col 3:4). Christ's mediation also continues in the relation of believers to God, because he protects them from the wrath to come (1 Thes 1:10) and intercedes for them (Rom 8:34). Christ never abandons those he restored to God's friendship.

Paul's interpretation of the role of Mosaic law is determined by the effects of Christ's mediation in his own life and the lives of other believers. Good and holy as it may be, Mosaic law remains in the service of sin, because it makes us know sin but cannot deliver us from it (Rom 7:7–25). Moreover, it was and remains the identifying feature of the people of the covenant*, protecting them and separating them from all other nations. By highlighting the saving universality of Christ's death on the cross and of his resurrection*, Paul sets forth the common vocation of all mankind.

Admittedly, Paul's vocabulary does not seem to be directly christological when he expresses the identity and dignity of the faithful. He says that they have become children of God (filiation*) (*see* 2 Cor 6:18; Gal 3:26, 4:5f.; Rom 8:15ff., 8:19, 8:21, 8:23, 9:26; Phil 2:15; Eph 1:5). But Christ does not stand outside the relation established between God and mankind, because “God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts” (Gal 4:4): Christ lives in us, loves in us; we are sons/daughters with and in him. This is why the baptized can say “*Abba!* Father*!” to God who desires to

seem them reproduce the image of his Son (1 Cor 15:49; 2 Cor 3:18, 4:6; Rom 8:29). The mediator carries them into his own relationship with his Father, so that their being-as-son becomes inseparable from his itinerary.

3. *Christ and Awaiting the End of Time*

a) Christological or Apocalyptic? Paul expresses his hope* primarily in christological terms. But do the death and resurrection of Jesus have decisive meaning and scope if separated from the apocalyptic interpretation of the imminent, final victory of God over evil*, the ultimate manifestation of his justice? Paul sees the resurrection of Jesus as the event that calls forth the final resurrection. He prefers to focus on the modalities or ways by which divine justice and mercy have already been revealed, because the real question is the “how” of that manifestation, meaning the death on the cross. This is why the apocalyptic framework is less important than has been thought in the structure of the Pauline eschatology*. The apostle was hardly interested in the final divine vengeance* or victory. Not that he denied them (*see* 1 Thes 4:6, 5:3, 5:9; 2 Thes 2:12; Gal 5:21; 1 Cor 6f.; Rom 1:32, 2:5–10, 2:16, 3:5f.; Eph 5:5) (violence*), but all his preaching* bears on the mercy granted to our humanity by the Son's death on the cross, when the majesty of God had never been more triumphant! The apocalyptic scenarios in 1 Thessalonians 4, 15ff.; 1 Corinthians 15:23–28 and 1 Corinthians 15:52f. are important only for the coming of Christ; this alone gives all its weight to the events of the last days, because it allows the faithful, living and dead, to be forever with him in his glory*. The only true misfortune would be to not be with him forever.

The christologization of Pauline eschatology has an even more decisive function: eternal life* means not only being with Christ but inheriting his own risen life resuscitated. Resurrection (resurrection* of the dead) for punishment or destruction is totally excluded (*see* 1 Cor 15:35–49); the worst that can happen is to not be raised, not to share in the glory of Christ. Pauline eschatology is thus steeped in Christology (Christ* and Christology), and it is from this that it draws its finality, its content, and its scope.

b) Transformations of Eschatology. Did this insistence on the present and future relation of Christ with believers displace Pauline eschatology to a position where the final resurrection of believers (in 1 Thes 1; 2 Cor; Gal; Rom; Phil) was replaced by a resurrection and salvation that had already occurred (Col 2:12, 3:1; Eph 2:5f., 2:8)? In fact the tension between the “al-

ready occurred” and the “not yet” is not dissipated by Colossians and Ephesians because these letters do say that believers already have a glorious body (soul*-heart-body). Proclaiming that the faithful are raised to life with their Lord does not remove them from history*. Rather, it highlights the Christologization of their existence in all its dimensions—personal, ecclesial, and social.

4. Christ and the Discourse on God

a) *Christ and His Relation to God.* Paul places Jesus Christ next to God; this could be described as a progressive theologization of his Christology. From the first to the last letters, one or another divine title is attributed to Christ. He is declared “Lord” (*kurios*, e.g., 1 Cor 2:8, 8:5f.; 2 Cor 3:14–17; Rom 10: 6–13; Phil 2:9ff.) by his resurrection. This term may certainly be used of other figures, but applied to Christ it assumes a particularly strong connotation (see 1 Cor 8:5; Col 3:22, 4:1; Eph 6:5, 6:9). In fact Paul takes several biblical passages where *kurios* manifestly designates God, translating *hb Adonai* or even YHWH, and applies them to Jesus (see JI 3:5 in Rom 10:13; Is 45:23 in Phil 2:10f.) (name*). Other titles, such as *sôtèr* (“savior”), which appear only in the prison and pastoral letters, are applied equally to God (1 Tm 1:1, 2:3; Ti 1:3, 2:10, 3:4) and to Christ (Phil 3:20; Eph 5:23; 1 Tm 4:10; 2 Tm 1:10; Ti 1:4, 2:13, 3:6).

b) *Christologization of Theology.* Concomitantly, Paul christologizes his theology*. He never mentions God’s redemptive work without mentioning Christ, thus making of him the proof par excellence of divine love and mercy (Gal 2:20f.; Rom 5:8, 8:39; Eph 2:4f., 4:32, 5:1f.; 2 Thes 2:16). And from then on God is “the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ” (see 2 Cor 1:3, 11:31; Rom 15:6; Col 1:3; Eph 1:3). Paul sees this paternity as the definition of God himself. In the Bible God is already called the Father of the poor and the orphaned, the Father of Israel (Ps 68:6f., 103:13f., etc.). But in the Pauline letters this relation of God to human beings is understood only as a function of the father’s relation to his son Jesus Christ; their filial adoption (*huiotēsia*) is connected to the filiation of Jesus (Gal 4:4ff.). Further, it is the paths taken by the Son that reveal the extraordinariness of the paternity of God.

c) *The Spirit of Christ.* Paul underscores the connection between the sending of the Son and the reception of the filial Spirit (Gal 4:4ff.). And he refuses any separation of the Spirit (*pneuma*) from Christ, Lord and Spirit of God. His pneumatology depends on his Christology and theology (1 Cor 12:4ff.; Rom 8:9, 14ff.)

and is connected to his discourse on the Church* (1 Cor 12:12–30). The gift of the filial Spirit, the Spirit of the promise*, was made in connection with Jesus’ death/resurrection. Paul’s belief that Christ inaugurated the era of the *pneuma* and is himself “a life-giving spirit” (1 Cor 15:45) clearly indicates that all life comes through him.

The connection Christ/Spirit is also decisive for the opening of Scripture. According to what Paul himself says in 2 Co 3, it is by the Spirit that we can understand how Scripture itself, designated here as “the Old Testament” (2 Cor 3:14), takes meaning with reference to Christ, because all of Scripture speaks of him.

5. Christ and the Discourse on the Church

Pauline ecclesiology is not exclusively christological. When the term *Church* is used in the letters, it is followed by diverse noun complements (Church “of God,” “of the Thessalonians,” etc.) but is never designated as the Church of Christ. Furthermore, Paul does not limit himself to christological expressions to describe the community of the faithful in its unity and growth; for example, they form the temple* of God, an abode of the Spirit, or a single new man (1 Cor 3:9, 16f.; Eph 2:15, 2:21f.). Nevertheless the multiform presentation of being—in—the Church is not separated from Christology, because Christ is the foundation (1 Cor 3) or the cornerstone (Eph 2) of the temple constituted by the Church.

a) *Church as the Body of Christ.* Numerous expressions show clearly that the Church was described by the Paul primarily in christological terms. First, the repetition of the syntagm “in Christ.” Second, the fact that, with the exception of two biblical citations (Rom 9:25f.; 2 Cor 6:16), the baptized are not called “people of God.” This term is reserved for Israel, including Jews who believe in Jesus Christ and those who reject him in the name of fidelity to the Mosaic law. The thematic of the people is too particular to designate God’s project for the whole human race; Paul prefers a familial vocabulary that makes the community of believers “the family*” of God. But it is a vocabulary of the body that allows him to signify the privileged relation between the Church and Christ. There were numerous reasons why this vocabulary was attractive, including its connotations of growth, of unity in diversity, and of the complementarity of members, but the christological determination is fundamental. The faithful do not form a social body but the body of Christ; of which they are the limbs (1 Cor 1:13, 6:15, 12:12–27; Rom 12:5; Col 1:18, 22; Eph 1:23, 4:12f., 4:25, 5:23, 5:30). Because this relation constitutes the Church as an eschatological entity, it is not counted with others of this

world, such as the social, the political, or the religious. For that reason it is not a substitute for the people of Israel.

1 Corinthians 1–4 is a thorough demonstration of Paul's use of Christology to formulate intra-ecclesial relations. The first section, which is christological, gives the values that generate the physiognomy of the ecclesial group and its true hierarchy (the ministers being in the service of the Church and not vice versa). In its fundamental dependence the Church must testify to the Son's unique lordship over it. In Colossians 1:18a the vocabulary is the same as in the preceding letters (*see* Rom 12:4f.; 1 Cor 10:16f., 12:12f.) but the emphasis is different. What matters here is not the Church in its organic reality, forming a unity in the multiplicity and complementarity of its members, but its dependence with respect to the Son and the unicity of this relation (the Church alone is his body). He goes even further in Ephesians: because the Church is closely united to its Lord and vivified by him, it becomes the privileged sign of the grace of God offered to all humankind. Moreover, it becomes responsible for manifesting the totally gratuitous, reconciling love of Christ for all, and the new humanity should be traced in the Church, which is the body of Christ in growth.

Aside from the head/body relation used to describe the unique, privileged bond between Christ and his Church, a husband/wife type of relation figures in 2 Cor 11:2; this is articulated with the corporeal relation and treated at greater length in Ephesians 5:26f. (couple*).

b) Sacraments of Christ. The Church remains indelibly united to its Lord by the baptism* received in Christ, with Christ or in his name (*see*, e.g., 1 Cor 1:13; Gal 3:27; Rom 6:3f.; Col 2:12) and by the Lord's, where the community also receives its unity (1 Cor 10:16f.) (Eucharist*).

Baptism determines the true dignity (Christly and spiritual) of believers, and it is on this basis that Paul is able to combat all kinds of false intra-ecclesial hierarchization. Though some ministries or charisms may be superior to others (1 Cor 12:27–31), they must not determine a difference in status (*see* 1 Cor 3).

c) Christ and the Ministries. Paul also connected to Christ the apostolic ministry and the proclamation of the gospel: he introduces almost all his letters by presenting himself as apostle, minister (*diakonos*), or servant "of Christ" The purpose of the ministry is also to make Christ known, make the faithful increase, etc. Paul does everything so that Christ will be formed in his converts (Gal 4:19); he is like a father who keeps his daughter pure and a virgin so as to present her to

her husband, the Christ (2 Cor 11:2). When the finality is theological, it is associated with a christological determination ("in Christ" or an equivalent) as in 1 Corinthians 3. The true apostle can be recognized by the way he suffers and endures for the gospel, reproducing in his flesh the itinerary of Christ for his Church (*see* 1 Cor 4 and 9; 2 Cor 6:4–10, 11:23–12:10; Phil 3; Col 1:24; 2 Tm 1:12). And in Ephesians 4:7–12 the ministries are completely christologized; it is Christ who distributes them to his Church, thus ensuring its growth. This does not mean that Christ substitutes himself for God but that God himself, by giving Christ to the Church and making him its head, wished to give his all to the Church (Eph 1:20–23).

6. Christologization of Ethics and Anthropology

a) Christological Motives. Clearly Pauline morality does not draw on the the Mosaic Torah for its major justification, despite the Jewish background of several directives, in particular the commandment to love one's fellow human being (Lv 19:18; Gal 5:14; Rom 13:9). Christ does have a decisive function because Paul's exhortations are made in reference to him (1 Thes 4:1; Rom 14:14; 15:30; Phil 2:5) or in his name (1 Thes 4:2; 1 Cor 7:10f.). He cites Christ's liberality and humility, his love for all, especially for the humble, and invites his readers to imitate him in that (1 Cor 11:1; 2 Cor 8:9; Rom 15:7; Phil 2:5–11; Col 3:13; Eph 5:2, 5:25–30). Along with God the Father, Christ is an ethical model to follow. This is why Paul does not entertain the question of the priority of the Torah over Christ. Granting that the requisite "Love your neighbor as yourself" is more appropriate in his day than ever, Paul does not attribute this to its origin as an order in the Torah, which undoubtedly expresses the divine will, but to the fact that the baptized have experienced the extent of the love of God and of Christ. Christ remains the ultimate recipient of ethical action and indication of its consequences (1 Cor 8:12f.). The dignity of the believer, which is derived from the love Christ has shown for him (in dying for him) and from his union with Christ, perhaps finds its most notable consequence here. Elsewhere Christ's being and action served as a more elaborate principle of argumentation (1 Cor 5:6ff., 6:13 and 15, 8:11; Rom 6, 14:15; 1 Cor 11:4; Col 3:1; Eph 5:23). In more formal terms, the christological justifications pertain to what is commonly called "the indicative," to which the "ethical" imperative is attached. Paul exhorts his readers in the name of their being-in-Christ (or with Christ), in virtue of what they themselves have perceived and received of the love of God in Jesus Christ.

In Colossians and Ephesians christological motiva-

tions are extended to every aspect of the life of the ecclesial group, especially relations between husband and wife, parents and children, masters, and servants. Does this mean that Christology validates society's assignment of statutory inferiority to wives, or its demand for the unconditional obedience of slaves? In reality such directives should not be interpreted as the ingenuous "baptism" of these culturally imposed social structures but a wish to humanize and transform them, to show how they can and must open themselves to the gospel. Far from bending the gospel to worldly values, these prison letters make of it an instrument for the conversion* of all codes, moral and otherwise.

b) New Humanity in Christ. Pauline anthropology* is also christologized. Christ is the last Adam* and the eschatological man bears his features (see 1 Cor 15:44b–49). It is because of the unity and dignity of our humanity in Christ that Paul is able to outline the kinds of worldly discrimination that are to be excluded from the Church (whether it be discrimination based on religion (Jew, Greek; circumcised or not), sex (man, woman*) or class (free man, slave; see Gal 3:28; Col 3:11). And again, on the basis of redemption in Christ he describes, in Romans 7:7–25, the enslavement of man as subject of the Law and still subject to the flesh* (*sarx*); and it is always in terms of Christ that he develops, in Colossians and Ephesians, the beginnings of a concept of a "new man," as opposed to the "old" one who is prisoner of sin and death (Col 3:9 ff.; Eph 4:22–25). But it is first and foremost in the Son that our humanity discovers the dimensions of its filial dignity, and at the same time the exigency of fraternity, of loving attention, so as to truly form the family of God (1 Thes 4:9; Rom 8:29, 12:9f.). As for Paul's preference for celibacy, that too is determined by christological reasons—the proclamation of the Gospel (1 Cor 7:29–35).

Thus the figure of Christ structures the various fields of Pauline theology. But this is more a christologization than a systematic reflection on the status and being of Christ. The importance of Christology in Paul's letters is measured more by its role and dissemination than its internal development.

II. A Paradoxical Theology

1. A Paradoxical Formulation of the Itinerary of Christ and the Baptized

a) Folly of the Death on the Cross. Although Jesus Christ is the primary subject of Paul's gospel, he retains little more than the death on the cross (1 Cor 1:18–25; Gal 3:1). Not that he had a predilection for

this type of death—quite the contrary, he considered God's instrument as an abasement. But this unbearable event became the site of his absolute consolation. This does not mean that he sought to minimize the scandal*, in the sense that its soteriological purpose (a death on the cross for all) would reduce the enigma. Even though, following the apostolic tradition*, he reinterpreted and re-read the event in the light of Scripture (see 1 Cor 15:3f.), and even though he overcame his rejection and acknowledged the coherence of such a death, he always expressed it in paradoxical terms, in abrupt phrases meant to awaken his readers to the extremity of divine ways. God "gave up" his Son (Rom 8:32): could a father worthy of the name deliver his beloved son to such a death, even for the most worthy reasons? Then would he hesitate to give up all of humanity? There are other, stronger statements: "For our sake, he made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor 5:21; a similar formulation in Rom 8:3f.). This gesture of God's is inseparable from that of his Son who so loved mankind that he gave up himself for its sake (Gal 1:4, 2:20), and became a curse so that in him the blessing of Abraham is extended to all people (Gal 3:13f.). There is nothing ornamental about this rhetoric—especially the two metonymies, sin and curse—it simply serves to mark the stupefaction of one who could not see the event of the cross as anything but a folly (1 Cor 1:21ff.) to which God resorted in order to save the world. Paul not only retained the excess of an ignominious death, he also underscored the extraordinariness and the extension of its effects for anyone who accepts to believe—filial adoption, Spirit received, etc. Again, it is the means taken by Christ to return us to divine friendship that are highlighted in 2 Corinthians 8:9, when he says that Jesus, rich though he was, became poor for our sake so that "you by his poverty might become rich."

Paul's paradoxical affirmations not only upset worldly wisdom*, they also indicate the orientation of Christian discourse. The apostle recognized that the extremity of divine ways could be recognized in the itinerary of Christ, and meditating on Jesus' death on the cross takes us into the mystery* of the fatherhood of God. Undoubtedly the best description of the importance of Christ's death on the cross for announcing the gospel is in the passage 1 Corinthians 1–2. Paul denies himself brilliant discourse so as not to reduce it to nothingness. In opting for a rhetoric of humility and simplicity, Paul definitively eschewed the seduction of the word. But Christ's death on the cross does much more than change the rules of the rhetorical game. It determines the message itself, because it indicates definitively God's wretched choice: that "unto" the

death on the cross reveals a divine folly wiser than human wisdom, a poverty more powerful than anything. The cross changes how one views the world and its values: “But far be it from me to boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world” (Gal 6:14). Paul can only proclaim the death of Jesus on the cross as the supreme, definitive subversion of worldly values.

This importance of the “extreme” also explains why Paul says almost nothing about the life of Jesus except that he was born to a woman, was Jewish and subject to the Law (Gal 4:4), and descended from David (Rom 1:3). This does not mean that the apostle did not know more, or found nothing else worthy of mention; he summarized his argument in a single expression, “being born in the likeness of men” (Phil 2:7), precisely obeying the dynamics of humbling. Certainly, the climax of humiliation and kenosis* is not the end of the journey, and the Pauline gospel also includes the element of the “resurrection” without which his preaching would be false Good News and our faith* vain and empty (1 Cor 15:17). But this element should not make us forget the first, because that is the source of the indispensable condition: the exaltation of a crucified, humiliated man who is the Son of God.

b) Paradoxical Condition of the Baptized. Several passages unequivocally indicate the connection between the Lord’s itinerary and that of the baptized (1 Cor 1:26–31; Rom 6; Phil 3:2–11), expressed no less paradoxically. Henceforth, the baptized are dead and their life is hidden with Christ in God (Col 3:3); liberated from sin they have become slaves of justice (Rom 6:18). Although they should not become slaves of men (1 Cor 7:23), they must “serve” (*douleuete*) one another (Gal 5:13), just as Paul, free with respect to everyone, made himself slave of all in order to win the greatest number (1 Cor 9:19). He goes so far as to praise—without masochism or complacency—his weakness (2 Cor 11:30), because in that weakness the strength of God can work (2 Cor 12:10). Does God need our chronic weakness so as to manifest in and by us his strength? In reality, he himself followed this path in his Son (Phil 2:6ff.). On this point Paul’s affirmations are comparable to those of Jesus—he who humbles himself will be raised up, the greatest will be in the service of all, etc. But Paul must turn to the rhetoric of excess (*auxèsis*) to formulate such reversals, especially with regard to the beautiful religious privilege granted to the Israelite he was and still is (Rom 11:1), now voluntarily turned into sweepings, filth, by love of Christ (Phil 3:8).

The event of the death of the Son on the cross and

the life of the baptized are caught up in the broader logic of redemption in an even more paradoxical formulation in the *Epistle to the Romans* that seems to make God the first agent of our rejection (see Rom 5:20, 11:32). Paul does not forget human resistance but he sees it ordained and adopted by an unfathomable divine wisdom, just when it lets itself be recognized (Rom 11:33–36) (knowledge* of God).

2. A Paradoxical Description of Israel and the Torah

a) Destiny of Israel. Paul believed that the present and future situation of Israel was integral to the logic of salvation. Israel remained the people of God, even if most of its members rejected the gospel of Christ in the name of fidelity to Mosaic law. Their zeal for God paradoxically distanced them from his justice (Rom 10:1ff.) (hardening*), but this distance, which is not permanent, comes from God himself, who hardened them so that non-Jews could receive the gospel (Rom 11:25–32). How can God behave this way toward the people he loves? Paul can align these paradoxes by virtue of his own experience; he himself had fought against the gospel out of zeal (Gal 1:13f.), and if God had made him the instrument of the evangelization of the nations, is this to show in advance the future role of his people, a role now passive, but a people that retain a decisive eschatological vocation. Paul never calls Israel “people of the ancient covenant” because the reality of Israel cannot be exclusively or adequately defined by Mosaic law (for a Jew faithful to the Torah this idea was quite monstrous). And so it is the few Jews who have accepted the Gospel and proclaimed it to the nations—the remnants (Rom 11:5)—who bear the future deliverance of the whole people, and testify to God’s unfailing love for his chosen people (Rom 11).

b) Mosaic Law. It is true that Paul does call the books (book*) of the Mosaic law “Old Testament” (*palaia diathèkè*—the second word, meaning “disposition,” may designate an ordinance, testament, or covenant) (2 Cor 3:14f.). Does he mean this to indicate their age, or the fact that they have been supplanted? He does consider them prophetic books that announce not only the evangelical times (such as Dt 30:12ff. in Rom 10:6–10), but God’s impartial justice (Dt 10:17; see Gal 2:6; Rom 2:11) and justification by faith alone (Gn 15:6; see Gal 3:6; Rom 4). As for the ethical prescriptions, especially the Decalogue* (Rom 13:9), completely recapitulated in Leviticus 19:18 (Gal 5:14; Rom 13:9), the baptized are not dispensed from respecting them. Paul does not ignore the morality of the Pentateuch, but he is against imposing rites of circumcision and dietary purification (Col 2:20f.) on the non-

Jewish baptized (Gal 5:2; Phil 3:3). Although he seems to pick and choose among prescriptions of the Torah, he never says that they are to take and leave; the Law is one, and its subjects should obey in all (Gal 5:3). Though not subject to the letter of the Law, the baptized should nevertheless respect and manifest its Spirit, by reciprocal love.

Paul did not deny the role of the Torah in the past (Gal 3:24) but his unconditional attachment to Christ—who had become his law—showed him that the Mosaic regime had to be regarded as culture-specific, not universal (1 Cor 9:20–23; Phil 3:7–11), and that the gospel could be practiced within any type of cultural system. Paul did not seek the abolition of Mosaic law as such, in its holiness* and finality. He did not want to impose a lawless regime in which the baptized would be free of all systems of ethical and religious values; but he did refuse subjection to this law as a condition of entry into the friendship of God and hope for salvation. Reduction of the soteriological extension of the Mosaic regime went along with a shift in Paul's language; the term *people* almost disappeared, replaced by frequent use of the vocabulary of family (father, children, husband, wife). Paradoxically, however, this refusal to confine the faithful within a single code is what led the Pauline gospel to adopt a standardizing universal quality.

3. Reading of the Biblical Past

The Pauline letters do not have the same perspective as the gospel narratives (narrative*) (Gospels*), where typology is omnipresent and often determines the choice of episodes. Not that the letters ignore typological exegeses (exegesis*) (*see*, among others, 1 Cor 10; 2 Cor 3; Rom 5:12–19), but Paul's positions on justification by faith alone (independent of Mosaic law) demanded a reading that underscored the coherence of the divine plan of salvation and verified the convergence of divine declarations according to prevailing rules of the times. This undoubtedly explains why the apostle's theology becomes more exegetical in Galatians and Romans.

Although Paul believes that faith in Christ lifts the veil that obscured the understanding of Scripture, he never claims that events of the past were nothing but shadows; the reality was already given to be experienced by the Fathers. The rock in the desert was Christ (1 Cor 10:4), the manna was really spiritual nourishment (1 Cor 10:3) and, well before the episodes in the desert, divine action had already signified its orientation because it justified by faith alone (Rom 4; *see* Gn 15:6). This explains why Rm presents the gospel not as something new but as the ultimate manifestation of divine justice, the confirmation of what God had said

and done ever since the first patriarch (*see* Rom 3:21f.). So it is no surprise that scriptural argumentation such as found in Romans 4 is not christological. As object—whether ultimate or absolute—of the promise and faith of Abraham, Christ does not have to be mentioned; what matters is the “when” (before the Mosaic law) and the “how” (without the good works* required by that law) of the act of believing and the justification. What should be underscored is Paul's extraordinarily audacious reading of the story of Abraham against the interpretation of his Jewish contemporaries, found partially in James 2:14–26.

III. Influence of Pauline Theology

The pastoral letters—perhaps as early as Colossians and Ephesians—show that Paul's successors adapted Pauline themes and ideas for the post-apostolic period. There is a continuity of the desire to make the gospel live without compromise but with an open attitude based on the discernment that was demanded in a constantly changing world. The narrative in Acts presents the figure of the Paul more than the components of his theology. The narrator does not mention the existence of the letters, but he makes Paul the perfect representative of the Nazarene “sect” (*see* Acts 24:5, 14) that remained faithful to the promises, and in whom the promises were fulfilled (Acts 26:2–29). Even if it is not out of the question that the author of Acts wanted to present the Christian movement *ad extra*, his account is also a plea in favor of the Pauline position within the Church (the refusal to impose Mosaic law on converts from paganism*), to counterbalance the aggressive reactions of some Christian groups of Jewish origin. And in fact the influence of Pauline theology increased proportionately as the Church moved away from its Jewish birthplace, even if some interpretations of his theology, such as that of Marcion (Marcionism*) in the second century, did him more harm than good.

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See also Adam; Anthropology; Apocalyptic Literature; Apostle; Barth, Karl; Bible; Christ and Christology; Church; Eschatology; Ethics; Faith; Filiation; Gospels; Grace; Hardening; Holy Spirit; Inculturation; Israel; Justification; Kenosis; Law and Christianity; Liberty; Luther, Martin; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Soul-Heart-Body; Universalism; Violence; Wisdom

Peace

Peace, in Christian thought, is not mere absence of conflict or the end of a state of war*. On the contrary, peace is an inclusive concept, encompassing the manifold reality—spiritual, interpersonal, social, international, and even ecological—of an order and a harmony that harken back to the creation* even as they prefigure the eschatological recapitulation of all things.

a) Biblical Theology. In the Old Testament, “peace” (shalom) has two meanings, one ontological and the other eschatological. The ontological sense of peace is based upon the essential goodness of the world, affirmed by the very word* of its Creator (Gn 1:21, 25, and 31). It is eschatological because true peace cannot be truly realized within the time-frame of history*, or can only be realized therein through an anticipatory mode. Certainly, the historical relationship between God and human beings opens up a realm of peace, as in the “covenant of peace” with Israel* (Ez 37:26); and peace, frequently associated with justice*, is God’s gift and blessing* truly provided to the righteous (Ps 85:10–11; Is 32:16–18). However, since human sinfulness (sin*) prohibits God’s peace to reign (Jer 6:13–14), the promises (promise*) of peace go beyond

any present experience of peace. Peace is linked to salvation*, to which the historical Israel has already borne witness, but the full realization of which is the object of eschatological hope* (Is 57:19–21).

In the New Testament, peace (*eirene*) appears predominantly as a personal gift from Jesus*. The word is used conventionally as a salutation (Mk 5:34; Jn 14:27 and 20:19, 20:21, 20:26). “Peacemakers” are mentioned as the subject of one of the Beatitudes (Beatitude*) (Mt 5:9), and the declaration of the Kingdom begins with an invocation of peace (Lk 10:5f.). The commandments not to resist evil* with evil (Mt 5:39), to love one’s enemies (Mt 5:43–47), and to do unto others as you would have them do unto you (Mt 7:12) are also related to the preaching* of peace and peacemaking. Nevertheless, it is in the epistles of Paul that peace gains crucial importance. For Paul, peace means salvation realized, the reconciliation with God that results here and now from justification* by faith* (Rom 5:1); Jesus is thus, in the present, “our peace” (Eph 2:14–18). Used also as a formula of greeting to the churches, peace symbolizes the unity* of the church* in Christ*, as a community of the peace of God (Rom 14:17–19). The peacemaking duties of the faithful follow from the actualized reality of peace: in order to

bear witness to Christ's work, Christians are called upon to live in peace with the whole world, and not only with other Christians (Rom 12:18).

b) Augustine. The biblical concept of peace was significantly developed by Augustine*, who defines peace on three levels. Ontologically and protologically, peace is a vestige of creational goodness in human nature. Christologically, it is a gift from Christ for a humanity that lost original peace after original sin*. Eschatologically, it is a reality that is hoped for but cannot be fully accommodated within earthly time*. Peace thus defined—with a sharp distinction between “perfect” and “imperfect peace”—should reign in all realms, from bodily to spiritual, from individual to social, from earthly to heavenly. Envisaging earthly peace as the proper but not wholly realizable goal of political activities, Augustine recognizes it as a value in itself, and urges Christians to “make use of...the temporal peace of the meantime, common to good and bad alike” (*Civ. Dei* 19, 26, BAug 37). However, he recommends that they labor for earthly peace without “taking pleasure in it,” that is, without treating it as an end in itself. We also owe to Augustine one of the first theological clarifications of the conditions for a just war: it must be part of coercive justice, waged in search of peace (*Ep.* 189, 6, CSEL 47) and in the spirit of love (*Ep.* 138, 13, CSEL 44), and ordered by a legitimate authority* (*Contra Faustum* 22, 75, PL 42, 448), for legitimate reasons (*Civ. Dei* 4, 15, BAug 33).

c) Modern Times. The Augustinian concept was dominant until the beginning of the modern era, when a less pessimistic view of human nature and of reason* appeared. According to Erasmus*, for example, peace is a divine imperative transmitted, of course, by Christ, but also by the rationality of human nature; and peace is guaranteed more by “a heartfelt desire for peace” than by “treaties and alliances” (*/QP LB638, 636/ > /Querela pacis, Opera omnia IV/2 [1977], 59–100/*).

An optimistic faith in reason is indeed the main characteristic in the works of Hobbes (1588–1679). The state of nature is assuredly a state of war (“the war of all against all”), but peace may be fully instituted in the “artificial person” of the social body established by the social contract (*Leviathan*, chs. 16–17), through a rational calculation that aims to protect natural rights, without, however, dealing directly with the individual's moral or religious dispositions.

It was probably in the work of Kant* (*Zum ewigen Frieden*, Weischedel 7) that the modern political concept of peace found its fullest programmatic form. Perpetual peace, the ultimate goal of the historical progress of humanity, guided and guaranteed by “Na-

ture,” is “the end of all hostilities” under a threefold rule of law: 1) in a state with a “republican” constitution based on social contract; 2) by a treaty to create a “confederation” of autonomous states; and 3) by the mutual recognition of “universal human rights.” The state of peace is therefore a legal condition in which the autonomy of a person* or a state is secured both individually and universally according to the dictates of practical reason.

d) Pacifism. The most widely debated problem in recent theology* is that of pacifism. Historically, pacifism has grown out of a strand of Christianity that has taken opposition to violence* to its logical conclusion and refused to participate in war. Theologically, pacifism is clearly based on the Gospels: pacifists literally interpret the commandment “thou shall not kill,” which they consider to be one of the fundamental implications of the divine commandment to love that was transmitted by Christ. There is also an eschatological element at stake: since Christians define themselves as having already begun a new life in the Kingdom, they can and must allow peace to reign already in this world. Pacifists are also cautious, and even suspicious, of political authority: its peacemaking methods, such as punishment and war, are inherently coercive and external.

The pacifist attitude was prevalent among Christians in the first three centuries, who were predominantly concerned with whether they could serve in a pagan emperor's army. “No,” says Tertullian*, not only for fear of idolatry*, but because killing is incompatible with the new law of love* proclaimed by Christ: “the Lord unbelted every soldier when he disarmed Peter” (*De Idol.* 19, CChr.SL II, 1120). While insisting that it is “more lawful” for Christians “to be slain than to slay” (*Apol.* 37, CChr.SL I, 148), Tertullian nonetheless sanctions a possibly coercive maintenance of order by political authority, which is not bound by the new law.

There was a minority of Christian pacifists in the Middle Ages, such as the Waldensians (Waldensian*), but a more systematic form of pacifism emerged out of the Reformation, advocated primarily by churches of Anabaptist* origin, like the Mennonites, and by the Society of Friends (Quakers). These advocates of strict nonviolence and antimilitarism all agree that peacemaking is the crux of the Christian life. For some (Anabaptists and Mennonites), however, Christian pacifism is a nonpolitical principle held only by believers, while others (Quakers) think it is a principle universally applicable to all peoples and nations. Tolstoy (1828–1910) represents a remarkable and yet controversial offshoot of this Christian pacifism. His renun-

ation of violence and war proceeded by a radically simplified Christianity, one reduced to a way of “life” based on the Sermon on the Mount and combined with his almost anarchistic rejection of the state. He proclaimed that “Christianity in its true sense puts an end to government” (*The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, 1893).

Contemporary pacifism embraces a wide range of approaches, such as “vocational” pacifism, which is in line with the traditional view, and which treats the duty of peacemaking as a special calling for the most virtuous Christians; “humanistic” pacifism, widely shared both within and outside Christianity (e.g., *Pacem in terris*, 1963); “technological” pacifism, based upon scientific rationalism* (nuclear deterrence); and “just war” pacifism, which is concerned with, in principle, defining the limits of warfare. Consequently, there are numerous pacifist attitudes, ranging from nonresistance to nonviolent resistance, from total condemnation of war to selective limitation and justification of war. Moreover, pacifism must engage with new critiques. To the extent that pacifism defines peace in a negative way, as absence of open strife, it faces a challenge from a theology (or philosophy) of liberation* that reflects on structural violence and the justified use of force to put an end to it. To the extent that the classic problematic of pacifism leaves aside everything that is not involved in human relations, it must also respond to environmentalists who suggest that it should take the destruction of ecological balances into consideration and come to a theological understanding of peace between human beings and nature.

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e) Systematic Theology. Theological discussion of peace stands at the crossroads of three problematics. The first is that of spiritual anthropology*. Because peace reigns between God and humanity, it may also reign between human beings and themselves. The spiritual traditions of East and West have thought of this pacification or unification of the self in terms of various concepts—*quies*, *hesukhia*—and have seen them as ways of being that anticipate the *eschaton*.

The second problematic arises from the fact that

such a pacification cannot yield all its meaning except within the communion* of a church that has an obligation to be present within history as a pacified community. The idea of an ontology of communion (e.g., in the writings of J.D. Zizioulas) will always be liable to the objection that what it speaks of has only a limited descriptive force. On the other hand, its prescriptive force is very great: as the only association that believes in the possibility of an existence that is faithful to the Beatitudes, the church should seek to embody, as concretely as possible, the peace that it proclaims, signifies liturgically, and confers sacramentally.

The third and final problematic concerns the fact that the church is not the only space in which the blessing of the peacemakers is audible. Peace should reign in the city*, and Christians are citizens. Undoubtedly, they can only make a credible contribution to political life, in which they have only a limited power, if they have first given an evangelical visage to those communities in which their power is much greater. In any case, ecclesiastical responsibilities cannot be separated from political responsibilities. It is necessary to seek to make “all things new” (Rev 21:5).

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See also Anabaptists; Ecology; Eschatology; Legitimate Defense; Violence; War

Pelagianism

Understood for a long time solely in terms of its refutation by Augustine*, Pelagianism has today been restored to its context. Its fundamental characteristics—the orientation toward asceticism*, the rejection of original sin* and of traducianism*, and the emphasis on liberty*—now appear to have been distilled from various currents of thought belonging to the first decades of the fifth century.

a) Representative Figures. The best-known representative of the movement is Pelagius. Little is known about his background, other than that he was given the epithet “Britannicus” in reference to his country of origin. He lived in Rome*, where he was baptized in around 380. He then sought to uncover the roots of the gospel, possibly became a monk, and had some influence in the Christian community of the city. In 410, when Rome was conquered by Alaric, Pelagius departed to Africa and then went to Palestine. He explained in various writings that human beings are free, that they participate as created beings in the grace* of the Creator, and that they can become true images of God* by their own efforts alone. He also stated that some people could be without sin and that some had been liberated from sin before they died. He rejected the idea of original sin and proposed the abandonment of infant baptism* (which he accepted as a custom) in favor of a return to adult baptism. Above all, he desired a “Church of the pure,” a Church* of perfect Christians, and his ideal found an echo among aristocrats.

Celestius, a lawyer and an ascetic who became a disciple of Pelagius in around 390, made himself the spokesperson for Pelagius’s ideas and may even have become the first member of the Pelagian group. He took Pelagius’s ideas further, giving them a more rational and organized form, as set out in the *Definitiones*, which Celestius may have written.

Bishop Julian of Eclanum, born around 380–86, joined the Pelagians after refusing to sign Pope Zosimus’s *Tractoria* (418), a condemnation of Pelagius and Celestius. Julian had a reputation as an exegete and translator, notably of works by Theodore of Mopsuestia, but he brought few new ideas into the group. The second stage of the Pelagian controversy may be said to have begun with him.

b) Crisis of Pelagianism. It is in fact possible to distinguish three stages in the controversy: the first, which was relatively serene, up to 411; the second, which was more problematic, between 411 and 418; and the last, after 418, which then gave rise to what was later labeled “semi-Pelagianism.”

Up to 411 Pelagius was developing his ideas, which found expression in a treatise that has been attributed to him, *God’s Hardening of Pharaoh’s Heart*. He opposed the doctrine of predestination taught by Manicheism* and made himself the theologian of the notion of a salvation* that one comes to deserve through the exercise of one’s liberty. He even enjoyed a degree of approval from Augustine, with whom he had a brief meeting in Carthage.

Between 411 and 418, tensions culminated in crisis. In 412 Celestius, who refused to conduct infant baptisms—a practice cherished in the African church—was condemned by the Council of Carthage. After the Council of Diospolis, which reexamined the question of Pelagianism in a relatively favorable way, Augustine studied Pelagius’s teachings as set out in *De natura*, a treatise that presents an optimistic vision of humanity and its natural liberty. It was in response to this treatise that Augustine wrote his *De gestis Pelagii*. In 416 the African bishops asked Pope Innocent I to condemn Pelagius and Celestius: he did so in 417. This was the first occasion on which Pelagius was condemned. In order to justify himself, he wrote a *Libellus Fidei* and a treatise *On Free Will*. After the death of Innocent I, his successor, Zosimus, went back on the condemnation of Pelagius and suspended it. The African bishops* protested, while the Pelagians stirred up trouble. Pope Zosimus was compelled to reopen the question. In 418 he published a statement about the controversy, the *Tractoria* mentioned above, and renewed the excommunication of Pelagius and Celestius. As we have seen, Julian of Eclanum’s opposition to this document led him into the ranks of the Pelagians.

The controversy took a new turn after 418. While Augustine continued his polemic with Julian of Eclanum, the monastic theologians of Hadrumetum and Provence (Jean Cassien, Faustus of Riez, and Vincent of Lérins) developed a theology in which liberty played a larger role than it did in Augustine’s, although

there is no evidence that Pelagius influenced them. Augustine responded calmly in four treatises: *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, *De correptione et gratia*, *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, and *De dono perseverantiae*. There can be no doubt that these polemics led Augustine to take a harder line on his doctrine of grace and free will. After what had become one of the major theological debates of the fifth century, Augustine's disciples, among whom Prosper of Aquitaine was the most influential, put forward the version of Augustinianism* that was given official sanction by the Western Church at the Council of Orange in 529. Meanwhile, Pelagianism, as represented by Celestius, had been condemned as heretical by the Council of Ephesus*. These polemics made no impact on the development of doctrine in Eastern Christianity, and the theological refinements that they supported were never accepted within Greek theology—which, we should perhaps conclude, never had any need to accept them.

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See also **Asceticism; Augustine of Hippo; Manicheanism; Predestination**

Penance

1. Baptism, the First Sacrament of the Forgiveness of Sins

At Pentecost, Peter preached “Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins; and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit” (Acts 2:38). “I acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins,” says the creed of Constantinople* (381). In Christian antiquity, baptism was often called “remission of sins” (e.g., Tertullian* in *De bapt.* 18. 5). Until the late second century baptism was in fact the only penitential practice, and for the first four or five centuries Christians who were faithful to their baptism knew no other “sacrament*” of forgiveness. Minor sins (later often called *peccata mi-nuta*) committed after baptism were remitted by God* because of inner regret (conversion*) and its expression in outward “works” of penance, among which the triad of almsgiving, fasting, and prayer* held a privileged position. The first of these, because of its

importance in the Bible (Tb 4:10 and 12:9, Sir 3:30; and Mt 6:2–4; and the theme of *koinônia* through sharing: Acts 2:44–45 and Heb 13:16), was often preeminent: “Almsgiving is excellent penance for sin; fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving is better than either” (2 Clement 16:4, about 150). Thus all of Christian life is a baptismal existence, which is nothing but the daily exercise of conversion (*metanoia*) and its outward expression in penitential behavior. Well before becoming the object of what was later called a “sacrament,” penance was a fundamental attitude (a “virtue*”) of the Christian. With few exceptions, the Fathers* of the Church spoke much more of this daily penance than of the disciplinary form of it that was reserved for serious sins.

When it came into existence, the practice of post-baptismal penance was understood and experienced as a kind of copy of baptism (“second baptism,” “laborious baptism,” “baptism of tears,” says Tertullian). In

any event, in the third and fourth centuries there was a generally parallel development in length (several years) and severity (harsh prohibitions) of catechumenical practice in preparation for baptism, and in the practice of penance for the forgiveness of serious sins committed after baptism. Similarly, when the catechumenate was reduced to the period of Lent in the seventh century, there was a parallel reduction in the period of penance (*Old Gelasian Sacramentary* I. 15–16 and 38). Moreover, catechumens and penitents each formed a group apart, and being considered only peripheral members of the Church*, were dismissed on Sunday* after the homily, that is, before the offering of the Eucharist*.

2. Origin and Development

a) *Ecclesiastical Post-Baptismal Penance Appears.* Until the second half of the second century, each local* church treated instances of unfaithfulness to baptism on a case by case basis, as Paul had done with the fornicators of Corinth (1 Cor 5). As long as Christian communities were small and found themselves in a precarious situation (harassed and threatened with persecution), and were moreover characterized by a vivid expectation of the coming Parousia* of the Lord Jesus*, the “sacrament-oath” of baptism was experienced as a veritable pact between God and the Christian. It marked a definitive passage from the kingdom of Satan to the kingdom of Christ*, from the “old nature” to the “new nature” (see Col 3:9–11), and there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that this passage had a psychological effect as powerful perhaps as that of the vows taken today by monks and nuns. It is understandable, in these circumstances, that cases of serious unfaithfulness were relatively rare.

Those cases became much more frequent when Christians began to find themselves in a Church that was growing in numbers (“multitudinism”), with the relative decline in fervor such a sociological situation involved (in contrast to that of a “sect”), and when they were less inspired by the “enthusiastic” expectation of an imminent Parousia. And it was in order to provide a remedy for the increase in cases of unfaithfulness to the “pact” and the sanctity of baptism that a penitential practice other than baptism came into being. It was a difficult birth. If we are to believe *The Shepherd* of Hermas (Rome*, mid-second century), many Christian “doctors” rejected the reintegration of serious sinners into the community. Against these rigorists who left no hope of salvation* to those who had betrayed their baptism, Hermas took a position, expressed in the course of a vision, that guaranteed a second chance—but in order to bar the door to laxity, this

would be the last chance (*Pastor[or Shepherd]*, Mandate IV. 29. 8). A few decades later, Tertullian attested to the existence of this penitential practice, which historians usually call “canonical” (*De. paen.*; SC 316).

b) *System of Canonical Penance.* The canonical system governed the penitential discipline of the Church until the seventh century. It was reserved for sins that were considered very serious, those that, like the triad of apostasy, adultery, and murder, constituted a break with baptism. Everyday sins were remitted by God through the practice of daily penance. Fully developed in the fourth century, canonical penance had two major characteristics. First it was an entirely ecclesiastical process, which meant not only that it was public (only the confession of serious sins to the bishop* himself was not, even though some people refused to confess until the bishop, knowing their sins, obliged them to), but also that its public nature, through association with the *ordo poenitentium* and the various forms of asceticism* that were connected to it in matters of dress, food, and sexual conduct, was not primarily intended to humiliate the penitent, but to call on the Christian community to support him with its prayer of intercession and by its example. Second, this process was unrepeatable: The second chance for salvation “after the shipwreck” (Tertullian), it was also the last, or else it would have “seemed [they were] opening a new path for sin” (*DE paen.* VII. 2). This second principle constituted a kind of practical dogma*. For example, speaking of “penance carried out publicly,” Ambrose* writes: “Just as there is only one baptism, so there is only one penance.” (*De paen.* II. 95; SC 179). Of course, many bishops, including some of the most eminent, demonstrated a certain pastoral flexibility, but these exceptions confirmed a rule that was considered inviolable.

However, although this long and severe system was able to function relatively well in the framework of “confessing” communities, its limits soon became apparent. This is attested to by many patristic sources from the second half of the fourth century. Many of the baptized who were guilty of serious sins constantly delayed their request to enter into penance because they were discouraged in advance by the rigors of the ordeal. As for those who had made the request, few carried out their penance “as they should” (Ambrose, *ibid.*, II. 96). The situation even reached the point that, in order to avoid relapses that would now be irremediable, and in order not to create an aberrant ecclesiology* (Christian communities would have ended by being made up of a mass of penitents much more numerous than those faithful to baptism), several synods (synod*) in the fifth and sixth centuries took the step of

prohibiting the entry into penance “to people who are still young...because of the weakness of their age” (synod of Agde, 506) and to married people insufficiently “advanced in age” (synod of Orléans, 538). The bishops themselves thereby officially recognized the failure of the canonical system. However, they did not replace it with any other institutional form; there was indeed no question of challenging the singleness of penance. For example, in the sixth century, Caesar of Arles took note of the fact that nearly all sinners who were seriously guilty would ask for and be given penance only toward the end of their lives or even on their deathbeds. But he warned them that a penance of this kind may well be ineffective if it is not prepared for by a truly penitential life (*Serm.* 60. 3–4; SC 330). This was perhaps an appropriate pastoral solution, but it made even more apparent the impasse at which the sacramental institution had arrived. In any event, the canonical system had become distorted. From a demanding remedy reserved for a few serious sinners so that they might experience a true conversion with the support of the community, it had now become a means of salvation demanded by everyone on their deathbeds.

c) *System of Tariffs and Repeatable Penance.* Given this impasse, it is easy to understand the rapid success achieved by the practice of establishing tariffs for repeatable penance that the Irish monks of Saint Columbanus introduced on the continent in the seventh century. Of course, there were protests, such as that of the synod of Toledo (589), scandalized by the “atrocious audacity” of those who allowed the faithful not to do penance “according to the canonical manner” and offered them reconciliation “each time they sinned”; there were similar objections from the synods of Chalon-sur Saône (813) and Paris (829) (Vogel 1969). But to no avail; social and cultural developments and the dominant position of the Church in society* had made it impossible to return to the old system, despite all the “authorities” with which it was crowned.

The new system remained in competition with other penitential practices, from entry into a monastery, considered the most efficacious penitential rite, to direct confession to God (Council of Chalon-sur-Saône [813], can. 33; Vogel 1969), and including pilgrimages (pilgrimage*) imposed by confessors and almsgiving. The new practice had three principal characteristics. The most important was the fact that Christians could now have access to “sacramental” penance as often as they wished. The second is related to the ritual process: Confession was most often made on the basis of a series of questions that the confessor would put to the penitent following the book known as a “penitential”

that he had at hand. The confessor would then add up the tariffs corresponding to each sin, which often amounted to several months or years of fasting, or the recitation of a certain number of complete psalteries, or, from the Carolingian period and for particularly serious sins, a pilgrimage. The penitent would normally return after completing his penance to receive “absolution” from the priest (the term began to replace the former vocabulary of *reconciliation*). We may note in passing that oral confession, which was required only in the case of serious sins, was no longer merely a prerequisite for penance; it took on an entirely different significance, because it was now the means of establishing the expiatory punishment, which remained the most important element in the process, because, as Paschasius Radbert wrote in the ninth century, that was “what obtained the remission of sins” (*In Mt.*, about 155). However, and this was the third characteristic, the length of penances imposed after confession was so great that a system of redemption or compensation had to be established: you could have a certain number of masses said, or recite a certain number of psalms*, or perform a certain number of genuflections, or give specific amounts of money in alms, these amounts redeeming a specific number of days, months, or even years of penance. As a consequence, this system too eventually became corrupt, since the better off could afford to have many masses said or even pay someone to fast in their place.

d) *“Modern” System of Penance.* After the first two “revolutions” represented by the institutionalization of a post-baptismal penance and then the possibility of repeated penance, there came a third. This has come to be called “modern,” for want of a better term, and made its first appearance in the 12th century. From that time onward, absolution preceded the penance that was to be carried out. In practice this had begun with the introduction of the system of tariffs. Many penitents, because of distance or misunderstanding, did not return to ask for absolution after completing their expiation*. But the practice was now justified theoretically, for, as was stated in the celebrated letter *De vera et falsa paenitentia* (11th century, although it was at the time attributed to the authority of Augustine*): “the shame inherent in confession itself accomplishes a large part of the remission” as well as “a large part of the expiation” (no. 10). In any event, in the late 12th century Pierre le Chantre stated what would soon become a commonplace: “Oral confession makes up the largest part of satisfaction” (PL 205, 342). This theory obviously presupposed that particular importance was now given to confession, in some ways more than to expiation, at a time, moreover, when the latter was be-

coming simultaneously less severe and more inward. In fact, in order to justify its expiatory import, confession, which was now expected to be precise and detailed (see the 16 conditions given in the *Supplement* to the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas* Aquinas, q. 9. a.4), became more humiliating; and this situation was aggravated by the fact that many priests (priesthood*) were ignorant and lacked the necessary discernment, as Thomas noted with sadness in the 13th century (*Suppl.* q. 8. a. 4. ad 6) and Johann Eck in the 16th (Duval 1974 [1985]). This shift in emphasis in the 12th century went along with the abandonment of the penitentials, which were out of tune with the new culture, and their replacement by the “confessors’ manuals,” which made their appearance in the 13th century. Even more significant was the fact that, in line with Thomas, confession was now considered as being, along with contrition and satisfaction on the one hand, and absolution by the priest on the other, one of the “integral parts” of the sacrament, which existed only when all four elements were present (*ST* IIIa. q. 90). As a consequence, the confession of each and every serious sin was no longer a mere prerequisite for the penitential process as in antiquity, nor a mere ritual device necessary for the establishment of the tariff as in the early Middle Ages. It had become a constituent element of the sacrament itself. It is also clear that the Church found in confession an effective tool for social control, both for detecting heretics (*Suppl.* q. 6. a. 3) and for inculcating the people with a Christian ethos.

In 1215, canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran* Council made it an obligation of every Christian to confess at least once a year to his own priest (but not to receive absolution, which had only ever been required by the Church for mortal sins) (*DS* 812). At the time, only a handful of *perfectissimi*, like Saint Louis, confessed weekly or more often; the majority of Christians confessed very infrequently (N. Bériou, in Groupe de la Bussière 1983): “It is usually thought that if annual confession gradually became customary, this was as much because of social constraint as because of the persuasive power of preachers.” The pastoral theory and practice that came out of the Counter Reformation succeeded in inculcating in a large segment of the population the practice of three or four confessions a year, whereas an elite frequented the confessional (due to Carlo Borromeo after Trent) every week or even more often. This practice of “devotional” confession, with the many debates to which it gave rise on attrition and contrition, on delays in absolution, on moral dilemmas, and on “probable” and “more probable” opinions (see Delumeau 1990), obviously derived from a conception of the sacrament different from the one that prevailed in the early Church. It is to

be associated more with the monastic practice of therapeutic confession or the practice of spiritual* direction. In any event, it was grafted onto ecclesiastical penance for the forgiveness of serious sins—the definition of which, it is true, varied from period to period—and the sacrament of penance in its modern form was thus a blend of two different kinds of practice and of theory: sacramental penance for the reconciliation of Christians who have broken faith with their baptism, and spiritual companionship on the path to evangelical perfection (at the risk of making both lose their relevance).

e) Reformation and the Council of Trent. The leaders of the 16th-century Reformation recognized only two sacraments attested in the Scriptures: baptism and holy communion. However, in 1520 (WA 6. 501, 543, 572), 1522 (10/3. 395), and 1545 (54. 427), Luther* had been hesitant about confession, whose benefits he personally appreciated. As for Melancthon, he had explicitly recognized penance as a “sacrament properly speaking” in the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* (BSLK 259, 292). In addition, they all attached great importance to the confession of sins, whether in a general form by the community at the beginning of the service (e.g., Calvin* in *The Form of Prayers and Ecclesiastical Chants* of 1542, CR 34. 172–83), or privately, “to a brother,” even if he was not a priest. In that case, wrote Luther, “I do not doubt that absolution of his hidden sins will be granted to whoever asks forgiveness and reforms in the presence of a brother alone” (*De capt. bab.*, WA 6. 547).

In 1551 the Council of Trent* (*DS* 1667–1715) opposed the Reformation on three points. First, it affirmed the sacramental status of penance; second, it required the confession of all sins (still with the meaning of “mortal sins”) and reserved to priests the power to absolve in the name of God; finally, absolution was defined “as a judicial act,” which meant that, like a legal decision, it accomplished what it said. It had a “performative” and not merely a declarative effect (see Duval 1985).

f) Ritual of Vatican II. The *ordo paenitentiae* promulgated in 1973 was an innovation in the existing situation, in particular because it suggested several forms for the celebration of the sacrament: individual reconciliation of the penitents (numbers 41–47); reconciliation of several penitents with individual confession and absolution (numbers 48–59); reconciliation of penitents with collective confession and absolution (numbers 60–66), the latter possibility being reserved for exceptional circumstances. This pluralism has not stemmed a noticeable decline in the participation by

Catholics in the sacrament, and the link between confession and communion* that was still so strong in the 1950s has very substantially loosened. In three decades (1952–83) the percentage of the French population that identifies itself as Catholic and going to confession “at least once a month” has fallen from 15 to 1 percent, and those going “at least once a year” from 51 to 14 percent (J. Potel, *MD* 167). A decline of this order is obviously linked to the cultural transformations of late modernity: displacement of the feeling of guilt, currently weak impact of the sacrament on the social fabric, loss of influence of the institution of the Church, emphasis on the individual ability to choose, and the like. But it is not out of the question that such social and cultural changes will gradually lead to a transformation of the current practice—despite its “modernization,” still very much bound up with the Tridentine spirit—into a new penitential system.

3. Some Particular Points

a) Each Penitential System is the Reflection of a Historical Period. The appearance of *canonical* penance corresponded to a necessity, that of struggling against a relative decline in fervor in a period in which Christian communities were becoming more numerous. However, because of its demands, the system could function well only in “confessing” communities; it thus proved inadequate when the Church became “multitudinist” and it became socially advantageous to be a Christian: “I have had less trouble meeting people who have preserved their baptismal innocence than people who have done penance as they should,” Ambrose noted bitterly (*De paen.* II. 96). And Augustine complained that “what should be a place of humility has become a place of iniquity” (*Serm.* 232. 7, 8). We have seen how the synods of Gaul declared that canonical penance was a failure. As for the system of tariffs, which came from outside the hierarchy*, it was fairly well adapted to a Church that wanted to convert the “barbarian” invaders. In a world marked by Germanic feudal law, in which any disorder, by an offense or the shedding of blood, was subject to carefully calculated compensation, the application of penitential tariffs was not at all surprising. And as for the *modern* system, with its insistence on the detailed confession of every sin and the evaluation of its gravity as a function of its subjective aspects, particularly in relation to intentions and circumstances, that itself seems to have corresponded to the new Scholastic culture that emerged in the 12th century. Hence, each penitential system was to some extent a reflection of the social and cultural situation of the Church, and that extended to the hierarchy of sins that it established and its emphasis on one

kind of sin or another: sins, too, have their history. And it is no doubt the search for a new coherence of penance with contemporary culture that has given rise to current perplexities in this area.

b) Each System Emphasized a Different Point. Whatever the penitential system of the period, the Church never forgot the primordial role of inner repentance, or contrition, in the reconciliation of the sinner with God; it can even be said that the primary focus has always been placed on this conversion of the heart. The external manifestation of this inner movement has, however, been subject to different emphases. In antiquity the emphasis was on the effective conversion of the sinner throughout the penitential process, and not primarily on the rite of reconciliation by the bishop. The rite was certainly not without importance, but it was understood rather differently from the way the Scholastics were to understand it. First, it was related to the prayer for intercession by the entire community. The *Didascalia* (II. 12) says: “Bishop... lay your hand on the sinner while the entire assembly prays for him, and then allow him to go into the church and receive him into your community.” The exhortation that “all the brothers” join in the prayer of the penitent (Tertullian, *De paen.* IX. 4) and that the sinner ask God’s forgiveness “through the prayers of all the Christian people” (Ambrose, *De paen.* I. 89) was so insistent that Caesar of Arles had to warn penitents against the temptation of resting too comfortably on “the intercession of the whole community” (*Serm.* 67. 3). This intercession took place not only in the course of the period of penance, but in the course of the reconciliation itself. Was it not, according to Augustine, the whole Church (which required the bishop and his indispensable role of presiding), represented by the “confessing” Peter* in Matthew 16:16–19 or by the apostles in John 20:21–23, that remitted or retained sins (*De bapt.* XVIII. 23, BAug 29)? In any event, the bishop of Hippo had no hesitation in declaring to his entire community: “You also bind and you also loosen” (*Serm. Guelf.* 16. 2, SC 116. 41), clearly implying that this action of the Church in prayer during the celebration for the reconciliation of penitents shortly before Easter (Holy Thursday in Rome and Milan) achieved decisive efficacy only in its relation to the sacramental action of the bishop. This action demonstrated in particular that full reconciliation with God could not take place unless it was linked to a reconciliation with the Church (release from excommunication, understood in the form of an exclusion from Eucharistic communion, hence reintegration into the “peace” of the Church), which played the role of the “first effect of the sacrament,” *res et sacramentum* in Scholastic language (Rahner* 1955).

In the second place, the rite of reconciliation by the bishop was understood as putting a seal on a reconciliation with God that God himself, and he alone—for “who can forgive sins but God alone?” (Mk 2:7)—had accomplished as the sinner gradually returned to him. The last point is in agreement with two gospel pericopes that the Fathers of the Church commented on most frequently with reference to ecclesial penance: the healing* of the ten lepers (Lk 17:11–19) and the resurrection of Lazarus (Jn 11). God alone can heal or give life; the role of the Church is to officially recognize this or to “unbind” (Jn 11:44) the one who has recovered life to allow him to enjoy it. Most of the Fathers of the Church would probably have adopted the formulation of Gregory* the Great (†604) commenting on the resurrection of Lazarus: “We must absolve through our pastoral authority* those of whom we know that they have already been given life by grace*” (*Homilies on the Gospels* 26. 6; Vogel 1969).

In penance by tariff the emphasis was still placed on the conversion of the sinner and its link to expiation. Expiation, however, had particular weight, as indicated by the use of the word “satisfaction” to denote it at that time. It is probable that the greater part of the theologians of the early Middle Ages could have adopted the formulation of one of them, the ninth-century Paschasius Radbert: “Confession indicates repentance, repentance brings about satisfaction, and satisfaction brings about the remission of sins” (in Mt., about 154). Absolution is not even mentioned. But we know that it existed, although the only role that it played, as Anselm* (†1109) said, was that through it, sinners “are shown (*ostenduntur*) pure before men” (*Homily on Luke*, 13; PL 158. 662). The emphasis was thus placed on the penitential works through which the sinner “repaired” the disorder introduced into the world by his sins and thereby “satisfied” God.

In “modern” penance, on the other hand, the emphasis was rather placed on confession itself and on the shame that it provoked. We have earlier seen the principal reasons for this and their coherence with the new culture of the 12th and 13th centuries. The importance of confession became so great, as indicated by the expression “go to confession,” still in common use only a few decades ago, that a part was taken for the whole. We may wonder whether today, as shown by the success of community celebrations of reconciliation, the emphasis has not been displaced onto absolution itself.

c) *What Is the Efficacy of the Sacrament?* The first effect of absolution, reconciliation of the penitent with the Church, has always been clear as far back as the penance of antiquity; but it tended to be forgotten as the sacrament became more private and was associated

almost exclusively with “venial” sins, particularly in devotional confession. The second effect, on the other hand, reconciliation with God, did not clearly appear until the 13th century, as indicated by the formulations of Gregory the Great, Paschasius Radbert, and Anselm of Canterbury, quoted earlier. Like the latter, all the theologians of the 12th century, beginning with Peter Lombard, considered that the power of binding and loosing granted to priests by God meant the power “to show that men are bound or loosed” (“...*id est ostendendi homines ligatos vel solutos*,” *Sent.* IV. d. 18; PL 192. 887). But that meant that the sinner was generally forgiven by God before the sacrament. This was true during the first millennium to the extent that his conversion was accomplished through a sincere expiation; it was true in modern penance through his contrition (his *paenitentia interior*, in which Lombard saw the *res et sacramentum* of penance): “However small it may be [referring the amount of pain or distress felt], contrition erases all sin,” wrote Thomas Aquinas (*Suppl.* q. 5. a. 3), because it proceeds from a true love* of God (unlike attrition, which is closer to “servile fear” and remorse). Thomas, however, opposed those of his predecessors and contemporaries who, like Bonaventure*, reduced absolution of the sin (*culpa*) to a simple manifestation of what God had already done (according to Bonaventure, “*absolvit solum ostendendo, scil. demonstrando absolutum*” [*In IV Sent.* d. 18. p. 1. a. 2. q. 2]). Of course, God does remit the sin when the sinner sincerely repents for it, but this repentance is authentic contrition only if, by virtue of the theory of the “integral parts” of penance, it implies the intent (*votum*) to submit to the “keys” of the Church. This is the usual case. However, Thomas explains, “nothing prevents that sometimes (*aliquando*) a person at confession receives grace and the forgiveness of the guilt of sin by the power of the keys at the very instant of absolution [and not before that moment],” just as this also “sometimes” happens to the catechumen at the time of his baptism (*CG* IV, c. 72).

In this respect, later doctrine effected a significant reversal, indicated by the Council of Trent itself. The adverb *aliquando* is indeed found in chapter four of its “doctrine on the sacrament of penance,” but it is used there to make an assertion in opposition to theologians of the 13th century: it is “sometimes” that a sinner may be justified by God before the sacrament, to the extent that he has “perfect contrition,” which includes the desire for the sacrament (*DS* 1677). But the notion of “perfect contrition” was set so high that it could clearly be reserved only for a small elite (*see the Catechism of Trent*, ch. XXIII. 2). The council thus closed the door on the presumptuous who would claim to have been forgiven before the sacrament. What was considered

the rule three centuries earlier had become the exception, and this point manifests in pure form the difficulties that theology* has encountered in the articulation of a theory of penance and reconciliation. It was probably inevitable; it has always been difficult to find a balance between the subjective aspect of the sacrament, connected to the personal elements of guilt, sin, and contrition of the heart, and its objective aspect, connected to the Church as an institution. And it is not surprising that there has been a similar problem in the case of marriage*. As soon as the “matter” or rather the “quasi-matter” of a sacrament is no longer an objective reality such as water, bread and wine, or oil, but a reality dependent on human subjects (which is true for penance and marriage), sacramental theology comes up against its most troubling problems.

d) *In the East.* Since the Second Council of Lyon (1274, *DS* 860), “Greek theologians have expressly emphasized the sacramental character of penance” (Vorgrimler 1978). Important differences from the Latin Church nevertheless remained, particularly with respect to the meaning of confession and the role of the minister. 1) In the East, confession at first had a purpose that was more therapeutic than sacramental, and so the confessor had a role that was more medicinal than judicial. The latter aspect was not of course denied, but it “played no part” (*ibid.*). Therefore: “It has been emphasized since Basil* that not every ordained priest is qualified to receive the confession of sins, while conversely, for centuries, it was not required of the *patēr pneumatikos* that he be an ordained priest.” In any event, “from the eighth century . . . confessors were almost exclusively monks” (*ibid.*), and most monks were not priests. 2) The East, then, officially recognized that each monk had a role as spiritual therapist through confession and penance, so that the status of a monk who is not a priest cannot, contrary to the Western practice, be assimilated to that of a member of the laity* (Taft 1987). 3) In the third place, absolution is given in the East in deprecative (exhortatory), not declarative, form, as was true for the West until the 13th century, the period when Thomas Aquinas evidences the shift from “May God forgive you” to “I forgive you in the name of . . .” (*De forma absol.*, c. 5); forgiveness by means of prayer sits easily with the status of monk. 4) Finally, we must take into account the more vivid awareness in the East than in the West of the Eucharist as a sacrament of the “blood

shed for the remission of sins.” The requests for forgiveness in Eastern anaphorae, as well as communion itself, seem to hold not only for forgiveness of minor sins, but also for those that could be called “serious” though not “mortal,” absolution of the latter being reserved to priests (Taft 1987; Ligier 1963). On this point as on many others, the East shows a sensibility different from that of the Latin Church.

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See also Anointing of the Sick; Baptism; Confirmation; Eucharist; Marriage; Ordination/Order; Punishment; Sacrament

Pentecostalism

1. Classical Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism is a revival movement dating from 1906. It is centered on the experience* of “baptism* in the Holy* Spirit, and its “first sign” is glossolalia or “speaking in tongues” (prayers in unknown or angelic languages: 1 Cor 13:1 and Acts 2:6), in accordance with Scripture (*see* Mk 1:8 and parallel passages; Lk 24:49; Acts 1:5, 2:4). Pentecostalism is today the largest of the Protestant churches (church).

a) History. Pentecostalism had precursors in the 19th century, but it really came into existence in 1906 in Los Angeles, in a chapel on Azusa Street whose pastor, W. Seymour, was the son of former slaves. At that time, there was a “new Pentecost,” with baptism in the Holy Spirit and charismatic manifestations (glossolalia, prophecy*, healing*). From 1910 to 1939 the movement spread throughout the world, particularly among the working classes. Other churches did not recognize Pentecostalism, which rejected them in turn as untrue to apostolic faith* and experience, although it too had internal tensions and divisions. The first world Pentecostal congress took place in Zurich in 1947, an expression of the desire for unity. Pentecostalism has continued to grow since the 1950s, but in spite of greater ecumenical openness (e.g., a dialogue with the Catholic Church begun in 1971), few Pentecostal churches have joined the Ecumenical Council of Churches, for fear of inopportune alliances and doctrinal compromises.

b) Doctrine. Most Pentecostals are doctrinally orthodox. They particularly emphasize salvation* by the blood of Christ*, charismatic gifts, and the return of Christ. According to them: 1) Any Christian at any time can have access to baptism in the Holy Spirit and to charismatic gifts (Acts 2:37–38). Baptism in the Holy Spirit has a dual purpose: to provide greater sanctity and a spiritual power for proclaiming the gospel. 2) The essential elements of salvation are repentance, conversion*, justification*, new birth, and personal relationship with Jesus* Christ. 3) Baptism by water, preferably by immersion, is associated with conversion. Baptism in the Holy Spirit may precede it, particularly for the newly converted, but it generally comes afterward for regenerated Christians. 4) For some Pen-

tecostals, sanctification is an instantaneous experience, for others it is a process lasting an entire lifetime. It is difficult to reconcile the doctrines of justification and sanctification. 5) Emphasis is placed on eschatology* and on a Parousia* of a premillenarian kind; before his reign of a thousand years on earth, Jesus Christ prepares a people by baptizing it in the Holy Spirit, hence the importance of 6) the proclamation of the gospel. 7) The Bible* is the word* of God, inspired and inerrant. 8) Theology* is not very important, nor is direct change in political and social structures. 9) Pentecostal morality is rigid and aims for personal sanctity. 10) Pentecostal ecclesiology deals primarily with the local, autonomous assembly of the “born-again saints,” which is where the Holy Spirit manifests itself and makes visible the Church of Jesus Christ. But the existence of Pentecostal churches throughout the world, as well as the ecumenical experience, have obliged Pentecostalism to think more systematically in this area. 11) The organization of Pentecostal Churches has very varied forms. Pastors (pastor*) are in principle men, but women have played a major role in Pentecostalism, through the exercise of spiritual gifts and ministries (ministry*) (particularly in the proclamation of the gospel). 12) Charismatic manifestations, prayer* (sometimes spontaneous), and preaching* are the rule in Pentecostal services, where it is in fact difficult to reconcile liturgy* and free expression in the Holy Spirit. Communion is understood in the manner of Zwingli*, with no doctrinal insistence, but as the object of great fervor.

2. Charismatic Renewal

Charismatic Renewal, whose roots are Pentecostal, also attaches great importance to baptism in the Holy Spirit and to spiritual gifts, but it does not make glossolalia the “first sign” of that experience. Baptism in the Holy Spirit is a vital link between Pentecostalism and Charismatic Renewal, but the two movements are independent. Charismatic Renewal originated in the United States in the 1960s, first in Protestant churches, then in 1967 in the Catholic Church, among student groups who saw in baptism in the Holy Spirit a divine response to the initiatives of Vatican* II. Since then it has penetrated all Christian churches, including the Orthodox Church. It was established in France in the

1970s. Jews have also been influenced, and there are “messianic” communities, particularly in the United States and Israel. It has been estimated that in 2000, about a third of those who profess the Christian faith have had the experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Charismatic Renewal, ecumenical in essence, has done a good deal for ecumenism. Officially accepted in the Catholic Church by Pope Paul VI in 1975, and in the Anglican Church by the archbishop of Canterbury, Donald Coggan, in 1978, it seeks to revitalize the whole body of Christ in every confessional family and to establish cooperation among churches for the spread of the gospel.

Charismatic Renewal has been able to adapt to different circumstances. Structured communities are frequent among Catholics, particularly in France (e.g., le Chemin neuf, L’Emmanuel, les Béatitudes); renewed parishes and groups are characteristic among Anglicans and Protestants. Small prayer groups can be found everywhere. Charismatic Renewal takes more interest than Pentecostalism in life in society*, but it does not give priority to political action. The essential thing is to be fully Christian, in the power of the Holy Spirit, and to seek to put into practice the ethics* of the kingdom* of God.

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See also Ecumenism; Holy Spirit; Methodism; Millenarianism; Pietism; Protestantism; Scripture, Fulfillment of

People of God

1. Terminology

Two terms constantly interact in biblical Hebrew: ‘*am* and *gôy*, translated respectively as “people” and “na-

tion.” A third term, *le’ ôm*, belongs to poetic language (psalms*).

‘*Am* is the most frequently used (1,826 times), with

the following characteristics: most often in the singular, often followed by a possessive or a noun phrase, as in “my people” (Hos 1:9) and “the people of the Lord” (Ez 36:20). It may also become a proper noun (Ex 6:23; Nm 13:12). The word refers to a particular human community based on familial or political covenant relations. The expression ‘*am ha’ ârêç*, “people of the land,” designates a local population (Gn 23:12) or an assembly of the people distinguished from its leaders (Jer 1:18 and 2 Kgs 11:14).

Gôy is less frequent (561 times); in the plural (the majority of cases) it is used to designate the many “nations” scattered over the earth (Gn 10:32). The construction “nation of” followed by “YHWH” or another god does not occur. The “nations” are the other peoples in relation to a community of reference, ‘*am*.

Israel is thus normally designated by ‘*am*. But it may also be called *gôy* when its behavior makes it resemble other “nations.” The fact of having a king is a form of assimilation to the “nations” (1 Sm 8:20). It is possible to maintain both that Israel is a “nation” out of which God* makes a “people” (Ex 33:13) and that the descendants of Abraham will be a great “nation” (Gn 12:2).

The Greek of the Septuagint and of the New Testament generally respects the Hebrew distinction by using *laos* for ‘*am* and *ethnos* for *gôy*. But the tendency is to strengthen the identification of *laos* with the people of God—Israel in the Septuagint; sometimes for Luke the Gentile Christians (Acts 15:14) or the Jewish Christians (Acts 18:10).

2. Old Testament

a) Structures and Developments. The people does not originate from the coming together of subjects or citizens around the authority* of a king or a law*. It seems rather to be built up out of the alliance of human groups (“clans” and “tribes”) whose forms and places of residence are shifting (Gn 34:16) and on the basis of the recognition of belonging to a “God of the father” who gradually becomes the God of a people that is in making (Gn 49:24). The hypothesis that there was a stable organization, such as a “league” of tribes or a central cult* (in Gilgal?), at the time the Israelites conquered Canaan and defended themselves against the Philistines is not very likely; these events took place in a disorganized manner (Judges) rather than the contrary (Joshua). It was the need for a political and military order “like the other nations” that gave Israel the form of a monarchy. The people were then organized on a territorial and administrative basis that consolidated the settlement in the land of Canaan. The king made a covenant in the presence of YHWH (2 Sm

5:1–3) with the “twelve tribes of Israel” mentioned in Genesis 49:28. The king, a “son” of God (*see* Ps 2:7: “You are my son”) represented the unity of the people before the God of Israel. His greatness or his faults gave rise to the admiration of the wise (Sir 47) or the harsh criticism of the prophets (prophet* and prophecy) (Jer 36). What the prophets said in the presence of the people often represented a challenge to royal government. But the end of political monarchy with the exile could not bring about the end of God’s covenant with the people of Israel (Jer 31:31), nor of the dynastic promise made to David (Jer 33:14–15). The life of Israel was subsequently organized around the priestly class. The insurrection of the Maccabees (begun in 167 B.C.) succeeded in restoring independence to the people, though this was lost again with the arrival of the Romans (63 B.C.).

b) Ritual Signs and Election. It is thus over the course of a long historical development that we can distinguish two characteristic traits of this people at once so close to and so different from all others. Israel was a people called on to gather together around the major events of its history*, with commemorative rituals sometimes retrospectively introduced into the narrative* of the events themselves (Passover, Sinai, the crossing of the Jordan). The capacity to come together was expressed in the notion of *qâhâl*, as it appears for example in Exodus 12:6 (Passover). It was rooted in places and times (sanctuaries and feasts), but also required signs differentiating the people of Israel from other peoples. *Qâhâl* is thus in part a ritual notion requiring specific conditions such as circumcision (Gn 17:9–14 and Ex 12:44 and 12:48), and imposing criteria of genealogy (Dt 23:3) or purity* (Nm 19:20). A necessity for the life of the people, the assembly was embodied in the temple liturgy*, the pilgrimage* festivals, and the hearing and teaching of the law (Neh 8). God has even planned to call an assembly of all the nations on the holy mountain of Zion (Is 60:3 and 66:18).

The people of Israel is the object of a special choice, something commonly referred to by the term *election*. This confers on it the status of a consecrated people, “a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (*gôy*)” (Ex 19:6). This is a free act of God (Dt 7:6–8), who has conferred on one people among all the others the sanctity of his name. This status of being chosen can be called into question by this “stiff-necked” people (Ex 32:9), but it can never be erased for good. At the worst moments of history the prophets developed a theology* of a “remnant” of Israel from which a new people would be born: the survivors of the punitive catastrophe (Is 4:2) or the “Servant” chosen from among the people (Is 42:6 and 53:11) to bear its sins (sin*) and its suffering.

The permanence of the status as chosen people echoes the promises made to Abraham (Gn 12) and to David (2 Sm 7).

c) Symbols. Two varieties may be noted. One, along *familial* lines, in which YHWH governs all relations in the manner of a father. For example, the people is given the name of “son” (Dt 14:1) and, as chosen people, “first-born son” (Ex 4:22). But it is also an heir and identified with the “heritage” of YHWH (Ps 33:12). Another common image is that of the human couple*, with the man making an unfaithful wife return to him (Hos 2:16–25; Jer 2).

The other variety of symbol is that of the rootedness of the people in the *earth* that God has created, a part of which he has given them. Use is also made of the image of clay shaped by the hand of the potter, who is free to make and remake what he creates (Jer 18:5–6). But it is especially the image of the vine planted with love* (Is 5:1–7) or transplanted from Egypt (Ps 80:8–16), and the image of the flock led by a trustworthy and benevolent shepherd (Is 40:11 and Ps 77:20; and 95:7), that express the emotional bonds between God and his people. It represents the mercy* of the Lord and the call to the people to return to the God who has chosen them.

3. New Testament

a) Jesus and His People. Jesus* belonged to his people as an inhabitant of Galilee in a period when it and Judea were under Roman authority. He was born in the tribe of Judah (Bethlehem), “born under the law” (Gal 4:4), and circumcised (Lk 2:21). He came among a very divided people. The unity of the people, in whose name Caiaphas declared that the death of Jesus was necessary “that the whole nation shall not perish” (Jn 11:50), could not be constructed around the authority of the chief priests, which was more apparent than real. In this troubled context several “parties” proposed solutions with a political (Saducees, Zealots) or religious (Pharisees, Essenes) emphasis. Part of the teaching of Jesus was aimed at bringing together the dispersed people that he considered deprived of a shepherd (Mt 15:24 and 23:37). His mission was limited to them (Mt 10:7 and 15:24; *see also* Rom 15:8). He particularly called on all those “who labor and are heavy laden” (Mt 11:28). Some wanted to make him “king” (Jn 6:15). By virtue of the particular offense of which his judges convicted him, as well as by virtue of his crucifixion (a “curse”, according to Dt 21:22–23.; *see also* Gal 3:13), in terms of the law, Jesus was cut off from the people.

b) Universality. After Easter the Spirit of God brought into being among the disciples a new people that maintained the characteristics of assembly (*ekklessia* is a translation of *qâhâl*) and of being chosen. The Christian tradition* proclaims the fulfillment in Jesus Christ of the covenant formula: “And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and you shall be my people (Lv 26:12; *see also* Jer 31:33, 2 Cor 6:16, and Heb 8:10). Baptism* brings together in a single rite all the conditions required for belonging to the people of God (Acts 2:38).

From the moment of Christ’s resurrection, this people becomes a new people through the welcome it offers to the “nations”, who are thus called to share the same heritage: “by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two” (Eph 2:14), for the blood of Christ saved and consecrated an immense people “from every tribe and tongue and people and nation” (Rev 5:9).

In this way the people of God becomes a basic image of the reality of the Church* by opening up for it a historical and eschatological perspective: throughout history, this people is on its way toward a new world*. It is first of all a people of the baptized, endlessly sent out and brought together in order to exist before God. Entrusted to human “pastors” or “shepherds” who watch over the transmission of the gospel*, it proclaims to all people that they are called to come together under the sign of the kingdom* of God. In Christian language, “people” manifests the dynamism of the whole Church, whereas the “body of Christ” expresses a more organic, functional, and mystical dimension.

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See also Choice; Church; Church and State; City; Covenant; Israel; Jerusalem; Jesus, Historical; Kingdom of God; Pagans; Political Theology; Secularization; Universalism

Perichoresis. *See* Circumincession

Perseitas. *See* Aseitas

Person

Developed in the fourth and fifth centuries with the debates that elaborated the dogma* of the Trinity*, the concept of “person” would become a keyword in anthropology*, both philosophical and theological, to the point of obscuring its meaning as determined by the Councils of Nicaea* and Chalcedon*. The theoretical context in which the term *person* was used solely to speak of God* was replaced in modern times by a different context, in which the term seems to have no other use than to speak of human beings. Although no name* can refer to both God and humanity, analogic language must however remain a possibility, and a major theologoumen* (the creation* of man “in the image” of God) will always lead theologians to link what it says of God with what it says of human beings, even though the dissimilarity is greater than any resemblance, which preserves divine transcendence within the analogic relationship (analogy*). However, if it was to be possible to “offer the concept of ‘person’ to history” (Zizioulas 1981), the initial requirement was that the Greek Fathers* break with Hellenism, first by distinguishing God from the world as its *free* creator, then by making the Father the *free* source of divinity and, therefore, “the ultimate reason of being” (ibid.).

1. Origins: Antiquity

a) *Rome.* The Etruscan cult of the goddess, P(h)ersephone, involved rites in which a mask, *phersu*, was

worn. The Romans adopted the word and called *persona* (from *per-sonare*, “to speak through”) the mask ordinarily worn by actors and, thereby, the role being played. In the third century B.C.E., grammarians used *persona* to indicate the first, second, and third persons. Then the legal sense of a person subject to law* emerged. In the first century before Christ, the same man could exercise numerous roles, or *personae*, within the social and legal fabric. Personhood was fluid, not fundamental.

b) *Greece.* The Greek word *prosopon* means “face,” and also came to designate the theatrical mask, but within a context in which the philosophical implications of this usage were clearer. Greek thought, in its spontaneous trends, has always tended to unite God and the world* so as they make a harmonious whole. In this whole, man owns nothing unique or lasting: at the time of death* the soul* either unites with another body (Plato), or disappears (Aristotle). There is no room for liberty*, and if theatre allows to dream of liberty and if it stages the revolt of human beings against necessity, such revolt always ends tragically, as the order of the cosmos* is reasserted.

2. Origins: Christianity

In antiquity, one common narrative procedure consisted in creating roles and assigning dialogue to significant characters. Ancient scholars used “prosopo-

graphic” exegesis* to interpret this technique. Early Christian theologians (e.g., Justin) found many scriptural instances in which God leads a self-dialogue (e.g., Gen 1:26; 3:22). They did not interpret them as they would literary fiction but as to means to show true differences. Thus, Tertullian* spoke of God in terms of one substance and three persons (PL 2, 167–68) and, to unite the divine and the human within Christ*, he spoke of Jesus* as one person, both God and man (PL 2, 191), thereby giving to the word *person* (*persona*) its full weight for the first time. Hippolytus (c. 170–c. 236) was the first to apply *prosôpon* to speak about the Trinity (PG 10, 821 A).

3. Greek Fathers

a) *Athanasius*. The first major theorizations of “person” arose with the fight against Arianism*, starting with Athanasius*. Arianism was countered by teaching that the Son belonged to the substance of God while the world came out of the will of God: the Son was not part of the created order. This new formulation departed from Greek thought in two ways. First, Athanasius denied any kinship (*suggeneia*) between God and the world: the world was a product of freedom, not an eternal given. Second, although he continued to consider substance as primordial, he recognized that the Son was other from the Father within the being (*ousia*) or substance (*hupostasis*) of God (PG 26, 53 B).

To name the deity*, Athanasius used *hupostasis* and *ousia* interchangeably, as did the Fathers that preceded him. *Hupostasis* is the literally equivalent of “substance” (see Heb 1:1), even though in the fourth century it could also refer to a real individual. Thus Arius maintained that there were three *hupostaseis* in God; meaning three substances (PG 26, 709 B). The Synod* of Sardica (342) responded to Arius by declaring that there was only one *hupostasis* of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (PG 82, 1012 C). To avoid the hint of heresy* that accompanied the term, Athanasius never applied *hupostasis* to the three persons of the Trinity.

b) *Cappadocians*. The theological contribution of the Cappadocian Fathers Basil*, Gregory* of Nyssa, and Gregory* of Nazianzus resulted from their struggle against Sabellianism—a modalism* that reduced the divine persons to the level of divine ways of being. They had to assert that each of the divine persons was a true being, against the view that Father, Son, and Spirit are simply roles assumed by one divine monad. Since the term *prosopon* (*persona*) recalled the idea of a theatrical role, the Cappadocians tried to give it ontological weight by identifying it with *hupostasis*, in the

sense of a concrete being, and by forbidding the assimilation of *hupostasis* with *ousia*. Basil warned (PG 32, 884 C): “Those who say that *ousia* and *hupostasis* are the same are compelled to confess only different *prosopa*, and by the use of the words *treis hupostaseis* (three *hupostaseis*) do not succeed in escaping the Sabellian evil.” However, the *hupostasis* did not cease to possess divine *ousia*: a divine person is “neither an individual of the species ‘Divinity’ nor an individual substance of divine nature” (Lossky 1967) but rather the full reality of the divine nature.

When applied to man, the distinction between “nature” and “person” allows to set a limit: with man, nature precedes the person, so that no one can carry the totality of human nature with himself and therefore the death of one does not entail the death of all. In God, however, no limitation of person by nature is conceivable: nature and persons, the one and the many, coincide in him, and each person is unthinkable without the others. Nature is defined by the three persons, and their relationship is of the essence of the deity, so much so that Basil equaled divine nature and the communion* of the divine persons: “in the divine and incomposite nature, in the communion of the Deity, is the union” (PG 32, 149 C).

The communion of the divine persons has an intrinsic structure. God does not have a source (*arkhe*), but the person of the Father is, in God, both origin and cause (*aition*) (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45, 133 B and 180 C). “It is as Father, and not as ‘substance,’ and from the fact that he perpetually ‘is’, that God confirms his free will to exist. His existence as a Trinity constitutes precisely this confirmation” (Zizioulas 1981). The Cappadocians thus identified, at the origin of being*, the person of the Father, characterized by absolute freedom in communion with the Son and the Spirit. This is the pattern of true personhood; and, in so far as humanity is made in the image of God, this pattern also has relevance for anthropology (PG 45, 24 C–D).

c) *Chalcedon*. The identity of being and of being in communion is not inscribed in the nature of humanity. According to Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44, 701 D–704 A), however, freedom is precisely what gives human beings the possibility of overcoming the given character of his nature to obtain a personal existence. Christology* provides the necessary notions to help conceive how this possibility becomes reality. Between the Councils of Ephesus* and Chalcedon, and in the wake of Chalcedonian theology, the problem was to conceive the union “according to hypostasis,” *kath’hupostasin*, confessed at Ephesus so that the humanity of Christ would not be blended with his divin-

ity. The Chalcedon council confirmed the duality of natures after the union, while stating that the natures are united in a single person (“*prosopon* and *hupostasis*” in Greek, “*persona* and *subsistentia*” in Latin), namely, that of the “only-begotten Son” (DS 302). The main consequence was that the human nature of Christ had to be conceived as devoid of human hypostasis. This consequence led to a great paradox: the very nature in which the fulfillment of humanity is perceived is a nonpersonal nature, which exists without hypostasis (anhypostasy*), and is hypostasized in the hypostasis of the Word* of God. The neo-Chalcedonian theologians of the sixth century would make this paradox their key theoretical interest.

On the other hand, a hypothesis can be made: if Jesus’ existence without a hypostasis is not simply an absolute *hapax legomenon*, and if it suggests that human nature is not defined in essence by the need for a human “hypostasis,” then the Christian experience may be perceived as one of “Christification,” in which human beings receive new modes of being that fundamentally constitute their persons more than they add to them. Access to existence as a person thus comes into question in the adoptive filiation* conferred in baptism*, in the life lived in the communion of the church*, and, above all, in the celebration of the Eucharist*.

4. The West and Augustine

With the Trinitarian theology and Christology, the Greek patristics was led to define the person as a being in communion, and this could be applied to the divine persons and to the human person. It can be said of the Latin tradition that its theology of the Trinity led it to illustrate another Christian notion, that of the individual as created, known, and loved personally by God (Mt 10:29ff.). Latin theology thinks of the human person in terms of its uniqueness. Consequently, interpersonality and communion became secondary and sometimes even disappeared.

a) *Augustine*. For Augustine*, person means—in God—“relation.” The divine persons “are nothing but the act of relativity toward each other” (Ratzinger 1973), a statement that can easily rely on John’s Gospel* (5:19, 10:30). John extends this relational model of persons to humanity (15:5, 17:11); Augustine may be said to have made (Ratzinger 1973) “a crucial mistake” by seeking an analog for the divine persons, not in the relations between human beings but in a triad of mental processes—memory, intelligence, and will, which he relates to being, knowledge, and love*, and constitute the image of the Trinity in human beings (PL 42, 982–84). One may then be misled to imagine

God as one person possessing these three faculties. Augustine may think of divine life as a logic of the lover, loved one, and love (PL 42, 960), this theology provides no basis for the idea of human personhood fed by interpersonal relations.

b) *Boethius*. What Augustine does not allow for will be made almost impossible after Boethius* had defined the person as “an individual substance of a rational nature” (*naturae rationalis individua substantia*, PL 64, 1343). It is true that the human person has a substantial existence, that it exists in itself and to itself; it is also true that rationality is essential to humanity. However, this definition can not be used in Trinitarian theology because it puts the emphasis on the being in itself and not interrelatedness (“being toward,” *esse ad*); nor can it be used in Christology, because it does not allow us to think of the being-in-another that would be proper to the human nature of Christ. It was therefore destined to dominate anthropology, but also to legitimize an anthropology that, on one crucial point, the status of the relation, cuts humanity off from God.

c) *Richard of Saint Victor*. Richard witnesses this cut: the necessities of Trinitarian theology would lead him to amend Boethius’s definition, although he would consider it valid in his anthropology. Richard defines the divine person as “an incommunicable existence of the divine nature” (*divinae naturae incommunicabilis existentia*, PL 196, 945), which does not really reflect the going out of one’s self that characterizes the persons in God—this going out of one’s self is barely hinted at by the notion of existence. Richard resorted to the psychology of human love to develop a model analogic to the Trinity as “lover-loved one-mutually loved (*condilectus*)” (PL 196, 922–27). This allowed him to compensate for the relative scantiness of his definition. He did not, however, really draw the consequences on the human person out of his construct: he used the grammar of human love to speak of the love of the Trinity, without having it affect the definition of the former.

d) *Thomas Aquinas*. Unlike Richard, Thomas* Aquinas regards Boethius’s definition as applicable to divine as well as human persons, providing that “rational” is understood as “intellectual” and “individual” as “incommunicable” (*ST* Ia, q. 29, a. 3, ad 4). This could not, of course, be the last word on the subject. Aquinas states that “person” is used for God “in a higher sense” than it is used of creatures (Ia, q. 29, a. 3 resp.); “distinction in God only comes from original relations,” so that “divine person” means “subsisting relation”

(I, q. 29, a. 4 resp.); and God is distinguished from human beings to the extent that the *esse ad* is primary in him. Therefore, relation enters into the definition only of *divine* persons. As a result, God's relatedness is a "theological exception" to the philosophical definition of the person, instead of being the new norm for philosophy* itself (Ratzinger). Generally, Thomas finds it sufficient, to speak of the one God or of human persons, to use a nonrelational definition of "person" as "a *hupostasis* distinguished by dignity," God's dignity surpassing all dignities (Ia, q. 29, a. 3, ad 2). "Dignity" here resides in the freedom of persons to determine their own actions (q. 29, a. 1 resp.).

e) Luther. One of the great merits of Luther*, who said that faith* makes the person (*fides facit personam*, WA 39, I, 283 A/B), is to have conceived a completely theological anthropology in which human beings accede to themselves only within and through their justifying and liberating relationship with God (but in which the interpersonal relationship of the self and the other is not significant for the advent of the person). It is facing God, the "*coram* relationship" (G. Ebeling) that is key. Luther certainly does not deny the reality of autonomy, but he thinks of it in terms of the interpretation of the sinful condition, and uses the image of humanity "folded over itself" (*incurvatus in se*).]

5. Modern Times and the Contemporary Era

a) Back to the Self. The theological anthropology of medieval western Europe was characterized by a certain neglect of the ontological issues of the relational being. Modernity is also "Roman" by virtue of a similar neglect. With Descartes, for example, the quest for the basis of knowledge leads to make subjectivity the key part of the person. Locke offers a new and modern definition of the person: the person is "a thinking, intelligent Being, endowed with reason and thought, aware of his identity and of his permanence in time and space." (*Essay* II, 27, 9). Both anchor the person in its vertical relationship with God; but neither they nor their contemporaries gave any importance to interpersonality in the constitution of the self. The self they describe is the one that would be claimed by the liberalism of the 18th century: humanity consists of fundamentally independent individuals.

From the Cartesian ego to Kant*'s notion of self and the German idealism and beyond, the variety of discourses and their oppositions presupposed a tacit agreement about the possession of the self by the self. For Kant, the other is the object of unconditional respect due to what cannot be transformed into a means, and ethics* can even lead to the elaboration of a tran-

scendental ecclesiology*; but there is no authentic communion present at the birth of the "kingdom of ends." For Fichte, the self tends to absorb into itself everything that has precisely the status of non-self. Hegel* was a thinker concerned with going outside the self, and he was not capable of conceiving of a humanity that is abstractly equal to itself; but, while relations enter into the genesis of the person, its destiny is to go back to itself and to be satisfied with itself. Kierkegaard* thought only of "Christian becoming" and provided a spectacular development of Luther's intuitions; but, the human being who happens into a relationship of faith with God is a "unique one" or an "individual" (*det Enkelte*), who expects everything from God and nothing from other human beings. When Marx* developed the first systematic criticism of subjectivity, the result was certainly to make the person the product of relationships, but also to dissolve any consciousness into relationships that its only role (a final form of *persona*) is to represent.

b) Personalist Philosophy. The emergence of philosophies in which communion is part of the genesis of the self is characteristic of the 20th century. Perhaps started by Max Scheler (1874–1928), such a philosophy was to be found amongst many authors, who often shared the same theism: Ferdinand Ebner (1882–1931) and Martin Buber (1878–1965) in Germany, Emmanuel Mounier (1905–50) and Maurice Nédoncelle (1905–76) in France, and so on. Their personalism, which is "philosophical" in the conventional definition of the term, seeks in various ways to base interpersonality, understood as *communio personarum* ("communion of persons"), in the relationship between the human person and a personal God. Still, the notion that the deity might live by itself a relational existence, which could analogically rule the relations between "I," "you," and "we," is missing from their work.

c) From Theology to Ontology. In spite of the personalist protest, the definition of the person provided by Locke is still dominant, if not in philosophy then at least in mentalities. In the list of ideas inherited from the classical age, the person is a center of self-consciousness, an individual atom that freely determines its activity and its relations with others, including its relations with God. One can see why several contemporary Trinitarian theologies have suggested that the term *person* could no longer be used for theological purposes. Indeed, if the term has to be understood in this way, references to the three persons of God may be misunderstood for a confession of tritheism*. Because of this blurring of meanings, Rahner* recommended to use a different terminology: one would thus

say that in God there are “three distinct ways of subsisting” (*Subsistenzweisen*) (*MySal* II, pp. 389–93). Barth* had previously proposed an overhaul of theological discourse and had suggested to substitute “modes of being” (*Seinsweisen*, *KD* I/1, pp. 379–80) to “persons,” which he thought as having been unclear from its earliest use. Rahner’s proposed term is closer to Thomas Aquinas; as for Barth’s term, it simply translated the Cappadocians’ *tropos huparxeos*.

In opposition to proposals that continue to legitimize the strict separation of the theology of the Trinity from philosophical and theological anthropology, there has been a return in recent theology to a theocentric perspective on anthropology. For Henri Sonier de Lubac*, the theology of the supernatural* is directly correlated to a rejection of any monadic conception of the self: “possession is ecstasy” (1946). At the same time, an ecclesiology drawn from patristic sources allows one to overcome pietistic individualism (“the detestable self”, 1938, 7th Ed., 1983); and the Holy Spirit intervenes as the creator of a profound communication between the soul and God, and between Christians in the sacrament of the Church. The Spirit is the one of whom it can be said that “he personalizes and he unifies” (*ibid.*). The person is thus “a centrifugal center” (*ibid.*). In the Trinitarian meditation of J. Monchanin (1895–1957), the circumincension* of the divine persons is also the last mystery of humanity. For J.D. Zizioulas, the search for an ontology of communion leads beyond a personalism based upon the requests and results of intersubjectivity to link personal existence with “ecclesial being.” Because communion has a cause among human beings as well as within God, it is the Christian community gathered around the bishop* that is the image of the Son and the Spirit together with the Father. “In the Eucharist, the church becomes the reflection of the eschatological community of Christ, ... an image of God’s life as Trinity” (Zizioulas 1981). This view is also found in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, as well as in the first agreed statement of the Catholic-Orthodox theological dialogue: “The eucharistic celebration ... makes present the Trinitarian mystery of the church” (1982). It offers the benefits of reuniting what the history of theology had set apart, and it reappears with other questions, under other names (Trinitarian ontology, eschatological ontology, and so on), as a contemporary task. To think of a being in the Trinitar-

ian image of God, and of the humanity of human beings in this same image, to state the conditions under which humanity lives by vocation (see *Catechism of the Catholic Church*) what God is by nature, is certainly not a new endeavor, but it is not either anything that what recent research would have accomplished.

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See also Anhypostasy; Christ and Christology; Circumincension; Consubstantial; Holiness; Hypostatic Union; Trinity

Peshitta. See *Translations of the Bible, Ancient*

Peter

a) Until Easter. A native of Bethsaida (Jn 1:44), Simon, son of John (Jn 1:42, 21:15ff.), *bar Iôna* in Mt 16:17, was a fisherman from Capernaum, where he had a house and family* (Mk 1:29f.; see 1 Cor 9:5). His brother Andrew, a former disciple of John the Baptist, already knew Jesus (Jn 1:40ff.). But it was at the beginning of the latter's ministry that Peter decided to follow him and become a "fisher of men" (Mk 1:16ff.; Mt 4:18ff.; see Lk 5:1–11).

The synoptic Gospels make Peter a special witness of the preaching of the Nazarene. Set at the head (Mt 10:2: "the first") of the list of the Twelve, who are the cornerstones of the new Israel* (Rev 21:14), Jesus gives him the Aramaic name *Képha*, "the Rock," in Greek *Kephas* and *Petros*. This name reveals as much the communitarian project of the Master as the role assigned by him to his disciple. Elsewhere it is family relationship that is emphasized (James and the brothers of Jesus) or a personal charism (Paul). It was their presence beside Jesus during his ministry that gave Peter and the Twelve their authority over subsequent Christian communities, including those who were not of the same persuasion.

Peter's authority is again underlined by his attitude during the "Galilean crisis." At that point he becomes the spokesperson of the faithful disciples. Here we touch on the historical basis of the "confessions of Caesarea" (see Mt 16:13–20) (confessions* of faith), of which John himself kept the memory alive for us (Jn 6:68f.). Until recently the exegetical debate on Mt 16:17ff was dominated by the question of authenticity. Today, many discern in this a creation of the community of Antioch, inserted here by Matthew (Refoulé, *RB* 99, 261–90); others see it as a creation of the community of Jerusalem (Grappe 1992). We might also consider that Matthew found verse 18 in a previous version of the pericope, distinct from Mark's. In the latter case, reinterpreting the name of Peter would serve to express the faith* of a community that was

certainly Galilean. This group was then waiting for the imminent coming of the "Son of the living God" (filiation*), who was to build ("I will build") his eschatological union himself. Caesarea Philippi, the site of the "confession," located at the foot of Mount Hermon, was considered one of the favored places of revelations* (Nickelsburg, *JBL* 101, 575–600).

However, differences did remain between Jesus and Peter. The cry, "Get behind me, Satan!" in Mark 8:33/Matthew 16:23 is the best example. Jesus firmly reminds Peter, who is strongly opposed to going up to Jerusalem* because he thinks it dangerous, of his disciple status: "behind the master." Accurately foretold (Mk 14:29ff.), Peter's denial (Mk 14:66–72) sanctions his human faults. At the same time, behind the reinterpretations developed by Luke, the demand made on Peter—"when you have turned again, strengthen your brothers" (Lk 22:31) clearly shows the theological dimension of Jesus' confidence that his work will survive his death ("I have prayed for you," Lk 22:32).

Luke 24:12 and John 20:2–10 point to Peter's confusion before the empty tomb; 1 Corinthians 15:5 and Luke 24:34 make him the first to see the Risen One. Most commentators are ready to explain by this experience the "principal role played by Peter in the early Church*" (Brown-Donfried-Reumann, 1974). We do not, however, have any account of the event and this raises questions. For this reason, we can assume that, in its first version, the 1 Corinthians 15:5 passage referred to the time when Jesus had followers while on earth, a time that is seen as a founding period. Furthermore, the manifestation to Cephas (and then to the Eleven) serves as a guarantee of the validity of the passages concerning Christ's redeeming death and Resurrection*. Moreover, in Luke 24:34 it has a ratifying function. This function of primary guarantor of community faith, already attested to by Matthew 16:18, is undoubtedly the oldest attributed to Peter.

b) Until Martyrdom. Acts presents Peter as the head of the church of Jerusalem. A spokesman for the apostles (apostle*) (Acts 2:14, 3:12, 4:8, 5:29), often accompanied by John (Acts 1:13, 3:1, 3:4, 3:11, etc.), he performs miracles (miracle*) “in the name of Jesus” (Acts 3:1–10, 5:15, 9:32–43); he presides over a gathering (Acts 1:15–26, 5:1–11), is sent to Samaria (Acts 8:14–25), baptizes the first uncircumcised male (Acts 10:1–48). In the end comes arrest and marvelous liberation (Acts 1:1–19); Peter then hands responsibility over to James (Cullmann 1952). These facts, to which Grappe (1992) assigns great importance, partly rest on ancient traditions. But in order to appreciate them correctly, Luke’s literary and theological agenda also needs to be taken into account. For Luke, Peter is primarily an ideal figure of the past, the connection that guarantees continuity between Jesus’ ministry on earth and what communities experience today, despite the ruptures caused by Jesus’ death (Lk 22:31f., 24:3) and by pagan integration (Acts 10:1–11; 10:28) (universalism*). Given the brevity of Luke 24:6 on the post-Resurrection meeting in Galilee (Mk 16:7/Mt 28:7, 28:10), one can see in Peter’s Jerusalem ministry a largely editorial construction on the part of Luke. We can draw this conclusion particularly from Acts 12:17, where Luke’s intention is to show that James did not hold the chief position in Jerusalem outside the authority of Peter (Dupont 1984), but that James himself was, from the beginning, the “head” of the Jerusalem church (Gal 2:9; Acts 15:13; 21:18; see Jn 7:3; Eusebius, *HE*, II, 1, 2–4). Peter’s own area of ecclesial jurisdiction was Capernaum and Galilee, as Mark and Matthew give us to understand, and as is supported by archeology (Claudel, *CrSt* 1993, *Sq*; *Bib* 74, 105).

Paul speaks of Cephas in Galatians and 1 Corinthians. In Galatians, and in the face of a challenge to his authority, Paul defends the legitimacy of “his gospel,” by going so far as to recall an altercation with Peter in Antioch (Gal 2:11–14): therefore, Peter should not be pitted against him. The mention of Cephas in 1 Corinthians does not prove that he stayed for a long time with the addressees (Pesch 1980). But it is evident that here too, Paul sees in Cephas as the ultimate reference that is overly promoted around him (see the ancestral list in 1 Cor 1:12: Paul, Apollos, Cephas, Christ*). Although in 1 Corinthians 15:3b–5 Paul revives a tradition, received from Peter, which grants priority to the latter as the guardian of the kerygma, he takes care to extend this tradition in the ensuing verses (vv. 6–11) in order to legitimize his own role as apostle.

We meet a similar reserve in John. Certainly there is

the confession of faith in Jn 6:68f, but in Jn 18:15f.; 20:2–10 the evangelist introduces the figure of that other disciple whose positive characteristics are highlighted by Peter’s deficiencies. The “beloved disciple” is introduced in John 13:23f. (see 19:25ff., 21:7, 21:20–24). To Peter belongs the care of the flock and the witness of martyrdom; and to the beloved disciple belongs the privilege of “remaining” through the written account of his gospel.

c) More Recent Traditions. The question of the authenticity of Peter’s first epistle remains the subject of great debate: certainly it would be better to speak of it as a production of “Petrine” circles. Whatever the case may be, according to 1 P 5:15 the apostle writes from Rome (in 96), the city named by Clement of Rome as the place of Peter’s suffering (see *1 Clement* 5, 4 *Sq*; see Gaius’s account around 200, in Eusebius, *HE* II, 25, 7)—a detail confirmed by archeologists. 1 Peter 5:12 also specifies that the writer of the letter is a certain Silvanus, identified by many as Silas, the companion of Paul and co-author of the epistles to the Thessalonians (1 Thes 1:1; 2 Thes 1:1). Mark, another old companion of Paul (Col 4:10; 2 Tm 2:11; Phlm 24), is also mentioned as being with Peter. These are the premises of the tradition* that regards Mark as Peter’s interpreter (Papias; Eusebius, *HE* III, 39, 15). These are the first literary signs of the relationship, in Rome, between the figures of Peter and Paul. The reference to the letters of Paul in 2 Peter 3:15 (“our beloved brother”) reflects the same trend. In this pseudo-epigraphic epistle, Peter also appears in the role of the guardian of orthodoxy* (Brown-Donfried-Reumann 1974; Grappe 1995). Gradually, along with other discourses, there emerges a discourse that will admit the “magisterium* of Peter.”

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See also *Apostle; Apostolic Succession; Authority; Church; Jerusalem; Jesus, Historical; Johannine Theology; Magisterium; Martyrdom; Mission/Evangelization; Pauline Theology; Pope; Rome; Tradition*

Philocalia. See Hesychasm; Orthodoxy, Modern and Contemporary

Philoponus, John. See Aristotelianism, Christian; Tritheism

Philosophy

1. *The Logos and the Cross*

It was in the general context of a confrontation between Christianity and classical antiquity that philosophy acquired the status of a theological object. This confrontation began in the Pauline corpus, where it took the form of an exclusion: while paganism* was defined by a search for wisdom*, *sophia*, Christianity's understanding of itself was characterized in contrast by a divine "folly," the folly of the cross (1 Cor 1:23). Just as much as it violated the principles of Judaism, the *logos* peculiar to Christianity thus appeared at once as contradicting the whole apparatus of pagan rationality (1 Cor 3:19). God*'s cause was that of Christ crucified, and the promise of the cross (1 Cor 1:18) was a thing that nothing in the *epistēmè* of classical antiquity could in any way comprehend or accept. Athens had nothing in common with Jerusalem* (Tertullian*, also Tatian, *Oratorio ad Graecos*, etc.).

The words *philosophia* and *philosophos* appear only twice in the New Testament. In Colossians 2, 8 the distinctive characteristic of philosophy is its deceptiveness, inasmuch as it is connected to the "elemental spirits of the world*" (*stoikheia tou kosmou*), in other words the mythological and possibly demonic forces at work in paganism (see E. Lohse, HThK XI/1 ad. loc.). In Acts 17:18 the philosophers—"Epicurean and Stoic"—appear on the scene and provoke Paul's apologetic speech, only to end by mocking him: Athens does not wish to have anything in common

with Jerusalem. It is notable, by the by, that Paul had some knowledge of popular Hellenistic philosophy: for example, he knew the Skeptic paradox of the liar (Ti 1:12).

2. *Christianity as a Philosophy*

The mutual exclusion of theology and philosophy could not, however, be the last word. Because the Christian discourse aspired to be accepted by pagans, just as it set out to be accepted by Israel*, the question of rationality and in turn of credibility* could not be dealt with by a simple, even simplistic, recourse to contradictions. Like any words, the words that it was Christianity's vocation to transmit could not be transmitted without the existence of a common vocabulary shared by Christian and pagan; it is therefore unsurprising that a large part of the theological efforts of the patristic age, from the time of the apologists*, should have taken the form of producing an interpretation of philosophy that would endow the evangelization of the Greco-Roman world with an adequate theoretical basis. Philosophical authority acquired a theological relevance in two ways:

- 1) Because classical antiquity, as theology attempted to interest it in certain events that had occurred in Palestine, revealed that its intellectual history was not just one of idolatry*, but also of a genuine desire for God, it became vital

that its principles should be in some way preordained to the gospel (that there should be a “preparation for the gospel”). And since a single God was Father* and Creator of everything, the hypothesis that there was some truth* (“seeds of truth,” e.g. Justin, I *Apol.* 44, 16, II *Apol.* 8, 13 and 13, 5; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* VI, 68, 2, VII, 74, 7, etc. [apologists]) to be found in the pagan searches for wisdom could readily be based on that common origin of all humankind—if philosophy was able to speak the truth, this was because God had granted it a partial unveiling of his mystery*. Perhaps philosophical wisdom was in fact rooted in a *prisca philosophia* or a *sapientia antiqua*, in an ancient (and vanished) heritage common to both pagan and biblical expression. Clement of Alexandria did not hesitate to accord Greek philosophy the theological status of a *covenant* (*Strom* VI, 8, 67).

- 2) There was one fact that could not remain unnoticed for long. Theology did not have a vocabulary that belonged to it alone, and it was forever borrowing words and sometimes even principles from philosophy, both popular and learned. The same theologians who borrowed concepts of established philosophical origin were, however, careful to insist that they meant to speak “in the manner of the Fisherman and not in the manner of Aristotle”, *alieutikôs, ouk aristotelikôs* (see *ACO* II 5, 84, 2–3). The decision, taken at the First Council of Nicaea*, to introduce the non-biblical concept of *homoousia* into the confession of faith* was, however, never called into question. Origen* had been the first to justify it: Christianity was entitled to plunder the philosophical reserves of the pagan world, just as the Hebrews, on the day of the Exodus, were authorized to seize “spoils from the Egyptians” (*Ep. Greg. Thaum.* 1–2, SC 148 186–191; see Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* II, 40). Pious fables reinforced the theological arguments: Greek wisdom was in fact a mere offshoot of biblical wisdom; not only was the wisdom of Moses older than that of Homer (see J. Pépin, *RevSR* 29, 1955), but Greece had even borrowed from Israel—instances were the borrowings from Solomon (Origen, *GCS* 8, 75, l. 23), the thefts of the Pythagoreans (Origen, *Against Celsus* I, 15), Plato’s debts to a Judaism that he had encountered in Egypt (*ibid.*, VI, 19). At any event, one point acquired the strength of an axiom: not only was dialogue possible between the philosopher and the theologian, on a basis of common rationality, but theology defined itself in terms of its

greater wisdom and no longer by a subversion of wisdom.

It was thus possible to turn the tables and claim for Christianity the status of genuine wisdom and genuine philosophy, while accusing classical antiquity of irrationality. The mere title of Theodoret of Cyrrhus’s (c. 393–c. 466) *Cure for the Ills of the Greeks* is enough to show that over the course of four centuries theology had ceased to see itself as a form of unreason with divine support, and desired henceforth to be the guardian and arbiter of all rationality. It is therefore unsurprising that Christianity now presented itself as the representative of the true philosophy, understood as an existence in keeping with the nature of things, as a choosing of the good life. So Evagrius begins his *Ascetic Discourse* with the assertion that “numerous Greeks, and just as many Jews, have attempted to philosophize, but [...] only the disciples of Christ* have desired true wisdom” (*Philocalia*, ed. Astir, v. 1, 190). John Chrysostom* appears to have been the first to speak of “Christian philosophy” (PG 48, 956). A few years later Synesius, on being appointed as a bishop*, could declare that his transition to Christianity “is not an abandonment of philosophy, but an ascent towards it.” During the same period, Christian monasticism* presented itself as an embodiment of the true philosophical life (see, e.g., Cassian, *Collatio* 4, PL 49, 583 C; Gennadius of Marseilles, PL 58, 1074 B). When in 529 Justinian closed the philosophical school at Athens, it must have seemed as though philosophy had in any case deserted it. Within the topology of the Christian experience* (i.e., within the recasting in terms of Christian “contemplation*” of the whole theoretical and religious complex that made up the pagan *theôria*), the monk, who led the life most worthy of being lived, became heir to the philosopher. Not only did Christianity speak the truth, and absorb into its pronouncements all the truths that paganism had had the grace to perceive, but the Christian ascetic, moreover, lived the true life, the wisdom or *hêsychia* that justified in existential terms the outcome of the philosophical experience. “Our philosophy” (e.g., Tatian, *Or. ad Graecos*, PG 6, 868 C), “the philosophy of the Christians” (e.g., Evagrius, PG 32, 248 A), “inspired philosophy” (e.g., Eusebius, *HE* VI, 19, 10, SC 41, 116), “philosophy drawn from divine Scripture” (e.g., Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* VI, 17, 149)—such expressions, among others, became current as soon as Christianity began to dispute with classical antiquity. This was initially a matter of expressing the truth of an experience rather than of a theory. The shift in meaning that “philosophy” underwent in late antiquity, as is well illustrated by Christian usage, did not, however,

give rise to any ambiguity: Christianity was certainly also indicating by such terms its participation in philosophical rationality, and in the end its out-and-out appropriation of it. Nobody can lead the true life without possessing the knowledge that gives access to that life.

3. *Philosophy in the Service of Theology*

Philosophy taken in its existential sense was to remain Christian, in the monastic environment, for a large part of the Middle Ages. This was true both in the East (Dölger 1953) and in the West, where the monastery was a “school of Christian philosophy” (Guerric of Igny, PL 185, 101 B), the monk a “true philosopher of Christ” (Peter Damian, PL 145, 251 C), the monastic experience “true philosophy” (Bernard* of Clairvaux, PL 183, 206; Peter of Celle, PL 202, 605 A, etc.), where Mary* herself became a “philosophical” figure (Leclercq 1956) and where finally “Christ is philosophy itself,” *ipsa philosophia Christus* (Rochais 1951). These themes were to recur within Christian humanism*, and are central to the work of Erasmus*, who also recognized a “Christian philosophy,” a philosophy, “doctrine,” or “wisdom” of Christ (by which he meant not the experience of a particular group of believers but rather a characteristic of the Christian experience itself). Nonetheless, they were overshadowed during the Middle Ages by a more spectacular phenomenon: the strict dissociation of philosophy and theology, as enshrined in the organization of university work. The very period during which theology began to exist under the name of *theologia*—and began to regard itself as a science—saw the establishment of a strict division of intellectual work in which philosophy gradually lost the all-encompassing and existential sense that it had formerly had and came to be seen as a mere theoretical task. In the 12th-century schools* it was still possible to regard Moses as “the most intelligent of the philosophers” (Thierry of Chartres*). From the 11th century, however, the argument between the “dialecticians” and “anti-dialecticians” had clearly shown that philosophy was now seen—and practiced—more and more as a technique unconnected to Christian experience, whether this technique was seen as the prelude to a higher knowledge or as a “carnal,” “worldly,” “secular,” and “vain” exercise (Peter Damian, Otloh of St-Emmeram, etc.).

The distinctions would become clearer once theology acquired the strictly “scientific” conception of itself that appeared in the work of William of Auxerre, which made it possible to develop an equally “scientific” conception of philosophy. An already ancient phrase, “*philosophia ancilla theologiae*” (see Baudoux 1937; the theory was prefigured as early as Origen; see Crouzel 1962), thereby acquired a new significance:

philosophy could bear fruit through its integration into a scientific progression culminating in the teaching of theology. On the one hand, philosophical reason was a profane form of reason, strictly ignorant of the mysteries of faith. On the other hand, it was not in its own right that it was interesting, but rather for its usefulness in the understanding of faith: if the love of Scripture can go hand in hand with a love of philosophy, Bonaventure says, it is because the latter can “confirm” faith (Quaracchi, 9, 63 A). Of course, admits Thomas Aquinas, “the study of philosophy in itself is permissible and praiseworthy, by virtue of the truth which the philosophers have grasped” (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 167, a. 1, ad 3). It was not for its own sake, however, that the theologian had recourse to philosophy; and the existence of a relationship of subordination enabled theology to “give orders” to philosophy and to use its contents (Thomas, *In Sent.* I, d. 1, q. 1, a. 1) to provide more evidence for its own sequences of reasoning (*ST* Ia, q. 1, a. 5, ad 2). Differences of emphasis can certainly be discerned, resulting from different conceptions of theology. These differences, however, are comprehensible only within a single framework of theoretical work and its relationship with truth. Philosophy had the status of a theological object in the Scholastic* scheme for two main reasons: it was a repository of conceptual tools, and it was a discipline bordering on theology. On the one hand, the theologian could define the limits of his domain only by locating the border between theology and philosophy; on the other hand, he could not inhabit his domain effectively without employing the conceptual techniques offered him by the philosophers. Any problems of coexistence were therefore a matter between the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology—but with the reservation that philosophy agreed to represent a body of knowledge less rich than theology, since it was a priori unaware of everything that is known in the element of faith and was thus incapable of pronouncing the last word.

However, neither the instrumentalization of Aristotelianism*, on which the theologians embarked with gusto, nor the status of a subordinate discipline accorded to philosophy by the theologians, could prevent the development of a purely philosophical Aristotelianism among the masters of arts at the University of Paris, in the hands of a Siger of Brabant (1240–84) or a Boethius of Dacia (?—c. 1270). This was a complex phenomenon. Some have seen in the work of the “*artiens*” a claim for the legitimate independence of secular reason* (Dante* was to place Siger alongside Thomas* Aquinas in his *Paradiso*). But even if the originator of the 1277 condemnations, Étienne Tempier, was paradoxically also the true author of the “the-

ory of two truths,” the Aristotelianism of the Parisian philosophers, influenced by Averroes, already contained in embryo (and perhaps more than that) the foundations of a rejection of theological reason and a reduction of the truly rational to the philosophical (see Bianchi 1990 and naturalism*).

It is not insignificant, moreover, that a secular ideal of “philosophical life” was experiencing a resurgence at this time; that this led to a degree of identification between beatitude* and the philosophical experience (or at least to the development of a concept of philosophical “bliss” that pushed theological beatitude into the background); and that it transferred the most significant characteristics of religious life to philosophy (see Siger, *Quaest. Mor.*, Boethius of Dacia, *De summo bono*). The monk had been considered as the true philosopher, but now the philosopher in the classical sense reappeared on the scene, investing his experience with the prestige that the monk and friar had enjoyed before him.

4. Philosophy Separated

The balance desired by high Scholasticism was unstable, or appeared stable only by virtue of the hegemony enjoyed by the faculties of theology. Henry of Ghent expressed the epistemological wishes of 13th-century theologians when he asserted that philosophy and theology share one single object that each approaches in a different way: the philosopher’s path proceeds from created things to the knowledge* of God, while the theologian’s leads from God to created things; the philosopher considers God by way of the general definitions through which God reveals himself in created things, while the theologian considers him in terms of the properties of the divine persons (person*) (*Summae quest. ordin. a. 7, q. 1, fol. 48E*). Such a harmony of philosophical practice and theological practice was no longer possible, however, once philosophy refused to exist simply in order cheerfully to play the part assigned to it by theology, and instead established itself as an autonomous branch of learning, a process that included several remarkable trends and episodes.

a) *Nominalism and the Organization of Knowledge.* Unsurprisingly, opinions differ regarding the nominalist influences that bore on theology from the 14th century to the time of the Reformation. The intellectual history of these two centuries can be interpreted in two ways: either as the tragic disintegration of a happy synthesis, or as the gradual putting into place of the elements for a fruitful reconstruction (the gradual disappearance of the Aristotelian cosmos* and its final causes, the progressive erosion of the theological primacy of the concept of cause, etc.). In any event, two

things are clear: on the one hand the Faculty of Philosophy’s internal debates (between *reales* and *nominales*) took center stage; and on the other hand an ever-widening gulf opened up between the two orders of reason, theological and philosophical, which Thomas Aquinas’s synthesis had distinguished while at the same time considering them to be extremely close. Admittedly, theology did not hesitate to use and apply the conceptual tools forged by terminist philosophies (and logics): the appeal to God’s “absolute power” (omnipotence*, divine) and a religious epistemology in which God’s authority* did not find its authorized image in human reason. The impact of the new philosophers was almost as widespread as Aristotle’s had been; but the theologians were unable to take the liberties with these new philosophers that their predecessors had taken with Aristotle.

b) *Humanism and Philosophy.* Between the (original) Scholasticism and that known as the “second” or “baroque” Scholasticism, the 15th century and the Renaissance saw another gap open up between the faculties of theology and the places where philosophical texts were produced. The humanist philosophers were sometimes academics—like Erasmus, who was at one time Lady Margaret Professor at Cambridge, or the Aristotelians of Padua—but most were not. The medieval masters of arts shared a language—Scholastic Latin—with the theologians, but the humanist thinkers wrote in another kind of Latin, or even in the vernacular. Their literary forms themselves gave rise to a sense of distance: whether taking the form of private correspondence, free “essays” (Montaigne), or learned satire (Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*), any work worthy of being regarded as “philosophical” sought to prove at every opportunity that it was not the work of a professor of philosophy. It was thus a period of twofold emancipation, from both official theology and official philosophy. In the universities the theoretical difficulties created by the Paris and Oxford condemnations had not disappeared, and in 1515 they gave rise to the Catholic magisterium*’s first formal intervention into philosophical affairs: the condemnation of Pomponazzi at the Fifth Lateran* Council. While censuring Averroism, the Church* pleaded eloquently for the unity of truth and for the former distribution of theoretical responsibilities (*COD* 605–606). Certainly, it had to be conceded that the principle of contradiction could not be put into parenthesis when comparing theological and philosophical utterances (no logic could deny bivalence!). But the second point was no more than a pious hope. The philosophical text—most often written from the Renaissance onward by intellectuals unconnected to the schools where theology continued to

defend its status as queen of the sciences (Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Descartes, etc.)—was henceforth a “separate” text. Such a text could be strongly religious: Ficino, for example, writes that “the philosopher [...] lifts us up to the contemplation of God [and] fires us with love* for the divine goodness” (ed. Kristeller, I, 854), and Descartes uses the language of adoration in the conclusion of his third *Méditation*. Rather than leading on to theology, however, these philosophical texts actually took the place of theological texts: in the case of Erasmus, Descartes, and later Leibniz*, the philosopher assumed strictly theological responsibilities, doubtless because he judged professional theologians incapable of using the new conceptual tools that he himself had made.

c) *Official Philosophies and New Influences.* Nevertheless, at the end of the Middle Ages the philosophers did not cease to endow their work with a “scholarly,” academic finish and finality, nor did the churches cease inviting them to do so. Despite Luther*’s hostility toward philosophy, we need wait no longer than the second generation of reformers—that of Melancthon—for the first attempts to circumvent the prohibition that hung over natural* theology. It was at this point that the logic of Ramus (Pierre de La Ramée, 1515–1572) served to assemble the first philosophy intended for theologians (“Philippo-Ramism”, see HWP 7, [1989], 671 *Sq.*). More remarkably, 17th-century Lutheran orthodoxy forgot Luther’s pronouncements against Aristotle (e.g., the *Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam* of 1517, prop. 43) to the extent that its schools offered apprentice theologians a neo-Aristotelian philosophical training. Even more strikingly, the philosophical treatise that was to serve as the basis of teaching in Catholic countries until the start of the 20th century, Suarez*’s *Disputationes Metaphysicae*, also held a preeminent place in the Germanic Protestant world (see Petersen 1921, Wundt 1939) and even within Russian Orthodoxy. Through the 17th century and the Enlightenment, the schools of theological thought continued to extend their hospitality to the dominant philosophies of the moment. A large proportion of 18th-century theology, especially in the Protestant sphere (“physico-theology,” “neology,” see “rationalism*”), followed Wolff. Cartesianism exerted a powerful influence, in Louis XIV’s France and elsewhere; and the new physics propounded by Descartes seemed to demand a reorganization of the central concepts of theology (such as the eucharistic* theology of Dom R. Desgabets, see Armogathe, 1976). Malebranche, Spinoza, Leibniz, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, all the major thinkers of the period took a position on theological topics—grace* (Malebranche, Leibniz),

political* theology (Spinoza, Hobbes), belief (Locke, Hume), miracles (miracle*) (Hume)—and did so with enough force and relevance that the theologians thought it best to give them not merely a reply, but a reception. Whether in Catholicism* or Protestantism*, theology thus acquired its modern face as a result of a deficiency—after Suarez, the company of theologians no longer counted a powerful philosophical head among its number—for which it attempted to compensate by a perpetual openness to the dominant philosophical thinking, or even to merely fashionable philosophies.

Within the Protestant intellectual world, fidelity to the scriptural principle (*sola scriptura*) and an anti-philosophical stance strictly faithful to Luther (Barth*—Calvin offers no orthodoxy on this point, notwithstanding the triumphant tone of the “Calvinist theory of knowledge,” Reformed epistemology, which spread through the English-speaking cultural sphere at the end of the 20th century, chiefly under the influence of Alvin Plantinga [see Plantinga 1983 and the criticisms of D.Z. Phillips, *Faith after Foundationalism*, London/New York 1988]) at no point prevented the interplay of influences. Thus the 19th and 20th centuries saw theologies adopting Schleiermacher*’s religious philosophy (which does not imply the adoption of all his theological ideas), theologies that remained faithful to an “enlightened” conception of rationality (“liberal Protestantism,” see liberalism*), theologies inspired by Hegel (e.g., the “evangelical school of Tübingen*” or W. Pannenberg in the 20th century), by Kierkegaard (“dialectical theology”), or by Heidegger* (e.g., Bultmann*, E. Fuchs, E. Jüngel), theologies inspired too by the humanist Marxism of E. Bloch (J. Moltmann), by contemporary English-speaking philosophy in general (I.U. Dalferth, D. Ritschl), or by Wittgenstein* in particular (G. Lindbeck, P. Holmer, O. Bouwsma, R. Bell), by post-structuralist critiques of modernity (the “radical orthodoxy” of the younger Cambridge school [J. Milbank, G. Ward, C. Pickstock]), and others besides. (See Dalferth 1988 on Protestant models of the relationship between theological and philosophical reason.) However, post-Enlightenment philosophy gave rise to a redefinition of the terms of the problem, and 19th-century Catholicism also saw the appearance of a new philosophical and theological program, calling for a return to the “good old days.” The understanding of that redefinition and that program holds the key to the interpretation of present-day difficulties and challenges.

5. Restorations and Redistributions

The Enlightenment had its theological side, and its influence brushed aside denominational barriers, which

in any case were tending to become incomprehensible to the religious ecumenism of the time. The 18th century, moreover, came to a violent conclusion whose principles, causes, and ideologies were associated with the Enlightenment: the French Revolution, the fall of the “old regimes,” the Napoleonic Wars, all represented a kind of culmination of the effects exerted on the social body by a particular group of doctrines. Consequently, the political restorations and reconstitutions of the period after Waterloo could not fail to arouse among the intelligentsia a desire for a critique of enlightened reason, often linked to programs of intellectual “restoration:” henceforth, the history of the debates between theology and philosophy alternated between criticism and restoration.

a) The first major event was a reversal, which is clearly to be seen in Hegel’s work and in the late philosophy of Schelling*, and then appears in Kierkegaard’s writing in a way that owes little to “German idealism”—in short, among thinkers who all accepted that theological principles could be at work in texts produced outside the theology faculties. In Hegel’s *Logic* the fundamental mechanism is christological and Trinitarian. In Schelling’s essays on the *Philosophy of Revelation*, the a priori evaluation of “anything subject to revelation” (which was Kant’s objective as well as that of the young Fichte) disappears in favor of a form of thought referred to as “positive,” based on divine self-manifestation as a first principle. Kierkegaard’s *Philosophical Fragments* form a christological sketch, and his *Concept of Anxiety* is presented as a contribution to the doctrine of original sin*. While they deal with theological subjects, however, these works are marginal, and it has been questioned whether they have the slightest theological authority. Even though they received their initial training in the Lutheran seminary at Tübingen, the *Stift*, Schelling and Hegel were professors of philosophy. The latter was considered enough of a practising Lutheran to be entrusted with the commemorative address for the *Augsburg Confession* in 1830, but his relations with the Berlin theology faculty were notoriously frosty. Kierkegaard, meanwhile, was a Danish Lutheran who ultimately broke with the established Church. The objection has conventionally been leveled against Schelling and particularly against Hegel that their project assumed a Gnostic character: the use within philosophy of Christian theologoumena or conceptual schemes did not make philosophy Christian but rather mythological (a criticism that goes back as far as F.C. Baur’s *Christliche Gnosis* [1835])... As for Kierkegaard, only the good fortune not to have been read before the 20th century can have saved him

from being considered as a heresiarch, a status that his fideism*, his extreme voluntarism, and his “non-cognitivist” conception of the Christian experience* would certainly have earned him. However, it remains clear, supported by the conclusions of several generations of historians, that these works are not *primarily* important because of the conceptual tools that they put at the disposal of the theologian, but rather because a strictly theological task is carried out in them. Consequently, the response to these authors by the theology faculties could not fail to break with the typical pattern illustrated by the Scholastic reception of the Philosopher *par excellence*, Aristotle. Theology, and in a sense the most powerful theology, here lies outside the official theology of the churches. Indeed the history of ecclesiastical theology from the Romantic period (e.g. the Catholic school of Tübingen) to the end of the 20th century (e.g., the Catholic Hegelianism of G. Fessard or A. Chapelle) could be written as the history of a sustained effort by theology faculties determined to produce orthodox versions of inspired philosophical/theological constructions not distinguished by their great concern for literal orthodoxy.

b) The second major event—though one that was confined to Catholicism—was the development of a persistent myth whose best and most typical expression is provided by two works by J. Kleutgen S.J. (1811–83), one of the influential experts at the First Vatican* Council, the *Theologie der Vorzeit vertheidigt* (1853–1870, Münster, 4 vols.) and the *Philosophie der Vorzeit vertheidigt* (1860–1863, Münster, 2 vols.). A concordance of the Fathers* with one another, and a concordance of the medieval Doctors (Doctor* of the Church) with the Fathers and with each other, Kleutgen’s synthesis is guided by hermeneutic principles that make it the perfect manifesto of Neoscholasticism and enable him to describe an idyllic past (*Vorzeit*, “good old days”) that is lost but recoverable. Modernity could be understood as the dramatic story of this loss, for which J. Maritain would later (in his 1925 pamphlet *Les trois réformateurs*) chiefly blame Luther, Descartes, and Rousseau. To escape the perplexities of modernity (subjectivism, idealism, laicism, irreligiosity, secularization*, etc.), Neoscholastic discourse offered a step backward toward the Middle Ages, associated with a vision of the Middle Ages in which Christian rationality culminated with Thomas Aquinas in a harmonious synthesis of philosophical reason (with Aristotle becoming the Philosopher once again) and Christian doctrine. Because the founding texts—those of the Fathers and the Doctors—not only had to be reissued for the benefit of a modern audience but also interpreted, the Neoscholastics combined successes with

failures: the most brilliant historical work (Gilson was an important figure, but not the only one) appeared alongside “Thomist” and “Aristotelio-Thomist” ramblings entirely alien to the genuine Thomist tradition, starting with an astonishing confusion among the teaching institutions of the Society of Jesus between the ontology of Thomas and that of Suarez.

c) Interpreting the Eden of Scholasticism as exemplifying the model that should govern relations between philosophy and theology, and believing itself capable of identifying a specifically Thomist philosophy, Neoscholasticism in effect created its own model: a theory of knowledge on two levels—a philosophical level (the realm of nature*) and a theological level (the realm of grace or “supernature”)—which was supposed to reproduce the medieval universities’ division of intellectual work, and to reproduce it moreover without the risk of a “battle of the faculties.” Nobody until H. de Lubac* dared suggest that the theological basis of this model was a theology of the supernatural* that was both decadent and inexact. It was not until a new historical approach to the classical period arose (J.-L. Marion, J.-F. Courtine, V. Carraud *et al.*, most of them influenced by Heidegger) that Suarez’s true role—much more of a founder than a follower—could be assessed, along with the part really played by Baroque Scholasticism in the birth of a secularized mode of thought (see M. Buckley, *At the Origins of Modern Atheism*, New Haven and London, 1987, about Lessius). And it was not until the encyclical *Fides et ratio*, published by Pope John Paul II at the very end of the 20th century, that the Catholic Church—more than a century after Leo XIII’s encyclical that recommended Catholics to philosophize “in the spirit of Saint Thomas” (*Aeterni Patris*, 1879) without explaining exactly what this *mens* was—renounced the idea of official philosophy, albeit in a context marked by the return to influence of the Neoscholastic program.

d) In the meantime the world of philosophy had been stirred up by a classic quarrel regarding “Christian philosophy.” According to E. Bréhier, whose pronouncements incited the debate, Christianity is essentially the mysterious story of God’s relations with mankind, a mysterious story that can only be revealed, while the substance of philosophy is rationalism, in other words the clear and distinct consciousness of the reason that exists in things and in the universe” (*BSFP*, v. XXXI, 1931, 49–52). Maritain’s reply (or that of P. Mandonnet O.P. [1856–1936], who had not specialized in Siger in vain) retained the strict distinction between the two authorities: on the one hand, the philosopher’s Christian faith* might make his work easier, but it left the

pure rationality of philosophy intact; infringing upon the autonomy of the philosophical, on the other hand, would simply lead to an intellectual regression. For Blondel*, however, philosophy was a priori open to the light of the theological: the task was to show “how reason, far from stabilizing everything into closed concepts, discovers in itself needs that nature does not satisfy, something incomplete, forever unable to be completed by natural means yet irrepressibly eager to be fulfilled” (*Le problème de la philosophie catholique*, Paris, 1932). Gilson steered the debate into historical territory when he emphasized the existence of “philosophemes” of theological, and sometimes Christian, origin: the idea of the person, or the idea of creation. (There was, however, one concept whose origins Gilson attributed to Christianity in general, and to Thomas Aquinas in particular—the identification of God with the action of pure being—which now seems to have been more than sketched out in a text attributed to Porphyry: see P. Hadot, “God as Act of Being,” in coll. *Étienne Gilson et nous*, Paris, 1980.) During the same period, Heidegger contended that the idea of Christian philosophy was that of a “circle squared” (GA 40, p. 9; 48, p. 163; see J. Baufret, “Christian philosophy,” in *Dialogue avec Heidegger*, Paris, 1973). Also at the same period, Barth expressed his doubts regarding this same idea: “If it [is] *philosophy*, it [can]not be Christian; if it [is] *Christian*, it [is] therefore not philosophy” (*KD* I/1 p. 4).

6. Tasks and Prospects

Composed as it is of old questions as much as new ones, the problem may at least stand forth in all its complexity after this historical outline. Any attempt to define the relative status of philosophy and theology must fulfil several requirements:

a) The first is to have some kind of theory of truth*—more essential even, perhaps, than at the time of Parisian, Oxonian, or Paduan Averroism. On the one hand, in what way does theology claim to be true? On the other hand, in what way does it put its trust in philosophical claims to truth? To answer these questions one must be able to form a metadiscourse powerful enough to illuminate the logic of theology (T.F. Torrance: a “philosophy of theology”), and that of philosophy, in a way that respects similarities and differences, intentions and realizations, objects and domains. Theology and philosophy are human artifacts: and therefore the idea of a common measure, or a common submission to the logos, to the elementary rules that govern any production of a genuine discourse, and so on, may be no more than common sense—but is certainly no less than that.

b) In addition, history reminds us that theology and philosophy are not merely theories, but also ways of living (Wittgenstein: “forms of life”). The philosophical discourse refers to the (“existential”) project of the *vita philosophica*, the theological discourse claims to be born of a new experience that reorganizes what can be thought, or what is thought, only by reorganizing man’s whole relationship to things and their origin. Just as one may master several languages, so one may make several forms of life one’s own. However, while philosophy and the *vita philosophica* are put forward, in their Greek origins, as *arche*-language and *arche*-experience, theology’s first response to them is to deny them this status. From here on, the problem of “Christian philosophy” is practical rather than theoretical: it is a matter of knowing how Christians may make the philosophical project their own, and how they redefine it if they do succeed in making it their own.

c) If philosophy and theology conceive or reconceive of themselves as forms of life or as paths to wisdom, they cannot therefore appear as two scientific disciplines that may be practised at the same time (as one may practise two disciplines with a common boundary, e.g., logic and mathematics), nor indeed as two paths that may be followed either simultaneously or in turn. While it is not certain, *pace* Heidegger, that the Christian faith removes the believer’s ability to ask certain questions, this is perhaps for the reasons put forward by H.U. von Balthasar* (“Vermächtnis und christlicher Auftrag,” in *Herrlichkeit* III/1, 943–982): in a time of enormous philosophical uncertainty—in the age of nihilism—the Christian’s destiny is also that of a “guardian of metaphysics,” and the task of a Christian utterance is also to show concern for what are vaguely known as “values,” or what is equally vaguely called the “sense of being*,” to utter, above and beyond the gospel, a certain number of words (not from the gospel) that are necessary for any acceptance of that gospel. It does not, however, follow, from the fact that the theologian may use the language of the philosopher, that he should live the philosophical life: what he desires, after all, is a wisdom experienced in the shadow of the cross (*see*, e.g., Breton 1981). The Christian may put all his love into a fruitful philosophical labor (love of truth, and love for a neighbor to whom the truth must be spoken), but he cannot put into it either his faith or his hope*; philosophy is not (or is no longer, in spite of Clement of Alexandria) a path to salvation*.

d) Another requirement is a response to Heidegger’s central pronouncements on what he calls “metaphysics,” on the “end of philosophy and the task of

thinking.” Should Christianity’s Christian identity be classically expressed with the “help” of terminology that is now obsolescent? And if philosophy has uttered its final word, should not wisdom urge theology to think and speak for itself, without calling on the services of an authority that may no longer exist? Before this question can be answered, there is a necessary preliminary that has not yet been satisfied, which is to verify or disprove Heidegger’s hypotheses in detail. Leaving aside the closure and destiny of metaphysics, however, one fact at least is clear: no healthy theology can throw in its lot with a particular philosophy and/or a culture (*see* Hellenization* of Christianity and inculturation*).

e) Beyond any clear-cut distinction (natural/supernatural, historical/metaphysical), it remains to consider the discourses, put forward by various authors (Hegel, Schelling, Kierkegaard), which display “philosophical” characteristics but are shaped from within by allegedly “theological” principles. Abandoning the desire to mark out a line of demarcation would lead to the admission that there was an area of overlap. Such a region is by definition a vague object, whose existence we can be aware of without knowing where it begins or ends. There are exclusively philosophical questions—for example, that of the ontological status of mathematical entities; and there are exclusively theological questions—for example, that of the internal coherence of the seven sacraments or that of the connection between the ministry* of the Church and the apostolic* succession. There are also realities that one may consider as a philosopher or equally as a theologian, though the shared subject does not lead to a common discourse. But there are also (especially in this case), as it were as a counterpart to Meinong’s “stateless” subjects, subjects that seem able to enjoy dual nationality. “Trinitarian ontology” (*see* being), “philosophical Christology” (X. Tilliette)—discourses with names such as these immediately admit that they decline to make a clear choice between philosophical and theological ambition; and they should probably be forced to admit their secret, which is of course that they are the cartographers of a frontier region.

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See also **Being; God; Reason; Theology; Truth**

Physical Premotion. See Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism

Pietism

Pietism was the most important movement of Protestant religious revival after the Reformation. In the first instance a theological phenomenon, its major figures have also left a significant impression on all aspects of German culture up to the present time.

a) Pietism emerged in reaction to Protestant orthodoxy; it wanted to recapture the momentum of early Christianity, as well as the initial impetus of the Reformation. It also presented itself as a decisive return to the Bible*, for the purposes of meditation and mutual

edification, as well as for science and knowledge. Lastly, it wanted to promote individuality and personal faith*—or that of a small group of believers—in the face of church* hierarchies (hierarchy*). Besides an easily identifiable theology*, its language, its music*, and its ethics*, even its policies, were easily recognizable, particularly in certain regions such as Prussia and Württemberg.

Pietism put its faith in the gap between doctrine, as expressed in the public confessional theology of the churches, and private faith. According to the title of a work by Pierre Poiret (1646–1719), which would be taken up by Zinzendorf, Pietism wanted to represent a *theology of the heart* (1690), indifferent to doctrinally specific features, and whose fundamental criterion was authenticity (implying a re-appropriation, against the official churches, of John 4:23, of worship “in spirit and in truth”). Its theoretical work was therefore, in the first instance, that of an “affective transposition of Christian doctrine” (Pelikan 1989), of which Zinzendorf’s *Ein und zwanzig Discurse über die Augspurgische Confession* (1747–48) were the best example. Anxious to get back to the central role of religious “practice”, this transposition was necessarily inseparable from morality, which Kant* would theorize as “the moral law* within my own self” (*Critique of Practical Reason*, 1788). Whether the matter at issue is prayer*, faith, knowledge, practice, etc., insistence on the singularity of the self is one of the prominent features of Pietism.

The coordination of doctrine and life, meaning the requirement for conversion* that is typical of Pietism, is made very clear in the long conflict on *theologia ir-regenitorum*, the theology of the non-regenerated. Is it essential for whoever studies theology to possess the knowledge and experience* of those who have been genuinely converted to God (Francke, *Methodus studii theologici*, 1723)? *Essential*, here, does not only mean essential for salvation*, according to an opinion commonly accepted, but also essential for a correct understanding of the Holy* Scriptures and of Christian doctrine. A sound understanding of the Scriptures actually commits the whole person*, and not only the intellect. Conversely, one may be a “false master” and teach an orthodox doctrine. But “what I deny,” wrote Joachim Lange, “is that a bad and non-regenerated master can teach the word* of God... soundly and without corruption” (*Antibarbarus*..., 1709). This insistence on the “illumination” of the exponent of the Scriptures, inasmuch as it confuses the theologian as a subjective individual with his objective ecclesiastical task, has been seen as Donatist. And in a more general way, the subjectivism of Pietism, founded, as it is, on the knowledge one has of one’s own conversion, even

of one’s salvation, constituted a real peril for Protestant orthodoxy, by emphasizing a subjective definition of faith as *assurance*, a definition that could sap the objective foundations of the doctrine of justification (Pelikan 1989).

b) There is general agreement Pietism began with Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), who was born at Rappoltsweiler in Alsace, and died in Berlin. He studied in Strasbourg, Basel and Geneva, and he translated into German (1667) *La pratique de l’oraison et méditation chrétienne* (1660) by Jean de Labadie. While he was a minister* at Frankfurt am Main he created the *collegia pietatis*, which explains the name given to Pietism; the function of the *collegia* was the reading of the Scriptures and mutual edification. With that institution, Pietism had its own home; with the *Pia desideria*, it got its own charter. Published in 1675, that charter was a full-fledged program that vehemently criticized the state of the churches, and proposed remedies like the greater public and private use of the Bible, a genuinely universal priesthood involving the laity, small groups for prayer and Bible study, and reform in the education of ministers. Pietism subsequently spread like wildfire in a Germany that was recovering with great difficulty from the Thirty Years’ War. In 1686 Spener was in Dresden, and in 1691 in Berlin, where his influence grew considerably. Prussia quickly became fertile territory for this spirituality and its activities.

August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) strongly emphasized certain points of Spener’s program. He had met Spener in 1687, and he implanted Pietism in Prussia-Brandenburg: it became a real political* theology there, during the first half of the 18th century. In 1686, after his studies at Kiel, Hamburg and Leipzig, Francke founded a *collegium philobiblicum* in this latter city. There, every Sunday*, a passage from the Bible was read in its original language, and explained, with approximately ten persons in attendance. While remaining technical, the exegesis* gradually became existential as well, and all the more so as Francke, on Spener’s advice, translated the *Guida spirituale* of Miguel de Molinos from Italian into Latin (Quietism*). In 1687 Francke had a mystical experience, “Bekehrungserlebnis,” a crisis of faith followed by a regeneration that refocused his life. Such an experience was to give rise to a literary genre that would achieve a considerable vogue in this type of Pietism, from Hamann to Jung-Stilling. In 1689 a real “Kulturkampf” descended on Leipzig: so divided was the city that meetings were forbidden in public places in 1690. Having moved to Erfurt, where he had previously spent time, Francke had to leave that city again in 1691. The

following year he was appointed to Glaucha, in the nearby suburbs of Halle; and that city remained for 35 years the European center of Pietism. Francke helped found the University (1694), which became a bastion of the movement: he preached, taught, developed Orientalism, and above all, in a series of "Foundations," the famous "Franckesche Stiftungen", brought the Pietist message into the social, economic, and political reality, by means of charitable institutions with pedagogical intentions: an orphanage, German and Latin schools, a *pædagogium regium*, a *seminarium præceptorum*, a bookstore, a publisher, a Bible bookstore, and even a pharmacy. The young pupils, the students and the teachers were, as a whole, efficient intermediaries in all strata of society*. The activity that was most visible and most famous was the founding, with Carl Hildebrand von Canstein, of the "Cansteinsche Anstalt," a printing house that published several million Bibles during the 18th century, in all kinds of formats, and in the most exotic languages. Thus, ministers and missionaries were able to spread the message everywhere, but they also reported regularly to Halle on their intense activities. In the unconditional support of Frederick William I, who reigned from 1713 to 1740, Pietism found a precious ally and was able to unify a little the two societies of Prussia and Brandenburg.

Today it is in Wurtemberg that Pietism remains very much alive. It is also the only place where, from 1743 onwards, it was enshrined in the country's clergy constitution. Thanks to Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752), biblical science still appears here to be the movement's great strength; this shows moreover that a critical method, far from taking faith away, can actually fortify it. On this particular point, therefore, there is no opposition between Pietism and the Enlightenment. Following his studies at the Stift, Bengel spent his whole career within the ecclesiastical hierarchy working at solidly establishing the textual criticism of the New Testament. He produced a new edition of the New Testament in Greek (1734), commented on it (*Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, 1742) and translated it (published posthumously, 1753). Above all he was interested in John's gospel and in Revelation, and he predicted for 1836 the beginning of the thousand year reign of Christ (Rev 20:1f.). He corrected and kept in perspective a millenarianism* that was widespread in Pietism. With Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–82), Pietism also produced a much more speculative version of itself, one that would influence the great thinkers of German idealism. Metaphysics, the Kabbala, everything was of use to Oetinger in his pursuit of a sacred philosophy*. A Professor at the Stift of Tübingen, he too, however, pursued a church career outside the University.

Beside contributing numerous translations of the Scriptures to establish in the daily life of their believers, as well as the numerous hymns that gave rhythm to their lives, Pietism also wanted to promote a new attitude regarding Jews and Judaism*. The major figures of Pietism were all very good scholars of Hebrew. It may be an exaggeration to claim, as some have done in the past, that Pietism was a precursor of the emancipation of the Jews. It remains the case, however, that Pietism resolutely moved away from the Judeo-phobia of the Lutherans, rejecting compulsory sermons and forced baptisms (baptism*), and striving to present a more positive image of the Jews.

Pietism also saw a very original development with the community of the Moravian Brethren, reorganized by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), a development that continued into the 20th century. Zinzendorf had a Lutheran background, suffused with the spirit of Johann Arndt's *True Christianity* (*Vom wahren Christentum*, 1609), but he was raised in an atmosphere of affective piety, and he was much influenced by Francke. On his Saxony estates (called Herrhut) he gave hospitality to the Moravian Brethren, spiritual descendants of the Hussites (their leader, in the 17th century, had been the Czech philosopher Comenius, 1592–1670), who believed that total moral perfection was accessible on this earth and who lived in a sort of utopian community. They were at some point later expelled (other communities would be established as a consequence, such as the one in Georgia, in the United States) then rehabilitated. When the English Parliament, in 1749, recognized the Moravian Church under the name of *Unitas fratrum*, Zinzendorf, who had finally fallen out with the Pietists, decided to take up residence in London. The fact remains that the search for evangelical perfection is indeed one of the stable and permanent features of Pietism.

Often endangered by all kinds of separatism and by chiliasm, and driven by original personalities, Pietism took up many Lutheran themes but also irrigated the Reformed lands themselves. It constituted an essential moment in the history of German theology, and most probably a kind of cultural revolution*.

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See also Conversion; Exegesis; Kant, Immanuel; Luther, Martin; Methodism; Predestination; Protestantism

Pilgrimage

1. History

Pilgrimage, that is to say travel for religious purposes—be it wandering undertaken for its own sake, or travel to a place held to be holy, and visited and venerated for that reason—was hardly a feature of Christianity before the fourth century. Ascetic wandering, of which numerous examples are to be found from this time on (*see* Guillaumont 1979), soon aroused the suspicion of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, but was to give rise to a long, if limited, tradition within Christianity (*see* the 19th-century *Stories of a Russian Pilgrim*). It was, above all, pilgrimage to holy places, carried on outside the ordinary framework of religious practice, which was to spread and become a common practice of the Christian people.

a) First Centuries. The earliest recorded pilgrimage to Palestine was that of the Empress Helena, Constantine's mother, and such journeys were facilitated by the Peace of the Church. Following Helena, a woman named Egeria, who probably came from southern Gaul, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and many others travelled to Jerusalem, and their narratives furnish valuable information about Christian liturgy* and architecture* (Maraval 1996). The first holy places promoted by Christians, from the fourth century, were the locations of the events in the history of salvation* recorded in the Bible*. Places relating to the New Testament included, in Jerusalem* and throughout Palestine, the locations of the Nativity, the Passion*, the Resurrec-

tion*, the Ascension, and other events in the lives of Christ* and his apostles (apostle*). Old Testament locations in Palestine and the Sinai, and even in Egypt and Mesopotamia, were linked to the memory of the patriarchs or the prophets (prophet* and prophecy). All these places, and the relics* they might contain, were gradually inventoried and provided with churches, monasteries, and hostels; and the faithful thronged to them from every region of the Christian world. The tombs of martyrs also became holy places and gave rise to the construction of buildings and to pilgrimages. At this time they were numerous in the East (*see* Maraval 1985)—for example, those of Saint Menas in Egypt and Saint John at Ephesus. But some were also established in the West, the most famous being those of Saints Peter* and Paul at Rome*. Pilgrimage also encompassed visits to those living saints who were the monks—or at least some of them (such as the two Syrian stylites called Simeon).

b) Middle Ages. In the East, pilgrimages continued after the Arab conquest, particularly to Palestine, even though the Muslim occupation on several occasions made them more difficult and even prevented them. Serious Muslim resistance included the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by Hakim in 1008 and various acts of harassment committed against pilgrims. This situation was among the motives for the First Crusade. Pope Urban II called for the deliverance of the Holy Land, and in particular Christ's tomb, from the Infidel

yoke. The Crusades, for all their loss of direction, can thus in a sense be seen as a huge collective pilgrimage.

In the West, Rome remained the most frequent place of pilgrimage during the high Middle Ages, though there was a decline between the 11th and 13th centuries for essentially political reasons. On the other hand, it was at this time that the pilgrimage to Compostela developed, to the presumed tomb of the apostle James (the Great). For Western Europe as a whole, this was the commonest pilgrimage during the 12th century; and the famous routes of St James appeared at this time. After Mount Gargano during the high Middle Ages, Mont-Saint-Michel also acquired an international reputation. Marian pilgrimages developed too, the most important in the 12th century being that of Rocamadour. At the close of the Middle Ages, pilgrimage was an established practice and Rome regained its power of attraction in the field. However, the concomitant abuses were beginning to provoke widespread criticism, particularly in the milieu of the *devotio* moderna*.

c) Modern and Contemporary Periods. This criticism grew louder with the Renaissance. The Christian humanists, led by Erasmus*, viewed pilgrimage unfavorably, but it was above all the reformers who denounced it and attacked the “false piety” that characterized it to their eyes. Many pilgrim shrines consequently fell victim to the iconoclastic zeal of the supporters of the Reformation. The Catholic Renaissance re-emphasized the practice of pilgrimage. The pilgrimage to St. Peter’s in Rome regained its popularity, and a number of Marian sanctuaries drew large crowds (the most renowned at the time being the House of the Virgin at Loreto, to which Descartes* went on a pilgrimage). During the 18th century, on the other hand, the practice of pilgrimage declined, being criticized by many clerics (cleric*) and forbidden or restricted by rulers touched by the spirit of the Enlightenment. Once-famous shrines saw their visitors dry up—in France, for example, Mont-Saint-Michel. But many local pilgrimages continued to be frequented.

In the first half of the 19th century, pilgrimages slowly returned to popularity. They saw their greatest development during the pontificate of Pius IX (1846–78), which was the time of the first railways. There were Marian pilgrimages to La Salette (from 1846) and to Lourdes (from 1864), pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Christ and his saints (Paray-le-Monial, Sainte-Anne-d’Auray, Ars, etc.), the pilgrimage to Rome (from 1870), and the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, for which the Assumptionists assumed responsibility in 1882. Recent times have witnessed a proliferation of pilgrimages. Every country has its own local pilgrimages (including many Marian shrines) and

new ones regularly appear. A few attract pilgrims from all around the world. Jerusalem, Rome, and Lourdes are undoubtedly the most visited holy places.

2. Spirituality

What exactly is a “holy place,” then? The concept appeared within Christianity in the fourth century, applied to places that had witnessed theophanies (theophany*) or events in the history of salvation, but also to places where the relics of a holy person were kept. The motivations of the faithful who visit these places have always been very varied. There has always been a wandering spirituality, linked to the theme of the Christian as a “stranger in this world,” certain elements of which are no doubt to be found in the spirituality of travel that has developed in the modern period. The visiting and veneration of holy places has other aims, however. In Palestine, particularly, the desire to *see* the holy places is related to their symbolic function. They are signs that enable the pilgrim to commemorate, as he or she calls them to mind, the events of salvation that occurred there or the figures venerated there. This goes hand in hand with the desire to *touch* these places, or the material relics to be found there, and is sometimes even confused with it. Many pilgrims are driven by the desire to touch what is sacred in order to partake in its virtues. Hence the appearance, at a very early date, of healing shrines where the believer came in search of a cure.

To material healing* was added spiritual healing. The penitential pilgrimage appeared from the sixth century, and became very popular during the Middle Ages, as did pilgrimages undertaken for the salvation of one’s soul (soul*-heart-body). So, at the end of the Middle Ages, pilgrimages became an opportunity to seek indulgences*. The pastoral theology of pilgrimage has in every age sought to spiritualize a practice that can easily tend toward a certain materialism.

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PIERRE MARAVAL

See also Asceticism; Conversion; Cult of Saints; Mary; Monasticism; Penance

Platonism, Christian

1. Plato and the Platonic Tradition

a) Christian Platonism resulted from the reciprocal influence of two evolving traditions. Plato (427–347 B.C.E.) was influenced by Socrates's effort to clarify those moral concepts, such as justice, that could be applied in a large number of cases. In addition, under the influence of others, still largely unknown to us, Plato arrived at a "theory of Ideas" that offers explanations of mathematical terms and natural beings alike. Each set of cases is designated by a name that refers to an ideal, objective, unchangeable Form, to which each case is an approximation. Plato hoped to achieve explanations of every class of objects by ranging them in a hierarchy dominated by the Idea of the Good*. According to his theory, the ordered interrelations of things is the best possible: evil* exists only when things are separated from their Form.

Plato's works have had a very great influence on Christian theology*. Attacked by some, passed over in silence by others, they had a presence in each of the great Christian traditions, and many educated Christians, such as Augustine*, regarded them as a good preparation for becoming a Christian. However, selections were made among them. Clement of Alexandria, for example, called himself a Platonist, and quotes more than 24 passages from *The Republic*, almost 40 shorter passages from *Phaedrus* and *Phaedo*, and almost 30 from *Timaeus*; yet, despite its philosophical importance, he quotes only once from *Parmenides*. More generally, *Phaedo* was appreciated for its passages expressing approval of asceticism* and its arguments in favor of the survival of the soul*, *Timaeus* for its references to a divine creation* of the world*, *Phaedrus* and *The Symposium* for their eulogies of love* as a guide toward the divine, and Book X of *The Laws* for its natural* theology. There was some ambivalence about *The Republic*, although certain passages were held in high regard, including the description of the ascent from the perceptible world to the intelligible world in Book VII, and the doctrine of the sensual, aggressive and intellectual "parts" of the soul, which offsets the excessively simple contrast in *Phaedo* between an idealized intellectual soul and a coarsely material body. Certain short passages or aphorisms were taken in isolation and cited time and

again, including the text of *Theaetetus*, in which Plato affirms the inevitability of evil and exhorts his readers to become more like God* (176 a–c).

b) Christians came under the influence, not of Plato alone, but of a whole series of Platonists. Xenocrates (396–14 B.C.E.) had attempted to unify Plato's hypotheses, which in many cases are incompatible with each other, into a dogmatic system. Aristotle (384–22 B.C.E.) broke away from Plato and vastly enlarged the domain of philosophy*, but this did not prevent him from being treated as Plato's "valet" (*pedisequus*) by later authors who failed to take account of his criticisms of the theory of Ideas. The element of scepticism in Socrates's thought eventually became dominant within Plato's school, the Academy, which, under Arcesilaus (c. 316–c. 242 B.C.E.) and Carneades (c. 214–c. 129 B.C.E.), rejected the stoic idea that infallible knowledge is possible, holding that reasonable certainty is all that can be attained. Cicero (106–43 C.E.) took the same view. Meanwhile, however, there had been a revival of dogmatism under Antiochus (c. 130–c. 68 B.C.E.), who claimed to have reconciled Platonism and stoicism. This dogmatic turn made relatively little impact, although it did influence Philo of Alexandria, whose Platonic idealism incorporates the materialist pantheism* of the stoics. According to Philo, the divine Logos is physically extended in the world (see, e.g., *Quis rerum divinarum heres...* §217), but it is also the transcendent architect of the world, the "separator" (*tomeus*, *ibid.*, §130), dividing pure being* into however many classes God wishes to create. It was Philo, along with other apologists from the Hellenistic Jewish milieu, who inspired Christians to make use of Greek philosophy. This use is already perceptible in the Pauline* corpus (e.g., Rom 1:20; see Acts 17:22ff.) and, it has been argued (by C.H. Dodd), in John's Gospel* (as well as in Sg). For several centuries, Christians called on the resources of Platonism within this framework, while exerting little influence on Platonism itself.

The mainstream Platonism of the period from around 50 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. has been labeled "middle Platonism" (Dillon 1977): its best known representative is Plutarch. Numenius (probably around 150 C.E.), who argued for a trinity of divine principles, won the respect

of Plotinus, the greatest pagan philosopher of late antiquity, who is generally regarded as the founder of neo-Platonism. Plotinus accepts Aristotle's conception of knowledge as the identity of mind and object (*Soul* 3. 5, 430 *a* 20; *Metaphysics* 11, 1072 *b* 22; see *Enneads* VI . 5 . 7), and argues that the whole of knowable reality is, in a certain sense, intelligent. Everything proceeds, outside time, from an ultimate principle that is perfectly simple, unchangeable, and unknowable—and, indeed, unknowing, since knowledge implies multiplicity. This ultimate principle, the One, engenders two other principles in succession—Intelligence, and then the Soul, which is extended in creative activity. There is no principle of evil; matter, which is in fact merely the most distant point reached by intelligent life, comes closest to it. Each level of being displays a tendency to return to its transcendent source.

Plotinus's basic ideas reappear in the writings of his disciple and biographer, Porphyry (c. 232–305), although he reduces the distinctions among the three primary principles by making them into three hypostases. Porphyry was to have his greatest influence through his defense of Aristotle's logic, which he considered to be the best guide to the study of natural phenomena and methods of reasoning. Like his successors Iamblichus (c. 250–c. 325) and Proclus (c. 412–485), Porphyry was fiercely opposed to Christianity. Proclus was the dominant figure in the school of Athens when an ever more complex hierarchy of transcendent principles, grouped into triads, was being elaborated there. In Alexandria, another, less remarkable school displayed greater tolerance of Christianity. Its members included Alexander of Lycopolis (perhaps c. 280), Theo, Theo's daughter Hypatia (who was murdered by Christians in 415), and Synesios, who was both an ardent Platonist and an unwilling bishop (c. 370–413).

In fact, the influence of Plotinus and Porphyry over Christian thought began with Augustine (Rist 1981), who was very impressed by the conversion* to Christianity of the eminent neo-Platonist Marius Victorinus. Marius. He himself wrote several treatises on elementary logic; after his time, commentaries on Plato and Aristotle continued to be produced up to the end of antiquity, including those by Boethius* in the West and John Philoponus in the East. The tradition was then taken up within Islam and survived in the Christian East, for example in the work of Michael of Ephesus (who was active between around 1118 and 1138). By contrast, Platonism was practically forgotten in the West: all that was known of it was a Latin translation of *Timaeus* and the writings of Boethius. Its gradual reappearance began with John the Scot Eriugena (c. 810–c. 877), who translated the works of Pseudo-Dionysius* into Latin.

2. Understanding of Platonism among Christians

a) Philosophy was not to the taste of every Christian. Many contented themselves with echoing Colossians 2:8, and stereotypical images of philosophers arguing can be found in the writings even of highly educated authors, who occasionally quote the sceptics in favor of their point of view. However, Platonism soon came to enjoy relative tolerance to the extent that it seemed to confirm several points of Christian doctrine. Some scholars who had access to good libraries were able to transcribe the texts of Plato and his commentators, and others probably made use of anthologies of well-known passages, but transmission was frequently indirect. Thus, Justin, who once taught philosophy, has left us a description of his contacts with various schools (*Dial.* 2), in which he expresses his appreciation the attention that Platonism gives to transcendent realities and its confirmation of a theistic vision of the world. An attentive reader of this description could draw a notion of Plato's teachings from it, along with a number of imprecise quotations. On the other hand, Athenagoras and Theophilus provide fairly precise quotations and summaries of the whole of Platonism.

b) The writings of Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215) show that he had authentic knowledge of Plato and the Platonists; his interest in Plato's epistemology, as well as in his metaphysics and ethics*, is exceptional. Origen* was a great speculative thinker who mixed Platonism with stoicism, although the Bible*, freely interpreted, was always his ultimate authority. Origen's influence was pervasive for 50 years after his death in 254, although it met with some resistance. Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 340) was not an original thinker, but he was an industrious scholar, and he quotes Plato and Plato's successors—not without mentioning his reservations—in his *Preparation for the Gospel* (13. 14–16). Eusebius was the first Christian writer to quote Plotinus, but not in Porphyry's edition. With this one exception, Plotinus was practically unknown among Christians before Augustine. The Cappadocian Fathers relied mainly on earlier Platonists, who also influenced Augustine.

c) Augustine himself owed much to Plotinus and Porphyry, but, being a Christian, he could not accept a number of their basic ideas, such as their principle of the eternity of the world and of the creative process, their definition of God as situated “above the mind” and therefore unknowing, their trinity* of unequal hypostases, or their non-moral explanation of evil. Platonism led Augustine to envisage an intuitive

knowledge of transcendent realities, such as love, and to give an important role to memory, for the alternative was to go back to Plato's original doctrine of reminiscence, the idea that intuitive knowledge is a memory of what was learned in a previous life. It appears that certain Platonists were still teaching skepticism in Augustine's time: his *Contra Academicos* is intended as a refutation of their ideas.

Augustine was a first-rate theologian, but in erudition and logic he was inferior to Boethius, who translated and commented on Aristotle, and wrote tractates on the Trinity and Christology (Christ* and Christology), as well as *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (*The Consolation of Philosophy*). A little later after Boethius's time, the Emperor Justinian closed the pagan school of Athens and the Christians rapidly came to enjoy a monopoly in the teaching of Platonism within the empire. The most remarkable of the Christian Platonists of late antiquity was Dionysius (c. 500), known as "the Areopagite" by confusion with the Dionysius in Acts 17:34. His writings on the *Divine Names*, angels, the sacraments (sacrament*), and the ascent of the soul toward God were freely inspired by Proclus, whose works he had read.

3. Influence of Platonism on Christian Doctrine

a) During the second century, apologists* who were adherents of a somewhat stoicized Platonism adapted its conceptions of the Father* and the Logos, but tended to neglect the Holy* Spirit, for whom they had to rely on the tradition* of the church. Irenaeus* and Tertullian* were among those who objected to this neglect. As for the Logos, which had already been subjected to diverse interpretations up to and including Philo's, it eventually took at least three forms: as the equivalent of the mind of God; as the Word sent out by God, a distinct being that organizes the created world; or as the immanent master of this world, comparable to the soul of the world. For many Christians, who took no account of the distinctions among them, the Logos was all of these at once; according to some Christians, such as Tertullian or, later, Marcellus of Ancyra, the Logos could pass from one condition to another. Only those who took this view may be appropriately regarded as advocating a theory of the Logos in two or three forms.

During this period, pagan Platonists such as Moderatus or Numenius worked out "triadic" theologies in which three principles were ranged in order of decreasing status. Such theories attracted Origen, Eusebius, and other Christian authors, who accepted a trinity of distinct and unequal powers. The Council of Nicaea* put an end to this rapprochement, yet at a much later

date Augustine was still capable of praising neo-Platonism for confirming, even if imperfectly, the Nicene faith. What is astonishing is that it was Porphyry, an enemy of Christianity, who came closest.

b) Christian authors were consistently opposed to the Platonic doctrines of the eternity of the world and the existence of uncreated matter, but they took over the concept of an intelligible world that contains the prototypes of both earthly species and immaterial intelligences: the latter were assimilated to the angels mentioned in the Bible, or to the souls of the elect. Origen's adoption of the theory of transmigration of souls, giving rise to successive lives before and after the death of the individual, was much more controversial. Origen's intention was an excellent one: to use transmigration to explain disconcertingly unequal endowments of characteristics and opportunities, and to avoid the brutal notion of instant damnation. Around 400, however, this theory was replaced by the idea that God creates each soul uniquely and gives it a single life on Earth (although other views were still being discussed as late as Augustine's time).

The Old Testament presents death as a total annihilation, followed by universal bodily resurrection* and judgment*. This tradition survives in the ancient Latin Creed: (*hujus*) *carnis resurrectionem*. Nevertheless, Plato's arguments for survival did not lack support, although most Platonists thought that the body is nothing but a burden and that the soul alone survives. It was possible to adopt a halfway position, based on 1 Corinthians 15:35ff., by postulating a "heavenly body," but whether it resembles or differs from the earthly body was the subject of extensive debate. Paul, moreover, thought that the resurrection would take place in the near future; as this horizon receded, many Christians interpreted the immediate destiny of the soul in Platonic terms (see Lk 23:43), while expecting a general resurrection in which the soul would be raised through the gift of a glorified body.

Plato's contrasts between soul and body, and between the intellect and other elements of the soul, also influenced Christian spirituality. For most educated Christians, it went without saying that the first step on the road of moral progress consisted in ignoring or repressing bodily incitements and concentrating on higher realities, while conscientiously performing material works* of charity in the name of a passionless duty. The nascent monastic movement largely reversed this Platonizing tendency by glorifying simplicity in life and thought alike. Even before that, the importance attached by most Christians to faith* and good works had already modified the Platonic idealization of the intellect.

4. Rediscovery of Platonism

Plato's writings were lost to the medieval West, apart from a Latin translation of part of *Timaeus*, and even when Greek texts were available hardly anyone was capable of reading them before the Renaissance. Nevertheless, both Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius retained their influence throughout this period. Plato became directly influential once again through the work of Nicholas* of Cusa and Marsilio Ficino, even though they interpreted him largely by way of Plotinus. The study of Plato's writings became important in England in the 16th century—Thomas More's *Utopia*, for example, recalls *The Republic*—as well as among the Cambridge Platonists of the 17th century. Schleiermacher* introduced a new way of approaching Plato by deciding to interpret the dialogues in their original context and to reject later additions. This approach has become the standard one, so much so that today only a minority of Plato specialists take an interest in Christian theology, and vice versa. Nevertheless, in recent years there has been a renewal of attention to the “unwritten” doctrines of Plato, which Aristotle mentions briefly, to certain early Christian writers who have been neglected, to “middle Platonism,” and to the later commentators on Aristotle, all of which allows us to hope that there will be a degree of rapprochement among them.

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See also Aristotelianism, Christian; Basil (the Great) of Caesarea; Gregory of Nazianzus; Gregory of Nyssa; Skepticism, Christian; Spiritual Theology; Stoicism, Christian

Pluralism. *See Theological Schools*

Pneumatology. *See Holy Spirit*

Political Theology

The phrase “political theology” belongs to the 20th century. Its use is to be contrasted with the term, *civil theology*, which, since Varron (116–27 B.C.E.), has referred to a theology* embodied in the laws* and cults* of the city*. In the 20th century, the question of political theology has been invoked in three contexts: in the debate between Erik Peterson (1890–1960) and Carl Schmitt (1888–1985); in the German “political theology” of the 1960s; and in relation to the question of “political Augustinianism*.”

1. Schmitt-Peterson Debate

a) *Carl Schmitt*. Schmitt (1888–1985) was a German conservative political philosopher who, at first, criticized Nazism but later “pedagogically” supported it. In his view, the social structure of an epoch is isomorphic with its metaphysical world picture, no order of casual priority being assigned: that is why he believed there was a “political theology.” Indeed, in Schmitt’s eyes, the most rigorous concepts of political philosophy*, especially those derived from Bodin (c. 1529–96) or Hobbes (1588–1679), are secularized theological concepts. Less realistic political theories (Kant*, Rousseau [1712–78]) call upon notions of universal norms and general consent, correlated with a vague deism*. The more strictly scientific theories deriving from Hobbes assert, by contrast, the priority of the *exception* in politics, the emergency situation that justifies extraordinary measures, and correlate this idea with that of an unfathomable, voluntaristic deity* who can suspend every natural law.

b) *Erik Peterson*. Against Schmitt, the German theologian Erik Peterson (1890–1960) contended that “political monotheism*,” in the sense of sacralization of an imperial power, and more generally of a sovereign power, did not originate in Christianity. This sacralization was derived from a fusion, cemented by Philo (13 B.C.E.–54 C.E.), between the cosmic monotheism of late antiquity (a single divine power reigning over the cosmos*) with Jewish monotheism. This fusion then had influence on Arian and semi-Arian Christian theologians (Arianism*), in particular Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 340), all the more that they were witnessing the unity of the

Roman Empire and thought that *Pax Augustana* had providentially allowed the spread of the gospel. While, according to Peterson, it is true that all Christian theologians associated monotheism with both cosmic and political *monarchia*, theologians of a more orthodox Trinitarian bent saw the latter notion more as a unity of principle and in mutual agreement, rather than the exercise of a single will. This is very clear in, for example, the writings of Gregory* of Nazianzus. These theologians did not spell out the political consequences that could be drawn from these positions; it is nonetheless striking, according to Peterson, that a hierarchical and theocratic view of imperial power was associated with the semi-Arian outlook.

c) *Yves Congar*. Up to a point, Yves Congar (1904–95) concurred with Peterson. In their view, Christian political thought had been dominated all too often by a “paternalism” or “patriarchalism” that ignored the fact that God* is only Father* in relation to a Son to whom he gives all, and with whom he therefore also has a fraternal relationship. For this reason, we have access to Father and Son only through their bond of fraternal love, the Spirit. If one ignores the Holy* Spirit, one will arrive at a entirely paternal notion of royal authority* that excludes any fraternity, reducing subjects to a condition of permanent infancy (Bossuet [1627–1704], *Politique tirée de l’Écriture sainte*; Louis-Gabriel-Ambroise de Bonald [1754–1840]).

Congar confirms Peterson’s line of argument, pointing out the significance of the fact that the orthodox theologians thought of the Trinity with the aid of physical, cosmic or psychological analogies (analogy*), rather than political ones. One may add that, according to the Arian Eunomios, for example, the divine *dynamis* may be exercised or not at will, like an imperial fiat, while according to Gregory* of Nyssa it is an inevitably self-communicating power (omnipotence*, divine), like fire (M. Barnes 1991). It can also be pointed out that Hobbes, who seeks to invest all religious as well as secular power in the sovereign, specifically reverts to an Arian Christology* (*Leviathan* II, 41).

2. Political Theology in Germany

The work of Erik Peterson was one ingredient in the emergence of a left-oriented political theology in Ger-

many in 1960s. The Lutheran theologian J. Moltmann stressed (citing Peterson) that the identification of the second person* of the Trinity with a man crucified by the state points to a theology permanently critical of every political regime, and not one inclined to sacralize the social order.

Both Moltmann and the Catholic theologian J.-B. Metz combined Peterson's perspectives with those of the Frankfurt School. In the latter's wake, they sought to reinvokethe Kantian concept of ethical liberty* against a rationalism* that tends to degenerate into mere instrumental control of both humanity and nature. In Metz's early work especially (1968), he accepted, as did Friedrich Gogarten (1887–1967), the Christian character of secularization*, which releases humanity into adult responsibility. At the same time, Metz insisted, along with Karl Rahner*, on the a priori impulse in every human person to self-transcendence toward *esse* or toward God. All these ingredients permitted Metz to conclude that, through a gradual progress toward Habermas's "ideal speech situation," in which there are no constraints on free communication, we realize the divine will for humanity.

3. Problem of Political Augustinianism

a) Maurras. In France, Charles Maurras (1868–1952) and *Action Française* came from the same reactionary tradition (traditionalism*) that inspired Schmitt's thinking in Germany. Their opposition involved the question of political theology. The problem brought by Maurras was that he combined positivism with theocracy. On the one hand, he thought that agreement about facts and consent to formal procedures for securing civil peace* are sufficient for securing social cohesion. On the other hand, he argued that the church*, even though its domain is purely spiritual and apolitical, can arrive at a dominant political position by manipulating social mechanisms. Hence, opponents of Maurras had to refuse at once both the political role of religion and his rigid dualism of natural and supernatural. This gave rise to problems that are perhaps still not resolved.

b) Criticism of Maurras. At first, the Maurrasian mixture of "science" and "religion" appeared congenial to some Catholics, but it was eventually rejected by Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) and Maurice Blondel* (Virgoulay 1980) in France, and by Luigi Sturzo (1871–1959) in Italy. All three rejected theocracy as temporal power of the church, as well as positivism, insisting on the "integral" unity of grace* and nature* in human affairs, under the "primacy of the spiritual." They therefore called for a Christian influence to per-

vade social and political life. This perspective has been well summed up by Henri Sonier de Lubac (1984a): "As the supernatural is not separated from nature, and the spiritual is everywhere mixed with the temporal, the church eminently has... authority over all, without having to depart from its role. Otherwise, it would be necessary to admit that the church has no authority in practice over anything and can never speak except in the abstract." This position was prevalent in the 1930s, when it was associated with the idea of renewed Christendom. (It also existed among "High Church" Anglicans in England [Anglicanism*], such as V. A. Demant [1893–1983] or T. S. Eliot [1888–1965]).

Fascism and Nazism had the effect not only of discrediting Maurras, and any idea of church authority in politics, but also of encouraging a more enthusiastic embrace of liberal democracy* as a bulwark against totalitarianism, leading to the disappearance of the theme of "Christendom." (This applies, for example, to Maritain's postwar work in this area.) In the 1950s, Congar spoke of a "distinction of planes" to argue that politics is the concern of the state and not of the church, of the laity* and not of the priesthood*. Later, Gustavo Gutierrez retorted (1971) that this position is not entirely in agreement with the theological "integralism" regarding grace and nature still espoused by Congar. In fact, in his critique of Maurrasianism, Congar passes a more severe verdict on theocracy than on positivism (secular autonomy).

One could say the same of Lubac's rebuttal of Arquillière's thesis (1955) on political Augustinianism. Thus, Lubac argues that Augustine*'s distinction between the "two cities" is an essentially spiritual distinction between the elect and the reprobate. He therefore denies that Augustine offers any "political theology" (this term is used); and insists that Augustine and his legitimate heirs (e.g., Charlemagne's court theologians, such as Jonas d'Orléans [c. 780–842/3], *Le métier de roi*, SC 407) considered all pagan states to have the same legitimacy, conferred by the binding of a people* around a common good* (*Civ. Dei* 19, 21). Finally, he adds that for Augustine there can be adequate *political* justice* under natural law, and that the fulfillment of true justice by true worship is a requirement of the *spiritual* life.

Apart from the fact that Lubac here appears to interpose a dualism of grace and nature, which he otherwise refuses, one might think that he has not read Augustine with all his customary rigor. The "two cities" are undoubtedly mystical, but for Augustine they are also historical bodies modeled on Israel* and Babylon. When Augustine criticizes pagan virtue*, including Roman civic virtue and imperial practice, as merely *limiting* violence* or unruly passion*, he is

elaborating a political theology. Augustine's criterion is ironic: a society* that is undeniably a polity may therefore be oriented to injustice. Augustine explicitly denies that Rome* was just *as a polity*, since it lacked true worship and therefore made a temporary city falsely absolute. It is true that Augustine does not deny Rome's legitimacy according to natural law, but this is a second-best, postlapsarian natural law, which justifies any regular order as better than mere anarchy. For Augustine, as for Paul, political power is at once a punishment for sin* and a way of limiting its effects (Carraud 1984). Genuine social and political justice requires obeisance to the true God, which is possible only through Christ* (Williams 1987; Milbank 1990). One can add that Arquillière was partly justified in interpreting the Carolingian theologians as more theocratic than Augustine. For the latter, the "good prince" is certainly within the church in so far as he exercises justice informed by charity, but princely power (*regnum*) is not identical to priestly power (*sacerdotium*), for the prince must do what is necessary to quell anarchy, and the coercive methods that he uses therefore make him belong to "the city of this world." The later theologians seem to see fewer difficulties in the wielding of the sword by a "pastor."

In short, the systematic refusal of a political theology that fuses theocracy with positivism has criticized the former more than the latter aspect, and thereby minimized the possibility of a theological interpretation of the social and political as such. (A start was made by Maritain and Sturzo, but their reflections were insufficiently theological.) The problem that may then be posed is that of the hypostasization of the "political." It is assumed as self-evident that politics has a "realm." Yet Schmitt himself saw the difficulty of determining "where" politics is, among civil association, education, learning, trade, family*, and so forth. Hence, there is no purely political sphere over against the church, the still imperfect presence of the Kingdom*. Regrettably, 20th-century political theology has not grasped that ecclesiology, if it is not to be lost in abstraction, must take the whole of society into account.

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See also Authority; Church and State; Democracy; Ecclesiology

Polycarpus of Smyrna. *See* **Apostolic Fathers**

Polygenesis. *See* **Monogenesis/Polygenesis**

Pomponazzi, Pietro. *See* **Naturalism; Philosophy; Truth**

Pope

The history* of the Church* is much more complex than that of the Christian faith*'s tradition*; likewise, the historical reality of the papacy, “the most famous institution of the whole Western world” (Toynbee) goes beyond expressing only the theological essence of Peter*'s ministry*. In relation to his own expressions in the New Testament, Peter has been going through considerable developments (I), which acquired dogmatic strength only recently (II). When freed from its past interpretations, which crystallized in a very obvious fashion the division among Christians, Peter's ministry is seen by contemporary popes as helping to serve the unity* of all Christians (III).

I. Developments Leading to the Primacy of the Pope

The New Testament does give evidence of Peter's primacy among the Twelve and among the early Churches; he also holds authority* in the domain of faith. However, no guiding statements are provided regarding his succession.

The link between Peter's ministry and the Church of Rome* began to be established at the time of his martyrdom* (with Paul in 64) in that city. The Church of Rome was thus going to enjoy great prestige, a development also due to the following facts: it was located in the capital of the Empire, it was sharing generously its resources and it was taking care of the orthodoxy of

the faith, since Peter had established the seat of his authority in the city. From the middle of the third century, Matthew 16:18–19 started being interpreted as the founding primacy of the Church of Rome (thus Stephen in his controversy with Cyprianus [Cyprian*] and Firmilianus of Caesarea). The evolution toward the present status of the papacy was going to be, however, a slow and dramatic process.

From the edict of Milan to the fall of the Empire, the authority of the bishop* of Rome grew mainly on account of his being a qualified witness of faith, but this did not imply any jurisdiction* over the Churches that were not part of an immediate dependency (thus, canon 28 of Carthage in 419 [CChr.SL 149, 109–111] excommunicated those who appealed to Rome). During all of the first millennium, Rome had as partners the patriarchal primacies (at least Constantinople, after the Arabic invasions), the ecumenical councils (council*) and the Emperor. On the other hand, except at Sardica (343), the East and the West never gave the same interpretation regarding the Roman primacy. A breaking off followed: the *Dictatus Papae* (Fliche and Martin 8, 79–80) of Gregory VII, who was asking for full powers, in 1075, during his conflict with the Germanic emperor, illustrated well the reasons behind his perseverance.

In 10 of these 27 propositions regarding the power of the pope, the term *solus* keeps on coming back and its extension is described thus: “No synod* can be la-

beled “general ” without his order” (16); “No canonical text can exist outside his authority” (17); “A sentence passed by him cannot be modified by anybody, and he alone can change the sentences passed by everybody else” (18); “He must not be judged by anybody else” (19).

As an echo, Nicetas of Nicomedia said to Anselm of Havelberg: “the authority of the Roman bishop, according to your words, is well above all; let him then be the only bishop, the only doctor, the only educator, let him alone be above everything that has been entrusted to him alone [...]. But if in the Vineyard of the Lord, he wishes to have collaborators [...], let him not despise his brothers that the truth* of Christ* has brought into the world, not for slavery, but for freedom in the heart of the Mother Church” (Dialogues [1136], PL 188, 1218–1219).

This potential rise of pontifical power (which ended up relying on the *False Decretals*; see *Pseudo-Isidorian*, DHGE XXV, 1995, 222–224) went through some tendencies that, if not theocratic, were at least hierocratic; they increased in the 13th century; and then the rise of pontifical power sustained two grave failures. In the name of the superiority of the general council over the pope, in 1415 the Council of Constance* deposed the three competing popes (COD 409) and attempted to establish a conciliar regime (Decr. *Frequens*, 1417, COD 438 *Sq*);—the attempt did not succeed, in particular because the Greeks favored dealing with their union to Florence (1439), with the pope rather than with the members of the Basel* council. And at the time of the Reformation, the popes were unable to understand the matters to be dealt with and they did not know how to reform the Church at the right time; as a result, the Catholic Church was reduced practically to the Mediterranean area. The papacy reached its doctrinal zenith at the end of the 19th century.

II. Definitions of the First Vatican Council and the Usual Titles of the Pope

I. Definitions of Vatican I

Vatican* I (*Pastor aeternus*, 1870) defined the universal jurisdiction of the pope and the infallibility* of his *ex cathedra* teaching, using a technical language that requires an exegesis: it is possible to borrow from the exegesis that was provided to the Fathers, in the council, by the spokesman, prior to the votes.

a) *Primacy of Jurisdiction*. It is defined as being immediate, ordinary, really Episcopal, plenary and supreme; of all these terms, only the first one has here its usual meaning: *immediate* indicates that such a power “can be exercised without having to go neces-

sarily through an intermediary” (Mansi 52, 1105). *Ordinary* is the opposite of “*delegated*”: the *ordinary* power is one that belongs to someone because of his functions, whereas a *delegated* power is exercised in the name of another person for whom it is *ordinary*” (ibid.). Thus, it is not taught that the powers of the pope must be exercised daily or even usually, but it means that they do not arise out of a process of *delegation*. *Really Episcopal* is a misleading expression, because it does not mean that the pope is the bishop of the entire Church, but it means, rather, that his power “is of the same nature as that of the bishops: it is a manner of designating an aspect of jurisdiction exercised by the pope and the bishops” (ibid., 1104). This designation is secondary anyway, since it is not even mentioned in the final canon and its anathema. *Plenary and supreme*: this plenitude is such “that no superior human power whatsoever could restrict it; only natural and divine law could” (ibid., 1108–9). Is the pope, then, some kind of absolute monarch, in the Church, by divine right? A great many people interpreted it this way, and not only non-Catholics. The texts actually say something else: “the power of the sovereign pontiff is not an obstacle to the power of Episcopal jurisdiction; the bishops, established by the Holy* Spirit (Acts 20:28), are the successors of the apostles (apostle*); they do have Episcopal jurisdiction, *ordinary* and *immediate*, and each of them guides as a real pastor* the flock entrusted to him. Thus, the pope is not an obstacle to Episcopal jurisdiction; on the contrary, Episcopal power is confirmed, strengthened and defended by the supreme and universal pastor” (DS 3061).

The power of the bishops being conferred by divine right as much as that of the pope, the finality of his plenary jurisdiction is that “the episcopate be one and undivided” (DS 3051). Finally, according to Vatican I, the definition as a whole must be understood in “the light of the ancient and constant faith of the universal Church” (DS 3052); it should be expressed in the language of the “acts of the ecumenical councils and of the holy canons” (DS 3059); it should be experienced in accordance with “the perpetual customs in use in the Churches”, and it found its expression above all “in those councils where the East met with the West in the unity of faith and charity” (DS 3065). Pius IX himself confirmed, “with the plenitude of his apostolic authority”, the explanations given to Bismarck by the German episcopate (DS 3112–3116): this jurisdiction does not make the pope the exclusive trustee of the full and entire Episcopal power. The dogma* of 1870 does not, therefore, legitimize a Roman centralization; it does not act as a basis for the present appointment of almost all the bishops directly by the pope, nor is it the basis

for the responsibilities that come within the remit of the Roman Curia and for the power of the nuncios.

b) Solemn Magisterium of the Pope and His Infallibility. The text that defines infallibility is clearer than the text that writes about jurisdiction; it says the following: “When the pope speaks *ex cathedra*, i.e. when he performs his duties of doctor and pastor of all the Christians, he defines in fact, in his capacity as incumbent of the supreme apostolic authority, a doctrine on faith or moral standards that must be held by the entire Church”; he thus “has, thanks to the divine assistance promised to him in his capacity as Saint-Peter’s successor, the privilege of infallibility; this is a privilege that the divine Redeemer wished the Church to have for its work regarding the establishment of a doctrine on faith and morals. As a consequence, the way the Church defined that doctrine is unchallengeable, *per se*, and not by virtue of Church’s consent” (DS 3074). It is, therefore, only the *solemn* magisterium of the pope that is declared infallible; the pope is infallible merely in the act of defining and not in a habitual manner—the medieval canonical tradition that considered the possibility of finding heresy* in a pope’s conduct (“nisi forte a fide devius”), for instance for a private interpretation of doctrine, is therefore not revoked. Furthermore, infallibility does not guarantee that the teaching is formulated in the best possible manner (even if it becomes unchallengeable), or that it is promulgated at the most opportune time; it only guarantees that the teaching is exempt of error. As for the unchallengeable nature of infallibility *ex sese*, it is stated for the purpose of excluding the necessity of a previous consent legally verified, even if—this is a further detail supplied by the spokesman—“the consensus regarding the teaching of all the present magisterium* of the Church, united with its leader, is a rule of faith for the definitions given by the pope” (Mansi 52, 1216).

It is clear, as well, that infallibility does not cover the disciplinary acts or the acts of government coming from the pope (approval of the execution of heretics and witches); it does not cover either his political decisions (condemnation of constitutions that guaranteed religious freedom) or scientific decisions (the Galileo affair). Pius XII is the only pope, since then, to have made use of the prerogative of infallibility (definition of the Assumption of Mary*).

2. Usual Titles of the Pope

a) Bishop of Rome. When he is elected, the pope becomes the successor of Peter, as well as bishop of

Rome: Vatican I (DS 3057) re-stated that very point, which the East proclaims as well, and that title has an ecumenical pertinence that the title “leader of the college of bishops” cannot have. Paul VI signed the Acts of Vatican* II in his capacity as “bishop of the Catholic Church”: by using that title, which dates back to the fourth century, he did not aspire to universal episcopate, but he was adopting a formula that designates him as bishop of the Catholic Church of the city of Rome (H. Marot [1964], *Irén.* 37, 221–26).

b) Patriarch of the West. This title, always in use, is of great ecumenical importance; it clarifies the fact that “Rome has no other rights than those of the other patriarchates [patriarchate*], which means that its primacy for the whole Church does not include central administration” (J. Ratzinger, *Le nouveau peuple de Dieu*, Paris, 1971).

c) Leader of the Church. This expression, restricted by a medieval elaboration that made everything stem from the pope, is used only once by Vatican II (LG 18), accompanied by the adjective “visible.”

d) Sovereign Pontiff. This frequently used title (*summus pontifex*), is often wrongly confused with the pagan dignity of *pontifex maximus*, as if the popes had actually wished to be the successors of that dignity. This title started being used during the Renaissance under the humanistic influence (R. Schieffer [1971], “Der Papst als pontifex maximus”, *ZSRG.K* 57, 300–309). It is unintelligible to the non-Catholics and cannot be translated, for example, in Greek.

e) Vicar of Christ. This title was conferred to all the Western bishops until the 12th century; later, it started to be reserved only for the popes in order to characterize the plenitude of their power (Innocent IV even assumed the title of “vicar of God”). Vatican II marginalized that title significantly by conferring it only twice to the pope (LG 18 and 22; OT 9 is edifying) and especially by giving it again to each bishop (LG 27).

The International Theological Commission making representations to the pope recommended that the latter three titles be given up (Congar 1975).

f) Sovereign of the State of Vatican City. This title of sovereignty, even though very modest materially (44 ha), symbolizes, in the eyes of the Orthodox and the Protestants, the temporal power of the popes from the eighth century to 1870, and the present disparity between them and the Holy See in the matter of diplomatic representation in the world (165 States were

represented at the Holy See in 1995) and in international organizations.

III. Toward Ecumenical Discussions on the Ministry of Peter as Unity Ministry

The ecclesiological orientations of Vatican II have allowed the pope and the principal representatives of the other Churches to meet: in the past thirty years; personal dialogue has been rekindled among all of them. The international bilateral commissions for theological dialogue have not, however, put Peter's ministry on their agenda. Only some national commissions have done so (for instance Catholics and Lutherans in the United States: *Papal primacy and the Universal Church*, Minneapolis, 1974; *Groupe des Dombes* (France): *The ministry of communion in the universal Church*, DC 83, 1986, 1112–42). In 1995, John-Paul II expressed the wish “to search, of course together, the forms according to which Peter's ministry might produce this work of love*, recognized by all [...]. It is a huge task [...] that I can't carry to fruition by myself” (*Ut unum sint*, #95–96). The conditions of that endeavor will depend on who the partners are.

The Catholics and the Orthodox recognize, moreover, that they have to resolve a problem that they have in common, which is how to articulate the communion* between local* and regional Churches in a Church that is *one*.

J. Meyendorff wrote the following as early as 1960: “The Orthodox will have to think more seriously than they have so far about the role that the common testimony of the local Churches could or should have, and more precisely about the role that the *primus inter pares* has in this testimony” (*L'Église orthodoxe*, Paris, 184). Later, in 1981, he was even more explicit: “The Orthodox are obviously not entitled to object to Roman primacy by simply basing their objection on the ethnic provincialism of their national and autocephalous Churches [...]; these are undoubtedly excuses for separatism [...]. If a council for union ever gets assembled, it will have to put on its agenda the matter of the autocephalous characteristic [...] and also, naturally, the matter of Roman primacy” (*Les Églises après Vatican II*, ThH 61, Paris, 344).

As for the Catholic side, it will have a key to solve the problem if a way is found to make a much clearer distinction between the pope's primacy and his patriarchal functions.

Thus, Monsignor Damaskinos, secretary of the future Orthodox council, wrote the following: “Regarding the power and the functions of the pope, it is clear that the Eastern tradition acknowledges that the bishop

of Rome has a special authority within the Church [...]. That authority differs from the actual patriarchal authority of the pope in the Western world, and it is out of the question that acknowledging the authority of the bishop of Rome may signify at all that the Orthodox Church is acquiescing to the pope's patriarchal authority” (*Irén* 47, 1975, 221).

Catholic ecclesiology* may express itself as follows: “The unitarian ecclesial law*, the unitarian liturgy*, one single procedure for the appointment of bishops by Rome, from the center, all these things are not necessarily part of primacy *per se*, but can be verified only when the two ministries (pope and patriarch) become one. As a consequence, consideration ought to be given, in the future, to distinguish more clearly the actual function of Peter's successor from the patriarchal function” (J. Ratzinger, *Le nouveau peuple de Dieu*, 142).

That would require from Catholic theology* a better explanation of primacy and collegiality*, a more precise definition of the status of local and particular Churches within the communion and a simultaneous renewal of conciliarity.

The declaration of Balamand (International Catholic-Orthodox Commission) opens the doctrinal road to this common examination; it states the following: “The Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church acknowledge each other as Sister-Churches, with the common responsibility of maintaining the Church of God in a state of faithfulness to the divine design, specially in regards to unity” (n. 14; DC 90, 1993, 712). Usually, the non-Chalcedonian Churches have the same attitude as the Orthodox Church toward the ministry of the pope, which they know through the Churches of their own rite united to Rome.

The dialogue with the Reformed Churches will be more complex, not only for the reason the polemic was more violent (Luther* and most of the Reformers after him identified the pope with the Antichrist), but for ecclesiological reasons. The Protestant tradition shows in fact little homogeneity in its views regarding the *episkopè*/episcopate as an instrument of communion among the Churches. As a matter of fact, the Petrine responsibility means that bishops observe a ministry of communion that requires serving in unity with the colleagues in the episcopate. Furthermore, acceptance of the papal magisterium will be even more difficult, because for the members of the Reformed Churches no magisterial decision can be protected from questioning, whereas the ministry of the pope is meant, in certain circumstances, to leave absolutely no option to the faithful: an obligation for which the John Paul II's *motu proprio* (1998) provides disciplinary sanction.

In Catholic theology, a rigorous exegesis of the definitions provided by Vatican I will prove insufficient as long as the other Churches strongly perceive the Catholic Church as the pope's Church, or as the Church of Rome (*Dict. of the Ecum. Mov.* [1991], 877). Furthermore, the ministry of Peter will convince the other Churches only to the extent that they will see it as serving the legitimate plurality of Churches expressing itself in a vigorous synodal and conciliar fashion.

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**See also Collegiality; Council; Dogma; Ecu-
menism; Infallibility; Jurisdiction; Ministry; Patri-
archate; Structures, Ecclesial; Vatican I, Council
of; Vatican II, Council of**

Porete, Marguerite. *See* Beguines; Vienna, Council of

Positive Theology

Contrary to common belief, the notion of "positive theology" is not in opposition to "negative theology," but to "speculative" or "Scholastic theology." However, this is not enough to define the content of a term whose meanings are almost as numerous as the texts in which it has appeared. It was not until the 19th century that the usage prevailing down to the present was established. Since then, positive theology has designated the branch of theology that examines the historical sources of theological statements in order to bring out the normative contents provided by Holy* Scripture and the tradition* of the Church*. Thereafter, speculative work is grafted onto this foundation. It seeks to throw the light of reason* on the meaning of the mate-

rial collected and thereby make it accessible to different eras. But this now common meaning is not the one the term had originally and that long remained in use. The older meaning can be brought to light by a fragmentary sketch of the concept's history.

a) First Approaches. The first known occurrence of the term is in a Catalan work of Ramon Lulle (Raymond Lully) dating from the late 13th century: "Positive theology is a product of the will, demonstrative theology a product of the understanding" (*Proverbis de Ramon*, c. 276, 2: 209f.; Garcías-Palou 1958).

This usage probably shows the trace of Arabic influences (Lohr 1973), but certainly also represents the ar-

tication of a legal perspective (adopting the Greek opposition between what exists “by nature” and what is “established by man” (*phuseilthèsei*)), which since the early 12th century had distinguished between positive law* and natural law (Kuttner 1936). This distinction was explicitly adopted by Lully, who also connected it to the grammatical theory of degrees of comparison (positive-comparative-superlative) (*Ars brevis de inventione iuris*, CChr. CM 38. 296, 321). Hence, positive theology represents an elementary level of theological thinking, which consists of recognizing the evidence of authority*, whereas demonstrative theology brings all beings endowed with reason to a necessary understanding of the truths of faith*. The Latin translation of Lully’s proverbs by J. Lefèvre d’Étaples (Rogent-Duràn 1927) seems to have had a wide influence, and most particularly on the Scottish theologian Johannes Maior (John Major). Major was indeed the first known writer to adopt the concept of positive theology, which he introduced in the fourth edition of his *Commentary on the Fourth Book of Sentences* (1515, fol. i, v), published in the same year as the translation by Lefèvre d’Étaples. The meaning that Maior gave to the term is not clear from the context, but this is the first appearance of the terminological distinction between positive theology and Scholastic theology.

b) Transformations of the Concept by Jesuit Writers. The next significant stage in the history of the concept is represented by the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola. Perhaps influenced by the tradition derived from Raymond Lully, he distinguishes between positive teaching and Scholastic teaching, as well as between the teachers of each discipline (MHSJ 100. 410ff.). Whereas the former act primarily on people’s affective capacities, the latter address themselves principally to their cognitive faculties. Among the positive teachers he names the church fathers* Augustine*, Jerome, and Gregory, and among the Scholastic teachers the major medieval theologians Peter Lombard, Thomas* Aquinas, and Bonaventure*.

In its program of studies the Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius of Loyola reinterpreted this distinction (*Ratio studiorum* 1586: MHSJ 129. 85; P. Ximénez, *De cursu triennali theologiae positivae* 1608; MHSJ 141. 653), giving the name “positive theology” to the courses for candidates preparing for a simple ministry* of preaching* and spiritual* direction, whereas “Scholastic theology” designated the course of study reserved for future university theologians. The former consisted principally in the study of Scripture, a source for preaching; in the analysis of questions of conscience with which future confessors

would inevitably be confronted (casuistry*); and—but only for students from European countries north of the Alps—in the acquisition of knowledge needed in that region to argue against non-Catholic doctrines. During the same period, however, there was a Jesuit theologian who defined positive theology in an entirely different way, coming close to the sense in which the term was used later: “Theology is called positive to the extent that it is principally devoted to explaining the senses of Scripture* by various means, primarily by the authority of the holy Fathers. It thereby establishes the solid principles from which other theological conclusions may be drawn” (Gregory of Valencia 1591, I. 7ff.). This writer was perhaps adopting a terminological tradition current at the University of Salamanca, where he had been a student.

c) Development of the Concept after the 17th Century. The later development of the concept goes beyond the framework established by these definitions. Protestant theologians either adopted the principles of the Jesuit curriculum, distinguishing between positive or church theology that was obligatory for all candidates for the pastorate and an academic theology reserved for those who were interested in a more scientific approach to theology (Calixt 1628–56), or they identified the former with what was later called dogmatics (dogmatic* theology) (Calov 1682). Catholic theologians such as Mabillon and Du Pin also offered divergent definitions of positive theology.

Both certainly agreed in seeing positive theology and Scholastic theology as disciplines that, far from being in opposition, overlapped to a great degree; and both interpreted Scripture by means of the testimony of the tradition. But whereas Mabillon recognized the specific character of Scholastic theology in the implementation of a philosophical argument (1692), Du Pin ascribed that character solely to the systematic organization of subject matters, which became themselves an object of study (1716).

In the history of theology of the French classical era, these two writers were the principal representatives of a tendency later generally identified with positive theology. They undertook philological and historical research aimed at restoring the letter and the spirit of the evidence of tradition, and they considered that this would enable them to help to resolve the major theological and ecclesiastical questions of their time, more than would the subtlety of a style of argument that they called “Scholastic.” Both invoked the Catholic tradition of *loci* theologici*.

In addition to the theologians already mentioned and their immediate associates, this current mainly included writers attempting to relate the themes of dog-

matic theology to the evidence of the tradition (e.g., Petau and Thomassin). The strength and concomitant difficulty of this kind of positive theology lay in the fact that the neutral tool of philological and historical knowledge was placed at the service of an ecclesial theology that had necessarily predetermined its chosen sources and its results. This association made it a “mixed genre” of a special kind (Neveu 1994). Therefore, it was not long before the magisterium* of the Church began to evince a marked skepticism about the results and about the increasing influence of this positive theology, in which it discerned a tendency to introduce autonomous criteria into the Church, a tendency associated with an “objective or documentary notion of tradition” (Congar 1960).

Added to the internal difficulties already mentioned, these external problems accompanied the entire development of positive theology from the Augustinian theologians of the 16th and 17th centuries (Augustinianism*, Jansenism*) to 20th-century writers subject to ecclesiastical* discipline, such as P. Battifol and H. de Lubac*. The Neoscholastic tendency that appeared in the 19th century, and was favored by the Roman magisterium, attempted by contrast to integrate positive theology in such a way that the evidence of Scripture and of tradition would no longer function as probative elements (*dicta probantia*) confirming contents of faith already formulated and set in normative terms (theological notes*).

d) Positivity as an Element of Any Theology. After the controversies with the philosophy* of the Enlightenment, which had led to the propounding of a purely “natural” religion (Lagrée 1991) and had given a pejorative meaning to the notion of “positive theology” or “positive religion,” some philosophers and theologians of the 19th century endeavored to understand theology as necessarily “positive,” because it was irremediably linked to revelation*, and to its historical testimonies and its current manifestations in the Church (Schelling* 1803, Lectures 8 and 9; Schleiermacher* 1811; Drey 1819). They thereby made it into a science in its own right, as opposed to a purely philosophical or purely historical approach to religion (*see* more recently Heidegger* 1970; Seckler 1977).

Although the term *positive theology* has largely been erased from current theological vocabulary, the

problems linked with the notion and with its history nevertheless remain, particularly with respect to the relationship of dogmatic theology to its sources, and with respect to the “theological qualification” of biblical and historical disciplines within theology (exegesis*, history* of the Church).

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See also **History of the Church; Loci theologici; Notes, Theological**

Postmodernism

a) *History of the Term.* Following certain sporadic occurrences, the history of the term *postmodernism* began with the borrowing of the term from Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975) by American “new critics” in the late 1960s (S. Maier 1989). They employed it in a derogatory sense, to denote a falling away from the rigors of high modernism. In short order, however, postmodernism was given a positive meaning by Leslie A. Fiedler and Susan Sontag, who were attracted by the fusion of modernism with populism that they found in certain literary works.

The term was then extended to other arts, especially architecture*. The American Charles Jencks emerged in the 1970s and 1980s as the most notable protagonist of a “postmodern” architecture that marries gratuitous ornament to modernist functionalism, and uses earlier styles with an ironic lack of commitment to their original cultural or religious intent. I. Hassan applied the term to the culture in general: in his view, ideas that were once avant-garde have today been recuperated by a society dominated by advertising and mass media, and in which indeterminacy and transgression are becoming common (*see also* Guardini 1950).

Lyotard (1979) also gives the term a very broad meaning. He identifies three phases of modernity: the age of the Enlightenment, when belief in objective truth* was expressed by the “great narratives” of the simultaneous historical liberation of both liberty* and reason; the modern age, dating from 19th-century positivism, when truth was defined as pragmatic success; and, finally, the “postmodern” age, when the truth acquires a plural status because of the different plays on language. For Lyotard, postmodernism tends toward nihilism, holding that there is no longer any objective truth or coherent subjectivity.

The Anglophone world, however, finds in postmodernism a rediscovery of certain aspects of premodernity as in the case of Jencks’s neoclassicism or the notions of virtue* and norms of truth advocated by A. MacIntyre, C. Taylor or M. Sandel. Such authors are indeed postmodern, to the extent that they reject the taste for foundations (“foundationalism”) that characterized the modern era, and insist that objective truth is available only via insertion in a narrative tradition*. Likewise, in Germany, P. Koslowski has advocated a “substantial” postmodern that, following the ideas of

R. Spaemann, fuses Aristotelian essentialism with modern liberty.

b) *Fluidity of the Concept.* If—despite its ambiguity—the term *postmodernism* is at all useful, it is to denote three recent phenomena. The first is the switch in the arts from abstraction and representation of subjective truth to ironic use of earlier narrative and mimetic modes. The second is the merging of avant-garde devices with commercial manipulation of images. The third is the switch in philosophy from a theory of knowledge, which assumes that there are recognizable subjects and objects, to a philosophy* of “the event,” which embraces both the subjective and the objective realms. Only the second of these developments can be dated at all precisely. As for the arts, their history has long contained “postmodern” characteristics, as in 19th-century symbolism and 20th-century modernism (e.g., Conrad). In the philosophical realm, “postmodern” questioning is traceable as far back as Renaissance philosophy and Spinoza (1633–77), and was reinstated at the outset of the 20th century with Bergson (1859–1941), Whitehead (1861–1947), and Heidegger*. Nevertheless, its development has been radically accentuated since the 1960s.

c) *Theology and Postmodernism.* Four currents can be identified. 1) The term *postmodern* has been used by Marc C. Taylor (1984) to describe his reworking of an atheistic “death of God” theology* in more explicitly nihilistic terms, under the influence of Derrida. 2) Certain Anglophone theologians (K. Hart [1989], G. Ward [1995]) have sought to render Derrida’s theory of *différance* (“difference”) consistent with orthodox [theology] and Christology (Christ* and Christology). 3) Several French phenomenologists (J.-L. Marion, J.-L. Chrétien, P. Ricoeur, M. Henry) have accepted the “end of metaphysics” proclaimed by Heidegger, while elaborating a theological critique of Heidegger’s theory of being* and therefore, explicitly or by implication, of Derrida’s thought. However, their way of refusing the nihilism of difference by appealing to a phenomenological analysis of experience appears foundationalist and therefore “modern” to British or American readers. 4) Several Anglophone theologians, often informed by Wittgenstein, exhibit affinities with the “substantive

postmodernism” of a MacIntyre or a Spaemann. “The Yale School” (H. Frei, G. Lindbeck, B. Marshall) defines itself as “postliberal”, and the “Cambridge School” (R. Williams, N. Lash, J. Milbank, G. Loughlin, G. Ward) integrates themes borrowed from French nihilists as well as from philosophers in the third group.

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See also Atheism; Freud, Sigmund; Heidegger, Martin; Language, Theological; Marx, Karl; Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm; Nothingness

Potentia Absoluta. See **Nominalism; Omnipotence, Divine**

Potentia Ordinata. See **Nominalism; Omnipotence, Divine**

Poverty. See **Bonaventure; Property; Spirituality, Franciscan**

Power. *See* **Authority**

Power, Divine. *See* **Omnipotence, Divine**

Power, Ecclesiastical. *See* **Canon Law; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Jurisdiction**

Power, Obediential. *See* **Supernatural**

Praise

Addressing praise to God* means recognizing his grandeur and the magnificence of his gifts, rendering him homage, and glorifying him. Praise is the most perfect form of prayer*, for it consists entirely of attention to God in a willing transcendence of particular interests. The article “Psalms*” sets forth the principal aspects of praise in the Old Testament. We will describe here the place this theme occupies in the writings of the New Testament and that given it by Jesus Christ, in whom the praise of the prayers of the Old Testament is brought to perfection.

a) Vocabulary of Praise. Praise is expressed in the New Testament by means of the verb *aineô* and the

corresponding noun *ainos*. In the Greek of the Septuagint, *aineô* is most frequently a translation of the Hebrew *hâlâl*, “to praise,” two thirds of whose appearances are in the Psalms. The other Hebrew equivalents of *aineô* are enlightening. We find *bâarak*, “to bless,” *yâdâh*, “to praise,” “to celebrate,” “to confess,” *rû’*, “to cry out,” a term evoking a war* cry, but one that might also be a cry of joy or triumph, *shûr*, “to sing,” *shâbach*, “to praise,” “to celebrate,” with the reflexive sense of “to glorify oneself.” Another root, *hâdar*, adds the ideas of splendor, beauty*, and honor.

The terms connected to *aineô* in the New Testament generally coincide with these shadings in meaning, although they add some original touches. The verb most

often used is *doksazô*, “to glorify,” “to render glory*.” We also find *megalunô*, “to magnify,” “to exalt.” In this context are set *eulogêô*, “to bless,” *eksomologeomai*, “to confess,” “to celebrate.” Song is also a part of praise with the verbs *adô*, “to sing,” *humneô*, “to sing a hymn or a psalm.” In them are celebrated the glory of God, *doksa*, his honor, *timè*, his strength and his power (omnipotence*, divine), *kratos*.

The compound verb *epaineô* translates both *hâlal* and *shâbach*. It is the verb used to compliment a human being, whereas *aineô* is reserved for God.

b) Praise of God in the New Testament. Luke is the evangelist of praise, which he presents at decisive moments in his work, from the praise of the heaven host and the shepherds at the Nativity (Lk 2:13, 20) to the praise of the disciples after the departure of Jesus* (Lk 24:53). Of the first Christian community, he notes that it praised God (Acts 2:47). It is always God who is the object of praise. It springs from the miracles (miracle*) performed by Jesus (Lk 19:37) or by his disciples in his name* (Acts 3:8f.). The converted Gentiles celebrate the grandeur of God (Acts 10:46) and glorify him (Acts 13:48). Praise is not reduced to sentimental ardor. Intimately linked to listening to the Word* and to faith*, it expresses the deepest admiration (Lk 2:18ff.). In the gospel* narrative of the childhood of Jesus, Luke presents three remarkable canticles (Lk 1:46–55, 68–79; 2:28–32).

The major epistles of Paul contain strong expressions of praise, as in the conclusions to the principal sections of Romans (Rom 11:33–36; 16:25f.). The Second Epistle to the Corinthians begins with a formula of blessing* (2 Cor 1:3). Praise is even more prominent in the epistles of captivity. Ephesians opens with a great blessing (Eph 1:3–14), punctuated by the repetition of the formula “to the praise of his glory,” and the first part of the letter ends with a doxology (Eph 3:20f.). The liturgical language of these passages is particularly well adapted to the expression of praise. The hymns of Philippians 2:6–11 and Colossians 1:15–20 should also be noted. Studded with many liturgical fragments, the pastoral epistles express the praise of God throughout (see 1 Tm 1:17, 6:15f.).

The presence of so many canticles is one of the characteristics that gives Revelation its originality (Rev 1:4–8, 11:16ff., 14:1–5, 15:3f.). Praise is an integral part of the book. The canticle of the marriage of the Lamb* (Rev 19:1–8) echoes the Psalms in some of its references and its four Alleluias.

c) Praise of God in Jesus Christ. Closely related to thanksgiving, praise is rooted in an admiring knowledge* of God. It assumes an openness to hearing the word of God and a capacity to discern him in his actions and his works. It is expressed in joy and in faith. It is a confession that proclaims the love* of God, a blessing that sends back up to him the good that he has done, the glorification of a God who has manifested his glory.

The pinnacle of prayer, praise is the unparalleled place in which God is recognized as God and in which man is situated in the truth* of his being in the face of God. In it, God is celebrated with ardor for his qualities and his attributes*, for his work in creation*, for his marvelous actions in the history* of salvation*. Man, the principal subject of praise, realizes his vocation to the extent of his ability to celebrate the power and the love of the God who freely calls him to union with himself. Man's acts of praise are intended to become an integral part of a life that is entirely praise of the glory of the Father.

As the only mediator, Jesus is in the strongest sense both the subject and the object of praise. He causes the believer to enter into his own prayer of praise and thanksgiving (Matthew 11:25–27), because he is the immolated Lamb worthy of receiving power, wealth, wisdom*, strength, honor, glory, and praise (Revelation 5:12). Bringing to an end the sacrifices (sacrifice*) of the old covenant*, he is the one through whom we offer unceasingly to God a sacrifice of praise (Heb 13:15; see Lv 7:11–15). The life of man united to the offering of Jesus becomes praise.

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See also Cult; Liturgy; Prayer; Psalms

Prayer

I. Definitions

Prayer is perhaps the fundamental religious activity; as such, it is elusive of definition, being implied in diverse activities and taking various forms. One may, however, distinguish two basic aspects of prayer. The first is generally implied in the word used in most languages (*prière*, “prayer,” *Gebet*, *proseukhe*, etc.): the notion of asking or request, primarily addressed to God*. The second aspect appears as human beings reflect on what is involved in the possibility of communication with God: prayer is communion* or even union with God. This link between what is passing—the human—and what is ultimate—the divine—is open to philosophical questions that the Christian tradition* has often approached from a Platonic perspective (Christian Platonism*). The two aspects of prayer are summed up in the definition often quoted from John Damascene: “prayer is the soul’s ascent to God or requesting from God what is necessary” (*Expositio fidei* 68).

II. Prayer in the Scriptures and the Early Church

In the Scriptures, *petition* is a basic aspect of prayer. Prayer is an acknowledgment of frailty and dependence, and of the need for God’s help or grace*. Prayer thus implies *repentance* and *confession of sin** (with a petition for forgiveness), as well as *thanksgiving*, *praise*, and *adoration*. Prayer is thus far from consisting only of petition, for oneself and for others. The Psalms* have traditionally formed the bedrock of Jewish and Christian prayer, but the whole Bible* also illuminates what makes prayer possible—what can be called its foundations—and gives examples of prayer, in particular, the example of the prayer of Christ*.

1. Grounds of Prayer

a) *Creation of Human Beings in the Image of God.* According to Genesis, human beings were created “in our [God’s] image, after our likeness” (Gn 1:26). Although the Bible rarely recalls this, the notion of human beings as being in God’s image very quickly came to dominate Christian thought. If the idea is true, then it is natural to communicate or commune with God in

prayer. This notion of man is also central to the Christian conception of original sin*: it is the image of God in man that has been damaged as a result of the Fall, thus making difficult a relationship with God in prayer that should be entirely natural. One can therefore understand why to pray is to follow a difficult path, but also how it resembles a return to oneself. It is especially in the Greek Fathers* that we find an understanding of prayer rooted in the notion of man in the image of God; for them, the goal of prayer is to attain a growing transparency to God, or transfiguration in God, which they call “deification” (*theosis*).

b) *The Covenant.* The idea of the covenant* between God and human beings is central to the Old Testament. After the Flood, the rainbow is the sign of the covenant established between God and Noah (the “Noachic covenant”), and of the promise* never to destroy Noah’s descendants in a new flood (Gn 9:12f.). Circumcision is the sign of the covenant between God and Abraham, and of the promise that the posterity of Abraham will be blessed (Gn 17:9–14). A covenant is established between God and Jacob (or Israel*) in the episode of Jacob’s dream (Gn 28:11–15). The law* given to Moses is the sign of the covenant between God and the chosen people* (Ex 19:4ff.). Through the covenant, the chosen people become God’s own people (*see* Dt 7:6–11). Its continuance is conditional on the people’s fulfilling moral and ceremonial obligations, and the prophets (prophet* and prophecy) warned that it would be abrogated (*see* Am 7–9) if they did not fulfil these obligations. Prayer is implicit in the covenant: in prayer, the people acknowledge that they depend on God, that they need his grace, and that they celebrate his wonders and his glory* (*see* 1 Chr 6:14–42). In this context, prayer is primarily communal: it is the prayer of the people, celebrated in the cult* of the tabernacle (and, after the settlement in the promised land, in the cult of the Temple*); individual prayer is secondary. The prayer of an individual can, however, assume huge importance, especially in the person of a prophet, whose vocation is to call the people back to faithfulness to the covenant, and part of whose role is to be an intercessor for the people. Those whose prayer remains faithful constitute the “remnant.”

c) Existence in Christ. In the New Testament, prayer is the activity par excellence of the Church*, the community of those who are “in Christ” as a result of baptism*. In Christ, we are present with the Father*, who hears and grants our prayers. This is one of the recurrent themes in the last “discourses” in the fourth Gospel (Jn. 14–17). We are “sons and daughters” in the Son: we take part in his communion with the Father and in the bond of love* that binds them together, which is the basis of the confidence (*parresia*) that we have in the effectiveness of our prayer (Jn. 16: 23–27).

d) Prayer as the Inner Working of the Spirit. With their understanding of the Holy* Spirit, the Johannine* and Pauline* traditions give a still greater depth to this theme. In John’s Gospel, we find the notion of the *Paracletos*, the advocate or comforter who is “with you” and brings us to the divine presence (Jn 14:25–26, 15:26–27, 16:7–15). In Paul’s letter to the Romans, we find the idea of the Spirit working within us, interceding for us “in inexpressible lamentations,” and enabling us to enter into intimacy with the Father by saying “Abba,” as Jesus* himself did (Rom 8:14–23; see Gal 4:6 and Mk 14:36).

2. Examples of Prayer

a) Old Testament. Most of the significant figures in the Bible are presented as exemplars of prayer. It is, as we have already noticed, one of the roles of the prophet to be a man of prayer, an intercessor for the people. Several exemplars are worth dwelling on: first of all, the psalmist, conventionally identified with David. The Psalms are a collection of prayers, many of which have their origin in the worship of the Temple. They lay bare a relationship with God that is anything but conventional. We find praise, thanksgiving, repentance, and petition in them, but they also express questioning, anger, and depression, as well as joy or hope*. It is a form of prayer characterized by what the later ascetic tradition called *parresia*, an openness before God, a confidence in him in which absolutely nothing is held back or concealed. Abraham’s prayer for Sodom (Gn 18:22–33), Jacob’s dream (Gn 28:11–17), and as his wrestling with the angel* (Gn 32:24–30) are examples that are often recalled. Moses’s ascent of Sinai is interpreted by Philo as a type of the soul’s ascent to God, and many Christian authors follow Philo in this (e.g., Clement of Alexandria and Gregory* of Nyssa). Elijah is another exemplar, especially in his experience on Horeb (1 Kgs 19:9–13), in which God is revealed not in his power but in a “low whisper.” Elijah’s austere life made him a popular model within the Christian ascetic movement.

b) New Testament. John the Baptist is explicitly compared to Elijah (Mt 17:13), principally in his prophetic role. In the apostolic church, prayer is prominent. All the letters ascribed to Paul or Peter* include prayer, while the letter to the Hebrews and the letter of James both contain teaching on prayer. The community at Jerusalem* after Pentecost is characterized by “teaching and fellowship, the breaking of bread, and prayers” (Acts 2:42).

c) Jesus. All the Evangelists, but especially Luke, portray Jesus as one who spent considerable periods of time in prayer (see Lk. 5:16 and 6:12). According to Luke, it was while Jesus was praying on Tabor that he was transfigured before his disciples (Lk. 9:29). John develops this theme by seeing the whole of Christ’s earthly life as transfiguration, and the communion between the Father and Son, expressed in prayer, as a mutual glorification, culminating in the raising up onto the cross. This is also expressed by the other evangelists in their account of Jesus’ prayer to his Father in the garden of Gethsemane. As well as being an exemplar of prayer, or because of that fact, Jesus teaches his disciples to pray, by giving them the pattern prayer, the Paternoster (“Our Father”) (Mt 6:9–13; Lk 11:1–4: note that Luke states that John the Baptist had also taught his disciples to pray). This prayer, which moves from adoration to petition, has been endlessly commented on. However, there is further dominical teaching on prayer. It should not be a matter of display, but done in secret, behind a shut door, “to your Father who is in secret” (Mt 6:6). It should not consist of long, empty phrases (Mt 6:7). We should add two parables (parable*) from Luke, the parable of the importunate widow, and the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, with their respective emphases on perseverance and humility in prayer (Lk 18:1–14).

3. Early Church

a) Paternoster. The fullest early Christian reflection on prayer is in fact commentary on *the* prayer: there have come down to us from the pre-Nicene Church (Nicaea*) commentaries by Tertullian*, Origen*, and Cyprian*. There is much that is common to all three. All speak of prayer as something that is secret and inward, and yet they insist that it is communal: Christians pray to “*our* Father.” As a corollary, they also stress the importance of prayer for forgiveness, and the consequent requirement to forgive each other. Without excluding an interpretation of the petition for our “daily bread” as a prayer for the necessities of life (out of which Gregory of Nyssa later drew a demand for social justice*: “you are master of your prayer...if no

one is hungry or distressed because you are fully satisfied," *De orat. dom.* 4), they all interpret this petition with reference to the Eucharist*. The idea of the Eucharist as the Christian prayer *par excellence* is one that had already established itself in Christian consciousness. Polycarp prepares for martyrdom* in a prayer, summing up his whole life, that is clearly modeled on the eucharistic prayer (*Mart. Pol.* 14); for Irenaeus*, the Eucharist, as sacrifice* and sacrament*, expresses the fullness of the proper Christian attitude to God (*Adv. Haer.* IV, 18, 4–6).

b) Place of the Body in Prayer. Another dominant feature of this early Christian teaching is the importance attached to the place of the body (soul*-heart-body) in prayer. Christians are to pray standing up (Tertullian, *De orat.* 23; Origen, *De orat.* 31, 2; Cyprian, *De orat.* 31), holding their arms up (or, according to Tertullian, holding them out in cross-fashion, *De orat.* 14), and facing East (see Origen, *De orat.* 32). Kneeling is not a normal position for praying, although it is appropriate for prayers of penitence* (Tertullian, *De orat.* 23; Origen, *De orat.* 31, 3). The ban on praying kneeling on Sundays* and during Pentecost was reiterated at the First Council of Nicaea in 325 (canon 20). Praying toward the East, the direction from which Christ was expected to come at the moment of the Parousia*, or the direction in which the earthly Paradise was believed to be situated (Gen. 2:8), long remained a Christian custom, and is reflected in the orientation of churches (architecture*). Such a concern for the direction in which prayer is offered is also found among Jews, who pray facing Jerusalem, and Moslems, who pray facing Mecca; in all cases, it reflects an awareness of the cosmic significance of prayer. However, alongside this consciousness of the importance of the external conditions of prayer, there is found an emphasis, already mentioned, on prayer as an inward, even secret activity, addressed to "the Father who sees in secret."

III. Liturgical Prayer and Private Prayer

Reflection on Christian prayer often focuses on the polarities in prayer, already apparent, between the individual and the liturgical, the vocal and the silent. In fact, they clearly overlap. While liturgical prayer is not necessarily vocal (liturgical movements can be silent, and the significance of the liturgy* is not necessarily brought out by anything uttered), the liturgical and the vocal tend to belong together, as do the individual and interior. Yet there can be communal experiences of interiority, as was the case for Augustine* and his mother at Ostia (*Confessions* IX, 10, 23–25), or communication

by glance and gesture, as described by William of St Thierry (*De natura et dignitate amoris* 13).

1. Liturgical Prayer

a) Origins. Christian liturgical prayer eventually developed into an elaborate "consecration of time" through the cycle of short services celebrated throughout the day—the "hours," or the "divine office." This rhythm of prayer existed in the early third century: both Tertullian and Cyprian speak of prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, as well as morning and evening prayer, and prayer during the night, and Cyprian develops Tertullian's suggestion of these hours as commemorative. The third hour commemorates the coming of the Holy Spirit, the sixth the crucifixion, and the ninth Christ's death* (see Tertullian, *De orat.* 25; Cyprian, *De orat.* 34–36). These writings give the impression of individual prayer at these hours, although there is nothing in them to contradict the idea that there were sometimes collective celebrations. From the fourth century onward, the monastic office gradually eclipsed the "cathedral" office (morning and evening prayer in the main churches of the cities), and the familiar structure was put in place: matins (in the East, *orthros*, "dawn office," preceded by the midnight office); lauds ("praises," from Ps 147–50, an invariable part of this service); offices for the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours; vespers; and the final service before the night (*apodeipnon*, "after supper," in the East; compline, "completion," in the West). There was a development of set forms for these services, with prayers and hymns appropriate to each one of them, but they were all based on the recitation of psalms. Eventually, the weekly recitation of the whole psalter was incorporated into the offices in the West as in the East, where the psalter was divided into 20 groups of Psalms, the *kathismata*.

b) Office as a Public Form of Prayer? The cycle of liturgical prayer—the divine office and the celebration of the Eucharist—formed the backbone not only of monastic life but also, in principle, of the life of the cities of medieval Europe. It is, however, by no means clear what happened in reality. The development of the parish system in the West perhaps encouraged a development of this sort, but what evidence there is of the Byzantine world suggests that this was not the case in the East: it was, rather, processions, which took place with relative frequency, that represented public prayer for the ordinary citizen. It seems that processions also played an important role of this type in the West in the later Middle Ages, where there were processions in honor of saints and, especially, of Christ's body.

c) *Interpretations of the Liturgical Cycle.* The daily cycle can, however, take various forms. The basic form, as we have seen, regards the liturgical cycle as a sanctification of time. In the West, the daily cycle is understood primarily to sanctify the day, even though the eschatological meaning of nocturnal prayer is included within it: the cycle begins shortly before day-break and punctuates the hours of the day with regular times of prayer until sunset. In the East, especially as celebrated in monasteries nowadays, night is evidently the time of prayer. The liturgical day begins with the ninth hour and vespers (at sunset); there is a brief period of sleep after compline, and then matins, lauds, the day hours, and the celebration of the Eucharist usher in the new day. During daylight, there are no formal services. Making night a time for prayer as watching (on great feasts, there is a “vigil,” and the offices last throughout the night) underlines the eschatological nature of prayer as praying and waiting for the second coming of Christ, a nature enshrined in the Paternoster, with its petition for the coming of the Kingdom*.

A different interpretation of the liturgical cycle emerged in the Middle Ages, when the recitation of the divine office became an obligation laid on the individual monk or priest. This typically western form of discipline was bound up with the development of the mendicant orders in the 13th century. It went hand in hand with a dispersed community, in which individuals and small groups moved about preaching, and led to the development of a condensed form of the divine office, the breviary, with abridged readings that could be contained in one volume: in the end, there were four of them, one for each season. This was one of the signs of the growing individualism that marked late medieval devotion in the West.

2. Personal Prayer

To begin with, there was no contrast between personal prayer and liturgical prayer: we have seen that the times fixed for prayer were originally times for individual prayer, and almost certainly involved no set form. Gradually, perhaps under the influence of the Platonic sense that the immaterial is higher than the material, there developed a tendency to consider personal and inward prayer as the real thing. Christ's emphasis on “prayer in secret” also encouraged this tendency, but it was slow to develop. Even in a document as late as the *Rule* of St. Benedict (mid-sixth century) there is nothing specific about any other form of prayer than the communal prayer of the divine office, which Benedict calls the “work of God,” *opus dei*, over which nothing is to take precedence (*Rule* 43).

3. Ceaseless Prayer

The tendency to privilege personal prayer was favored by the idea that prayer should not only take place at set times, but should be continual (*see* what Paul says: “pray without ceasing,” 1 Thess. 5:17). The divine office itself, with its ceaseless cycle of prayer, was already an attempt to obey this injunction. At various times, individual monasteries have sought to be places where prayer never ceases, the earliest example being the monastery of the *Akoimetai*, “the sleepless ones,” in fifth-century Constantinople. The perpetual light—in Greek, the “sleepless” light—that has burned in church buildings from at least the fifth century is a symbol of this ideal. However, the best way of making ceaseless prayer a practical ideal is to define prayer, not as an action*, mental or otherwise, but as a state. Probably the first to do this was the great theorist of the early monasticism* of the Fathers of the desert, Evagrius (346–99).

IV. Prayer as a State

1. East

Despite the repeated condemnations of Evagrius, his conception of prayer became fundamental in the eastern Church. For Evagrius, prayer is a state in which the intellect, left in peace* by the lower, irrational part of the soul, is able to contemplate God (*De orat.* 53). It is the natural state of the intellect (*Prak.* 49): inability to attain this state is a result of the disordered, unnatural state in which humanity has been ever since the Fall. Prayer thus understood is contemplation*. (The understanding of contemplation as the true state of the intellect had a long history behind it, especially in Platonic philosophy: *see* Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 10.) From this point of view, teaching on prayer becomes an exploration of ways of fostering contemplation. For Evagrius, this teaching has two parts. The purpose of the first is the attainment of *apatheia*, the state of freedom from passions* or disturbing movements in the lower, irrational part of the soul. The purpose of the second part is the accustoming of the soul, once it has attained such serenity, to the practice of contemplation, initially of the divinely given meaning of the created cosmos, and then of the divine nature itself. Evagrius devotes much time and care to the first stage, and displays great psychological insight. In particular, one should note his analysis of the kinds of passions (asceticism*), an analysis summed up in his teaching on the eight *logismoi*, or obsessive thoughts inspired by one or other of the passions (*see Prak.* 6–33; these eight *logismoi* reappear as the seven deadly sins). Such passions prevent contemplation by imposing upon the intellect images (whether visual or entering by other senses) that distract it from its goal or make it inca-

pable of attaining it. For Evagrius, the presence of images in prayer is evidence of attachment to the world of the senses from which the imagination draws them. They arouse this attachment through the objects that they evoke. An important stage in attaining pure prayer is, therefore, to be able to form thoughts that are free from any attachment to the world of the senses, which Evagrius calls “mere thoughts” (*psila noemata*). The second stage is essentially the passage from contemplation of these “mere thoughts” to contemplation of God: it is a simplification of one’s attention, which passes from what still partakes of multiplicity to the simplicity* of the divine essence. Such an understanding of imageless prayer correlates profoundly with a theology in which God is beyond any image or concept (negative* theology). Many aspects of Evagrius’s teaching were modified later (especially by Maximus* the Confessor), but his conception became the dominant one in Orthodox monastic spirituality.

2. West

(a) *Cassian and Early Monastic Writers.* A similar understanding of prayer as contemplation that, in principle, is uninterrupted is to be found in the West. It is already present in the writings of Evagrius’s disciple John Cassian, who speaks of “a loftier state,” formed by “contemplation of God alone and the ardor of love” (*Conference* 9,18). Cassian represents this form of prayer as something that comes upon someone who is ready for it, rather than an attainment that one can aim at, for the state of perfect purity*, without which such prayer is impossible, is a grace (*Conf.* 9, 26). Similar ideas are found in the writings of Gregory* the Great, notably in his life of St. Benedict (*Dialogues* II, 2, especially). However, the dominant strand of reflection on prayer grew out of the Benedictine tradition, even though, as we have seen, there is nothing on prayer other than liturgical prayer in St. Benedict’s *Rule*. Nevertheless, Benedict does make provision for *lectio divina*, sacred reading, which is to occupy the monk when he is not engaged in the offices or in manual work* (*Rule* 48). *Lectio divina* meant primarily reading of Scripture, but also the reading of the works of the Fathers. It is necessary to read and to meditate (*legere, meditare*, *ibid.*). This developed in monastic circles in the form of a triad of reading, meditation, and prayer (*lectio, meditatio, oratio*), for the purpose of reading was not to acquire information, but to allow the meaning of what was read to move the heart and mind toward God, in other words to prayer.

(b) *Meditation and Contemplation.* This triad of reading, meditating and praying has been given several

formulations, and in one of them Cassian’s term for the “loftier state” of prayer replaces simple “praying”: one then has reading, meditating, and contemplating. On the basis of this formula, meditation was more and more clearly distinguished from contemplation, and this was to have a profound impact on late medieval and modern Catholicism*. The distinction between these two forms of prayer came to be articulated in two different ways. On the one hand, the distinction was made between meditation, which uses imagination and reason*, and contemplation, which dispenses with these and attains a state of simple attention. On the other hand, meditation was seen as a mode of prayer related to human activity, and contemplation was seen as a state in which the human being is passive and God alone is active. This second distinction was the fruit of a fundamentally Augustinian understanding of grace developed during the western Middle Ages, where the gratuity of grace demands human passivity. This was why there developed, at the close of the Middle Ages, a widespread notion that contemplative prayer is a special grace that cannot be sought, only prepared and waited for. It is to be attained by submitting to a divine call, which prevents you from praying as you once did, so that you feel abandoned by God at the very moment when he makes a special sign to you. The most thorough analysis of this understanding of prayer is found in the writings of Teresa of Avila and John* of the Cross. Both present contemplation as, at least initially, a bewildering, disorientating experience, which John describes with the image of the “dark night of the soul.” This is only one metaphor (although it has attained commanding significance) for a state that others call “indifference”—the Jesuits (Ignatian spirituality*), François de Sales (Salesian spirituality*)—or “abandonment to divine providence” (Caussade).

V. Specific Forms of Prayer

1. West

The divine office required literacy and a knowledge of either Latin, in the West, or literary Greek, in the East. Monasteries therefore became centers of culture. In the West, however, the growth of the Cistercian order led to the creation of a group of religious, the lay brothers, who were to be the servants of the community and who were denied access to education and, with it, the possibility of participating fully in the divine office. For them, a substitute form of the office was provided in which, in particular, recitation of repeated *Ave Marias* was substituted for recitation of the Psalms. Out of this developed the *rosary*, a string of 150 beads (the same number as the Psalms), for each of which an *Ave Maria* was recited. This came to be supplemented by

larger beads representing the Paternoster, which separated the smaller beads into strings of 10: at the end of each “decade” of *Ave Marias* the *Gloria Patri* was recited. The rosary developed into a popular form of devotion, promoted especially by the Dominicans. Recitation of a decade accompanied meditation on a “mystery*” associated with the life of Jesus or that of Mary*. These mysteries eventually formed three groups: the Joyful, the Sorrowful, and the Glorious Mysteries. The events of these mysteries, such as the birth of Christ or his scourging, were often depicted in iconography, and this form of devotion eventually provided rich spiritual nourishment, especially for those whose level of literacy denied them full participation in the Latin liturgy.

2. East

The history of popular devotion in the eastern Christian world is much less clearly understood. Liturgical prayer remained more accessible in the Orthodox world. Although the Greek of the liturgy was in a literary form, much of it remained comprehensible to those whose mother tongue was Greek; and, when Orthodoxy was brought to the Slav nations, an alphabet was created by the Greek missionaries Cyril and Methodius, and the liturgy was translated into Slavonic. The reflection on Scripture and the mysteries of the faith* that was called “meditation” in the West was never isolated as a specific form of prayer in the East, and it seems that its role was fulfilled by the repetition of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy.

a) *Icons.* We should also note the important role of images* or icons in the eastern Church from the sixth century onward. After the decisive rejection of iconoclasm (the “triumph of Orthodoxy”) in the mid-ninth century, icons became an essential part of the devotion and liturgical practice of Orthodox Christianity. Icons are more than illustrations: they are mediators of the presence of what is depicted, and thus they are themselves objects of devotion on behalf of those depicted. Defenders of the icons argue that the imagination plays a positive role in the ascent of the soul, and comes into play in the veneration of icons, which are “doors” that open onto the realm of God and his saints. The presence of icons in churches, and their use in personal prayer, bring those who pray into the communion of saints and the presence of God.

b) *“Jesus Prayer.”* The use in prayer of some formula addressed to and naming Jesus can be traced back at least to the fifth century, although its general use in Orthodox circles is much later, and was associated with the growth of hesychasm* in the 13th and

14th centuries. Hesychasm was a monastic movement, associated especially with Mount Athos, that laid stress on the inward search for an experience* of union with God. The method comprises long periods of contemplative prayer, assisted by repetition of the Jesus prayer, and, in some cases, by the control of breathing and adoption of a crouching posture. The normal form of the Jesus prayer is: “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner.” This is repeated slowly as one prays and forms a focus for the attention, enabling the intellect to be free of images and receptive to the divine presence. The experience of union with God is often described as an experience of vision of the uncreated light of the Godhead (deity*). It is common when praying the Jesus prayer to use a knotted rope with, usually, 100 knots, not primarily to count the number of times it is repeated, but rather as an aid to concentration and the establishment of a regular rhythm. This practice is seen as a way of attaining inner stillness and of finding the heart, the center of being, the organ of prayer. It was originally a monastic practice. The 18th-century hesychast anthology, the *Philokalia*, made it more widely available, especially through the Old Slavonic translation by Païssy Velichkovsky. A notable example of the use of the prayer by someone who seems to have had a peasant background, and who remained a layman, can be found in the 19th-century *Otkrovennye rasskazy strannika duhovnomu svoemu otcu* (Narratives of a Russian Pilgrim). In the 20th century, the Jesus prayer has become very widespread, even among non-Orthodox.

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- Rule of St. Benedict*, SC 181–86.
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- Cyprian, *De oratione dominica*, CSEL 3, 1, 265–94.
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See also Asceticism; Contemplation; Life, Spiritual; Mystery; Spiritual Theology

Preaching

a) Definition. In the broad sense the Christian tradition* understands by preaching any activity that aims, in various forms, to announce and proclaim the Good News, the gospel*. “Preaching” is thus a synonym of “proclamation.” Activity of this kind is already evident in the New Testament (the preaching of Jesus* and of the early communities) and is rooted in the Old Testament (notably in the “preaching” of the prophets [prophet* and prophecy]). In the narrow sense the term *preaching* designates the discourse, usually restricted to ordained ministers of the Church*, which, within the framework of worship, proposes a present-day interpretation of a passage of the Bible* (in this context we can also speak of sermon or homily). To the extent that this preaching brings forth for today the Word* of God that inhabits Scripture, it is itself the word of God.

b) Some Elements of History. The New Testament provides some indirect traces of preaching in the narrow sense (some of the speeches in Acts; some epistles—especially Hebrews—may have first existed in the form of sermons). The linking of preaching to the interpretation of a passage of the Bible appeared very early as a particularity of Christian religious discourse. From the early Church, preaching made up a fixed element in liturgical worship. Its purpose was to recall the

dogmatic foundations of faith*, but also to exhort believers (parenesis) and to reply to objections (the apologetic function). It also had a strongly catechistic purpose. Toward the end of classical antiquity, there was in the East a perceptible influence of rhetoric on preaching, which sometimes turned it into a discourse for the cultivated; whereas the West more frequently placed the emphasis on a requirement for simplicity and intelligibility (the *sermo humilis* of Augustine*). The history of preaching in the Middle Ages witnessed the juxtaposition of moments of extreme impoverishment and moments of renewal. On the one hand there was a loss of hermeneutic* force and theological sophistication, a lack of passion, and a homiletic “routine” (collections of constantly reused homilies); on the other hand we find exceptionally creative preaching in mendicant orders, in schools of mystics, and elsewhere.

The Protestant Reformation produced a renaissance in preaching, emphatically conceived as the central element of worship. The pastor* was primarily a preacher; as an interpreter of the gospel he repeated in human language the word of God that gave life to human beings. This homiletic effort grew more prominent in modern times and has constantly attempted to respond to all the challenges of modern culture. This characteristic is all the more striking given that the Catholic tradi-

tion continues to privilege ritual language, especially in the celebration of the Eucharist* (although Vatican* II reasserted the value of preaching). The same is true in the Orthodox tradition, where preaching has been losing ground to the performance of a liturgy* celebrated in communion* with the heavenly liturgy.

c) *Theological Stakes.* Preaching is at the service of the dynamics of the word of God. The fact that it is anchored in the gospel links it directly with the New Testament dimension of the kerygma: its reading of the text is aimed at bringing to life the gospel contained in Scripture, so that it is, in effect, a constantly renewed repetition, in new contexts, of the word of God made flesh in Jesus Christ. This aspect was emphasized in the Reformation, which used the vocabulary of the promise* (*promissio*) in this connection. As such, preaching calls its listeners to faith. But this fortunate effect does not depend on the preacher; only the Holy* Spirit can give effectiveness to the word of the preacher, by working for his inspiration and for the receptivity of his listeners.

There are many interfaith debates bearing on the relationship between preaching and the sacraments (sacrament*) in the overall economy of worship. The Catholic tradition gives pride of place to the sacra-

ment, because it alone truly enables participation in divine grace*. The Reformation tradition places great value on preaching because it is, also and above all, a genuine gift of the word of God. That word, however, is given in both forms, so that the Church is in fact made up of two proclamations:

The Church is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered (*Augsburg Confession*, Art. VII). Giving liturgical expression to and renewing that twofold reality remains a task to be accomplished.

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See also Bible; Cult; Exegesis; Gospels; Hermeneutics; Holy Scripture;

Precepts

“I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse. Therefore choose life” (Dt 30:19): thus God* spoke to Israel*. Jesus* said to his disciples: “Enter by the narrow gate. For the gate is wide and the way is easy that leads to destruction, and those who enter by it are many. For the gate is narrow and the way is hard that leads to life, and those who find it are few” (Mt 7:13–14). The oldest Christian texts likewise warn believers that they must walk along the “way of life” and not the “way of death” (*Didache* 1, SC 248, *Epistle of Barnabas* 18–20, SC 172). Clearly, it was always a matter of imperatives: it is salvation* that is at stake. Here, precept is fundamental. Paul, however, speaks on behalf of virginity, celibacy, and widowhood, not as obligations but as recommendations (1 Cor 7), and

thus introduces the idea of counsel. Yet the very fact that he calls them elective shows the predominance of obligation.

The early Christians ran the risk of martyrdom*. One should not provoke it, but it was necessary to die rather than apostatize. Sometimes, even the avoidance of martyrdom was judged to be a sin*. Thus, Cyprian*, who went into hiding during one of the persecutions, was criticized for the safety he enjoyed while others were dying, so he came back and died as a martyr. There was no question, in this case, of shirking his duty any longer.

After the Peace* of the Church*, when there was no longer any danger in being a Christian, the fear of half-heartedness and conformism peopled the desert with

hermits. They did not, however, choose this life as if it was a question of one option among others: they were penitents struggling to be saved, whether it be Anthony (c. 251–356) and his fellow anchorites (solitary hermits), or Pachomius (c. 290–346) and his cenobites. The cenobitic (communal) life was also considered to be more severe than the life of hermits, because of the obedience that was necessary to it. Yet, in all these cases, the monks thought that they were doing no more than their duty and saw themselves as “unworthy servants” (Lk 17:10).

The movement became more strictly communal under the *Rules* of St. Basil* (358–64) and St. Benedict (c. 540), which structured monastic life in the East and in the West. Here, too, men and women accepted these rules, not as counsels, but as “precepts of the Master” and as means of being “partakers of his kingdom” (Prologue to the *Rule* of St. Benedict, SC 181).

However, when attention was turned to Christians in general, their duties were presented quite differently. Ambrose*, for example, borrowed from Cicero (*De officiis*) the Stoic distinction between “perfect” (*perfectum, primum, rectum, absolutum*) and “moderate” (*medium, commune*) duty (*officium*) and used this distinction to interpret the Gospels (*De officiis ministrorum*/CUFr 1, 11, 36–39; 3, 2, 10), for example, the episode of the rich young man (Mt 19:16–22). The youth had kept the commandments, only to be told by Jesus that in order to obtain eternal life*—to be “perfect”—he must abandon his wealth and follow Jesus. Ambrose flinches from this boundless duty, interpreting “If you would be perfect” to mean: “If you wish to exceed what is required by the law.” In Ambrose’s view, this youth was already a “moderate” (yet adequate) disciple. If he was to do more than that, by loving his enemies, praying for his detractors, and so on, then he could become a “perfect” disciple. Accordingly, for God there are two weights and two measures.

The vocabulary developed after Ambrose, but one still finds the same idea in the contrast between precept and counsel. The precept is an explicit obligation (often a prohibition) prescribing what is necessary for salvation; the counsel is the elective choice of the most expeditious means of attaining it. In practice, precepts indicated all that is required for peaceable living in this world, and counsels were identified with the vows of religious orders (poverty, chastity, and obedience) (see Thomas* Aquinas, *ST Ia IIae*, q. 108, a. 4). Moral instruction was thus divided into exhortations to follow counsel, on the one hand, and closely defined precepts on the other. Some Scholastics (Scholasticism*), such as Alexander of Hales (c. 1186–1245), Bonaventure*, and Aquinas, even accepted the idea that “works of supererogation”—a term derived from Luke 10:35 in the

text of the Vulgate—yields for the church a surplus of merit from which Christians of mediocre zeal could benefit (indulgences*).

This weakening of the gospel scandalized more fervent Christians, such as those in Franciscan circles, who expressed doubts about the existence of a moral double standard. John Wyclif (c. 1330–84) thought that poverty was a condition to which the church as a whole was called, and that, for priests (priesthood*) at least, a counsel must have the force of a precept; the church could not be involved with property without compromise with sinful structures (*De civili dominio* III, 14). Luther*, for personal reasons, rejected the tradition of “counsels of perfection,” and, for theological reasons, inveighed against the very notion of counsel, which seemed to him to imply a choice that took something away from the primacy of the will and commands of God. Every individual Christian, he argues, is obliged to obey all the requirements of the Sermon on the Mount (WA 32, 299–301). This position was echoed by Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), who derided the idea that one could do more for God’s sake than one is obliged to by him (42 *Articles* 13, “Articles of Religion,” in E.C.S. Gibson, *The 39 Articles of the Church of England*, London 1896). From the 13th century onward, there was a continual dispute between those for whom everything had to be a precept, and those who maintained the distinction between precept and counsel: Waldensians (Waldensian*) versus Franciscans, the Synod of Pistoia (1786) versus the Council of Trent*, Jansenists versus Jesuits, Bossuet (1627–1704) versus Fénelon (1651–1715).

Within Catholicism*, the distinction between what is imperative and what is counseled has nourished the moral double standard identified with religious orders and lay life. Within Protestantism*, the affirmation of a single morality tended in practice to mute or marginalize the stronger forms of witness. By presenting some moral maxims as advisory, the Catholic tradition* encouraged the laity* to be spiritually content with little. By making all maxims into commands, the Protestant tradition unwittingly opened the door to a liberalism that considers them all choices. Thus, casuistry* and antinomianism are the twin children of this debate.

Nevertheless, some Doctors (Doctors* of the Church), such as Aquinas (*ST IIa IIae*, q. 184, a. 3; q. 186, a. 2) or François de Sales (*Traité de l’amour de Dieu* 8, 5–9, in *Oeuvres*, Pléiade collection; Salesian spirituality*), while accepting Ambrose’s interpretation of the theme of the rich young man, add that there is not all that much difference between fidelity in marriage* and monastic fidelity. “Perfection consists essentially in precepts” (*ST IIa IIae*, q. 184, a. 3), since love* is the greatest precept (*ibid.*).

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See also Asceticism; Ethics; Holiness; Imitation of Christ; Jansenism; Lay/Laity; Monasticism; Religious Life; Works

Predestination

Although it is a doctrine that, when understood in terms of the eternal gratuity of divine grace*, does not lack a biblical foundation, in the history of Western theology* the notion of predestination has been very much linked to the personal and radical interpretation proposed by Augustine*. A rereading of the biblical texts and of the Greek Fathers* will enable us to distinguish between Christian faith* and the teaching of a doctor of the Church.

a) Scripture. In order to describe the abundance of God*'s gifts to us and the response that we ought to have, Scripture uses a variety of themes among which predestination represents only one element. It should never be isolated as though it were the only word capable of giving an account of the totality of the mystery* of God and of the initiatives of his love*.

The substance of the Bible*'s testimony about Israel* is that this people* exists and wishes to exist in history* only by reason of being freely chosen by God (Ex 3:7–10). This choice is independent of any merit. (Dt 26:5–10). It is irrevocable (Is 41:14–16). Sin* confirms its gratuitous character (Hos 2:16–20; 11:8–10), and the certainty of this surprising choice penetrates and soothes the heart of every believer (Ps 16:8–11). Understood in this way, the choice always presupposes human liberty*, for human beings must ratify it (Dt 30:15–20) and respond to it with a permanent conversion* (Jer 4:1; 15:19), which in turn brings forth the promise* of a new covenant* (Ez 36:23–33).

The New Testament fully enters into this inherited perspective. Opening his mouth to "utter what has been hidden since the foundation of the world" (Mt 13:35), Christ* announces the coming of the kingdom* of God, to be made known to "all nations" (Mt

28:19) and to all creation* (Mk 16:15). The Kingdom is indeed "the gospel of grace" (Acts 20:24), the grace of God "who desires all people to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth*" (1 Tm 2:4).

In both Old and New Testaments the full and irreplaceable forethought of God is affirmed simultaneously with the total responsibility of the human individual. A synthesis of the two is never presented, nor could it be considered as a kind of compromise. God's initiative and the free response of human beings always go together; neither of the two terms can be sacrificed to the other, for they are not of the same order, although they remain rigorously inseparable.

This is the paradox that we need to appropriate if we wish to understand that God "chose us in him [Christ] before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him" (Eph 1:4).

b) Greek Fathers. Whereas in their understanding of faith the Greek Fathers considered principally the person* of Christ and its Trinitarian implications, they were not subject to the obsession with predestination that was to dominate Latin theology, particularly from Augustine onward. They had no hesitation in accepting divine foreknowledge, which for them as for Scripture was derived from the creative transcendence of God. But they were fiercely determined to understand it in a manner that would not contradict human freedom.

Arguing against the Gnostics, who denied free will, Irenaeus* reminded them that God "made [man] free, possessing from the beginning his own ability to choose, and his own soul*, to take the advice of God voluntarily and without constraint. Indeed, violence* is not associated with God (*Bia gar theô ou prosestin*),

but good advice always attends Him.” (*Adv. Haer.* IV. 37. 1). Five centuries later, it was just as unthinkable for John of Damascus that God could “assault virtue*” (*oude biazetai tèn aretèn*; *De fide orthodoxa* II, PG 94. 972 A). It was no less unthinkable for the Greek Fathers, as Basil* of Caesarea stated in the homily *Quod Deus non est auctor malorum* (PG 31. 329–53), that despite his omnipotence* God was the author of evil*. Moreover, because they saw evil primarily as privation, its existence in sin did not imply any positive action by God; it was due only to the fault of human beings (315 A). Origen* could thus take literally the words of Matthew 7:23, and say of the wicked that “I [the Lord] never knew you,” because knowing them in these circumstances would mean not disavowing what they did (*Comm. in epistulam ad Rom.* VII, PG 14. 1125 b-c). As a consequence, he could not “predestine” them, in the ambiguous sense of the word, a sense against which the Greek Fathers guarded themselves when they found the term in Scripture. On the other hand, John* Chrysostom was not afraid to warn that, if “God has made us holy, it is up to us to stay holy” (*epoièsen hēmas autos hagiōus, alla dei meinai hagiōus* [*In epistulam ad Eph.* Hom II. 2, PG 62. 17–22]).

This approach suggests that the doctrine of Pelagius (Pelagianism*) posed no problems for the Greek Fathers. On the other hand, they were troubled by everything that might produce an erroneous identification of Christian predestination with Manichean fate. This is why, according to John of Damascus, who crystallizes the thinking of the Greek Fathers, “it is important to know that God has foreknowledge of all but he does not predestine all” (*pant men proginōskei, ou panta de proorizei* [969 b–972A]); “He knows in advance what is in our power but he does not predestine it” (*proginōskei gar ta eph’hēmin, ou proorizei de auta* [972 A]).

c) *Augustine and Latin Theology.* A remarkable teacher in his reflections on the gratuitous nature of grace, Augustine enters the realm of the ambiguous when he turns to predestination. In this area he bears responsibility for the ambiguities that were to weigh so heavily on the West. From as early as his question LXVIII on Romans 9:20 (*De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*), Augustine takes the view that everything depends on the evident fact that the totality of mankind became in Adam* a *massa damnata*, deprived thereby of any right to salvation* (see e.g., *Enchiridion* VIII. 23–30; *De civitate Dei* XX. 1). Over this *massa damnata* reigns predestination, which is in fact only a narrow predestination. Indeed, predestination “is nothing but the foreknowledge and anticipation of the ben-

efits of God through which those who are delivered are infallibly delivered” (*De praedestinatione sanctorum* 35). This formula is clearly limited because according to Augustine not all members of the *massa damnata* are predestined to salvation, nor even capable of being so. It is in fact necessary that a certain number not be saved, in order for those who are saved to know that they are saved. “It is a well established conclusion,” he writes, that God does not give his grace according to the merits of those who receive it, but according to the free disposition of his will, in order that the person who is glorified be in no way glorified in himself but in the Lord (*De dono perseverantiae* XII. 28).

Who would wish to call into question the gratuitous nature of grace? But in order to recognize it, is it necessary to say that the grace of salvation will not be granted to all? Yes, answers Augustine: “By giving it to certain ones and regardless of any merit, God shows his intention that it be gratuitous and thereby justify its name of grace... *Good*, in the benefit granted to some, God is *just* in the punishment inflicted on others; even more, he is good toward everyone, because favor does not injure anyone’s rights.” (ibid.) In other words, the grace whose absolutely gratuitous nature Augustine has admirably established with respect to the individual would require, with reference to humanity as a whole, a predestination necessarily restricted in its distribution.

Understanding Paul to have said that “in Adam [*epi* interpreted as meaning *in*] all have sinned” (Rom 5:12), Augustine sees them as inexorably damned. In fact, Paul teaches the opposite: “For God has consigned all to disobedience, *that* (*hina*) he may have mercy on all” (Rom 11:32). In omitting this statement by Paul in favor of the preconceived idea that he has of restricted predestination, Augustine, despite his usually scrupulous respect for Scripture, is forced to correct 1 Timothy 2:4. He proposes to replace “all” by a “many” of his own invention (*Contra Julianum pelagianum* IV. viii. 44). Even if he accepts the reading, “God wishes to save all,” this is, he says, “so that we might understand by that all the predestined, for the whole human race is in them” (*De correptione et gratia* XIV. 44). As early as the *Enchiridion*, Augustine had confined himself within the tautology according to which “none is saved other than those whom God wished to save” (XXVIII. 103), and Augustine finds it necessary to think that God did not wish to save all in order that salvation might remain truly gratuitous for those who are saved.

On this point Thomas* Aquinas did not deviate from Augustine’s thinking. Indeed, for him, God’s salvific will remains limited by predestination (*ST* Ia. q. 23). Prevailing over the authority* of Scripture, Augustine

was therefore invoked to support a kind of predestinarianism that creates despair among human beings and is unworthy of God, such as we find in Gottschalk in the ninth century, Calvin* in the 16th, and Jansenism* in the 17th.

In order to counter this position, the magisterium* rejected, in the name of Scripture, any divine predestination to evil (*DS* 621ff. and 625ff.); it maintained the existence of free will for all human beings (*DS* 622), the will toward universal salvation in God according to 1 Timothy 2:4 (*DS* 623), and the death of Christ on the cross for all people (*DS* 2005). A truly scriptural interpretation of predestination was thereby left open.

d) Return to Scripture. Because the mystery of predestination is bound up with the depths of the God of revelation* (Rom 11:33–36), it is necessary to go beyond any thinking based on the divine attributes*, however essential they may be (goodness, justice*, mercy), that would fail to see these attributes as the outpouring of the Trinitarian love of God, who has given us so much in giving us his Son (*see* Rom 8:32) and in destining us to be conformed to his image (*see* Rom 8:28ff.).

In this light the mystery of predestination is first and foremost the mystery of our eternal election in Jesus Christ, “to the praise* of his glorious grace*, with which he has blessed us in the Beloved” (Eph 1:6). It goes without saying that a love of this kind cannot fail to imply on God’s part an infinite respect for the freedom of its beneficiaries. “He predestined us for adoption through Jesus Christ, according to the purpose of his will” (Eph 1:5), this is by reason of our radical difference from his Son and from him, a difference that he intended to respect while at the same time he “has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places” (Eph 1:3).

Sin, which dramatically confirms the difference, is, however, not the cause of election, because that election is nothing but God’s intention “before the foundation of the world” (Eph 1:4), hence before any consideration of our responsibility, good or evil, in history. This election nevertheless takes place through our redemption in “the blood of Christ” (Eph 1:7). In him, forgiveness is given to us unstintingly by God, because “where sin increased, grace abounded all the more” (Rom 5:20). This forgiveness, like our election in Jesus Christ, is rooted in the eternity* of the love of God (*see* 1 Pt 1:20).

It follows from this that predestination cannot possibly restrict the scope of redemption. Through the intention for universal salvation (1 Tm 2:4) that characterizes it, redemption corresponds in history to the “mystery of his will, according to his purpose, which he set forth in Christ as a plan for the fullness of

time, to unite all things in him” (Eph 1:9f.), a purpose that is itself without limits.

As a consequence, the scriptural passages (notably Rom 9) that seem to exclude from election and salvation some rather than others must be understood in relation to the economy of history (grace *gratis data*) and not to the eschatology* of salvation (grace *gratum faciens*).

This is why “nor height nor depth” of Romans 8:39, so dear to Augustine, designates the infinity of God’s love for the world, and in no way a presumed partiality for its realization in history. God’s conduct is as free and as gratuitous when addressed to *all* as though it applied only to *some*. It does not have to be restricted to *some* in order to be gratuitous for *all*. It does not depend on the limited number of its beneficiaries, but on the free purpose of love given unstintingly to all. There is thus a concord between the reservations of the Greek Fathers concerning a predestination contrary to human freedom and Augustine’s legitimate concern to preserve the gratuitous character of predestination, without compromising its complete universality; Only such a universality is worthy of a God who reveals himself as love itself and who can only be love in all truth.

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GUSTAVE MARTELET

See also Augustine of Hippo; Eschatology; Gnosis; Grace; Hell; Judgement; Manicheanism; Pelagianism; Purgatory

Presbyter/Priest

1. New Testament

a) Vocabulary. In the New Testament there are twelve occurrences of *presbuteros*, eight of which refer to the ministry* typical of the Church* of Jerusalem*, probably inspired by the Jewish council of elders. These presbyters are associated with the apostles (apostle*) or with James (Acts 11:30, 15:2, 15:4, 15:6, 15:22, 15:23, 16:4, 21:18). They appear in the margins of Paul's activity (Acts 14:23, 20:17) and are already clearly described in 1 Timothy 5:17 and Titus 1:5; they are also mentioned in James 5:14 and 1 Peter 5:1.

b) Functions. In Jerusalem the presbyters participated actively in the administration of the Church; elsewhere, they were identified with the *episcopos* (bishop*) and were required to have the same qualifications.

2. History

a) Early Church. After the generalization of the moniscopate, completed around 170, the institution of the presbyter, subordinate to the bishop, maintained a collegial form. With the arrival of parishes, presbyters preached as of right and exercised a priestly ministry. They were trained by the bishop or by experienced presbyters. By the fourth century they were part of a hierarchical clergy. A system of major and minor orders* became general; presbyters occupied a rank superior to deacons (deacon*); they had to observe ritual continence. This development led to a certain religious disqualification of the laity (lay*/laity), something that was aggravated by the general condi-

tion of illiteracy that prevailed after the fall of the Roman Empire.

b) Medieval Church. In the 12th and 13th centuries the connection was loosened between the office of presbyter and pastoral charge, and the ministry of the presbyter was interpreted primarily in sacerdotal terms. The marriage* of priests was rendered invalid (can. 7 of Lateran* II, 1139, *COD* 198). At the urging of the mendicants, absolute ordination* (with no pastoral duties) became frequent. The system of benefices was set up; an economic title could now replace the ecclesiological title of ordination; there grew up a proletariat of untrained "altarists," assigned to the celebration of basic masses. Of them it was "asked only to consecrate; all they need is the knowledge required for the observation of the rite of the performance of the sacrament*" (Thomas* Aquinas, *ST suppl.* q. 36. a. 2. ad 1), whereas holders of wealthy benefices evaded their pastoral duties.

A parallel doctrinal development occurred, in which the notion of sacramental character played a significant role. It appeared with Peter of Corbeil, who described it as the character of baptism* (c. 1160) and was later developed by William of Auvergne and Alexander of Hales. Thomas Aquinas conceived of sacramental character essentially as a deputation to worship (*ST IIIa.* q. 63. a. 6). The consecration of the eucharistic body thus became the principal function of priests, and the care of the mystical body of Christ* a secondary function, entrusted to only some among them. This concentration on eucharistic power (in a context in which the mass had already been largely pri-

vatized) ultimately produced a series of dissociations: The ministry of the word and the care of souls became secondary constituents of the office of presbyter, the common priesthood* of the baptized fell into near oblivion, the three-part division of the ordained ministry was organized around the priesthood, with the episcopacy distinguished from it only by a higher jurisdiction* (a position already held by Peter Lombard), and the diaconate reduced to a stage in a career path, because neither bishop nor deacon had any specific power in the celebration of the Eucharist*.

c) *Reformation and the Counter Reformation.* The reform of the clergy's morals was not the principal purpose of the Reformation, but because it wished to return to the Scriptures it applied a doctrinal program that emphasized the singleness of the pastoral ministry (abolition of minor orders and the diaconate; a single ordination even in circumstances in which the *épiskopè* was preserved), a minimization of its priestly character (the pastor* was a preacher within a priestly people), and the end of clerical characteristics (abolition of monasticism*, of the celibacy of the clergy, and of jurisdictional privileges the clergy immunity from civil processes; and a loss of interest in the theory of the indelible character of ordination).

The disciplinary decrees of the Council of Trent* brought about a moral and spiritual reform of priests—for example, giving rise to seminaries—and also compelled priests to deliver homilies and to catechize (sess. 24, can. 4; *COD* 763). At the doctrinal level, however, the Council merely reiterated the medieval conception that the Reformation had challenged, anathematizing the following propositions in session 23: “There is no visible and external priesthood in the New Covenant...[nor] a power to consecrate the true body of Christ and the true blood of Christ...those who do not preach are not priests” (can. 1, *COD* 743); “outside the priesthood, there are no other major and minor orders” (can. 2, *ibid.*); “ordination is not a sacrament truly and properly instituted by Christ the Lord” (can. 3, *ibid.*); “in the Catholic Church there is no hierarchy* instituted by divine will” (can. 6, *COD* 744).

Post-Tridentine language about priests was characterized by a few doctrinal additions. For example, the *Roman Catechism for Priests* (1566), known as the catechism “of the Council of Trent,” teaches that “they are rightfully called not only angels* but even gods because they represent among us the power (omnipotence*, divine) and majesty of the immortal God*” (ch. 26, §1; see also the *Traité des Saints Ordres* by J.-J. Olier, as revised by Tronson [1676]). Influenced by the regular clergy* (including the Jesuits) and by the French school of spirituality (in which the Sulpicians

played an important role), the post-Tridentine clergy was characterized by a solid piety and a serious pastoral concern, following a model that was perpetuated up to Vatican* II.

3. *Contribution of Vatican II*

The most productive ideas concerning priests did not come from *PO*, a decree focused more on spirituality than on dogma*, and one that juxtaposed without critical analysis some rather heterogeneous theological elements (Cordes 1972). For example, ordination is conceived of principally as a consecration for mission*. The concept of the office of presbyter, which was intentionally given prominence in the final drafts of the document, is poorly linked with the concept of priesthood, because a choice was made to designate by this term priests and bishops together, and also because the priestly ministry in the precise sense is not clearly related to the two other functions that devolve on priests, the ministry of the word and the governance of the people of God. Priests are also charged with the representation of Christ the Head (*PO* 2. 6. 12), a new idea, and one that Vatican II never extended to bishops; and it is not clear whether this representation of Christ is permanent in their persons or in the exercise of their ministry. This Christocentric emphasis pushes the pneumatological dimension of their ministry into the background, which handicaps the necessary collaboration between the community of faithful and individuals in the local* church. In fact, the relation of priests to the universal Church seems to precede their bonds with the diocesan church (*PO* 2. 10).

New impetus in this area comes from an understanding of the Church as a communion*, as expressed in chapters 2 and 3 of *LG*, which locates ministers—in respective order—in the people of God, in the designation of priests as “presbyters” *presbyteri*, in the final title of *PO* (previously entitled *de Clericis* and then *de Sacerdotibus*), and in the religious requalification of the laity, who participate in the threefold royal, priestly, and prophetic role of Christ (*LG* 10, 11, 12, 34, 35, 36), with baptism establishing the equal dignity and common responsibility of all in the Church (*LG* 32). These shifts have begun to find expression (not only theological but institutional) in the increased value placed on local Churches: the institution of diocesan synods (synod*), in which the laity are in the majority, and especially the flourishing of pastoral councils at various levels of the life of the Church augur well for a desirable collaboration between individuals and the community of faithful at a time when priests are becoming rare in the West.

In thirty years the number of priests has declined by half in France: from 40,000 (1965) to 21,000 (1995).

The stable average of 108 ordinations per year (for 94 dioceses) between 1981 and 1995 indicates the structural character of a pastoral question that is as theological as it is spiritual. A well thought out theology* of the vocation for the ordained ministries and the relation between the person of the minister and the purpose of the ministry is a priority.

4. Ecumenical Convergences

Catholicism* has a merely disciplinary dispute with the Orthodox Church, in reference to married priests. As for the Reformation churches engaged in bilateral dialogues with the Catholic Church, they are troubled by the ordination of men alone (Apostolic Letter *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* [1994]), by the insistence on celibacy (encyclical *Sacerdotalis Caelibatus* [1967]), and by some particularities of the teaching of the popes (pope*), for example, the apostolic exhortation *Pastores dabo vobis* (1992), in which John Paul II asserts insistently that the character of the order configures the priest to Christ in a manner distinct from baptism, and in which he uses the term *priest* three times more often than the term *pres-*

byter. The bilateral commissions for theological dialogue nevertheless consider that the remaining differences are not doctrinally divisive (e.g., the International Anglican-Catholic Commission, *Ministry and Ordination* [1973]; the International Lutheran-Catholic Commission, *The Ministry in the Church* [1981], and on the national level, in Germany, *Are the Anathemas of the Sixteenth Century Still Relevant?* [1987]).

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See also **Bishop; Deacon; Ministry; Priesthood; Vatican II, Council of**

Presbyterianism. See **Congregationalism; Puritanism**

Prescience, Divine. See **Knowledge, Divine**

Prescriptivism. See **Ethics, Autonomy of**

Priest. *See* **Presbyter/Priest**

Priesthood

A. Biblical Theology

1. Old Testament

a) Vocabulary. In Hebrew, “priest” is *kohen* (about 750 times; etymology unclear) in relation to the cult* of the God* of Israel*, and occasionally also to that of other gods; *komer* (3 times only) is used solely in relation to the latter (2 Kgs 23:5, Hos 10:5, Sg 1:4). The expression for “high priest,” *ha-kohen ha-gadol* (without addition), does not appear until after the Exile. The “Levite” or *lewi* (345 times; etymology: dedicated, or rather “attached” [to God]; *see* de Vaux), is a religious official, a priest, or sometimes, an auxiliary to the priesthood. In the Septuagint, *kohen* is translated as *hiereus*, which in Latin becomes *sacerdos* or, occasionally, *pontifex* (Ex 28:38, 1 Chr 9:10; translations* of the Bible).

b) Functions. Priests delivered oracles: when consulted, they requested a response from God. They gave blessings (blessing*) (Nm 6:22–27, Sir 50:20f.). They gave instruction and made decisions in matters of law* (Dt 18:10f. and 24:8; Hos 4:6; Jer 18:18; Ez 22:26). Once the sanctuary at Jerusalem* had eclipsed the others, priests gradually took responsibility for rendering sacrifice* at the altar.

Accordingly, priestly functions took on a variety of forms during the history* of Israel. However, this set of functions (Dt 33:8–11) may be unified by a single characteristic: that of mediator. Priests were priests “by status” (de Vaux 1960) and hereditary right. In various ways, they assured the permanence of order in the cosmos* for the sake of life in society*.

c) History. The priesthood was always connected with the sanctuaries at Dan (Jgs 17–18 is an archaic narrative of the installation of a Levite), Bethel (Am

7:10–17), and elsewhere. Shiloh was destroyed (Jer 7:12–14 and 26:6; Ps 78:60) and its priests were deposed (1 Sm 2:27–36), but one of their descendants, the Levite Abiatar, coexisted at Jerusalem (2 Sm 15:24–29, 17:15, 19:12) with Zadok (of local pre-Israelite stock?), whose lineage became dominant after the death of David and up to the Exile. In the last days of the monarchy, the Levites were compelled to abandon their sanctuary for the one authorized temple*, at Jerusalem. After the Exile, the priests of the reconstructed Temple were divided into Zadokites and Aaronites. These latter probably represented a resurgence of the lineage of Abiatar, but they linked that lineage to the brother of Moses and to the priestly traditions that made him a priest (a notion that is absent from Ex 32, Nm 12, etc.). Early in the second century B.C.E., the high priests were subjected to the domination of Hellenizers, until the revolt of the Maccabees, which was led by a priest (in 167 B.C.E.: 1 Macc 2); he then founded a new priestly lineage, the Asmoneans. The high priest was gradually confirmed as a substitute for the king, and received that title in 104–103 B.C.E. With this title, the priestly function lost all independence, until it disappeared along with the Temple. Nevertheless, its central place and its majesty have always remained in the memory of Israel.

d) Theological Themes. The various aspects of the priesthood reflect differences among periods, places, and schools of thought.

The uprooted Levites are praised for their zeal, but condemned for their violence* (Gn 34:25–31 and 49:5ff.); they are also compared to the poor and to foreigners (Dt 12:12, 12:18f., 14:27, 14:29, 26:11ff.), and given much the same status. Ezekiel denigrates the Levites (44:6–31), but the writer of the Chronicles

makes a more positive judgment (2 Chr 29:34; see 30:3 and 30:22), linking them to the hymnal activity of David. The Psalms* show the influence of the Levites, whose special offering was music* and song.

Melchizedek, King and Priest of Canaan, symbolizes the recognition of a pre-Israelite priesthood in the traditions of Jerusalem. His title, “priest of God Most High” (Gn 14:18), and his God “possessor of heaven and earth” (14:19), introduce the tension between Jewish priesthood and pagan priesthood that was to be fertile for both (paganism*). Abraham receives the blessing of the Canaanite (Gn 12:3; universalism*).

Those texts in the Pentateuch that originate from the priestly caste (Bible*) trace the divine plan for the whole world (Gn 1:1–2 and 4a; 9:9–17). In the Mesopotamian myth* of the *Enuma Elish*, the creation* had already been presented as the victory of the hero Marduk over the monster Tiamat, immediately followed by the making of the heavens into a replica of the dwelling of the higher gods (col. IV, 135–45). The destiny of the priesthood is to take an interest in the whole of existence, in order to locate the steps that lead on to holiness*, the fundamental category of its activities.

Israel may have been the “kingdom of priests” (Ex 19:6)—composed of priests, or for the sake of a priesthood benefiting all the nations?—or it may have been a “realm of priests”—a nation governed by priests, as was the case (see Ps 110:4) after the Exile (Cazelles). In any case, the context is a universal one: “all the earth is mine” (Ex 19:5b).

To this period of prosperity for the priesthood, thus understood, (before the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes) there corresponds the enthusiastic portrayal of a high priest by Ben Sirach. In Ecclesiasticus 50, the high priest, when officiating, is compared to the morning star, the Moon, the Sun, flowers, stones, and trees. According to Ecclesiasticus 24 (the praise of Wisdom*), he fulfills the duties of a steward of creation on behalf of all.

A person who offers and, normally, immolates a sacrificial victim hands that victim to the priest so that it may be presented to God in accordance with the rituals of sacrifice. This crucial function reached its apogee when the high priest, who had already received anointment as a king after the Exile (see Ps 110:4, Dn 9:25f., 2 Macc 1:10), celebrated the ritual of the Day of Atonement (Lv 16).

2. New Testament

The Epistle to the Hebrews adopts the perspective of the whole of the Old Testament by situating the activity of Jesus* in relation to the actions of the high priest on the Day of Atonement (Heb 2, 17; expiation*), but

the other books of the New Testament do not make such an explicit reference to the priesthood of Christ*. Nevertheless, we should not conclude that their authors were capable of disengaging themselves from such an essential aspect of the religion of Israel.

Luke’s Gospel* begins with a family of priests in the Temple: this was the start of a long transition. It continued after Jesus had departed: the apostles (apostle*) worshipped regularly at the Temple (Lk 24:53, Acts 3:1, 5:12, 5:42) and some of the priests were converted (Acts 6:7). Paul’s expulsion (Acts 21:30) marked the end of this process. Luke tries to show that, despite the ruptures in the tradition, if there had no longer been any priesthood, then the priest Zacharias and Aaron’s descendant Elizabeth would not have been the first to welcome the Messiah*.

Nevertheless, in the Gospels the Greek word *hie-reus* (11:3) is almost always replaced by *archiereus*, “high priest” (25:3) or *archiereis*, “high priests” (58:3), who are presented as the principal agents in the death* of Jesus. As for Jesus, he neither attributes the title of “priest” to himself, nor receives that title from others: he does nothing that has any connection with the institution of the priesthood, nor does he make any link between it and his disciples (ministry*). In its own way, the Epistle to the Hebrews emphasizes the distance: “Now if he were on earth, he would not be a priest at all” (Heb. 8:4), since he was not a Levite (7:13f.). Indeed, Jesus becomes the one and only high priest solely by virtue of his passion*, through which he offers up the only true sacrifice. This suggests that we should identify his priesthood first and foremost by reference to its effects.

According to Matthew 28:19f., Jesus invested the 11 disciples with a duty to instruct that has more in common with priesthood than with prophecy. Christians form a *basileion hierateuma*, a “royal priesthood” (1 Pt 2:9; Rev 1:6, 5:10, 20:6; see Ex 9:6). Those who are in Christ are capable of forming the temple of God (1 Cor 3:16f.; Eph 2:21f.) solely by way of the priesthood of Christ. Jesus takes up his role not just in relation to the Temple, but within the Temple (Lk 19:47, 21:37; Jn 18:20), for the sake of a teaching that is to replace the priestly Torah.

One could therefore propose that in this way the priestly aspect of Jesus pervades the whole of the gospel tradition* (even though this position is hardly represented at all in contemporary exegesis* of the New Testament). Like priestly wisdom in Ecclesiasticus 24 (Sir 50), or cosmic wisdom in Sg 18:24, Christ, as the Son (filiation*) and Logos (Word*), is mediator for the whole of the universe. It is this idea that is expressed in John 17, a passage that Cyril* of Alexandria (PG 74, 505) calls “the prayer of the high priest.”

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- R. de Vaux (1960), *Les Institutions de l’Ancien Testament*, Paris, t. II.
- A. George (1970), “Sacerdoce,” *VThB2* (7th Ed. 1991), 1153–63.
- A. Vanhoye (1980), *Prêtres anciens, prêtre nouveau selon le Nouveau Testament*, Paris.
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- H. Cazelles (1987), “Royaume de prêtres et Nation consacrée” (Ex 19, 6), in *Autour de l’Exode (Études)*, Paris, 289–94.

- Y. Simoens (1990), “La création selon l’Écriture. Commencement, milieu et fin du dessein unique de Dieu,” *Christus* 147, 290–303.
- M. D. Rehm (1992), “Levites and Priests,” *AncBD*, 297–310.

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See also Cosmos; Creation; Cult; Expiation; Law and Christianity; Ministry; People of God; Sacrifice; Society; Temple; Wisdom

B. Universal Priesthood

a) Definition. “Universal priesthood” refers to the priesthood shared in by all Christians by virtue of their participation in the priesthood of Christ*. Other terms are sometimes used to express similar ideas: the *priesthood of all believers* or the *common priesthood*. While Protestants have most often emphasized universal priesthood, all Christian traditions affirm a “universal priesthood” of some sort.

b) New Testament. Several Old Testament texts state that Israel* will be not just a people with priests (priesthood*), but a priestly kingdom (Ex 19:6; Is 61:6). Various New Testament texts apply these statements to the church*, in particular 1 Peter 2:9: “You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood.” Here, the people as a whole are spoken of as a “priesthood” (*hierateuma*). Similarly, Revelation 1:6 states that Christ has “made us to be a kingdom, priests serving his God and Father” (see also Rev 5:10 and 20:6). The linking of priest and kingdom, as in 1 Peter, echoes Exodus 19:6. Here, however, not just the entire people, but individual Christians are spoken of as “priests” (*hiereis*). The claim that the church constitutes a priestly people is an aspect of the claim that the promises (promise*) made to Israel are fulfilled in the church. For 1 Peter, this royal priesthood exists in order “that you might proclaim the mighty acts of him who called you into his marvelous light.” Revelation speaks only of serving God as priests, without further specification. Any relation between this priesthood and the priesthood of Christ (itself extensively discussed in the New Testament only in the Epistle to the Hebrews) is not developed.

Christians are not called priests elsewhere in the New Testament, either individually or as a group. Paul does not use priestly language in urging the Roman

Christians to present their bodies as a living and holy sacrifice* to God (Rom 12:1), but a clear idea of Christians as priests cannot be found in his writings.

c) Patristic Period and Middle Ages. Statements similar to those in 1 Peter and Revelation about Christians as priests can be found in authors of the second century: sometimes the entire body of Christians is spoken of (Justin, *Dial.* 116), sometimes each Christian (Irenaeus, *Con. Haer.*, 4, 8, 3; 5, 34, 3). In this period, such references to universal priesthood were still made as part of an argument about the relation of the church to Israel or about the distinctive character of Christians as offering right worship to God. Only Tertullian*, during his Montanist period (*Ex. Cas.* 7) seems to have argued from the priestly status of all Christians to the capacity of all Christians to carry out what were coming to be seen as tasks reserved for an ordained priesthood.

Changes in the fourth and fifth centuries, especially the growing identification of priestly standing with the ordained priesthood, led to a qualification of the idea of universal priesthood. Augustine* is typical of this development: commenting on Revelation 20:6, he states that, while every Christian is a priest as a member of Christ, the one true priest, only bishops (bishop*) and presbyters are properly (*proprie*) called priests (*Civ. Dei*, 20:10). For Augustine and the medieval tradition, universal priesthood centered on the self-offering of every Christian to God. It did not find its center in a particular relation to the Eucharist* (see Congar). This priestly status was particularly connected with the anointing that occurs in relation to baptism* (*Enar. Ps.* 26, 2, 2; *Quaest. Ev.* 2, 40).

Thomas* Aquinas restates this Augustinian position.

The sacramental character bestowed in baptism and confirmation* involves a participation in the priesthood of Christ (*ST* III, q. 63. a.3). This priesthood, however, does not relate to a sacramental power to consecrate the Eucharist, but to the offering of spiritual sacrifices, as Paul states in Romans 12:1 (*ST* IIIa, q. 82, a. 1., ad. 2). Peter Lombard's definition of ordination* as granting a "spiritual power" (*Sent.* 4, 24, 13) gave a basis for more precisely distinguishing the ordained priesthood from the universal priesthood. While Augustine still stated that the church offers the Eucharist (*Civ. Dei* 10, 6), Gabriel Biel (c. 1420–95) states that, strictly speaking, the priest offers immediately and the people offer only mediately and spiritually, through the priest (*Canonis missae exposito*, Lec. 22a, 29a).

d) Reformation. The concept of universal priesthood was central to Luther's polemical writings of the early 1520s, especially in his pamphlet *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* and in his appeal *To the German Nobility*. Luther repeats the earlier assertion that all Christians are priests by virtue of their baptism and their participation in Christ through faith* (*WA* 6, 407), but adds that all Christians are *equally* priests (*WA* 6, 564). Whatever ordination does, it does not confer a distinct priestly status or power. Baptism makes every Christian priest, bishop, and pope* (*WA* 6, 408). Universal priesthood thus includes the power (even if not the authorization) to carry out all priestly activities. Echoing 1 Peter, Luther stresses that, as a royal priest, every Christian is empowered to take part in judging doctrine (*WA* 11, 41ff.). Taken together, these assertions undermined the power of the clergy over the laity*. Ordained ministry, while divinely instituted, possesses no unique powers and requires the consent of the priestly people (*WA* 6, 564).

Combined with this polemical use of the concept of universal priesthood is the positive assertion that, as priests, all Christians are called to witness to the gospel and, even more, to intercede before God for others (*WA* 7, 57). While Luther speaks of universal priesthood in relation to individuals and not in relation to the entire church, he does so as part of an understanding of the church as a community of priestly self-offering of each for others.

Luther's thinking about universal priesthood, especially in its relation to ordained ministry, has been interpreted in all sorts of ways, and it remains a subject of controversy among Lutherans. Luther himself never rejected the basic principle of universal priesthood asserted in the early 1520s, but the concept of universal priesthood clearly recedes in his later writings as greater stress falls on the authoritative role of ordained ministry. Melancthon was very cautious in speaking

about universal priesthood and the concept is not explicitly addressed in the Lutheran confessions of faith. Within the pietist movement, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), for example, argued for certain forms of lay witness as an expression of their "spiritual priesthood." Discussion of universal priesthood again became lively among Lutheran theologians in the 19th and 20th centuries in debates about ministry and about authority* in the church after the end of princely rule in the churches.

Calvin mentions, but does not emphasize, the concept of universal priesthood (*Inst.* II.15. 6; IV, 18.17, 19.28), as do various Reformed confessions (e.g., *Second Helvetic Confession*, Ch. 18). Under the term *priesthood of all believers*, universal priesthood became an unquestioned but not widely discussed part of the Calvinist tradition.

The concept of universal priesthood has played a surprisingly small role in the reassertion of the laity within the Protestant churches in the 20th century. Kraemer (1958) argues that the concept of universal priesthood as it has developed in Protestantism* is too individualistic and too tied to anti-Catholic arguments to be useful. Use is rather made of concepts such as "the ministry of the laity," similar to universal priesthood but not burdened with a particular history.

e) Catholicism After the Reformation. The Council of Trent* did not address universal priesthood, except to reject Protestant denials of the special character of ordained priesthood, or the assertion that all Christians are equally priests (*DS* 1768). The *Catechism of the Council of Trent* (1566) essentially repeats the medieval understanding of universal priesthood. A new Catholic emphasis on universal priesthood and the role of the laity began with such 19th-century theologians as Möhler (schools of Tübingen*) and Newman*, and, in the 20th century, papal statements (e.g., *Mediator Dei*, 1947, *DS* 3851).

Vatican* II gave a new emphasis to universal priesthood. In addition to the decree on the lay apostolate, *Apostolicam actuositatem*, the constitution on the church, *Lumen gentium* (*LG*), not only contains a chapter on the laity, but sets a chapter on the people of God before its chapters on the hierarchy* and the laity. Instead of universal priesthood, these texts usually speak of "common priesthood." This common priesthood derives, as before, from the participation of all the baptized in Christ's priesthood (*LG* 10). More than in earlier texts, however, consequences are drawn from common priesthood for the life of the church, including, for example, the right of the laity to "full, conscious, and active participation" in the liturgy* (*SC* 14). While universal priesthood is mentioned in the de-

cree on the lay apostolate (2, 10), it plays no important role there. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1993) returns to the traditional division among Christ as priest, church as priestly people, and laity and priests as participating in Christ's priesthood in distinct ways (1546). The ministerial priesthood is said to serve the common priesthood (1547).

f) Ecumenical Problems. While ecumenical discussions have begun with an appeal to "the vocation of the whole people of God" as the context for addressing difficult issues related to ministry (*see, e.g., Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry*, M, 1), universal priesthood has not played a significant role in these discussions. The "Ministry" section of *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry* makes no mention of universal priesthood in its opening chapter, where it is merely implicit in its definition of ministerial priesthood (M 17, with commentary). Some Protestant churches (e.g., the National Alliance of Lutheran Churches of France) were critical of *Bap-*

tism, Eucharist, Ministry because of this. Most ecumenical dialogues have agreed on the concept of universal priesthood as distinct from ministerial priesthood, and have agreed that ordained ministry is not a direct expression of universal priesthood. Disagreement continues on the precise relation between universal priesthood and ordained ministry.

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- C. Eastwood (1963), *The Royal Priesthood of the Faithful*, London.
- Y. Congar (1964), *Jalons pour une théologie du laïcat*, 3rd Ed., Paris.
- COE (1982), *BEM*, Paris.
- H-M. Barth (1990), *Einander Priester sein: Allgemeines Priestertum in ökumenischer Perspektive*, Göttingen.

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See also Baptism; Ministry

C. Ministerial Priesthood

From the middle of the second century onward, the main Christian ministries constituted a strong triad of bishops (bishop*), priests, and deacons (deacon*). Starting in the third century, bishops were known, uncontroversially, as *sacerdotes*, "priests," more because of the influence of Old Testament typology than through any relation to the priesthood of Christ*. From the late fourth century, in the East as in the West, the same term was extended to priests, although not so frequently. Later, a sacral sense of mediation was attached to the ordained priesthood, partly under the influence of the two *Hierarchies* of Pseudo-Dionysius*, which were widely read in the West as well as in Byzantium during the Middle Ages. Finally, the three great movements of reform within the Catholic Church (Carolingian, Gregorian, Tridentine) enhanced still further the understanding of the ordained priesthood in terms of its function in the eucharistic sacrifice*. The Reformation challenged this development. It was only in the 20th century that Catholic theologians once again took up this complex problem, making use both of the New Testament and of new systematic structures of interpretation.

1. The Sacerdotalization of the Ministry: Development and Debates

In the New Testament, the uniqueness of Christ's priesthood is presented as a truism: "he holds his priesthood permanently, because he continues forever" (Heb. 7:24); "Consequently he is able to save to the uttermost those who draw near to God through him, since he always lives to make intercession for them" (Heb. 7:25); "He has no need, like those high priests, to offer sacrifices daily . . . since he did this once for all when he offered up himself" (7:27); "There is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (1 Tim. 2:5).

In addition, the people as a whole are priestly through the offering of their lives in righteousness and holiness*. They form "a holy priesthood [*hierateuma*] to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. 2:5 and 2:9). Revelation (1:6, 5:10, 20:6) gives this priesthood a more liturgical tone: without being ministers individually, each Christian has unmediated access to God. There was, therefore, linguistic innovation when bishops, and then priests, began to be known as *sacerdotes*.

According to Hippolytus, bishops are like high priests (*TA* 3, 8, 34); for Tertullian*, they *are* high priests (*De Bapt.* 17, 1; *Pud.* 21, 17); and Cyprian* extensively refers to them as priests in his correspondence. Optatus of Mileva was the first (360) to apply the term to presbyters (presbyter*/priest), coining the phrase *secundi sacerdotii*, “secondary priests” (PL 11, 911); afterwards, others also spoke of *secundi meriti* or *ordinis*, “those with secondary merit or ordination.” However, these terms did not become common currency until the second millennium. Deacons were never called priests, but continued to be treated as in *TA* 18: “He is ordained, not to the priesthood, but to the service of the bishop” (reprinted in *LG* 29).

Nevertheless, the priesthood remained a corporate body, functioning within a congregation through the act of epiclesis*. Indeed, congregations offered only those sacrifices that their presiding officers made; yet, because Christ offered the sacrifice, each member of his “body” also made it (see Guerric of Igny, late 12th century: “The priest neither consecrates alone nor sacrifices alone, for the whole congregation of believers consecrates and sacrifices with him,” PL 185, 87). Accordingly, as Thomas* Aquinas puts it (*ST* IIIa, q. 64, a. 1), the role of the priest is solely to act as instrument, *in persona Christi*: “There are two ways of realizing an effect: as principal agent, or as instrumental agent. In the first case, it is God alone who realizes the *internal* effect of the sacrament. It belongs to God alone to produce grace... In the second case, minister and instrument have the same definition: the action of both is exercised *externally*, and results in an internal effect through the motion of the principal agent.”

The opposition of the reformers, and particularly of Luther*, to the use of the concept of priesthood arose, first of all, from the overestimation of this concept at the expense of the ministry of the word*: “The apostolic, episcopal or clerical order has been given no other ministry than that of the word” (WA 6, 51). In addition, their opposition was a protest against the existence of a clerical estate as the foundation of “the detestable tyranny of the clergy over the laity” (WA 6, 563). It was in order to reestablish Christian fraternity that Luther insisted on the priesthood of all believers and on the functional nature of ministry (WA 6, 407–08): Some have supposed that priests and people in cloisters should be called the ecclesiastical estate, while all the lords, laborers, and peasants form the lay estate... This is a fine invention and conspiracy... In truth, all Christians form the ecclesiastical estate, and there is no difference among them, other than difference of function... All who have received baptism are capable of being glorified for having received the con-

secration necessary to become a priest, a bishop, or a pope, even though it is not appropriate that each and every one of them should exercise such functions.”

The Council of Trent* concluded that this dispute was based on a misunderstanding, at least in terms of the Bible, since the priesthood never appears in the New Testament as a foundation for ministry. Yet the Council was not at liberty to undertake a fundamental reexamination of the question of ministry, for the popes, anxious about their jurisdiction* over the bishops, opposed any such undertaking (H. Jedin [1965], *Crise et dénouement du concile de Trente*, Ch. 5). The Council therefore revived the concept of priesthood. At the same time, common priesthood continued to be minimized, even to the point of being denied (see *KL*, 18842, 3, 546).

2. Systematic Treatments

Like other modern languages, French has just one word—*prêtre*, “priest”—with which to translate both *presbuteros* (“elder,” without a priestly connotation) and *hiereus* (a priestly figure offering a sacrifice that reconciles God and humanity). References to priests as holders of a priestly status thus carry the risk of obscuring perception of the uniqueness of Christ’s priestly status, in relation to which priests and bishops have no more than a “ministerial priesthood.” This expression appears only once in the documents of Vatican* II, in *LG* 10, and there it forms part of a quotation—“*sacerdotium hierarchicum seu ministeriale*” (“hierarchical or ministerial priesthood”) from Pius XII’s address *Magnificate Dominum* (AAS 46 [1954], 669).

a) Existence of a Priestly Ministry as Part of Christian Faith. All are priests before God and all have direct access to him. In addition, all are priests before human beings, through the spiritual sacrifice of their lives, led in righteousness and holiness. However, within the domain of salvation*, all have need for a priestly ministry. Even on the human plane, people are not the authors of their own birth, and no one can find by his or her own efforts the righteousness that has been lost. The same is true within the order of salvation: people cannot baptize themselves, for they cannot be the authors of their own rebirth; nor can anyone absolve himself of his own sins. The priestly ministry stands witness to these truths and operates ministerially through its visible integration into the community of salvation (the communion* of believers). To make use of the priestly ministry is thus to confess salvation through faith. Constituted as an office, the priestly ministry is entrusted to pastors (pastor*), for it is logi-

cal that those who preside over the church* as a communion of salvation should preside at the celebration of the sacraments of salvation. According to the Council of Trent (*COD* 743, 30; see *LG* 10), this is the significance of the external and visible priestly ministry, which cannot be reduced to the priesthood of the baptized.

b) Reception of the Priestly Ministry by Pastors and Its Exercise within the Church. Since it juxtaposes common priesthood and ministerial priesthood, *Lumen gentium* 10 could be understood as affirming the existence of two priesthoods: “Although the common priesthood of the faithful differs from the ministerial or hierarchical priesthood in essence, and not only by degree, they are both ordained nonetheless.” In reality, however, it is the same, unique priesthood of Christ that is thus made operative through two modalities: the priesthood exercised by all (that of the holy life and of access to God in prayer), and the priestly ministry of certain persons, entrusted to pastors (and therefore described as “hierarchical”). The fact that it is a matter of modalities is shown by the linguistic corrections of Pius XII’s address in *LG* 10, where the ministerial priesthood is deprived of the qualifying phrase “priesthood properly so called” and the common priesthood loses the quotation marks that weakened its effect in the original text. Thus, the ministerial priesthood is presented as being fundamentally different from the common priesthood, and the text emphasizes that these two institutions are different and distinct from one another. This also confirms the ecclesiology of the Reformation churches, which do not accept that any ministry can be attributed to a Christian solely on the basis of his baptismal priesthood.

Protestant theologians generally state that Catholic theology makes a distinction of essence or being as between priests and laity (e.g., Ratschow, *TRE* 2 [1978], p. 611, with reference to *LG* 10; Dubied, *Encyclopédie du protestantisme* [1995], with reference to Vatican II; Willaime, *ibid.* entry “ontologique” [“ontological”], without references). By doing so, these authors transpose the essential difference between priesthood and ministry onto the persons who perform these functions, which is something that Vatican II never does. Their approach may perhaps be justified by their reading of the communications submitted to the Council before the final vote on that *LG* 10—the *Nota explicativa praevia*, which form part of the acts of the Council but are not among the texts that were submitted to votes. Indeed, in relation to the ordination of bishops these notes state that “an *ontological* participation in sacred functions is conferred in the consecration . . .” It must be emphasized, however, that in the very same

notes it is the pastoral office, not the person of the bishop, that is thus characterized as being “ontologically sacramental.” In any case, it should be possible to avoid such perpetually revived misunderstandings about terminology if one notes that “ontological” here means “real.” If reality is attributed to anything, there is an ontology—an ordered inventory of what is thought, said, and believed to be real—in which this reality is given a place. Accordingly, no reification is implied, nor does philosophy intrude into theology: in this case, the intention is to state that the priestly content of baptism, and ordination to the ministry, are not simply rational constructs.

It is certainly Catholic doctrine that, if necessary, laypeople can exercise the ministerial priesthood of Christ. Every Christian man or woman can perform baptism (*CIC* can. 861, §2). From the 11th century onward, spouses were considered by the Roman tradition to be ministers of the sacrament of marriage*, the priest being no more than a witness. For centuries, laypeople customarily administered the sacrament to the sick (A. Chavasse [1942], *Étude sur l’onction des infirmes dans l’Église latine du IIIe au XIe s.*, Lyon). Even confession to a layperson, if necessary, was long held to be sacramental (A. Teetaert [1926], *La confession aux laïcs dans l’Église latine depuis le VIIIe jusqu’au XVe s.*, Paris), and it was practiced up to the Reformation (e.g., by Bayard at Pavia, or by Ignatius Loyola at Pamplona). After the Council of Trent, however, laypeople were no longer recognized as capable of administering the sacrament to the sick or hearing confession.

c) Priestly Ministry as a Dimension of the Pastoral Ministry of Which It Forms a Part. Vatican II generally uses the expression “priestly ministry,” which is more appropriate in terms of dogma than the *hapax legomenon* (unique occurrence) “ministerial priesthood” (*LG* 10), for here “priestly” is an attribute of ministry, since it is no more than an instrumental activity referring to Christ the only priest (see quotation from Aquinas above). Nevertheless, “priestly ministry” in turn is not as appropriate as “pastoral ministry” (of priests and bishops), or “presbyterial ministry,” for it does not encompass all three of the ministerial tasks listed by Calvin (*Inst.*, Ch. 2, 5): teaching, sanctifying, and governing. In exceptional cases, laypeople can exercise it, but it seems that they do not have the same authority* as the bishops in relation to governing the church in communion or officially defining its faith.

In Catholic theology*, therefore, the most inclusive concept is that of the pastoral ministry of presidency. The Catholic ritual for the ordination* of priests is en-

titled the *ordinatio presbyterorum* (“ordination of presbyters”). It is through being ordained to preside over the church that one receives the ministry of the sacraments that construct the church, in particular the presidency of the Eucharist*, which is a sacrament of the church for the Orthodox as it is for Catholics (see ASCOV III, I, 57 [twice]: *presbyteri ut rectores ecclesiae sunt rectores eucharistiae*, “the presbyters, as rectors of the church, are the rectors of the Eucharist”). The priest or bishop acts *in persona Christi* because he acts *in persona ecclesiae*. However, the faithful do not offer the Eucharist “only through the hands of the priest, but also together with him” (SC 48).

d) Toward a Clarification of Vocabulary. Recent systematic theology has confirmed the legitimacy of, and the necessity for, a ministerial and priestly vocabulary with which to express the gratuitous nature of salvation based on the uniqueness of Christ’s priesthood. It has also shown, however, that this vocabulary has only a limited relevance when it comes to describing the general ministry of bishops and priests, which also includes the ministry of the word (and “faithfully overseeing the Catholic faith received from the Apostles”) and the ministry of government (presiding in the

church and in communion between churches). The expressions “presbyterial ministry” and “episcopal ministry” are required for these cases. These terms also allow us to articulate the services and ministry of all and of some more easily than the terms *common priesthood* and *ministerial priesthood*. Finally, these terms are less likely to cause confusion in ecumenical dialogue.

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See also Calvin, John; Ecumenism; Luther, Martin; Ministry; Presbyter/Priest; Sacrifice; Trent, Council of; Vatican II, Council of

Probabiliorism. *See Alphonsus Liguori; Casuistry*

Probabilism. *See Alphonsus Liguori; Casuistry*

Process Theology

a) Notion of Process. It means that reality is not made up of pieces with their own substance, but of events and movements. This statement has two consequences: 1) Every being* is born of an interconnection of encounters and relationships. There are not in the first place objects and persons (person*) that subsequently enter into contact with one another, but rather a network of conjunctions that give rise to persons and objects. The theory of Process thus opposes analytical procedures that distinguish, isolate, and attempt to understand relationships by starting from individuals. 2) Reality is constantly developing and changing; stability, inertia, and fixity are illusions. The world* and every being constitute a flux, a continuous movement that changes ceaselessly. This approach rejects substantialist conceptions that make becoming an accident of being, and not its very nature.

b) Process Philosophy. A mathematician turned philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), established its foundations in several works, most notably *Process and Reality*. Rooted in the English philosophical tradition, and also close to Henri Bergson (1859–1941), he is unlike the existentialists in that he does not separate human beings from other beings in the world and because he works out a cosmology. A nonconformist Christian, he suggests some religious consequences of his thinking.

Charles Hartshorne, an American philosopher, develops the theological dimensions of this philosophy*. He argues for the total relativity (i.e., the “relationality”) of God*. He criticizes the notions of divine perfection and omnipotence and refutes what he calls “classical theism.” He proposes a “natural* theology” which, adopting in a nonsubstantialist perspective the proofs of the existence* of God, attempts to show that the universe is unintelligible without the divine energy that gives it life.

c) Process Theology. Process theology uses the conceptual system set forth by Whitehead and Hartshorne to develop an original and innovative interpretation of Christian faith*. Its best known representatives are the Methodist John Cobb, Schubert Ogden (a theologian also influenced by Bultmann*), David Griffin (who is engaged in a complex debate with postmodern

thinkers), Norman Pittenger, Lewis Ford, and Marjorie Suchocki. They make up a dynamic current of thought that has a certain audience in the United States, particularly among Protestants (although it is challenged by more classical theologies and by fundamentalists).

d) Themes of Process Theology. 1) Process theology rejects the notion of divine omnipotence*. God carries on an action in the world through his capacity to persuade beings (human and non-human) to listen to him and to respond to his promptings. It is not possible for him to obligate them, and he depends in part on their responses and reactions. He has real force, but does not exercise absolute power. The world resists him and sometimes stymies him. There is exchange and interaction in both directions: God influences the world; what happens in the world affects the being of God. 2) The activity of God brings forth newness. He instills his dynamism into the universe, makes unprecedented possibilities available to it, and urges it to move forward. He creates constantly, not beginning from nothing (process theology rejects the theme of creation* *ex nihilo*, pointing out that it is not biblical), but from what exists, using the “given.” Process theology therefore rejects the positions of revolutionaries, because God creates out of the past, which provides him with the materials he needs; and the positions of conservatives, because God is not hostile to change. Faith implies indestructible hope*: God always opens up a future. Easter shows that he is even able to reverse so apparently irremediable a disaster as Golgotha. 3) Christ* is God’s power of creative transformation. Because Jesus* brought about and continues to bring about changes and because he mobilizes us for God’s plan, he is the supreme Christ. But other people endowed with analogous powers and other Christ-like actions manifest themselves in the world, in particular (but not exclusively) in the several different religions. It is therefore important to promote interfaith dialogue. 4) Very sensitive to relationships and conjunctions, process theology also deals with ecological questions and is concerned with social and political matters (e.g., in dialogue with liberation* theology). Finally, it is open to feminism (woman*); against the masculine representation of the dominating God, it proposes the image (considered more

feminine) of a God who listens, inspires, understands, helps, and often suffers.

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See also Creation; Evolution; Omnipotence, Divine; World

Procreation

The Christian tradition* sees procreation as one of the purposes of marriage* and as one of the criteria permitting the attribution of moral legitimacy to sexual activity. This tradition, which went uncontested from the Old Testament until the early modern era, must doubtless be reconsidered in order to respond to theoretical and practical objections, which have been amplified by the progress of biotechnology and by planetary demographic problems.

a) Bible. The biblical tradition envisages procreation within a double perspective. In terms of a theology* of creation*, fertility fulfils a blessing addressed to man and woman* at the first moments of humanity, at its creation: "Be fruitful and multiply" (Gen 1:28). However, because sin* has marred the creation, the human couple*, as such, experiences a punishment that makes the inequality of the sexes obvious. The woman is therefore to suffer pain in order to bring her children into the world, and is to be subject to her husband (Gen 3:16; see 1 Tm 2:15). The stories of the patriarchs thus reflect a system of family relations in which privileges were granted to male heirs; in which the existence of women found meaning from the sons that they gave to

their spouses (Gen 16–17); in which sterility was a curse (1 Sm 1); and in which virginity seems never to have been recognized as valuable (Jgs 11:37, BJ note c, TOB note g).

These a priori assumptions undergo significant modification in the New Testament. On the one hand, the disciple is called to follow Christ* by virtue of a personal commitment that has nothing to do with membership of a family. On the other hand, the eschatological hope* of the earliest communities included the expectation of an imminent Parousia*, which did not fail to reduce the significance of family responsibilities and loyalties (Mt 10:37 and 12:46–50; Mk 3:31–35 and 10:29f.; Lk 8:19f. and 14:26), and de-emphasized procreation. In the longest discussion on sexuality and marriage in the New Testament (1 Cor 7:2–40), Paul does not mention the command given in Genesis 1:28, although he does mention the "holiness" of the children of Christians (7:14). He may be condemning abortifacient drugs when he speaks of *pharmakeia* in Galatians 5:20.

b) Tradition. As was already the case in the Pauline corpus, patristic theology preferred virginity to mar-

riage, a position that is still held in the Catholic tradition (see *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1619–20). In their treatment of marriage, the Fathers* took inspiration from the Greek (and especially Stoic) view that the passions* must be subject to reason*, and thus they saw procreation as a purpose of marriage that allows the disciplining of sexual desire (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* II, 23, SC 38). In western Christianity, the most important approach was, as in many other cases, that of Augustine*. Where Tertullian* and Jerome (c. 342–420) praised virginity almost to the point of condemning marriage, Augustine set himself to defend marriage (*De bono conjugali*, BAug 2; see *Ep.* 188, CSEL 57). He says that there is a good* in marriage, which indeed is necessary for Augustine in refuting dualistic views, such as those of the Manicheans, who exacerbated the Greek idea of the body as a prison or tomb of the soul*, and attributed to sexuality no more than the negative meaning attached to all that was of the flesh. Like Clement before him, Augustine makes procreation the divinely ordained end of sexual intercourse. Although mutual faithfulness (*fides*) and the indissoluble bond that constitutes the couple (*sacramentum*) are joined with it as goods of marriage, procreation alone gives order to sexual activity, which is taken to be (venially) sinful when undertaken for other reasons. It was therefore very logical for Augustine to share the special admiration of his contemporaries for couples who had decided to live as brother and sister.

Augustine's idea of the three ends of marriage was adopted by the Scholastics (Scholasticism*), including Thomas* Aquinas (*Suppl.* q. 49; see *ST* IIIa, q. 29, a. 2), and then by the Reformers, including Luther* and Calvin*. It remained central to Christian teaching until the 20th century. Yet a richer theory, in which three goods of conjugal intimacy correspond to the three ends of marriage, appeared in the Middle Ages (see school of Saint* Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei*, PL 176, 174–613; II, 11, on marriage), and became established in the 16th century. Aquinas's conception of marriage as a specific form of friendship also broadened the range of possible changes; and when the Reformers suggested that the only restraints appropriate to marital intercourse were those required by charity and mutual consideration, they too were heading in the direction of a reconstruction of the theory.

A certain approach to education went together with this procreation-oriented sexual ethics*. It consisted in a Christianization of the Greek *paideia*, understood as the art of training children for their responsibilities as adults. Methods included exhortation, encouragement, praise and blame, fear* of the Lord, and frequent beatings. According to John Chrysostom (*On vanity and*

the education of children SC 188) and Jerome (*Ep.* 107, CSEL 55, 290–305), the duties of education are to protect children from bad influences, to instruct them in the biblical narratives (narrative*), and to give them a Christian morality. They were provided with the model of the martyrs and holy persons, many of them women, who had abandoned their families (family*) to accept death*, go on pilgrimage*, or enter a convent or monastery (e.g., the first-century martyr Perpetua, the fifth-century matron Melania the Younger, or Paula, friend of Jerome). Certain children themselves were admired for their spiritual precocity: Jerome tells of Eupraxia, for example, who dedicated herself to Christ at the age of seven (*Ep.* 24 CSEL 54, 214–17).

Children were not infrequently given over to convents or monasteries for their education. The duty to provide a solid education for these children pertained largely sons, but monasteries and convents also allowed girls to acquire an education. The custom of “offering” one's child, that is, dedicating him or her to the monastic life, was strong from the patristic era to the late Middle Ages; it was one means of securing the future of children who could not be married off without dividing the family inheritance. However, this practice was already beginning to arouse some reservations in the 12th century, a period that saw the appearance of a new perception of individual liberty*.

In the writings of Luther and Calvin, marriage, procreation, and the education of children all represent a natural form of life (a reality of the created order) capable of being transformed and sanctified by the practice of the Christian virtues*. Puritanism* brought to bear a very specific emphasis on the role as educators that was entrusted to parents: because, according to Puritan theology, God's covenant* with believers was extended through baptism* to their children, it was a strict duty to raise them in the ways of the Lord, using harsh measures if necessary, in view of the salutary effects of such an upbringing on their everlasting destiny. Children were often sent to reside with other Puritan families, as apprentices or domestic servants, in order to ensure that their Christian education would not be hindered by parental leniency.

After the Reformation and the age of the Enlightenment, various factors led to changes in received ideas. The emphasis was placed on liberty and equality, personal fulfillment came to be valued, and the idea of happiness appeared, effacing Christian conceptions of beatitude*. Childhood began to be considered as a phase of life with its own needs, and the good of children was therefore defined from the vantage point of their own experience. At the same time, there appeared a form of economic organization that was less dependent on the existence of large families; it was discov-

ered that in human beings, unlike other mammals, the sex drive is not limited to periods of female fertility; and, finally, reliable contraception appeared, and roles for women became more varied. For all these reasons, the couple has gradually ceased to be defined as a relationship of communal living ordained for procreation.

c) *Recent Debates.* Having long opposed all these changes, the Lambeth Conference, the supreme body of the Anglican Communion, took note of them and authorized contraception in 1930. Other Protestant and Orthodox churches (church*) were soon to follow suit. In the Catholic Church, an official position was defined, after much debate, in Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae vitae* (1968, AAS 60, 481–503). The text reprises the statements of Vatican* II (GS, §47–51), which addressed the question in terms of two purposes of sexuality, love* and procreation, without making a hierarchy of them. The encyclical mentions a duty of “responsible parenthood,” which requires that couples avoid having more children than they can nurture. It gives up one of Augustine's ideas, stating that procreation need no longer be intended, or even physically possible, for sexual relations to be morally good. However, the Pope* rejects all contraceptive methods, with the exception of so-called “natural means,” based on women's infertile cycles. This text has not ceased to arouse controversy on this last point.

Two recent phenomena oblige us to consider the question of the moral and Christian meaning of procreation as being still open: medically assisted procreation, and the population crisis. 1) The Catholic Church was the first church to make a pronouncement on *in vitro* fertilization and related techniques. In 1987, it condemned (*Donum vitae*, AAS 80, 70–102) all reproductive technologies, because they endanger embryos, which are recognized as having the ontological status of persons (person*); because they permit procreation that is not the result of sexual relations; and because they introduce third parties into the couple, in such a way that a child can have more than two “parents.” Protestant churches have rarely put forward definitive judgments on the morality of the new meth-

ods, and they generally allow a larger role for individual decisions taken within the limits of what is authorized by law. 2) The contrast between the high-technology remedies for the sterility of couples in the developed world, for whom procreation seems to be a right, and the large families of the Third World, in whose case one might wonder whether numerous children are a blessing, may suggest that the moral problem of procreation can also be posed in terms of economic justice*. Indeed, it is clear that the question of the overpopulation of the globe cannot be resolved by appealing merely to individual freedom, nor to the deeper nature of marriage and sexuality, unless one takes the social and economic determinants of the problem into consideration. When voluntary sterilization, or even abortion*, are advocated as means to reduce population growth, two errors are committed. First, one underestimates the cultural value of family in many parts of the world. Second, one fails to perceive that an improvement in social conditions is necessary in order to ensure that children are no longer the only form of wealth for some people—it is well-known that fertility rates fall when standards of living rise.

A stocktaking of Christian moral concepts would provide several ways of thinking afresh about the link between marriage and procreation.

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See also Couple; Ethics, Sexual; Family; Manicheanism; Marriage

Proexistence

Term coined by the exegete Heinz Schürman (1913–99) and used to describe the experience of Jesus as an “existence *for*” others: a life turned toward the Father and other people and lived for them. Recent Christology and salvation theology have made extensive use

of this term. It is also used in the ecclesiological context of the “diaspora” of Christian communities living within de-Christianized or non-Christian societies.

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See also **Christ and Christology; Salvation**

Promise

“Promise, ” in Greek, is generally expressed by the verb *epaggellô* and its substantive *epaggelia*, but there is no specific term for promise in Hebrew. A promise is a commitment to give something at a later date. An oracle of good fortune is not in itself a promise, nor is a benediction. However, when words (word*) that concern the future come from God*, they are necessarily a commitment, and even more so if they are accompanied by an oath. Thus, many promises are formulated with the simple verb *dâvar* (intensive, “to say”; nouns: *’émèr* and *dâvâr*) or *shâva’* (“to swear”; nouns: *shevoû’âh*, *’âlâh*). Similarly, when God concludes (*kârat*) an unconditional covenant*, this is a promise.

a) Old Testament. The divine word opens the history* of Israel* with the double promise made to Abraham, of a land (Gn 12:1) and descendants (Gn 12:2). The series continues from one patriarch to the other: Gn 15, 17, 18:18f., 22:16ff., 26:3f., 26:24, 35:11f., 48:3. The promise includes the benevolence of other groups (Gn 12:2f.) or supremacy over them (22:17, 32:29).

This triple schema was carried over to the benediction of the first human couple in Genesis 1:28 (fecundity, possession of the land, supremacy). It is transformed but recognizable in Genesis 3:15ff.: descendants and the fruits of the land will be obtained by suffering. According to the traditional reading, supremacy over the serpent is later granted to the

woman* by way of her posterity (collective in Hebrew, masculine individual in the *Septuagint*, feminine in the *Vulgate*). Revelation 12:13–16 would seem to recall what was named the “first Gospel” (proto-Gospel), but there it is an angel* who is victorious. Other readings of Genesis 3:15ff. see only the announcement of endless combat.

The series is crowned, before the conquest of Canaan, by the oracle (benediction and promise) of Balaam (Nm 24:9 carried over from Gn 12:3). In the current book* the promises of Genesis appear as a progressive reorientation toward the original gift: recall of Genesis 3:17f in Genesis 5:29, renunciation of the deluge in Genesis 9:5–17.

It is with the book of Deuteronomy that the concept of promise takes on a particular coloration. Very often related to the memory of the Fathers* (the patriarchs in 1:8, 9:27, 34:4, etc., but more often to the generation of the Exodus), the promise, which doubles the benediction itself (Dt 1:11), applies to the nation or the land (1:21, 6:3, 6:18), descendants (Dt 13:18 and passim), and victory (Dt 7:16, 15:6, 28:7, 28:12 b). It is most often connected with the divine oath (19 times with respect to the land), confirmed by Joshua 1:3: [...] “*As I said it to Moses.*” Posterior to the fulfillment of the promise, testament to the prophetic preaching* that marked it as it marked the ultimate composition of certain collections of the prophets (prophet* and prophecy), Deuteronomy, “seeking origins” (Römer

1992), makes a new start toward the future. Not unrelated to the covenant promise in Jeremiah 31:31ff.; it joins the present state of life, guarantee a future (*see* Dt 4:40), and a past of election (Dt 7:7–16).

The promise, which initially concerns David's line (2 Sm 7:5–16), is renewed in the prophetic context of the imminence of chastisement (e.g. Is 7:10–17, 8:21f.), and organized toward a restoration that gradually takes an eschatological form (*see* Is 11:1–16). Finally, a manifestation of celestial or divine order will be awaited in an apocalyptic context (Zec 3:8ff.; Dn 7:11–14: line 14 b amplifies 2 Sm 7:16; *see* Lk 1:32f.), at the same time as the promise of the effusion of the Spirit confirms the radical renewal of the people* (Jl 3:1–5).

b) New Testament. The Old Testament as a whole has been read in terms of “promise/fulfillment,” with this pairing representing a key to true interpretation. The New Testament retains as “promises” essentially those proclaimed in the ancient Scriptures. Undoubtedly the concept of promise flows back into the New Testament with Paul, notably in Galatians and Romans, and with the Epistle to the Hebrews, following the heritage of the Old Testament and acquiring a new use of meaning. Neither should we neglect to mention the Gospel* of John and its promise of the Spirit. The recall of the promise in Abraham (Rom 4:20; Heb 6:13ff.), Isaac, and Jacob (Heb 11:9) and its consistently maintained validity in the destiny of Israel (Rom 9:4, 9:8f.) does not detract from the newness of the promises of which Christ*'s disciples will be both the beneficiaries and the sign. These are the promises of a reception of the Spirit (Lk 24: 49; Acts 1:4; 2:33, 2:39; Gal 3:14; Eph

1:13; *see* Jn 16:7–15), in an unconditional gift whose gratuitousness would be obliterated by a return to the regime of the law* (Gal 3:17–29). This is a promise of the life that is in Jesus* Christ (2 Tm 1:1), blessed holder of the promises (Heb 7:6), while Christians, subject to the test of the times (time*), await according to the promise (2 Pt 3:13; *see* 1 Jn 2:25). In conclusion, it could be said that the gospel is “*The Evangelism of the accomplished promise made to our fathers*” (Acts 13:32f.; *see* Eph 1:2).

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See also Adam; Blessing; Covenant; Eschatology; Father; Good; Gospels; Hope

Property

The word *property* is descended from Latin *proprietas*, formed from the adjective *proprius*, meaning “one's own,” “special,” “particular,” “proper.” Retaining these nuances, *proprietas* has the twofold meaning of a peculiarity, particular nature or quality of something, and right of possession of something. Property in the latter sense refers to the complex of rights and liabilities that governs the relationship between persons (natural or juristic) and objects (material or immaterial).

Property, in the classical sense of the term, is the right to be in secure possession of an object, to use and manage it, to enjoy financial benefit from it, to consume, waste, alienate or bequeath it. However, the characteristics of property rights vary widely according to the sorts of objects owned and the legal category to which they belong, for example, movable or immovable, personal or real property, items of production or consumption. Likewise, the restrictions and liabili-

ties attached to property vary widely, depending largely on the extent to which third parties are potentially affected. Thus, the disposition and use of property in land is generally subject to stricter limitations than personal property is, with the exception of inherently dangerous possessions such as firearms and automobiles.

The creation and determination of property by conventions and statutes, and its enforcement by public authority*, indicate its thoroughly social, political, moral and hence, philosophical and theological character. In the western Christian political/legal tradition, property has undergone significant changes, notably concerning the breadth of its definition, the various types of property recognized, its teleological and etiological justifications, its moral standing, and the scope of its conditions (limitations). We shall examine the biblical foundations of property and then retrace its evolution in patristic, medieval, early modern and modern thought.

First, we must outline two partially intersecting distinctions concerning property: between individual and collective property, on the one hand, and between private and public property on the other. Property rights may be held by natural individuals or by collectivities construed in law* as artificial persons. Collective property is *common* in the sense that every member of the group has some claim in what is owned, for example, to use and enjoy it. Private property is the *exclusive* right of individual or collective owners to goods, which right is defensible against all other persons. Public property refers to the *inclusive* right held by members of comprehensive collectivities, such as the modern civil polity or the medieval ecclesiastical polity. Public property is *common* in a more universal sense than the property of less comprehensive, more particular “private” collectivities.

a) Biblical Foundations. The theological backdrop of property is the biblical account (Gn 1:28–30, 2:15, 2:19f.) of the establishment of Adam* as master over the nonhuman creation*; he is called to fill and subdue the Earth, to cultivate it, and to use its fruits to sustain human life. The Fall (original sin*) then introduces elements of struggle, anxiety, and domination into “dominion,” focused in the theme of painful toiling, the price that humanity must henceforth pay in order to meet physical necessities. The idea of property is brought to the fore in the covenant* by which God* elects Israel* as his special possession (Ex 19:5f.) and promises that the 12 tribes will, in their obedience to his covenant, occupy by conquest and settle the land of Canaan. Israel’s possession of the land is both collective and distributive: every family is allotted an equal

portion in the nation’s patrimony (Nm 26:52–56). The permanent inalienability of the familial holdings, evidenced by the institution of the Jubilee Year (Lv 25:8–13), and the obligation to redeem all land ceded in the interim (Lv 25:25–28), point not only to the origin of Israel’s “inheritance” as a divine gift, but also to the continuing proprietary right of the divine giver (Lv 25:23). As sovereign proprietor, God limits Israel’s rights of possession by requiring provision for the poor from gleanings (Lv 19:9f. and 23:22; Dt 24:19ff.) and tithes (Dt 14:28f. and 26:12); concession to the hungry wayfarer (Dt 23:25f.); annual tithes to God himself (Lv 27:30ff.); and respect for the sabbatical rest for the land (Lv 25:2–7). The example of the Levites, who are excluded from the tribal land distribution and rely solely on tithes for sustenance, also reminds us that Israel not only has a vocation as proprietor, but is also called to serve God directly in the practice of worship (Nm 18:21–24; Dt 8:1f.). The falling away of God’s people* from the covenantal terms of property toward the unscrupulous accumulation of land and wealth (1 Kgs 21:1ff.; Is 5:8; Mi 2:1f.), and the neglect and oppression of the vulnerable poor (Is 3:14f., 58:6–7; Am 8:4–14), are common targets of condemnation by the prophets (prophet* and prophecy). According to the prophetic literature, it is because of this infidelity that the Israelites must be collectively and individually dispossessed of their land.

The Gospels* depict Jesus proclaiming an eschatological Jubilee, wedded to his own character as Messiah* (Lk 4:16ff.), and announcing a new covenant in which earthly property plays hardly any role. On the contrary, Luke’s account of the Sermon on the Mount stresses that the Kingdom* of God is the inheritance of those who are spiritually and physically dispossessed (Lk 6:20f. and 24f.). Jesus censures the service of “unrighteous wealth” as an idolatrous pursuit of false security, and exhorts those who wish to follow him to part with their possessions and their proprietary rights, in fulfillment of their true obligations to love God and their neighbors (Mt 5:42, 6:24–34, 19:16–26; Mk 10:17–31, 12:41–44; Lk 6:32–35, 12:13–31, 18:18–30, 21:1–4). In sending out the 12 and the 70 on missions (mission*/evangelization), Jesus permits them only the barest necessities and daily sustenance freely provided by others (Mt 10:5–14; Mk 6:8–11; Lk 9:3–5 and 10:3–9), in imitation of the “Son of Man” (Lk 9:58). He promises to all who renounce earthly possessions in his name their recovery in eschatological and spiritual abundance (Mt 19:29; Mk 10:29f.; Lk 18:29f.).

According to Luke’s narrative* in Acts, under the leadership of the apostles (apostle*) the post-resurrection gatherings of believers in Jerusalem held all things

in common, each surrendering his property to supply his brother's need, so manifesting their communion* in faith* and love* (Acts 2:44–47 and 4:32f.). Paul, who himself loosely practiced the missionary discipline of poverty, exhorts the Corinthian faithful to emulate the churches (church*) of Macedonia, which, out of “their abundance of joy and their extreme poverty,” gave liberally for the relief of the impoverished church in Jerusalem; Christ*, though rich, became poor (kenosis*) so that they might become rich (Rom 15:26ff.; 1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Cor 8:1–9). Some subsequent New Testament writings, echoing Greco-Roman philosophical themes, sustain the antithesis between spiritual and material riches (Heb 10:34; Rev 2:9 and 3:17f.), and between the vice of avarice and the godly virtue* of temperance (1 Tm 6:6–10; Heb 13:5), while not debaring the materially wealthy from embracing the riches of faith and righteous works (1 Tm 6:17ff.).

b) Subapostolic and Patristic Periods. For subapostolic authors, the *koinonia* (“sharing,” “community,” “communion”) in both “immortal” (“incorruptible”) and “mortal” (“corruptible”) goods enjoyed by the Jerusalem church remained a dominant theme in their exhortations to unreserved sharing of one's possessions with the needy (*Didache* IV, 5–8; *Epistle of Barnabas* XIX, 8, PG 2, 777–78). Also prominent was the idea that superfluous property entraps its possessors in the present order, sapping their understanding and will, rendering them too feeble to stand fast in God's order under persecution (*Hermas*, *Sim.* I, 1–7, PG 2, 951–52). The Pseudoclementine Homilies, carrying to Gnostic extremes the dualism of the two kingdoms, repudiate all property, beyond the bare necessities, as belonging to the “foreign king” of the evil earthly city* (PG 2, 359–62).

From the later second century onward, Christian considerations of property demonstrated, on the one hand, a more conscious antagonism to the Roman law concept of *dominium* (*proprietas*) as a relatively unrestricted individual power over possessions, and, on the other, a more explicit appropriation of Stoic ideas about human nature and society*. In the wake of Irenaeus* of Lyon, who sets up a bold contrast between the *inherently* unrighteous acquisition of property and its righteous use in generous almsgiving (PG 7, 1064–65), Clement of Alexandria describes the righteous use of property as a restoration of the original *koinonia* of created humanity called to share all things, beginning with “God's own word” (PG 8, 541–44). Some subsequent Greek and Latin Fathers* presented Christian communion in the use of earthly goods as a reflection of both the Adamic community, drawing collectively on God's gifts for sustenance (the Stoic state

of nature), and the universal bounty of the divine giver (Basil* the Great PG 31, 275–78, 299–302; Cyprian*, CSEL 3, 232; Zeno of Verona, PL 11, 287; Ambrose*, PL 14, 263f., 731, 734, 747; PL 16, 61f.; PL 17, 313f.; John Chrysostom*, PG 62, 562ff.). Conversely, they portrayed the refusal of proprietors to share possessions with the needy as a form of theft, because it contravenes divinely ordained equality in the use of necessities, and moreover, is a sort of idolatry*, because it repudiates the true owner of the Earth's bounty (Basil, PG 31, 261–64, 276f.; Ambrose, PL 14, 734, 747; PL 15, 1303f.; PL 17, 434f.; John Chrysostom, PG 48, 986–88; PG 57, 706f.; PG 62, 562ff.; Augustine*, PL 33, 665; PL 38, 326). Some denied that even patrimonial concerns could lessen the individual's obligation to generous giving (Cyprian, CSEL 3, 387f.; Augustine, PL 38, 89f.).

Many third- and fourth-century Fathers came close to endorsing Seneca's interpretation of the institution of private property as originating in human avarice and yet performing a divinely ordained remedial service, coterminous with political authority and law (the most notable exception being Lactantius, *Inst. div.* 3. 21f.). However, it is Augustine who formulates most explicitly the dependence of property on the *imperium*, and its social benefit of rendering the abuse of wealth “less injurious” (PL 33, 665; PL 35, 1437). At the same time, he distinguishes sharply between human property right and the divine right of possession, according to which “all things belong to the just”—to those whose use of things conforms to the love of Christ and of neighbor (PL 34, 20f.)—and he concludes that the infidel lacks just (divine) title to his possessions (PL 33, 665).

c) Middle Ages. Medieval thought about property was dominated by two somewhat antithetical developments of the patristic (primarily Augustinian) inheritance—the Franciscan and the papalist—in relation to which divergence the ideas of Thomas* Aquinas approach a middle position. Before the growth of the mendicant orders, ecclesiastical property formed a seamless garment uniting the secular clergy and the monastic orders, based, in theory, on the harmonious application of the New Testament models furnished by Christ, his apostles, and the Jerusalem church. The Franciscan theology of “evangelical perfection,” definitively set forth in Bonaventure*'s *Apologia pauperum* (c. 1269), rent the garment by distinguishing the collective property of the larger church from the Minorites' absolute renunciation of all property (private and common). Within Bonaventure's Augustinian ethics* of ordered love, the “simple” (nonproprietary) use of goods owned and conceded by others represents

a “higher” participation in Christ’s selfless obedience, a more efficacious overcoming of avarice, and a recovery of humankind’s just possession of the creation.

As a result of rancorous disputes over “absolute poverty” among the friars, the papacy gradually discerned the threat posed by their doctrine to the church, which over several centuries had been canonistically expounded as a mystical and political body with wide-ranging proprietary rights. Toward the close of the 13th century, Franciscan rigorism was polarized against a high papalist ecclesiology* that had converted the church’s common property over goods entrusted to it into the pope’s* supreme and unlimited property (both enforceable jurisdiction* and right of use) over all the church’s temporal possessions. Papal publicists deployed the Augustinian concept of just possession to assert that only proprietors judged worthy by the Roman church possessed their goods justly, and therefore that all unworthy proprietors—heretics, excommunicates, and infidels—lacking divine right, were liable to just deprivation of their property by the church (Giles of Rome, 1302; James of Viterbo, 1301–02). In his systematic repudiation of Franciscan poverty, Pope John XXII (1316–34) made property intrinsic to evangelical perfection, attributing it to Christ and to Adamic *dominium* from the beginning (BF, 5, 408–49). Fifty years later, in the footsteps of Richard FitzRalph, John Wyclif produced a late and unsurpassed flowering of the Franciscan theology of poverty, elaborating the concept of natural and Christological nonproprietary community within a neo-Platonic framework of participatory realism. He used this concept, in the manner of Marsilius of Padua, to justify the expropriation of the English church by the secular authorities.

On the question of whether property is natural, Thomas Aquinas attempted to harmonize patristic statements with contemporary Aristotelian arguments. He therefore presents property as the optimum mode of possessing material things, the best way in which humankind exercises its natural dominion of use over the rest of the creation. To the patristic mainstream, he concedes that private property belongs not to natural law but to human agreement and legislation (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 66, a. 2, ad 1). At the same time, however, he argues, somewhat against the spirit of the Fathers, that the introduction of property was a rational addition to natural law, a complement that, far from derogating from it, fulfills its requirements most efficiently. Man’s natural dominion includes not only the common use of material resources, but also their care and distribution, and these latter are best accomplished by private property for the reasons that Aristotle gives (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 66, a. 2, 1–2). As these reasons have chiefly to do

with individual self-interest, Aquinas shows his distance from the Augustinian, Franciscan, and Wycliffite vision of a participatory community capable of going back to conditions before the Fall.

Going beyond the Middle Ages, Aquinas’s conception of property was in tune with canonist theory, which, although it perpetuated the classical debates over the naturalness of property, was increasingly guided by the *ius gentium* and Roman civil law, mainly on account of the legal exigencies created by the growth of industry, trade, and commerce. In addressing the emerging capitalist economy, and its legal devices of production and exchange (limited liability partnerships, insurance, banking, bills of exchange, letters of credit, and so on), the canonists introduced novel ethical distinctions that mitigated older biases against such forms of property acquisition as *negotiatio* (buying and selling for profit), trade, productive investment, and commercial loans (Gilchrist 1969; Berman 1983). Moreover, like Aquinas, they relaxed earlier admonitions, for example by defining “necessary” or “sufficient” wealth that the owner was not obliged to part with charitably as that required to sustain him decently in his social position. They extolled the virtue of liberality in a manner that was more Aristotelian than Christian (Tierney 1959; *ST* IIa IIae, q. 32, a. 5, ad 3, a. 6; q. 134, a. 2–3).

d) Early Modern Period. From the 15th to the 17th centuries, the concept of property acquired a controlling position in western political thought, in which it became a natural (subjective) human right, or *the* paradigmatic natural right. In the footsteps of William of Ockham, the Parisian nominalist Jean Gerson (1363–1429) defined man’s natural *dominium* over the nonhuman creation as a God-given *ius*, that is, as a “dispositional *facultas* or power to dispose of” things and to use them for his own preservation, and he included liberty* in this natural *dominium*, drawing a parallel between man’s original power over exterior things and his power of using himself, his body, and his actions (action*) (Tuck 1979). Under the influence of Gerson’s followers, especially John Mair and Jacques Almain, certain Neoscholastic thinkers of the 16th and 17th centuries (Fernando Vazquez y Menchaca, Luis de Molina, Suarez*, and others) cast natural dominion as property right and natural freedom as personal property that could be alienated by contract, in part or in whole, to the point of individual or collective enslavement (Molina 1614; F. Suarez [1612] 1944; Tuck 1979). In his attempt to extract natural property right from the absolutist and statist theories of his day, Locke conceived property in external things to be the outcome and expression—and not merely the condition (as in Aris-

title)—of creative freedom of action. Individuals, the sole masters of their own productive capacities, are also the sole proprietors of the product of their work*, in the image of the exclusive proprietary right that God exercises over his creatures (*Second Treatise on Government* 5). The theory that man, the worker, is naturally led to transform the common resources of the Earth into private possessions was therefore born here, and from this move flowed several key theorems of liberal capitalism: wage-labor as voluntary alienation of a personal property, one's labor power; the private character of producing and consuming activities; the moral acceptability of the unlimited accumulation of wealth in a money economy; and the inevitable benefit that the collectivity derives from it. Already, in the writings of Hobbes, the idea of the natural proprietorship of individuals in their productive capacities, wedded to their constant need for self-enhancement, had issued in a liberal and utilitarian conception of property; it achieved its most complete expression in the economic theory of morality and jurisprudence developed by Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832).

By comparison with the more radical natural right theorists, the magisterial Reformers remained closer to the patristic and medieval traditions, but with some shifts of perspective. Luther* and Calvin* concurred, against the Anabaptists*, in defending the indispensability of property; without property, the Christian could not serve God and neighbor within the social order. Luther's view resulted from a complex ethical application of his doctrine of "two reigns." Property and its derivative economic transactions are certainly intrinsic to every ordered community; they are necessary, first of all, for the satisfaction of human material needs and for the performance of divinely ordained temporal offices (WA 32, 307; 39/2, 39), and they are conformable to the practice of love* and equity (WA 15, 294, 296, 303; WA. B, 485f.; 6, 466; 32, 395). This practice also leads to an understanding of the injunction to eschatological detachment from all property, because property in the last instance is to be given away (WA 6, 3, 36; 10/3, 227, 275; 15, 300, 302; 19, 231, 561; 39/2, 40). In Calvin's writings, two theological norms govern the problem of property: the duty of stewardship of the gifts of creation, and the duty to see to the common good of the church. The right modes of acquisition and use of property are revealed in God's law. The individual can freely dispose of property in a virtuous manner (*Inst.* II.8. 47–48; III.7.5).

e) Modern Period. The primary distinctive trait of this period is the abandonment of Locke's model of property based on creative activity—and of the utilitarian pleasure/pain calculus closely associated with

it—which have revealed themselves to be ill-adapted to the most modern forms of wealth production (e.g., investment, interest, and speculation). Supporters of unlimited private acquisition have recourse to the more open theory provided by Kant* and Hegel* (*Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*): property *as such* (no matter how abstract or removed from the subject it may be) is an embodiment of personal freedom, an objectification of the private will. This theory had its advantages: it permitted, as easily as was possible, the assertion that the inequalities that arise from the relentless pursuit of self-interest in a market economy are "efficient," necessary, and of eventual benefit to the poorest in society. However, most serious analyses of capitalist property in the last two centuries have required major modifications of all panegyrics of individual enrichment.

Of the socialist critiques that proliferated from the early 19th century onward—whether utopian, romantic, Hegelian, anarchist or Christian—the most theologically interesting is that of Karl Marx*, because, even more than his influential contemporary Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, he revived the primacy of communal participation over economic distribution. He thus rediscovered the idea of common possession and non-proprietary community that had characterized Christian Platonism* up to the Anabaptist sects of the Reformation period. Shedding the doctrinal, theological, mystical, and contemplative elements of the tradition, Marx saw the collective ownership of the means of production as the fairest relationship of producing humanity to nonhuman nature, and common work as the fairest means for its appropriation of earthly goods, and thus of acceding to its own essence, which is creative freedom. Marx, however, is not a critic of all forms of property, but only of one specific form of property, property organized as *capital*. It is in this form, and in this form only, that the question of property becomes a factor in alienation, dispossessing human beings of the conditions, products, activities, and moral relations of work, and consequently dispossessing them of their humanity (*Ökonomisch-philosophische Manuskripte*, 1844; *Das Kapital Capital*, 1867).

From Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1891) onward, Catholic teaching on property has consistently offered a synthetic and coherent exegesis of the theological tradition* in an attempt at a response to the realities of technological liberalism, whether capitalist, communist, or socialist. The doctrinal strategy that has been followed is reasonably clear: to synthesize biblical, patristic and (chiefly) Thomist treatments of property with modern liberal ideas and aspirations. On the side of tradition, the Roman *magisterium* has retained above all the idea of a common teleology of earthly

goods, divinely given for the use of all persons: justice and charity dictate that all superfluous wealth should be used to serve the needs of the poor (on a national and international scale) (*Rerum novarum* RN 19; *Quadragesimo anno* QA 56ff.; *Gaudium et spes* 69; *Populorum progressio* PP 22ff.; *Sollicitudo rei socialis* SRS 39; *Centesimus annus* CA 30–31). Faithful to the Thomist conception of the “common good,” the Popes have also defined the role that public authorities should play in relation to regulating the conditions for the enjoyment of private property, overseeing the just distribution of goods and services, establishing public property in common resources, and protecting universal access to them (RN 25ff.; QA 49, 74–75, 132; *Mater et Magistra* MM 77, 79, 88, 116–17, 127–40, 150–52; *Pacem in Terris* PT 46–69, 132–45; PP 23–24, 33–35, 51–53; SRS 42–43; CA 44–49). Less central but still emphatic has been their condemnation of avarice and their upholding of the subordination of material riches to spiritual and eschatological riches (RN 18f.; QA 132, 136; MM 245–51; PP 19; SRS 28). One may also note some concessions to technological liberalism: defense of private property as a (paradigmatic) natural right of persons and families (RN 4–10; QA 44–45; MM 109–12; PT 21; SRS 42; CA 30); ratification of the Lockean theory that property in things is acquired through productive labor, and of the correlative understanding of individuals as proprietors of their own productive capacities (RN 34; QA 52; MM 112; CA 31); a conception of property as the indispensable condition and pivotal expression (via work) of the freedom, responsibility, subjectivity, and creativity of rights-bearing individuals made in the image of God—and thus a conception in which property seems, purely and simply, intrinsic to human perfection (RN 8; QA 49; MM 109–12; PT 8–27, 80, 86, 139; PP 15–16, 27–28; *Gaudium et spes* 71; *Laborem exercens* 4, 7, 10, 15; CA 13, 42–43).

The theoretical accomplishment of the Roman synthesis is incontestable. One may nonetheless fear that what has been lost here (excepting the encouraging intimations of John Paul II, e.g., SRS 28–29) is a vision of humanity that is less volitional and more contemplative, and that would permit a clearer perception of the flaws intrinsic to every theory of property—as well the brand of sin on every use of property.

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See also Authority; Creation; Decalogue; Law and Legislation; Marx, Karl; Utilitarianism; Work

Prophet and Prophecy

1. Old Testament

In the Delphic oracle, the Pythia's incoherent words had to be translated into intelligible speech and the *prophetès* performed this function. The words

“prophet” and “prophecy” derive from this Greek term. From an anthropological viewpoint, prophetism falls into the sphere of man's desire to lose his uncertainty about the future and of his conviction that the

gods—or God*—are willing to reveal their knowledge about it. In this sense, prophecy is closely related to divination. Although similar traits could also be found in Mari and in Greece, biblical prophecy's peculiarity was that God did not restrict himself to answering self-interested requests, but that he required a prescribed behavior. On the other hand, the gods were not in the habit of revealing their will directly themselves, but through go-betweens. In the biblical context, the first mediators were the priests (priesthood*) and the prophets. In early times, the priests played an important oracular role (Jgs 18:5–6 and 1 Sm 14:36–37, 22:10–18, 23:9–12, and 30:7–8). However, the chief mediators for gaining knowledge of God's will were the prophets. They were the only ones to be accepted by the Deuteronomic Code (Dt 18:14–18).

a) Terminology. We use a single word, *prophet*, to refer to people to whom the Bible* gives very different titles: seer (*rô'èh*), visionary (*chôzèh*), man of God (*'ish hâ'èlôhîm*) and prophet (*nâvî*). The first two terms (reported, respectively, 11 and 16 times) show that the prophet was always considered to be a person capable of “seeing” what the vast majority could not see. The title man of God (used 76 times) was applied in particular to people such as Elijah, Elisha, Moses, and Samuel, who transmitted God's word* but who were chiefly miracle workers. The most commonly used term is *nâvî* (used 315 times).

The title *nâvî* does not imply a high regard for an individual so named; it was also applied to the prophets of Baal and to the false prophets of YHWH. During the course of history the *nâvî*'s meaning and function has varied, but its chief characteristic is the transmission of another person's—especially God's—words (of YHWH or Baal). The *nâvî*' operated either independently or in a group, but the most ancient information shows him in a group. In this corporative tradition, the prophets of the kingdom of the North are seen gathered about the king, while in the South the center of attention is the Temple of Jerusalem*, which suggests a close relationship with the priests. The phenomenon that the *nâvî* represents is not homogeneous either in its message or in its manifestations, giving rise to the great quarrels among the prophets. Women could be prophets, and even prophets of great prestige—a very important fact, given that in Israel* women were barred from the priesthood. In certain prophetic movements, as in those of Isaiah or Micah, the term *nâvî* was not held in great favor; it was more common to speak of “contemplating” (*hâzâh*) rather than of “prophesying.”

b) Revelation and Prophecy. The prophetic mediators claimed to know what the average mortal did not

know, thanks to God's transmitting to them visions and auditory messages. The prophet did not speak in his own name, but began and ended his speech with expressions such as “oracle of the Lord,” “word of the Lord,” “thus says the Lord,” and “this is what the Lord allowed me to see.” These turns of phrase were commonly employed by the prophets throughout the whole of the Ancient East. But the prophet's chief source of knowledge was life itself. When he denounced an evil*, the prophet knew what his contemporaries knew: Naboth's murder (1 Kgs 21) was iniquitous; a military alliance with Egypt was being prepared; stripped of their land, small farmers were reduced to selling themselves into slavery; and people committed injustices and at the same time they visited sanctuaries. The revelation* from God consisted in making visible and audible to the prophet what was voluntarily overlooked, to make him feel how much such acts contravened his will.

In the same way, when the prophets announced a peaceful and hopeful future, there is no reason to conclude that it was a special revelation. In principle, whoever put his faith* in the God who would not abandon his people*, even the sinner, would reach the same certainty. This certainty was not taken for granted however, not even by religious men.

c) Prophet and Society. The prophets had to suffer at the hands of all levels of society*. However, the prophet also found, at least in certain groups, the support that made his mission* possible. Society provided him with a stock of truths* and values: faith in YHWH, this God who was not the prophet's own discovery but inherited from earlier generations; the election of Israel as God's people; the criteria of social justice that made the prophets famous, but which their ancestors had, in large part, bequeathed to them through the cult*, popular wisdom*, the laws (law*). No doubt the prophetic attitude toward the traditions was not simply one of acceptance, as its critical aspect is known. But whether the prophets praised it or condemned it, tradition* was indispensable for understanding their message. The support given to the prophet was sometimes posthumous, in the form of a wreath laid on his tomb, but the fact that prophets existed proves that at least a part of society accepted them. This is evident in the cases of Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. However, the clearest testimony to the support that society gave the prophet is seen in the existence of their books (book*), the fruit of patient work* by their disciples and compilers.

Despite the above, in very many instances the prophet challenged various sectors of society. Relations with the kings were always the subject of a power

struggle. Samuel consecrated Saul as king (1 Sm 9:1–10:6), but he also deposed him (1 Sm 15). Nathan did not spare David (2 Sm 12). The condemnations brought against the dynasties of the North follow each other from Ahijah of Siloh, through Jehu, Elijah, Micah, Elisha, Hosea, and Amos. In the South, Isaiah harshly opposed the court (Is 3:12–15) and various kings (Is 7 and 39). Jeremiah publicly accused Shal-lum of being a thief and an assassin (Jer 22:13–19). Ezekiel condemned Zedekiah (Ez 17).

The same conflict raged between the prophets and the priests. Pronouncing God's sentence on Eli (1 Sm 3), Samuel heralded what the conflict between Amos and Amaziah would later become (Am 7:1–17). The conflict raged between Hosea and the priests of his time, whom this prophet accused of rejecting knowl-edge* of God (Hos 4:4) and of being assassins (Hos 6:9). It also raged between Micah and his contemporaries, whom he denounced for their ambition (Micah 3, 11), and between Jeremiah and Pashhur and the other priests in whom the prophet from Anathoth saw nothing but disinterest in God, abuse of power, fraud, impiety (Jer 2:8, 5:31, 6:13, and 23:11). Even Isaiah, a friend of the priest Zachariah, did not neglect to describe priests as drunkards who had turned their faces from God's will (Is 28:7–13). Zephaniah accused them of profaning the sacred and of violating the law (Zep 3:4), a theme that would reappear literally in Ezekiel (Ez 22:26). To end the history of prophetism, Malachi seems to have adopted Hosea's thinking when he accused the priests of leading the people astray (Malachi 2:8–9).

The other groups who held some form or other of political, economic, or social power were also the victims of the prophets' attacks. But the conflict with the false prophets was even more violent. This group included not only the prophets of Baal, but also, and foremost, those who spoke in the name of YHWH without him having spoken to them and without him having sent them (*see* 1 Kgs 22, Jer 6:13–15, 14:13–16, 23:9–32, Ez 13:1–23, 22:28–31, and Mi 3:5–11).

d) History of the Prophetic Movement. The phenomenon of prophetism is clearly attested in Mesopotamia (especially in the town of Mari) and in Canaan. It is probable that the first prophets of Israel were inspired by these individuals. Although the title was later applied to Moses and Abraham, the Israelite prophetic movement must have emerged with Samuel in the eleventh century B.C. During the ninth century, Elijah and Elisha, as well as a group of anonymous prophets, played a primary role. However, the golden age of prophecy was the eighth century with Amos, Hosea,

Isaiah, and Micah. Their activities extended to all domains, including denunciation of idolatry* and of the false cult of YHWH, orientation of domestic and foreign policies, and exhortations to practice social justice. After a period of silence, prophecy sprang vigorously to life again at the end of the seventh century, and at the beginning of the sixth century, when the kingdom of Judah was moving toward catastrophe. It was at this time that Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel appeared. The end of what are generally seen as prophecies of doom or condemnation came with the exile to Babylon. Such a negative view of these prophecies calls for reservations, but it is clear that the prophets before the exile were concerned, above all, with denouncing and condemning the many faults they found in the society of their times and of pointing out the consequences of continuing in these faults.

With the exile to Babylon there began what can be called the prophecy of salvation. The old threats had been realized, and God was announcing forgiveness. Jeremiah's words "There is hope for your future" (Jer 31:17) could sum up the prophets' message after the exile. During the years of exile (586–538 B.C.), Ezekiel and the Deutero-Isaiah encouraged their contemporaries with promises (promise*) of a return to their country, of the reconstruction of the ruined towns (especially of Jerusalem), and of a life of peace* and freedom* under the authority of a descendent of David (a new David sometimes portrayed in an ideal light). Later prophets—Haggai, Zechariah, and Trito-Isaiah—adopted these themes, sometimes accompanied by a serious call to practice love* and justice—caring for those in need is the the fast that is "acceptable to the Lord" (Is 58:1–12). Sometimes there was a subtle criticism against the reigning xenophobia (the case of Jonah), but a message of hope was paramount.

From the fifth century onward prophecy lost its impetus, then vanished completely. Several explanations for this have been suggested. Some think that prophecy had evolved toward the apocalyptic. Others base their theories on sociology: the role of prophecy might have reached the point of losing the people's acceptance. According to D.S. Russel (1964), the most important causes of the decline of prophecy were: 1) the canonization of the law (Pentateuch), which gave the word of God clearly, dispensing with the need for prophets; 2) the impoverishment of prophetic themes, which were often too centered on a distant future and almost incapable of speaking of the present in the ancient prophets' incisive way; 3) the growing swarm of religions featuring salvation, with their wise men and soothsayers, whom the people often equated with prophets.

In any event, prophecy continued to enjoy great prestige in Israel, but with an important difference. The esteem was limited to past and future prophets. The Israelites held the prophets of earlier times in high esteem and they expected a great prophet in the future (1 Macc 4:46 and 14:41). According to an early trend, it would be a prophet like Moses (Dt 18:18); another wave expected Elijah's return (Mal 4:5). For the Christians these hopes would be realized with the advent of John the Baptist and Jesus*.

2. New Testament

The Christian message based itself firmly on the prophets of the Old Testament, mentioned abundantly as a single block turned toward the New Testament (Lk 24:25–27, Acts 3:18–24, Rom 1:2, 1 Pt 1:10, 2 Pt 1:19f, etc.). The most frequent quotations are those from the prophets or the Psalms*—for David was a prophet (Acts 2:29–30). The Jewish authorities and the people wondered whether the “prophet like me” announced by Moses (Dt 18:15) was John the Baptist (Jn 1:21) or Jesus (Jn 6:14), as a sermon by Peter* suggests (Acts 3:22–26). The coming of John the Baptist was regarded as the high point of the whole line of prophets (Mt 11:13). Jesus' deeds were reminiscent of Elijah and Elisha, his words and the effect they produced brought to mind the prophets of the past (Lk 24:19). Jesus himself even compared himself to them (Mt 13:57, and parallels, and Lk 13:33). But there was a radical difference: Jesus did not preface his teachings with “oracle of YHWH” or “thus says the Lord,” but “I say to you.” He issued an invitation to follow him (*akolouthēin*) and to believe in him, which was unprecedented.

The Sermon on the Mount included all the disciples among the heirs of the prophets (Mt 5:11). The attribution of the title varies. On the Pentecost after Jesus' resurrection, the Holy* Spirit bestowed the gift of prophecy (Acts 2:17–18; *see also* 19:6) on the whole community, which was made up of the symbolic number of 120 people (Acts 1:15). According to Ephesians 2:20 and 3:5, apostles (apostle*) and prophets were the foundations. But the list of gifts in Romans 12:6 and in 1 Corinthians 14:1 places the prophets in first place; 1 Corinthians 12:28 and Ephesians 4:11 put them immediately after the apostles, and specify their role, distinguishing them from the thaumaturges and those who spoke in tongues. Acts mentions several prophets (Acts

11:27–28, 13:1–2, 15:32, and 19:6). There were also prophetesses, including the aged Anne, who resides in the Temple (Lk 2:36), the four daughters of Philip the evangelist (Acts 21:9), and others (Acts 2:17–18 and 1 Cor 11:5). That there were false prophets even in Christianity seems to have been part of their contemporary experience* (Mt 7:15, 7:22–23, 24:11, and 24:24; Lk 6:26; and 1 Jn 4:1). The false prophets from the whole span of history* are gathered together in a symbolic image in Revelation 16:13, 19:20, and 21:10.

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See also Apostle; City; Eschatology; Ethics; Hardening; Holy Spirit; Judgment; Justice; Law and Christianity; Messianism/Messiah; Ministry; Parousia; People of God; Promise; Revelations, Individual; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Word

Proportionalism

Proportionalism, a term used in Catholic moral theology*, designates a theory of the concrete, material norms for human action*. Its proponents seek a more satisfactory basis for moral judgment* than that given in manuals of theology, which, in their view, relies on an unduly physical interpretation of human action and natural law. P. Knauer proposed the initial idea in 1965. J. Fuchs, L. Janssens, R. A. McCormick, B. Schüller, and many others developed the notion, gaining it wide influence, especially in Germany and in English-speaking countries. Proportionalism is more than a revision, it is a revolution within moral theology, because it denies that certain acts are intrinsically evil. Not surprisingly, therefore, it has many critics (e.g., S. Pinckaers, M. Rhonheimer, J. Finnis).

Despite differences among proponents of proportionalism, there are some points on which they generally agree. For them, a conception of the person*, understood in all its dimensions, is the fundamental norm. Thus, actions are morally good if they contribute to the good* of persons; actions that undermine the good of persons are morally wrong. One is obligated to avoid moral evil*—for example, inducing another to violate his or her conscience*—but there is also an obligation to avoid causing evils such as poverty, illness or death*. As evils like these may be the effects of human action, or since their existence may push us to act to rectify them, they are morally relevant, although they do not constitute moral evil. Proportionalism refers to such evils as “pre-moral” or “ontic.”

According to a more traditional view, the analysis of an act must be made from the perspective of the person choosing. Thus, the object of the act must be considered as being related to free choice, and therefore belonging to the moral order. Such a view has no place for the notion of the “pre-moral.” A distinction, however, is made between morally significant acts and others that are morally neutral. The perspective of proportionalism is different. Here, an observer seeks to evaluate an act that has been or could have been performed in certain circumstances. One may identify an evil (e.g., a death). This is not morally neutral, but, at this point of the analysis, it is not known whether a moral evil is entailed or not, because all the circumstances have not yet been considered.

For proportionalism, causing pre-moral evil may be justified for “proportionate” reasons. Moral evil arises when a pre-moral evil is permitted or caused without a proportionate reason.

Proportionalism also adopts the distinction between “goodness” and “rectitude.” “Goodness” refers to the sincere striving of the subject to do good, “rectitude” to those actions that are proportioned to this end. A person may be good, and yet, through error or incapacity, perform an act that is not right. It is goodness that is moral. However, one is obligated to strive toward rightness; it must therefore be considered as moral in a derived or analogous sense, and not as merely pre-moral.

The term *proportion* is taken from the “principle of double effect” (intention*), according to which an act that produces both good and bad effects can be justified under certain conditions. One of these conditions is that there should be “proportion” between the act and its end, for example, between an act of violence* and legitimate defense, or between its good and bad effects. Proportionalism makes everything depend on this notion alone, without taking into account the other conditions.

According to traditional Catholic theology, certain actions are intrinsically evil by reason of their object, independently of circumstances, consequences, or the intention of the person who acts. For proportionalism, however, it is impossible to designate an action as intrinsically evil in the abstract. Only after one has considered all aspects, especially the consequences and the intention, can one make such a judgment. Proportionalism accepts that there are acts that are wrong by reason of their object, for example, murder or stealing, but it requires that this object be determined teleologically. Thus, not every killing is murder, since for there to be a murder it is necessary that the action is chosen without a proportionate reason like self-defense. Some evils are such that it is impossible to conceive of a proportionate reason that could justify them, and they are thus prohibited “with no exception.”

Traditionally, certain actions are wrong because they are contrary to the natural law, infringe on the divine dominion over life, or cause harmful consequences. For proportionalism, it is the last consideration that ultimately counts: it is in the conse-

quences of the act that one must seek criteria of judgment. Proportionalism is therefore classed with consequentialism and utilitarianism* as a “teleological” theory. However, a moral judgment may not be based on consequences only; it must equally include consideration of the intention and the way in which the act is carried out. Hence, proportionalism is sometimes referred to as “mixed consequentialism.” Further, while proportionalism agrees with utilitarianism that values are to be maximized, for proportionalism these are objective values, founded in the nature of the person, and not merely preferences or interests. Nevertheless, some see in the requirement to maximize or “produce” results a form of “technical” or instrumental reason* that is typical of utilitarianism.

Some claim that, according to proportionalism, good intentions can make a morally wrong act right. Proponents of proportionalism reject this charge, and insist that they are not defending relativism*. They hold that an act that is morally wrong (in their terms, because it brings about premoral evil without a proportionate reason) cannot be transformed into a good act by intention.

A major objection brought against proportionalism is that it does not offer any means of evaluating proportion. To establish a proportion, one must measure goods and evils in relation to each other; but these are often incommensurable. Proportionalism replies that proportion does not require measuring, but interpreting the relation of the act to the value sought. Proportion is absent if the act contradicts or undermines that value in

the long term. However, the long-term effects of our actions depend on unpredictable factors, such as what others may or may not choose to do, and they therefore elude the assessment that is needed to establish proportion. Contemporary moral theology, while not ignoring the question of norms, is more concerned with developing an ethics* of virtues*.

John Paul II's 1993 encyclical, *Veritatis Splendor*, rejects proportionalism, which it identifies with consequentialism. Proportionalism is held to be without basis in the Catholic tradition (§75–83).

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See also **Decalogue; Ethics; Good; Prudence; Utilitarianism**

Protestantism

a) “Protestantism” generally covers the range of Christian churches (church*) that owe their origins, directly or indirectly, to the Reformation of the 16th century. At the second Diet of Speyer (1529) the representatives of the Reformers “protested” in favor of the liberty* of individuals to choose their own religion according to their conscience. Their opponents described them as “Protestants,” while they preferred to call themselves “evangelicals.” In France the 16th article of an edict issued on 14 May 1576 compelled

the use of the term *la religion prétendue réformée* (“the so-called reformed religion”) in all official statements and acts. Such official labels were used alongside alternatives, such as “the Protestant religion” or “the Protestant Church,” from the 17th century onward; the term *Protestantism* came into widespread use in the 19th century.

Protestantism is not a church, and the various churches that are covered by the term—whether Lutheran, Calvinist, Methodist, Anabaptist*, Baptist*,

Pentecostalist, or other—are not all in communion* with each other. Nor does Protestantism have precisely drawn frontiers: for example, there is controversy within Anglicanism* as to whether it belongs within the Protestant fold. Protestantism has generally been held to exclude such diverse sects as the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Plymouth Brethren, the New Apostolic Church, or the Mormons.

b) Despite its numerous components, and its pluralism, Protestantism may be characterized by reference to certain widely shared convictions. Priority is given to salvation*, and to justification* by faith* alone. Believers are justified before God* not by their works* or their merit, but by grace* alone. The Bible* provides the exclusive standard for the Christian life, and derives its meaning from its central figure, Jesus* Christ, the sole mediator between God and human beings. Faith consists, not in acceptance of a doctrine, but in a living and personal relationship with God. The Church is a community of believers who have committed themselves to listening to the word* of God and to celebrating the sacraments (sacrament*) together. Only baptism* and the Lord's Supper (the Eucharist*) are recognized as sacraments, since they were instituted by Jesus Christ himself.

Protestants are convinced that unceasing reform of the Church is required, but they have some distrust with regard to the institutional dimensions of the Church. A Protestant Church may be governed by synods or other collegiate bodies, or by bishops (bishop*) or other types of officials, and the decisions of these authorities are imposed on all believers, but they can and should be continuously revised in the light of the biblical message. While Protestantism does not reject the need for a ministry* of universal unity, from the very beginning it has opposed the way in which this ministry has been exercised by the popes (pope*). The Catholic redefinition of the papacy at Vatican* I (1870) only intensified the Protestant rejection of all claims that the Catholic magisterium* is endowed with either infallibility* or primacy of jurisdiction*. Protestantism insists on the priesthood* of all baptized believers, although it does not question the need for specific forms of ministry. Nevertheless, the Church and its ministers always remain secondary to the message of salvation, the sole criterion of the authenticity of any Christian and ecclesial life.

The Protestant emphasis on grace has as its ethical corollary (ethics*) a strong commitment to witness and service in this world. Ethical choices are not defined once and for all, but result from constant attention, both individual and communal, to the word of God in concrete situations. The Church is not to extend

its authority over society*: rather, the Church is at the service of a world that has its own *raison d'être*.

c) The study of Protestantism as a social phenomenon made its appearance during the 18th century. Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) considered freedom of conscience to be the fundamental principle of Protestantism, while Hegel* singled out individual freedom. Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) argued that Protestantism had made a decisive contribution to the formulation of the democratic ideals of the modern world. According to Troeltsch, the roots of “neo-Protestantism” were not limited to the ideals of the Reformation, but also included the heritage of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. In *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*), Max Weber (1864–1920) developed the controversial view that there was a particular affinity between the ascetic ethics of Calvinist Protestantism and the mentality of capitalist entrepreneurs. He also argued that, by desacralizing the priesthood and every other ecclesial institution, Protestantism had played an important role in the modern “disenchantment” of the world. Paul Tillich* interpreted Protestantism as a prophetic critique of every structure of power, whether religious or secular: Protestantism, which advocated every secularized form of grace, had been betrayed, in part, by those who claimed to represent it but were incapable of being satisfied with its institutional and dogmatic “weakness.”

d) Precisely because of its sheer multitude of forms and the many divisions within it, which primarily concern questions of ecclesiology*, Protestantism has always been confronted with the problem of *ecumenism**. Ever since the Reformation there has been a desire for the assembling of a universal council*, and both the modern ecumenical movement and the establishment of the World Council of Churches originated within Protestantism. Protestantism seeks a reconciliation of the churches through respect for their legitimate and desirable diversity; its concern is not merely with church unity* but with the unity and reconciliation of the whole of humanity. However, there is fierce controversy within Protestantism itself over the ways in which this goal might be achieved. The permanent role of Protestantism remains: to act as vigilant critic of the whole of life, in society and in the Church, in the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ alone.

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See also **Anabaptists; Anglicanism; Baptists; Calvinism; Catholicism; Ecumenism; Family, Confessional; Lutheranism; Methodism; Orthodoxy; Pentecostalism; World Council of Churches**

Protocatholicism

1. History of Research

The question of protocatholicism, or *Frühkatholizismus*, is principally a matter of concern for German Protestant exegesis*. It emerged with the *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment), was developed by the liberal tradition (Troeltsch, Harnack), and then taken up by Bultmann* and his students (in particular Käsemann). Protocatholicism should be understood as denoting theological tendencies emerging in the last quarter of the first century, "tendencies which are perceptible in almost all the ecclesiastical writings of the second century, and which were essential components of later Catholicism" (Luz 1974).

2. Sources and Chronology

Protocatholicism is known through New Testament writings (except for Paul's Epistles), the apostolic* Fathers, and the oldest apocryphal* Gospels*. The historical delimitation of the phenomenon is a matter of controversy. The protocatholic period begins with the disappearance of the first Christian generation (fall of Jerusalem*; death of Paul and Peter*) and concludes in the late second century with the establishment of the canon.

3. Criteria

a) Reference to the Apostolic Tradition. Because the apostolic age was retrospectively considered as the founding past of the faith*, the tradition* of the apostles (apostle*) thereafter took on a normative function. Whoever claimed adherence to them and their message and took his place in their succession had authority* in the Church*. Among the consequences of this were the development of the literary genre of the apos-

tolic letter as expression of the truth* (*see* the deutero-Pauline and Catholic letters) and the creation of the canon.

b) Distinction between Orthodoxy and Heresy. Whereas in its earliest formulations, primitive Christianity was multifarious, protocatholicism was characterized by the concern to distinguish between true and false teaching; the criterion of truth* then became conformity to the apostolic tradition.

c) Emphasis on Ethics. Parenesis (moral exhortation) occupies a central place in protocatholic writings; it is aimed at a better integration of Christians in the world. It tends to become an autonomous discourse containing its own basis: the dialectics of the indicative and the imperative (e.g., "you are light in the Lord. Walk as children of light" [Ephesians 5:8]) loses its force.

d) Development of Institutional Ecclesiology. It became more important to think about the visible organization of the Church. This development was particularly perceptible at the level of ordained ministries (ministry*) and their hierarchical organization. Having begun as regulatory, the legal order became foundational.

e) Delay in the Parousia. The expectation of the imminent return of Christ faded, although the apocalyptic framework was formally maintained. The relationship to the world* and to history* was thereby changed.

f) Theological Significance. This is a matter of controversy (Küng 1962). Three aspects deserve mention: 1) Protocatholicism is an indisputable fact of the post-

apostolic age, although not its exclusive characteristic (Hahn 1978). 2) It is not a deviation from primitive Christianity, because it is already evident in the New Testament (see in particular the writings of Luke, the pastoral and Catholic Epistles, but also Paul [Käsemann 1965]). 3) Protocatholicism in this sense constitutes a possible form of the reception of nascent Christianity.

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See also Apostolic Fathers; Apostolic Succession; Authority; Catholicism; Ecclesiology; Eschatology; Gospels; Hierarchy; Ministry; Parousia; Tradition

Providence

The word *providence* designates the way in which God* rules the world according to his purposes. In the broad sense, providence concerns all of creation*; more narrowly, humanity; and still more specifically, the direction of history*. Anthropocentrism has been an essential characteristic of the concept of providence from the beginning, but the idea of a general design of providence in and through history dates from the 18th century.

1. Antiquity

a) Greek World. The concept of providence is traditionally traced back to Anaxagoras. However, although for him mind (*noûs*) has full knowledge of everything” and “orders all things” (*fr.* 12), purpose plays no role. So much so, indeed, that in his *Phaedo* Plato has Socrates say that Anaxagoras “made no use of mind and assigned to it no causality for the order of the world, but adduced causes like air and æther and water and many other absurdities” (*Phaedo* 98 b-c; see *Laws* 896 e-907b-c).

Although the earliest mentions of providence are in Plato, the concept of *pronoia* occurs explicitly in the Stoics, particularly from time of Chrysippus (third century B.C.) and Xeno (third and second centuries B.C.). According to Cicero (*On the Nature of the Gods* II. 14. 37, *SVF* II. 332), Chrysippus, the proponent of a

resolute anthropomorphism (Isnardi Parente 1993), argued that everything has a cause, and that vegetables exist for animals* and animals for man (*see also ibid.*).

According to Diodorus (Theiler 1982), the Stoic Posidonius (135–51 B.C.) stated that “by virtue of the relations among human families, it happens that distant peoples unknown to one another aspire to the same political system, making themselves into instruments and concomitant causes of the providential government of the cosmos*” (*see Isnardi Parente 1993*).

Cicero, who had heard Posidonius in 78 BC, expresses the idea that the world “is created and directed by divine providence” (*On the Nature of the Gods* III. 92, *SVF* II. 322) and that “it must therefore be governed by their [the gods’] will and their providence” (II. 80., *SVF* II. 327; see II. 154, *SVF* II. 328). Cicero also sketches a theodicy in which he clearly distinguishes between the goods (good*) that the gods give us and the use that we make of them (III. 70, *SVF* II. 341). Plutarch (46–127), for his part, argued against the materialist determinism of the atomists with the Stoic concept of *pronoia* (*Isis and Osiris* c. 45. 369a, *SVF* II. 322).

The concept of *pronoia* was transmitted to theology* by Philo of Alexandria (c. 13 B.C.–54 A.D.). According to his *De opificio mundi*, God created man as “the most familiar and precious being” (§77), and has arranged everything so that nothing is lacking for ei-

ther his material or his spiritual life*. The same assertion is found in his *De Providentia*, which attributes to the Creator wisdom* and providence, by means of which he takes care of all things (*De Providentia* I. §25). The harmony of the universe is evidence of the universal providence that invisibly moves everything (I. §32) as the soul (soul*-heart-body) moves the human body (I. §40). God created the sun, moon, and planets to provide a rhythm for time and to stabilize the cycles that are useful for the generation of animals and the growth of plants (II. §57). God wanted the Earth to occupy the center of the cosmos. That is why divine providence has given it a spherical shape (II. §62). Air, humidity, and the fixed stars have all been made for a precise purpose (II. §§64, 67, 73, 76, 84). God does not act as a tyrant, but as a king, like a father toward his sons, by adding to the immutable laws of nature the government and preservation of things. God protects the religious man, but also grants the dissolute man the time to redeem himself. In this context, the ideas of providence and divine justice* are linked, inaugurating a connection among soteriology, theodicy, and the doctrine of providence that is typical of Judaism* and Christianity.

Plotinus (205–70) made *pronoia* one of the central concepts of his philosophy* and devoted an entire treatise to it (in two parts, *Enneads* III. 2 and 3). According to him, the belief that the world had a beginning “would imply a foreseeing and a reasoned plan on the part of God providing for the production of the Universe and securing all possible perfection in it” (III. 2. 1). But, given that the world is eternal, providence is “a universal consonance with the divine Intelligence” (ibid.) The soul of the world, according to the supreme Reason* that governs all and makes “harmony and beauty*” reign (III. 2. 17), assigns to each man his role, but it is up to the human actor to play it, and this is why he is responsible for his actions (action*) (ibid.). Vice thus has its usefulness, because punishment for it serves as an example (III. 2. 5), even though evil* in itself is nothing but privation (ibid.). This is clearly a more refined theodicy than that of Cicero. The inequality of various regions of the universe contributes to the harmony of the whole (III. 2. 17). “The universe is organized with the foresight of a general” (III. 3. 2), and each being is perfect in itself inasmuch as it is in accordance with its own nature (III. 3. 3). If a being is less perfect than others, that comes not from a deficiency in its Principle, but from a weakening of the effects of that Principle as it gets closer and closer to matter (ibid.). Beings have no need of equality in order for providence to be equal; what is important is that everything is linked in the universe, “just as in some individual animal, linked from first to last” (III. 3. 5)

(Isnardi Parente 1989). Porphyry (232–304), a disciple of Plotinus, also adopted Stoic anthropocentrism (*De abstinencia* III. 20, *SVF* II. 332).

b) Old Testament and Hellenistic Jewish Circles. The Old Testament gives a central place to man—particularly at the beginning of Genesis—and God’s historical action toward Israel*, his chosen people*, is one of its fundamental themes, but the concept of providence is not brought out on its own account. Passages used to support the opposite argument (e.g., in Schmid 1965) are not persuasive. Genesis 22:8–14, for example, does not refer to the concept of providence: the Hebrew term *r’h* (“to see”) means “to choose for someone” in verse 8, and in verse 14 “appear,” in the sense that God has manifested himself to Abraham. In both these cases the Septuagint (ancient Greek translation of the Bible) faithfully translates using *horaô*. Job 5:18–22 expresses a general concept of God’s salvific action at dangerous or difficult moments (Weiser 1980), without using any technical term. In Job 10:12, God “watches with care” over the spirit of Job. The verb *pqd* indeed means “to take care,” “to be concerned,” but there is no question of an organizing intelligence. In Jeremiah 1:5 it is said that God had chosen Jeremiah as a prophet* even before his birth. The passage is certainly significant because, even in the absence of a technical term, it indicates an idea of prescience and foresight. Proverbs 16:4 is an affirmation of divine omnipotence* (Ringgren and Zimmerli 1980). Psalm 16:8 expresses faith* in the nearness of God. Psalm 145 (verses 8f. and 15f.) celebrates God the provider of everything good (see also Ps 147:9). Judith 16:3–5 recalls how the Lord used a woman* to defeat the enemies of Israel. In short, there is nothing in these passages that clearly indicates a fully developed concept of providence, even though many of their elements were later adopted and integrated into a theology that inherited the concept of providence from the Greeks.

The case is entirely different in the Wisdom of Solomon, which was written in Greek in Alexandria toward the end of the second century B.C. (Schmitt 1986) in a milieu close to that of Philo. Providence is mentioned in three passages. The first, “for the Lord of all...takes thought [*pronoiei*] for all alike (Wis 6:7) is the least significant, because the verb *pronoiei* may be related to the Hebrew *pqd*. The term *pronoia* appears for the first time, in speaking the ship of Wisdom: “but it is thy providence [*pronoia*], O Father, that steers its course” (Wis 14:3). Interpreters agree in seeing the influence of Greek thought in this verse (see note on the passage in the French version of the Jerusalem Bible; Schmitt, 116–17). Finally, Wisdom 17:2 once again mentions *pronoia*.

c) *New Testament*. The theme of God taking care of human beings even in small matters is well developed in the New Testament (see particularly Mt 6:30–32 and 10:29–31). But in this case too the concept of *pronoia* is not adduced for its own sake.

Acts 2:23 uses the term *prognôsis*, or “prescience”; God knows things in advance and thus “what seems to be free action by Jews and Gentiles (the crucifixion of Christ*) comes to pass because God had foreseen it” (Barrett 1994). Acts 4:28 uses the term *proôrizēin* (pre-determine, arrange in advance). It is noteworthy that here Luke “is not thinking of determinism in general but of the specific revelation* of God’s purposes in the history of Jesus*” (Barrett).

Ephesians 1:4, sometimes invoked as evidence (Schmid 1965), deals with the choice* of the Church* and its members even before creation (Barbaglio 1985; see also Jer 1:5 and Acts 2:23).

New Testament writings are concerned principally with what happened with Jesus, and are very far from the concept of *pronoia* or the rational government of the universe (Bultmann 1953). But Hellenistic Christianity soon adopted it, as Hellenistic Judaism had done; this had perhaps already happened by the time of Paul, or in any case shortly afterward. Nevertheless, the first Christian document to use it, probably in 95 or 96, is Clement of Rome’s *Epistle to the Corinthians* (SC 167).

2. Patristic Age

The concept of *pronoia* occupies a central place in Christian thought of the first millennium; Christian liberty* was contrasted by the Fathers* of the Church and the early Scholastics to the pagan belief in fate (*heimarmenē*). They emphasized both man’s autonomy and freedom in the government of his own life and the voluntary and intelligent action of providence in the government of the universe. Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215), strongly influenced by Philo, says that “God provides for everything” (*The Pedagogue* I. 8, SC 70) and that God made of man a specially chosen creature (ibid., I. 3). Origen*, a student of Clement, affirms that “the world exists thanks to providence” (*Contra Celsius* IV. 79, SC 136). And he explicitly refers back to the Stoics for the assertion (ibid., IV. 54 and 74) that all creatures exist for man.

Augustine* too inherited the Stoic concept of providence (Flasch 1994). He writes, for example: “I always retained belief both that you are and that you care for us” (*Confessions* VI. v (8); see VII. vii (11)). In *The City of God*, speaking of the unequal condition of the rulers and the ruled, he explains that this inequality was not produced by chance but following a clearly determined order, an order arranged by God’s

sovereign power, which gives earthly or eternal happiness only to those who deserve it (IV. 23; a passage of great interest because it explicitly brings together the theme of providence and the theme of election, hence the predestination* of the just to salvation*). Augustine subsequently refers to a passage already used by Philo and the school of Alexandria*, according to which God has ordered all things “by measure and number and weight” (Wis 11:20). The Creator has thus given form and beauty to everything, and there is therefore nothing outside the laws of divine providence (*City of God* V. 11). In speaking of the beauty of created things and the fact that they reveal divine providence, Augustine refers explicitly to Plotinus (X. 14). In the same passage he quotes Matthew 6:28ff. Contrary to common understanding, Augustine has no notion of the action of providence in history. The succession of peoples and civilizations seems to him to be the result of chance, and unrelated to the problem of human destiny. After the sack of Rome* in 410, he intends to show in *The City of God* the struggle between the two kingdoms and the election of the just, but he attributes to history neither an immanent meaning nor an ultimate direction (Flasch).

At the juncture of Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Boethius* is convinced that God rules the world according to eternal reason (*perpetua mundum rationi gubernas*) (*Consolation of Philosophy* III. 9), and in his definition of providence, he clearly identifies it with divine intelligence:

“Providence is divine reason itself which, established in the one who is the sovereign principle of all things, orders them all—*providentia est ipsa illa divina ratio in summo omnium principe constituta, quae cuncta disponit* (IV. 6). For him it is not chance but the order of things that flows from the fount of providence (*de providentiae fonte*) (V. 1).

3. Middle Ages

Averroës (1126–98) holds that nothing happens by chance and in particular that the Primal Intelligence links what occurs in the sublunary sphere to the movements of the heavenly bodies. Hence, evils either prevent greater evils or are in themselves positive phenomena that accidentally bring about negative consequences. Providence is revealed principally in man, who could not preserve himself without reason. Taking his inspiration from Alexander of Aphrodisias (late second-early third centuries) and Aristotle, Averroës holds that providence has nothing to do with particular things and hence nothing to do with individuals (Baffioni 1991).

For Maimonides (1135–1204), nothing either good or evil happens to a human being if he has not de-

served it, because God always acts with perfect justice (*Guide for the Perplexed*, 463–64). It is sometimes “love* that punishes,” by inflicting a punishment that causes even greater delight in the future reward (464–65). Against Averroës, Maimonides holds that providence concerns only human beings and not natural events, which are subject to chance; if they affect men, this is because God uses them according to his will and his justice to reward or punish (465–66). Providence is thus in the service of Intelligence (469).

Scholasticism* inherited the problematics of late Antiquity and systematized it. For Thomas* Aquinas providence depends as much on divine knowledge as on divine will. According to him, the good of things consists not only in their substance but also in their being ordered to an end (which clearly depends not only on the will but also on the intelligence of God). Echoing Boethius, Thomas holds that it is necessary that the reason for this order preexist in the divine mind before it is created. This is precisely the definition of providence: *ratio autem ordinandorum in finem, proprie providentia est* (*ST Ia. q. 22. a. 1*). It is not only the universe as a whole that is subject to providence, but also all beings and all particular events (*ST Ia. q. 22. a. 2*). But on the question of whether God provides immediately for everything, Thomas partially follows Averroës in saying that if it is a question of determining the purpose of all things then God provides directly for everything; but in the matter of bringing about those purposes he rules the inferior by means of the superior, in order to give to created beings “the dignity of causality” (*ST Ia. q. 23. a. 3*). Predestination is a part of providence (*ST Ia. q. 23. a. 1 and a. 4*).

4. Modern and Contemporary Periods

a) *16th and 17th Centuries.* Modern times raised different sets of questions, particularly because of the influence of Ockham (c. 1285–1349), amplified by the Reformation (Auletta 1995). Ockham’s voluntarism* on questions of both ontology and ethics is potentially in conflict with the Greek idea of an ordering intelligence. For him, the concept of providence is generally subordinated to that of predestination* (*Tr. de Predestinatione, Opera philosophica* II, 510–11, 514, 520–26). And because of questions raised by the Reformation, the problem of the relationship between providence and predestination, theodicy and freedom, became central for modern thought. Examples of this can be found in Molina (Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism) for Catholicism* and Leibniz* for Protestantism*.

Molina adopts Thomas’s distinctions and asserts that providence concerns the relationship of things

with God’s ultimate purposes; it is an action interior to God, which expresses itself outwardly in the moments of the creation and of the governance of things (*Concordia*...403). The ends of providence are differentiated: the ultimate end is God himself, but the action of providence is already expressed in the immense variety, the beauty, and the order of finite beings (407), although human beings and angels* occupy a privileged place among them (408). Sin* almost derives from a secondary intention of divine providence (*quasi ad secundariam intentionem divinae providentiae*); having foreseen the sins of human beings and of angels, God has permitted them and integrated them into an order directed toward an ultimate end (408). Although providence is extended to everything, it is most specifically concerned with things in relation to the supernatural* order (415). It is distinguished from predestination, which concerns reasonable creatures insofar as it guides *all* of them toward eternal life ([*Deus*] *vult creaturas omnes mente praeditas salvas fieri*) (426). This is also why the punishment of sinners is only a secondary consequence of providence and predestination (409) and a continuation of the latter (Craig 1988).

Leibniz’s position is more complex. Like Molina, he believes that God’s providence is expressed in the creation of the greatest possible variety of things, accomplished in the best of all possible worlds, and in their preservation and ordering for an ultimate purpose (*Philosophische Schriften* VI, 445; VII, 358, 391). He also thinks that God permits sin as a secondary consequence (III, 37; VI, 119–21, 162, 198, 200, 313–14, 334, 448). However, he is also convinced that some are predestined to eternal damnation (VI, 275), and as a consequence, the problem of theodicy becomes even more central for him than for Molina. He distinguishes between metaphysical, physical, and moral evil (VI, 115, 261). The first is necessarily consubstantial with created beings, because it is a matter of their finiteness; it is therefore an inevitable consequence of creation (VI, 114–15, 198–200, 230–273). Physical evil is a consequence of metaphysical evil. Moral evil consists in sin understood as the pursuit of an apparent good by a limited created being; in the last analysis, it too can therefore be traced back to metaphysical evil as well (VI, 202–03). However, given that the universe is the providential realization of a perfect order, determined by divine intelligence down to the smallest details (VI, 107–08), it is clear that disharmonies, including sin, are only apparent and in the last analysis contribute to the greater harmony of the All, so that those predestined to damnation are sacrificed for the greater good or the greater beauty of the All (VI, 187–88, 196, 231–32). By asserting in this way that the universe

does not have as its sole purpose the happiness of reasonable beings (VI, 169–74), Leibniz radically distanced himself from the traditional anthropocentrism of the concept of providence.

b) *18th and 19th Centuries.* Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) was the first to propose a “civil and reasoned theology of divine providence” (*The New Science* 114), that is, a theology of history based on providence. Far from being a simple succession of fortuitous and disordered facts, history has a true purpose; this is why Plato, according to him, was right to say that “human things are ordered by providence” (426). Providence gave laws to “the great city* of the human race” (115), and those laws as a whole make up the “eternal ideal history” (89, 99, and *passim*) that is the framework within which the real history of nations unfolds.

Herder (1744–1803) links cosmological and historical perspectives; the cosmos is the theater of a development toward ever higher forms (*Ideen* ... I. 5. 3), up to the pinnacle represented by human beings. Providence has given human beings a task that goes beyond the earthly realm and for which this life is only a preparation (I. 5. 5). But the fact that human history in the strict sense involves a succession of civilizations experiencing greatness and decadence shows that the only thing that counts for human beings is the acquisition and exercise of reason (III. 15. 3); hence, for Herder, there is no purpose to history itself.

For Lessing (1729–81), revelation is to humanity what education is to the individual (*Erziehung* ... 7). It communicates to human beings more quickly, and in a determinate order, truths* that they could in principle have reached by reason, but which in fact they would have had great deal of difficulty in discovering, lost as they were in the labyrinth of idolatry (8). To correct them, God chose not an individual but a people, Israel (8–9). First he showed them his power, then he gave them the idea of the uniqueness of God, and finally taught them the idea of the infinite* (9–10). This was the education of an infant people, who would in turn become the educator of the rest of humanity (11) by means of a special primer, Scripture (13–14, 19–20). The Book of Job and the Wisdom of Solomon already indicate the elevation of this people above earthly goods (14–15); thereafter, under Persian influence, Hebrew thought refined its concept of God and came to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul (17–18). Then came a still better “pedagogue,” Christ (21). He is the first teacher of purity* of the heart, the morality that has us pursue virtue* for virtue’s sake (22 and 27). But the action of providence does not end there; Lessing adopts the doctrine of Joachim of Fiore on the

three ages to assert the necessary coming of a “new eternal Gospel” (28–29), purely rational, with no Church or dogma*. This will represent the spiritual maturity of the human race. We are thus dealing with a teleological vision of history of which the revelation of the God of Israel is an integral part and that makes the particular history of that people and that revelation a decisive element in God’s providential action for all of humanity. In another perspective, this position was also arrived at by the theology of the 19th and 20th centuries, both Protestant (school of Erlangen) and Catholic (school of Tübingen*), with the concept of salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*).

German idealism tries to integrate the two dimensions, cosmic and historical, of providence. In Schelling*’s early works the creation of finite things appears, in Gnostic fashion, as a fall of God, in whom freedom and necessity coincide (*Philosophie und Religion*, SW VI, 40). Finite things thus cannot return to the Absolute (SW VI, 56–57) but, born from the difference between reality and possibility, are subject to temporality. God, however, remains the in-itself of nature through the intermediary of the human soul and is thereby the immediate in-itself of history, which as a whole (and only as a whole) presents itself as the harmony of the freedom and necessity that are in God from the beginning; history is thus the revelation of God (SW VI, 57). However, at the end of his philosophical development, Schelling abandoned attempting a definitive reconciliation of cosmos and history and recognized that historical existence is substantially removed from cosmic Reason (Semerari 1971).

For Hegel*, history is a moment of the necessary dialectic of the Absolute (*Encyclopedia* §§483–86). He thus relegates religion and revelation to a subordinate position, where they take their place among other historical moments (§§564–71); and he empties the concept of providence of its meaning, whether on the historical plane, where the idea of providence is reduced to the “cunning of history,” or on the cosmic plane, where the cosmos is merely the reflection of the dialectical necessity of the concept.

c) *20th Century.* After Hegel we enter a period in which the idea of providence no longer has a place and mechanistic determinism triumphs, for example in positivist interpretations of the theory of evolution*. However, theologians and philosophers have maintained the idea of providence. For example, Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929) emphasizes the Greek character of the concept of providence. In its universality it does not immediately concern individuals as such (*see* Averroës), but only concepts, species, genera, and the universal interconnection of things that God renews from

day to day through a continuous creation (*Der Stern der Erlösung* II, 1). For the Bible*, the world is created and therefore has no sacred character and depends on the protection of providence (II, 3, 216); it is also a cosmos over which man holds stewardship (266–67). Finally, the logic of redemption associates world and man; both are destined to be saved (II, 3, 216).

Karl Barth* relies explicitly on Calvin*, who identifies the concept of providence with the concept of divine rule over the world, and emphasizes the central character of this doctrine (*Inst.* I. 16. 1; see Barth, *KD* III/3, 8). He therefore logically subordinates providence to predestination, which consists of the eternal decree through which God chooses his Son to be at the head of his Church and of all created beings, while providence amounts merely to the carrying out of that decree (*KD* III/3, 3). It is thus the rule of God “according to the criteria of his own will” (*KD* III/3, 12). And history in the end has no meaning but the realization of the providential covenant* between God and man (*KD* III/3, 41).

As for the Catholic Church, Pope Pius XII, speaking of a personal God “protecting and ruling the world through his providence” (*DS* 3875), repeated in 1950 what had been promulgated by the First Vatican* Council (1870): “God protects and rules the universe through providence” (*Universa... Deus providentia sua tuetur atque gubernat*) (*DS* 3003). The CCC reaffirms belief in “God’s action in history” (§2738; see §§302–14) and in the government of the world (§1884; see §§1040 and 2115).

The Judeo-Christian tradition* is thus resolutely opposed to all forms of determinism; there is an intelligent government of the world and human beings are morally responsible for their actions. With these principles posited, theology still has a good deal to do to think providence through to the end. The Lisbon earthquake of 1 November 1755 was able to demolish the optimism of the Enlightenment. The horrible events of the 20th century encourage a view of history that is more tragic than providential. We must still answer Job, and understand the response given to him in Jesus Christ.

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5. Prospects

Reconstructing a theology of providence, on which recent scholarship seems to have maintained an uncomfortable silence, calls for a certain number of precautions:

First, we should recall the obvious fact that we can speak in this context only by presupposing an act of faith (see Barth, *KD* III/3, 15). If in fact the modern fate of the concept of providence has been disastrous,

this is because a theological doctrine accepted the hospitality offered by philosophies (philosophy) of history, and doomed itself to share their fate. Neither the conditions of that hospitality nor that fate hold any more secrets. According to Vico’s axiomatics, in the field of history the true is identical to the fact: *factum et verum convertuntur*. The “fact” itself is defined in terms of positivity and production. Because it is the trace of an action, it refers to that action as a preterite, a concluded reality. And if no fact is the last fact—if there is no history without the prospect of a future, whether we are speaking of a history to be lived or one to be written—the future itself, the fact that is not yet, can only itself be thought of as the strict analogue of what has already been done and well done (Troeltsch). The question of “meaning” or “purpose” is consequently identified with the question of a logos or a spirit, the secret of which is fundamental one of technique, of the “doable.” Logos or spirit, this secret has certainly been merchandised in various ways. The philosophy of history may be situated within the assumption of First Cause pursuing an uncompleted grand design through the mediation of secondary causes. It can dispense with that protection, grant human causality the status of first cause, and make its spirit the spirit of a utopia (Bloch, e.g.). But here also, shared presuppositions win out over the variety of particular expressions. If we must still speak of providence, it will have to be commensurate with the facts. And although the “facts,” in the *epistémè* presiding over their birth, may have begun by using the language of order, progress, and the possibility of happiness, it is at least certain that they may use another language, and it is also certain that no fact, as fact, will ever be the obvious trace of a divine government of all reality.

But if we may expect an affirmation of divine providence only from faith and its self-referential language, then the logic of the fact is called into question; one can never make of any fact, as such, a speech act arguing in favor of God. Faith is certainly based on the believable, and divine credibility* no doubt implies a certain credibility to the idea of divine providence. The experience of Israel nevertheless indicates that divine government of all things and of all history can be believed only from within a primordial act of faith that God solicits as savior, and then as creator and master of a covenant. God, on the one hand, is not believed because his providence is obvious to us; nor, on the other hand does the believing affirmation of God cause his providence to become obvious. There is providence only for faith, which does not *see* what it *believes*.

Next, we would have to agree about the fulfillment of the divine will. Christian prayer* does not speak of

that will in the indicative but in the optative (“Thy will be done”); and then linking God’s will to the two obviously eschatological events of the sanctification of the Name* and the coming of the Kingdom, prayer indicates the inadequacy of any speech satisfied with the present prospect or with the prospect of an absolute future congruent with that present. The idea of providence associates the logic of belief with the logic of hope*, and that is what makes it possible to confess divine providence in the tragic element of the present of history. A basic requirement of theological coherence makes it necessary that God be not only a lord of the End—of the *eschaton*—whom man’s sin dooms to temporary impotence: God *is* lord. But in order to say that, we must again take leave of the facts. The last fact, after all, is indeed the fact of the impotence of God, the fact of the Absolute crucified. And although the event of Easter prevents that fact from having the last word, so that God *is* today the conqueror of the *world*, it remains true that one can today take part in that victory only in the mode of a promise* whose realization remains inchoate. Since Easter Sunday, the *eschaton* is no longer the ineffable (we can think and speak about it with complete rigor), and it is no longer part of its definition that it has no locus in the history of the world. The End is now no longer the favorite shelter of dream and myth*. However, no anticipation and no promise are engraved in the history of the world, through the experience of Israel and the experience of Jesus, with the force necessary to transfigure that history. Thus, in asking that God’s will be done, the person who prays accepts what is trivially obvious, that is, that today it is the will of human beings that is done. And because it is accepted before God, the trivially obvious is *ipso facto* given speculative weight. The will of God is in fact that his will may be done only obscurely in history, where the will of human beings is often done with spectacular brutality.

The difficult articulation between divine power and divine impotence is in this context an indication of the need for a theoretical work that is able, on the one hand, to avoid the fascination that the concept of causality has in the past held for theology; and on the other, in an age of suspicion, to avoid any assimilation of the divine will to a will to power. In its Scholastic form the doctrine of providence is the doctrine of an overall plan that the First Cause realizes through the mediation of secondary causes (sometimes dispensing with that mediation). Philosophies of history have provided secularized versions of this doctrine. But does God really provide for history a “reason” and a “cause,” *ratio sive causa*? And is it necessary that the only providence that is thinkable be a calculus of means and ends ready before the foundation of the

world, through which God allows himself what he forbids to human beings as moral: permitting evil in order to promote a greater good? This is really not certain. A calculus of this kind is in fact the work of a divine intellect, the work of a God conceived in the image of the *noûs* of Greek thought, and the theological purity of a conception of this kind is open to question. If love* is in fact not a divine attribute (“God is a God who loves”), but the very name of God (“God is love”), then we must immediately ask what effects can be attributed to a hypostatic love.

Several remarks should be made at this point. 1) On the medieval view the power inherent in love is necessarily an “ordered” power, *potentia ordinata*, and it is not fitting that love be *absolutely* powerful. 2) If the logic of creation is a logic of love, and if it is therefore appropriate to attribute affection to God more certainly than we attribute intellection to him, then we must attribute to created free beings, if they refuse to respond to love with recognition and praise*, the power to render God impotent. It is in the nature of the Good* to give itself. But it is in the nature of the gift to expose itself to rejection. 3) There is, however, one gift that one cannot refuse to receive from the Good, and that is the gift of being. Therefore, despite himself, even the being who refuses to see himself as a being-who-has-been-given manifests the goodness of the gift that has made him be and continues to make him be. A hermeneutics* is thus possible that would attempt to discern wherein lies the trace of an intention and a divine foresight. 4) The Good gives beyond power and impotence. Beyond power, because it wishes for a communion* that excludes any constraint and subordinates its causality to its goodness. But beyond impotence, because it has promised to judge the world, and because that judgment*, for him who has eyes to believe, is already taking place in the world’s present.

A viable theology of providence could thus be organized as the doctrine of a love crucified before the eyes of all and whose resurrection* was manifest to only a small number of witnesses. Renouncing the invocation over any present of the transcendental (but not necessarily generous) majesty of a supreme cause, renouncing the onto-theological concept of an Absolute proving its absoluteness by predetermining (meta) physically everything that happens in the world, and renouncing the identification of the Spirit of God with the spirit of universal history, such a theology should abandon any systematic and totalizing claims: to proceed to the conceptual apocalypse of meaning is what it absolutely could not do. Perhaps the classical theology of providence died from being a systematic theology. And perhaps the abandonment of any desire for a

system would make it possible to gather and benefit from certain meanings that were lost or neglected under systematization. The classical theology of providence was a *theologia gloriae* capable, it believed, of assigning today a dual meaning to every thing and every event, a proto-logical meaning (knowing reality as it was foreknown by God from all eternity) and an eschatological meaning (knowing the provisional in the evident light of the definitive). We certainly should not abandon the ambition for a paschal hermeneutics of history, but we must also accept that it will never be legitimate except on the critical foundation of a *theologia crucis*. To the element of impotence that the Good takes on in the history created by its generosity corresponds, on its own level, a certain impotence of the rational faculty. And when theology confesses that it cannot give a reason for everything, then it does not sign its own death warrant. It simply admits that it exists in the world as a system of believing and hoping thought that reads in being the trace of a gift and the promise of a fulfillment, but that also knows that the bringing forth of meaning is inseparable from the way of the cross. Obviously, not everything *is* good, beautiful, and true. But even when the work of the theological concept ends in collision with the antinomial connection of *meaning* and the *cross*, all work of thought is not over. It simply leaves to another kind of thought, mystical and a-systematic, the task of rejoicing in the idea that “all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall be well” (Julian of Norwich).

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See also **Evil; Justice, Divine; Predestination**

Prudence

a) *Definition.* In ancient and medieval ethics*, *prudentia* was a virtue (virtues*), the developed capacity to deliberate, choose, and act in the right way. It was “right reason” applied to actions, defined by Thomas* Aquinas (following Aristotle) as *recta ratio agibilium* (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 57, a. 4).

This view of prudence must be distinguished from what is understood by “prudence” today. Its sense as “caution,” especially in financial matters, is far too restrictive. In moral philosophy, “prudence” has even come to designate motivation from self-interest, and Kant* contrasts it with truly moral motivation, that is, duty. Even in Catholic theology*, where the traditional meaning has never been totally forgotten, legalism has allowed prudence to take on the character of obedience of authority*, often assimilated with conscience*. To avoid all such equivocations, the term *practical wisdom* may be preferred, providing that it encompasses not only deliberation and choice, but also the carrying out of the action. Acting well is indeed the most important part of prudence, and being capable of giving good advice, to others or to oneself, is not enough.

b) *Philosophical Tradition.* The definition of prudence as chief of the cardinal virtues (the others being justice*, fortitude, and temperance) goes back at least to Plato (*Republic* 4, 441–42). Aristotle adds three details to this definition. He distinguishes theoretical wisdom (*sophia*) from practical wisdom (*phronesis*), the first being based on knowledge of universal principles, the second requiring both general principles and knowledge of specific circumstances (*EN VI*, 1141). He analyzes the process of practical reasoning: after establishing a purpose, there is deliberation (*bouleusis*) on the best means for realizing it, followed by the choice of such a means (*prohairesis*) and of the action itself (*EN III*). Finally, he shows how prudence does not exist without other virtues: an intelligent will capable of judicious deliberation but lacking the virtue of justice is no longer a prudential will (*EN VI*, 1142 a; 1143 a 25–b 17).

The Stoics already placed more emphasis on knowledge of universal principles and less on knowledge of circumstances or on rational choice. However, it was during the Renaissance that the notion of prudence changed significantly. In the writings of Machiavelli (1469–1527), for example, prudence is barely any-

thing more than the choice of means, a calculating virtue that seeks a result, rather than right action. Here, there is an authentic anticipation of utilitarianism*.

c) *Scripture and the Theological Synthesis.* At first sight, the atmosphere of the Bible*, in which “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom” (Prv 9:10), may seem quite different, since it places value on humility and obedience to the divine law, rather than on the quality of reasoning. Yet this obedience is not blind: God*’s instructions must be understood and applied with discernment. Human beings endowed with prudence are so impregnated with the divine law that they are capable of grasping immediately whether a particular way of acting is good or bad. Several of the parables (parable*) of Jesus* (“The kingdom of heaven is like a merchant in search of fine pearls,” Mt 13:45f.; “For which of you, desiring to build a tower, does not first sit down and count the cost, whether he has enough to complete it,” Lk 14:28ff.; the parable of the 10 virgins in Mt 25:1–13; “build your house on the rock,” Mt 7:24–27) highlight traits that combine biblical wisdom with secular wisdom. What matters is that the end should be good, the deliberation well-conducted, the judgment sane, and the action coherent.

The early Fathers* (e.g., Ambrose*) made the four cardinal virtues Christian, but it is Augustine* who most profoundly demonstrates the unity of the virtues in love*. He sees clearly that the need that prudence has for the other virtues can be summed up in the love of God and one’s neighbor: Christian prudence is “love choosing wisely” (*amor sagaciter eligens*, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, 5, 25, BAug 1).

Thomas Aquinas based his theological analysis of prudence on Aristotle’s description of practical reason. While Aristotle is vague as to the origin of general principles, and leaves the formation of prudence to education, good examples, and reflection, Aquinas attaches great importance to right will and to obedience to the eternal law (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 19, a. 4). Revelation* provides sure principles for deliberating and judging, although prudence must be capable of recognizing exceptional circumstances in which the customary rules cannot be applied (*IIa IIae*, q. 51, a. 4). Believers are aided in all this by the light that they receive from the Holy* Spirit (*IIa IIae*, q. 52, a. 1).

d) Higher Degrees of Prudence. The ordinary domain of prudence is individual conduct, but Aristotle reminds us (*EN* VI, 1141 *b* 29–1142 *a* 10) that the good* of each person cannot exist without a good domestic economy, or in the absence of political organization. Moreover, according to Aquinas the exclusive search for personal good stands in opposition to love (IIa IIae, q. 47, a. 10). There is therefore a political prudence that aims at a higher end than the personal good of the prince, that is, the common good. This is not the concern of rulers alone, for all human beings must govern themselves by reason (IIa IIae, q. 47, a. 12).

There is a link between “prudence” (*prudentia*) and “providence*” (*providentia*) that is not merely etymological. While the highest form of practical wisdom belongs to God, human beings can participate in it if they wish. The actions (action*) that they freely choose allow them to participate in providence if they

are in conformity with God’s will (Ia, q. 22; Ia IIae, q. 91, a. 2). The disappearance of trust in God is undoubtedly one of the main causes of the modern degradation of prudence into cautious calculation.

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See also Action; Casuistry; Epieikeia; Ethics; Good; Intention; Virtues

Przywara, Erich. *See* **Analogy**

Psalms

a) Collection. Entitled “book* of praises (praise*)” (Hebrew *Tehillîm*), the Psalter is the canonical collection of the prayers (prayer*) of Israel*. It has been introduced in various forms into Christian liturgies (liturgy*).

A psalm (from the Greek *psalmô*, play a stringed instrument) is a poetic piece composed to be chanted, called *mizemôr* (57 times), from *zimmér*; to chant with accompaniment. Of the 150 Psalms, 28 have come down under the name of Levite brotherhoods and 73 (84 in the Septuagint) were transmitted late under the name of David (12 “titles” evoke a moment of his life, especially his ordeals), an attribution that came to be applied to all of them. The brief concluding ritual formulas of praise (doxologies) found in Psalms 41:134,

72:18–20, 89:52, and 106:48 (*see also* Ps 150) separate the book into five parts. This division, which is very late, incorporates older collections. The most archaic compositions are found between Psalms 3 and 41; we can also distinguish “Elohists” Psalms (42–83); the Passover *Hallel* (Ps 113–118); and the Psalms of “ascent” or pilgrimage* to Zion (Ps 120–134). Psalm 151, found in the Septuagint and at Qumran (Hebrew 11QPsa), claims Davidic origin for the entire collection, a belief attested in the New Testament (Mark 12:35–37 and parallels, Acts 1:16, 2:25, and 4:25, Romans 4:6 and 11:9, and Hebrews 4:7). Caves 4 and 11 at Qumran contain elements of the Psalter; Qumran has its own hymns or *Hôdayôt* (1QH). Under the title *Psalms of Solomon*, there are 18 other noncanonical

Psalms, inspired by the Roman invasion of 63 B.C. Catholic liturgy, having adopted the same numbering of the Psalms as the Septuagint and the Vulgate, is out of step with the numbering employed in the Bibles (Bible*) translated from Hebrew, which are the ones used in most commentaries.

b) Author and Speaker. From the point of view of the origin of the Psalter, the “author” of a psalm (to whom is attributed the conception and composition of the prayer) and the “speaker” (the one who addresses it to God*) may or may not coincide at the outset, but the distinction between them is constant. On the one hand, the text is detached from its author; it belongs to the speaker in whose mouth it is placed. On the other hand, the speaker is necessarily linked to a chain of individuals or groups that the repertory has designated for typical situations. It may happen that a collective prayer is spoken by an individual and conversely, but the text does not lose its formal characteristics. The “title” given to the psalm, if any, does not make it possible to trace the origin of the psalm. It is rather an illustration, attached to David as a type. According to the *Midrash Tehillim*, (18, 1), “everything that David said in his book he said in relation to himself, in relation to all Israel, in relation to all time*.” Hence, Jewish exegesis* attributes Psalm 22 to Esther and sees in Psalm 35:21 the situation of Susanna and the elders.

Modern historians have attempted to identify authors, but, with few exceptions, the identifiable facts referred to by the Psalms are confined to the distant past. It is reasonable to think that a core group dating from the first temple* was preserved and then considerably augmented after the exile. A relationship has been noted (the genealogical order remains subject to debate) between some Psalms and the prayers of Jeremiah, between the Psalms of the reign of YHWH and the hymns of Isaiah 40–55, and between Psalm 51 and Ezekiel. One can often detect within a single piece traces of “rereadings” left by an ancient anonymous chain of poets (A. Robert, R. Tournay).

c) Turning Point in Scholarship. Hermann Gunkel carried out his study of the Psalms between 1904 and 1933 (*Die Psalmen und Einleitung in die Psalmen*). By focusing his attention on the literary aspect and the ritual function of the Psalter, in order to discover “forms” or “genres” (*Gattungen*), Gunkel indirectly contributed to the theology* of biblical prayer. The poet calls on every reader, or rather every reciter who will succeed him, to share an experience* that goes beyond him, the experience of the encounter with God. Communication is established through poetry; the Psalter represents an enormous repertory of symbols,

and its language is a vehicle for all corporeal signifiers, sites of sensations, and feelings.

At the same time, the experience is expressed in what Gunkel calls *forms*, in which conventions of language regulate the *composition*, the *motifs* (or themes), and the *style* of a psalm. Neither meter nor stanzaic structure is immediately apparent to us today because the accents and caesurae of the accepted Hebrew text are of medieval origin (E. Beaucamp, *DBS* [1979] col. 158–66). Studies of biblical rhetoric have been concerned particularly with the procedures of composition, such as parallelisms and concentric organization (R. Meynet: P. Auffret; J.-N. Aletti; and J. Trublet).

The interplay between norms and innovations made possible the circulation of the experience in the community. Because the psalter formed a repertory of songs, the psalmist had to identify himself with the psalmists preceding him. This appropriation of the prayer of others became a component of the spiritual experience, corresponding to the essentially liturgical character of the collection. At the same time, the experience made the framework open and available. It elicited a response that was expressed within the book by songs claiming to be “new” (Ps 40:3; *see also* Ps 22:31b and 102:20). The various forms are both rigid and flexible. Each psalm is unique. Finally, in all can be heard not a general truth*, nor only a particular event, but a unique series of events shared between the individual and the community.

Form Criticism (*Formgeschichte*) looks for a sociological foundation for every form, called a *Sitz im Leben*, or situation of the community in the time and place of the composition of a biblical work. However, the classification proposed by Gunkel carries this out incompletely, and is thus inconsistent and disparate. A division into 10 groups of Psalms makes it possible to collate various lists drawn up by Gunkel and his school:

- 1) The *hymn*: praise addressed to God for his work of creation* and in history*. The tone is one of jubilation; these Psalms may have been intended for choral performance. They normally contain an “introit” (“praise,” “sing”), a recitation in the third person of God’s deeds, and a conclusion (e.g., Ps 8, 65, and 136).
- 2) The *enthronement song* or song of the royalty of YHWH, which has in the forefront the acclamation “YHWH reigns” (e.g., Ps 47, 93, 97, and 99).
- 3) The *songs of Zion*, a category of hymn whose theme is the holy city*, the temple mount, liturgically adapted to a pilgrimage or a festival celebrated in Jerusalem* (e.g., Ps 48 and 87). It is

convenient to add to this group the “Psalms of pilgrimage” (e.g., Ps 84 and certain “Psalms of ascent”).

- 4) *Psalms of thanksgiving*, which some scholars have classed with the hymns; however, being more individual, these make up a distinct group, open to variation (e.g., Ps 18 and 116).
- 5) *Psalms of collective and national lament*, joining together the description of a misfortune and an appeal to the obligation of YHWH. These may also include, according to circumstances, a confession of sins (sin*) or a protestation of innocence (e.g., Ps 44, 74, and 79).
- 6) *Psalms of individual lament*, characterized by the triad I-God-the enemy. These frequently include an expression of confidence and in conclusion the promise or the vow to give God thanks. These Psalms may be subdivided into laments from persons suffering persecution who find refuge in the temple or in YHWH (e.g., Ps 11); laments of persons who are ill, and who see their sins as the sources of their sickness (e.g., Ps 6, 31, and 39); and laments of accused innocents who appeal to the tribunal of God (e.g., Ps 7 and 17).
- 7) *Psalms of confidence*, expressing either calm and peaceful confidence in God, or the effort to strengthen that confidence in times of crisis (e.g., Ps 16, 23, and 27).
- 8) *Liturgical Psalms*, constructed like ritual acts (real or fictitious) and incorporating indications about the ritual in the text (e.g., Ps 15, 24, and 118).
- 9) *Wisdom Psalms*, recognizable from their theme, their meditative tone, or their didactic style (e.g., Ps 1, 37, and 49). This group may include Psalms organized as historical meditations (e.g., Ps 78, 105, and 106).
- 10) Finally, *acrostic Psalms*, organized according to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet (e.g., Ps 9, 10, 25, 34, 111, 112, 119, and 145).

d) *From Mowinckel to von Rad*. It remains indispensable to consider each psalm as “a unity whose principle is simultaneously of a poetic, a theological, and a religious order” (L. Alonso-Schöckel 1972). Several lines of scholarship by Gunkel’s associates, his followers, and sometimes his opponents may be examined in comparison with the impetus and direction given by Form Criticism. Sigmund Mowinckel (*Psalmen-studien* 1921–24) attempted to establish the unity of the *Sitz im Leben* of the Psalms around the annual enthronement of YHWH as king of the cosmos*, in parallel with the Babylonian festival of Akîtu. Dis-

missed by historians, this approach found support among specialists in mythology, and it long drew attention to the integration of the cosmos* into the prayer and poetry of the Psalms (R. Murray, *The Cosmic Covenant* 1992). The principal interpreters of the Psalms agree today in wishing to take into consideration the specificity of the language and its aesthetics. Claus Westermann has to some degree moved away from the explanatory side of Gunkel’s sociology. For him, the pairing of praise and supplication is the principal formula of the book. It is a matter of “what happens in the words.” For, he writes, “the bipolar form of speaking to God is the *Sitz im Leben* specific to the psalms” (*Das Lob Gottes in den Psalmen*, 1954). That amounts to positing a “site in the word” and at least provisionally calling into question the principle of classification. An anthropology* of prayer is already taking shape. Gerhard von Rad has been able to show the theological import of the literary schematism of ritual texts, which in a sense call for hyperbole (situations that are always extreme, “the radicalism of description”). In *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1957, vol. 1), he writes: “We will have to take with the greatest theological seriousness the difference between what is really experienced and the extreme form in which the speaker presents himself before God.”

e) *David the Prophet* (Acts 2:30). It was indeed hyperbole that was given prophetic value in interpretations such as that given by the apostle* Peter* of Psalm 16:10 (Septuagint), from his very first proclamation of Christ* (Acts 2:24–32). This reading according to the extension each generation contributes to the meaning of the Scriptures, with faithfulness, and in an exchange between the individual and the community, opens onto the Christological interpretation of the Psalms, which we see in the New Testament (Lk 24:44). The New Testament contains approximately 80 quotations from the Psalms, amounting to about one-quarter of all its quotations of the Old Testament. About 30 of these are placed in the mouth of Jesus*.

In the background of this exegesis there may be one or another specific psalm (such as Ps 2, 8, or 110) that the period understood as messianic. But primarily there is a reading that is simultaneously contemporaneous and eschatological in the context of prophecy in general (noted in Qumran: see the “*pesher*” of Habakkuk and 4Q171, 173, 174), as well as a general inclusion of the Psalms in the genre of prophecy, and finally the place granted to the royal figure of the psalmist David, the embodiment of messianic promises (promise*).

The bipolarity of supplication and praise is then verified in hyperbolic terms (see von Rad, above), and it is

transcended in the Passion* and Resurrection* of Jesus (P. Beauchamp 1980). The Epistle to the Hebrews uses verses from the Psalms to express directly the secret dialogue uniting Jesus to the Father* (Heb 1:5, 8–13, 2:12a, 5:5–6, and 10:5–9). The early Christians were drawn to pray to God in the language of the Psalms, though they were not thereby prevented from composing their own hymns. The prayers calling for the punishment of the men of violence, calumniators, and those casting evil spells were applied to the forces of evil*, and to the enemy everyone carries within himself. Those who pray today, more reserved in the face of these transpositions, hear in these cries the victims of injustice throughout history* bringing their complaint before God.

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See also Healing; Kingdom of God; Liturgy; Music; Praise; Prayer; Scripture, Senses of; Soul-Heart-Body; Temple

Pseudo-Dionysius. *See* **Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite**

Pseudoepigrapha. *See* **Intertestament**

Pseudo-Macarius. *See* **Messallianism**

Psychoanalysis. *See* Freud, Sigmund

Punishment

a) Definitions. Punishment is traditionally defined by the retributive principle, *malum passionis quod infligitur ob malum actionis* (“suffering harm imposed for having done harm”—Grotius). It embraces universal social practices that respond to offense by imposing suffering on the offender, and, in religious terms, the experience of suffering as chastisement of sin*. Every theory of punishment undertakes to make retributive social practices intelligible; a theological theory undertakes to make them morally intelligible in the light of the relation of humanity to God*. The special problematic of punishment in Christian theology* is posed by divine mercy*: if our relations to God are determined by his will to forgiveness and salvation*, what follows for social practices based on the retributive principle? The story of the woman taken in adultery (Jn. 8:2–11) could be taken to challenge them outright. Several answers have been given: some (e.g., Luther*) sharpen the distinction between the order of providence* and that of redemption, assigning punishment to the former domain; others (e.g., Hegel*) find a redemptive element within punishment itself; still others (e.g., Tolstoy) declare the retributive principle to be morally unintelligible. Most theologians, however, have favored moderating tendencies in penal practice, as a witness within the sphere of providence to the horizon of divine mercy.

b) Nature of Punishment. On the social plane, punishment is midway between a purely abstract disapproval of offense and the purely instinctive desire for vengeance; on the religious plane, it is midway between the infinite opposition of divine goodness to sin and the commensurability that exists in an equal exchange. Punishment differs from vengeance in that the retributive principle becomes a principle of reflective public action*, rather than instinctive private action. Punishment is a rational and “expressive” condemna-

tion (Feinberg 1970), a “communication” (Lucas 1993), which presupposes the authority* of those who represent society*. Grotius (*De iure belli ac pacis* On the Law of War and Peace I, 20, 3) holds that from the point of view of natural law, it belongs to a superior, of whatever kind, to punish. Punishment differs from other acts of public judgment in addressing the offense primarily as a challenge to the moral and legal order itself, rather than as an injury to the victim. In law, punishment corresponds to crime, satisfaction (or damages) to tort. Hence, punishment is a public performance, a moral self-definition on the part of a society. On the private plane, as in the family, punishment is adapted to domestic purposes such as education.

Theologians have hesitated over Aristotle’s proposal that the justice* displayed in punishment is of the kind “that orders private transactions,” the judge attempting “to establish equality by punishment” (*NE* 1131 *b* 25–1132 *a* 10). Thomas* Aquinas recognizes *vindictio* (public condemnation) as a species of “commutative justice” (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 80, a. 1), but also argues that God can practice only distributive justice (Ia, q. 21, a. 1). For Aquinas, the paradigm of commutative justice is not punishment but restitution (IIa IIae, q. 62). Grotius, who briefly entertains and then rejects the view that the justice of punishment is distributive, classifies it as “satisfactory justice” (*iustitia expletrix*), a category corresponding to commutative justice but without its criterion of equality between the parties, to be distinguished simply by the right that one party has over the other (*De iure belli...*, I, 1, 8; II, 20, 2). The right of punishment belongs, not to the victim, but to whoever is in a position of authority to inflict it.

When God punishes, he demonstrates his relative (*ordinata*) power, not his absolute (*absoluta*) power. Thus, God’s punishment of Israel* is the expression of YHWH’s faithfulness to the covenant*, contrasted with the destruction of the people* that would follow if

he gave free rein to his wrath* (Jer 10:24; Sg 11:21–12 and 27). In Christian theology, punishment is closely interwoven with atonement, understood as an act of divine “jurisdiction” (Grotius, *De satisfactione Christi* On Christ’s Atonement) that delivers man from the infinite expression of God’s wrath through the sufferings that Christ* has undergone for us.

c) Goods of Punishment. As a public act, punishment makes manifest the nature of the offending action in relation to the social order. The retributive principle becomes part of God’s plan by disclosing the truth of human offense. In this way, punishment can be understood, from the theological point of view, as one of the ways in which God preserves and redeems the world, and therefore as a good*. When God himself punishes, the disclosure is a good sufficiently apparent, like every manifestation of God. Only divine punishment is thus self-authenticated (Grotius, *De iure belli...*, II, 20, 4). Human punishment needs to serve ends that demonstrate the divine preservation or redemption of the world; hence, there are “goods” or advantages of punishment, which demonstrate God’s goodwill to society in its act of moral self-definition.

Differences of interpretation arise as the emphasis is laid upon the providential or the redemptive aspects of punishment; these are not necessarily the same, and some can appear to be more important than others, depending on the case. A tradition with classical roots identifies three possible beneficiaries of punishment: the offender, the victim, and society. Within Christian thought, the second of these has largely disappeared from consideration. Such personal satisfaction as the victim may take in the punishment of the offender is regarded as morally suspect, a refusal of the commands to love one’s enemies and to take no vengeance (Mt 5:44; Rom 12:19). The limited scope given to the “blood avenger” in the Old Testament institution of the cities of refuge (Num. 35:9–28; Deut. 19:1–10) was a means of wresting the initiative in retribution out of private hands. “Retributive” theories of punishment (e.g., Kant*) emphasize the importance of the retributive principle for the integrity of society, rather than for any interest that the victim may have in it.

An emphasis on the benefit to the offender corresponds to the redemptive significance of punishment. The Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of God’s treating the churches (church*) as his children in correcting them (Heb 12:5–11). This paradigm controls what is said in the Platonism* of the Fathers* of the Church. For them, as indeed for Plato himself (*Gorgias* 476 a–478 e), punishment is a purgation of the soul*. According to Augustine*, a “benign harshness,” which takes thought for the ultimate conversion* of the of-

fender, marks the Christian ruler’s actions with paternal affection (*Ep.* 138, 14, CSEL 44). Gregory* of Nyssa applies this to the fires of Hell* (PG 46, 97–101). Only within the church or the family can punishment be understood solely in these terms, for neither institution makes human justice the principle of its action. Alongside this account, therefore, another developed that is not always distinct from it, and that relates punishment to the welfare of the community, whereby “the good live more peaceably in the midst of the evil” (Augustine, *Ep.* 153, 16, CSEL 44). In this regard, Hell becomes “the righteous ordering of the unrighteous” (*De natura boni* On the Nature of the Good 37, BAug 1).

As penitential practice (penance*) developed juridically in the Middle Ages, it afforded a paradigm for punishment directed to the offender’s welfare and voluntarily embraced. Nicholas* of Cusa sees it as a mark of ecclesiastical coercion that it is undertaken with consent and for the salvation of the punished (*De concordantia catholica* II, 261). The existence of two jurisdictions, spiritual and secular (church* and state), allowed the two interpretations of punishment to coexist, each in its institutional context. A natural result of the collapse of dual jurisdiction as a result of the Reformation was the attempt to synthesize the two conceptions. This type of theory reaches its highest point in Hegel, for whom the welfare of the offender and that of society converge upon the common need for an “annulment” of the transgression, an effective expression of the inherent nullity of the crime. Punishment fulfills the “implicit will” of the offender, expressing the law that he has recognized by the very fact of his rational action (*Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts Foundations of the Philosophy of Right*, §97–100).

In as strong a contrast as possible to this attempt at synthesis, utilitarianism* treats the good of the offender and that of society as irreconcilable; it is therefore necessary to ask which one should prevail. Distinctive to this family of theories is a shift of focus from the practice of punishment to the threat of it. According to Beccaria, punishment is to be introduced as a “motive” into the offender’s calculations, a deterrent “annexed” to the law, which may be justified only on the grounds of “general prevention” of crime, to be achieved “at as cheap a rate as possible” (Bentham, *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, 14, 6). Of some alarm to critics has been the comparative inconsequence to this theory of the retributive principle. The actual execution of punishment is necessary only “for the sake of producing the appearance of it” (*Rationale of Punishment* 1, 5). What if some other threat—say, to kill the offender’s children—should prove more “economical”? The theory is

premised, in effect, upon the *unintelligibility* of the retributive principle, and proposes alternative principles that will save as many of the appearances of punishment as possible. Inevitably, many are unsaved; and so utilitarian theories have contributed to institutional reform, for they discard elements of penal practice that seem to have doubtful deterrent efficacy. In the 19th century, penal reform was driven by an uneasy coalition of utilitarianism with a type of Pietism*, the former seeking to secure the most economic prevention of crime that was possible, the latter to find means to promote the conversion of the criminal (so that illusory hopes were reposed in, e.g., solitary confinement).

d) Proportion in Punishment. As an expressive act, punishment “says something” about the wrong done; as an act within the ordered relativities of human society, it says nothing about the absolute opposition of wrong to divine goodness (as in the limiting case of eternal punishment), but expresses the relation of this wrong to the normal compromises of social life. Hence arises the question of how punishment may be proportioned to the particular wrong. Since Aristotle (*NE* 1132 *b* 21–31), it has been acknowledged that simple retaliation (doing to the offender what he did to the victim) cannot be a basis for just punishment, although Kant influentially championed the *lex talionis* (“law of retaliation,” or “an eye for an eye”), seeing it as a logical consequence of the retributive principle (*Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten* § 49 E, AA 6 331–37). The *lex talionis* plays a limited role in the Old Testament. It is applied in cases of careless injury to a pregnant woman (Ex 21:23–25), lasting disfigurement (Lv 24:20), and malicious witness (Dt 19:21), this last case being of special interest, in that the *lex talionis* is applied even though the harm is only intended, not executed. The relation of harm suffered to harm done must be a symbolic one; a penal system has the character of a language, and must express itself in comprehensible terms. Montesquieu’s observations on “the severity of punishments in different governments” (*L’esprit des lois*, 6, 9) invert the old idea that harsh governments are a form of discipline imposed by God on societies that need them. It is now the moral disposition of a society, its varying inclination to “lenity or pity,” that determines how severe the law must be. It is difficult, therefore, for one society to assess the appropriateness of another society’s penal practices. Yet the will to impose limits on severity and to avoid the degeneration of the language of punishment into inflated rhetoric can be appreciated in very different penal systems. Thus, the Deuteronomic code limits flogging to 40 stripes, lest... your brother be degraded in your sight” (Deut. 25:3).

To this principle that punishment must be propor-

tionate, Christian thought has added a prejudice in favor of mildness, on three grounds: the judge is himself a sinner in need of forgiveness (*see* Mt. 18:23–25); human judgment is fraught with error (Augustine, *Civ. Dei* XIX, 6); the offender is always addressed by divine mercy, to which human mercy must bear witness. From the fourth century onward, bishops (bishop*) interceded with secular authorities on behalf of those condemned to death, without derogation from the right of punishment (Augustine, *Ep.* 153). In the 16th century, equity (*epieikeia**) was appealed to in support of the claims of mercy (Perkins, *Epieikeia, or a Treatise of Christian Equity*, Cambridge, 1604, or Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*).

e) Capital Punishment. When Ambrose* stated that civil authority “will be excused if it applies capital punishment, and admired if it does not apply it” (*Ep.* 50, 3), he was summing up the main tradition of post-Nicene reflection, still represented by John Paul II (*Evangelium vitae*, AAS 87, 41–522, §56): punishment “ought not to go to the extreme of executing the offender except in cases of absolute necessity.” Before Nicaea* I, the church had expressed a hatred of bloodshed, but it had made no positive penal recommendations. The Old Testament’s endorsement of capital punishment made it impossible to condemn it without incurring the accusation of Marcionism*, yet it provided no justification for the use of the death penalty by Christian magistrates. Some radical groups in the Middle Ages and the Reformation era criticized the application of capital punishment by Christians as part of a wider case against holding secular office, although they were sometimes prepared to defend its legitimacy “outside the perfection of Christ” (Confession of Schleithem 1527, 6). Resistance to the Waldensian* heresy* had led Innocent III to insist on this legitimacy, “so long as it is done judicially and without hatred, carefully and not rashly” (*DS* 425).

The ability of a state to minimize the use of capital punishment depends in part upon the existence of a well-organized and humane prison system. Progress in this domain contributed in the 18th and 19th centuries to the revulsion against the abuse of capital punishment in earlier centuries. Contemporary arguments for the categorical immorality of capital punishment—such as those of G. Grisez, who argues that it infringes the rule against doing evil that good may come—have been criticized for viewing the practice outside its political context, although the state must find some means to restrain instincts to vengeance and murder. Opposing arguments, influenced by the views of Kant, which require capital punishment for murder on the basis of the *lex talionis*, have no theological basis.

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See also Authority; Hell; Justice; Law and Legislation; Penance

Purgatory

The term *purgatory* does not appear in the Bible* and is not universally used among Christians. It refers to a theological notion developed in Western Christendom in the Middle Ages to define the condition of the souls (soul*-heart-body) of those among the dead who are neither capable of entering immediately into the presence of God*, nor destined to eternal damnation in hell*. It denotes, therefore, a temporary rather than a final condition.

1. Sources of the Doctrine

The notion of purgatory may be related to four biblical themes:

- 1) The belief in a life after death* and in participation in the Resurrection* of Jesus*: "For since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so, through Jesus, God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep" (1 Thes 4:14; see 1 Cor 15:20 and Rom 6:8f.).
- 2) The practice of saying prayers (prayer*) for the dead, carried over from the customs described in the Old Testament. Judas Maccabeus, for example, "made a sacrifice of expiation for the dead, so that they would be delivered of their sins" (2 Macc 12:46). In Christianity such prayers are based on the mediating role of Jesus (Cyril of Jerusalem's fifth *Catechesis Mystagogica* 9–10) and are linked to the Eucharist*. They presuppose that the fate of the dead can undergo some modification even after death.

- 3) The notion of the purification of the dead in the hereafter. The biblical image adopted by Christians in antiquity was that of fire: "We went through fire and through water" (Ps 66:12). Origen* writes of the time "when we shall have passed into the fire" (*Homélie sur Jérémie* 18, 1, SC 238, 178), and Ambrose* expresses the same idea: "All those who desire to return to Paradise must be tested by fire" (*Expositio in Ps 118*, XX, 12). However, the fire in question is not a punishment but a sign of God's judgment*, and an image of testing and truth*, for one enters into salvation* "only as through fire" (1 Cor 3:15).
- 4) The very ancient image of a place where the dead wait: Sheol (Jb 30:23); in Hellenistic culture, the Underworld; in certain schools within the Judaism* of Jesus' time, the "bosom of Abraham" (Lk 16:22) or "Paradise" (Lk 23:43). There was thus a common tendency to situate the existence of the dead in the hereafter metaphorically.

2. Establishment and Acceptance of the Belief

Within Western Christendom, the symbolic location of the dead began to be divided, during the 12th century, between hell in the strict sense of the word—the place of damnation—and purgatory, a place of purification. Previously, in East and West alike, the word *purgatory* had been used only in adjectival form, as in "the purgatorial fire" or "purgatorial punishments" (*poenis purgatoriis*). From this time on, however, Christians

within the Latin tradition also treated “purgatory” as a noun, linking it to the biblical notion of the location of the dead, and combining with the idea of purification or testing the idea of punishment or expiation*.

a) Cautious Formulations. The notion of purgatory was incorporated into Western medieval theology* in the wake of Bernard* of Clairvaux and Peter Comestor; it appears, for example, in the works of Thomas* Aquinas (*In Sent.* IV, d. 21, q., a. 1). However, the church authorities (magisterium*) were slower to embrace it. At the Second Council of Lyon* (1274) there was no question of anything but “purgatorial punishments” (*DS* 856), and at the Council of Florence (1438) it was simply declared that: “Those who have died in the love of God before they have been made worthy by the fruits of penance are purified after death by purgatorial punishments and benefit from the support of the living” (*DS* 1304).

It was not until the Council of Trent* that the doctrine of the place known as purgatory was explicitly affirmed, first of all in the Decree on Justification (sixth session, 1547): sin entails punishment, which is to be expiated “either in this world or in the next, in Purgatory” (*DS* 1580). There followed a Decree on Purgatory (25th session, 1563; *DS* 1820): “The Catholic Church...has taught...that there is a Purgatory and that the souls that are detained there are aided by the intercessions of the faithful, and, above all, by propitiatory sacrifice at the altar.” Bishops (bishop*) are therefore requested to “take every care in order that the sound doctrine of Purgatory may be believed by the faithful, and universally taught and preached” (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, a certain degree of caution is to be observed: “excessively difficult or subtle questions are to be excluded from sermons addressed to the populace” and the bishops “are not to permit, expound or disseminate ideas that are doubtful or tainted with error. As for those ideas that arouse nothing but curiosity or superstition, or smell of ill-gotten gain, they are forbidden, as being scandalous and injurious to the faithful.”

b) A Complex Context. The doctrine was thus established, within quite precise parameters. First, purgatory is a notion limited to Western Christendom, for the Eastern churches have never accepted it. It is also an exclusively Catholic belief. Luther* objects to it on the grounds that it is a nonbiblical notion that encourages extravagant religious practices intended to deliver the dead from purgatory (*Articles of Schmalkalden*, 1537, *BSLK* 442 and 443), while Calvin* writes that “Purgatory is a pernicious fiction of Satan” (*Inst.* III, Ch. 5).

Second, the doctrine of purgatory has been associated with a variety of forms of spirituality and devo-

tion. The desire to provide a spatial symbol for the hereafter is so ambiguous that nowadays most Catholics concur in regarding purgatory as a condition rather than a place. In addition, before the Council of Trent there was a general fascination with death and suffering, and this must have affected the belief in purgatory. Finally, during the 19th century the emphasis placed on praying for “the souls in purgatory” sometimes became excessive, threatening to distort the gospel of pardon freely given in Jesus Christ. The precautions taken by the Council of Trent were not necessarily effective. Within this range of responses we should nonetheless give a place to a tradition of mysticism* that attempted to discern in certain conditions of this life an experience* analogous to that of purgatory. Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510), who wrote a remarkable *Trattato del Purgatorio* (Treatise on Purgatory), led the way in developing this very refined interpretation of purgatory.

3. Contemporary Meanings

a) An Extremely Subtle Affirmation. Given the prodigious success of the image of purgatory within Western Catholicism*, it is astonishing to observe the extent to which it has been effaced today. It is true that Vatican* II refers to the Council of Trent (*LG* 52, n. 22), but it does not explicitly use the word *purgatory*, restricting itself instead to references to “purification” after death: “Certain (of the) disciples...are purified after their deaths” (*ibid.*, 49). The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992) is more explicit, but is relatively restrained: “The Church gives the name purgatory to this final purification of the elect, which is entirely different from the punishment of the damned.” (1031) It is indicated that this teaching is based on Scripture, on the decisions of councils, and also on “the practice of prayer for the dead” (1032.). Finally, it is taken as self-evident that purgatory is a “state” (1472).

How should we understand this change in sensibility? First of all, there has been a considerable shift in the way in which the West relates to death, and for many people reference to the hereafter has become a matter of uncertainty. In addition, our era is more cautious than previous centuries were in handling eschatological images, with the result that the notion of purgatory seems excessively concrete. Many Catholics, while they retain their hope* for the final resurrection and still affirm the solidarity, in Christ, of the living and the dead, prefer to abide by the discretion of the Bible. Nevertheless, one might wonder whether such reservations have some drawbacks. After all, the Christian affirmation of the resurrection needs to be

accompanied by some conception of the present fate of the dead.

b) A Theological Reformulation. It is this approach that has been taken up within Western theology, notably by Y. Congar, J. Ratzinger, Hans Urs von Balthasar*, and G. Martelet. Once it has been accepted that purgatory is a condition and not a place, it is still necessary to envisage how the present life of the dead may be represented. Their life is involved in the dynamism of the resurrection of Jesus. That life has not yet reached its end, in the form of the final resurrection. It is not primarily a punishment but an experience of truth in relation to life within history. It is an existence in proximity to God and sustained by his Spirit, with an intensity analogous to that of mystical experience.

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See also Eschatology; Hell; Judgment; Limbo; Resurrection of Christ; Resurrection of the Dead; Vision, Beatific

Puritanism

a) Definition. Historians generally regard Puritanism as a very important phenomenon. Max Weber (1864–1920) argued, though on a narrow sociological and historical basis, that the Anglo-American puritan tradition was one of the decisive elements in the formation of the modern world. Others have looked upon Puritanism as the source of the political and social values most cherished by Americans, or even as the forbear of modern science or the contemporary family*. Puritanism also plays a central role in some Marxist analyses of society*. However, it is not easy to define the term precisely. *Puritanism* was originally a pejorative term; it came into use at the time of the social upheavals that accompanied the Reformation in England. "Puritans" were devout Protestants in a religious and social milieu that had not yet been won over to Protestantism*, a religious minority that caused surprise and shock. (A similarly circumstantial origin gave rise to the French term *Huguenot* [Calvinism*].)

b) Elizabethan Puritanism. In principle, what distinguished Puritans from other Protestants—although the distinction was never clear or absolute—was their attitude to what is known as the Elizabethan Settlement, dating from the early years of the reign of Elizabeth I

(1558–1603). The Settlement was a set of fundamentally Protestant arrangements, within which some concessions were made to the religious feelings and customs of the past. These concessions included the preservation of a certain ceremonies, some types of liturgical ornament, and some traditional church furnishings. The earliest Puritans were "nonconformists"—another term that was to have a significant future in the history of English Christianity—and they aroused the hostility of those who supported obedience to the ecclesiastical laws (law*) of the country. The points that caused controversy were in fact "indifferent things" (*adiaphora*), but the Pauline principle of Christian liberty* was at stake in these disputes. In the eyes of the Puritans the Elizabethan Settlement did not go far enough, as was demonstrated, in their view, by the liturgical conservatism of *The Book of Common Prayer*. The Settlement also had practically no effect on the structure of the Church*, since it left the episcopal system (bishop*) in place. For the Puritans, this too was a sign of serious religious indifference.

The most radical Puritans drew inspiration from the ideal example of Geneva and the "better" reformed churches, including that of France, rejecting the episcopate and adopting a position that was later to be-

come known as Presbyterianism. All those who agreed on these grievances and aspirations came to form a sort of “church within the church,” which brought together pastors (pastor*), prominent laypeople, and believers who desired to be “simple gospellers.” Only a minority among these early Puritans formally separated themselves from the Church of England. At first these separatists were known as “Brownists,” from the name of their first theorist, Robert Browne (c. 1550–1633). The Brownists were among those who founded the movement that gave rise in the 17th century to the Baptist* and Congregationalist Churches of England and America.

Those among the Elizabethan Puritans who remained within the Church of England campaigned energetically on behalf of their ideas over the course of several sessions of Parliament, as well as through the periodical press. However, they did not succeed in imposing these ideas, even though they had some political support, primarily because of the opposition of the Queen and of her successor, James I (king from 1603 to 1625), who were supported by two successive archbishops of Canterbury, John Whitgift (c. 1530–1604) and Richard Bancroft (1544–1610).

c) Growth of Puritanism. This defeat did not cause Puritanism to disappear. Blocked on the political level, it deeply penetrated English religious consciousness. In many respects, what historians call “the growth of puritanism” was no more than the full internalization of Protestantism and its values. This only adds to the difficulty of defining Puritanism, for in this sense it was not so much a basis for resistance to the established church, which was officially “Protestant,” as a very powerful movement within it.

Not only individuals but the whole nation had to become “puritan,” committed to respecting the divine covenant*, and subject to an extreme moralism that placed great emphasis on the Ten Commandments. Typically, there was a special focus on the fourth commandment (according to the Calvinist and Anglican numbering), to respect the Sabbath*, which required the imposition of a Christian form of the Sabbath. The Puritans wanted to make society* moral by suppressing every type of sin*, every form of impious behavior, from violation of the Sabbath to drunkenness, and all the “disorders” associated with popular forms of entertainment. (They were thus opposed to the innovation embodied in the Elizabethan theater.) Their principles were not entirely alien to those of their larger society, but the Puritans pushed them to the extreme.

Essentially, however, Puritanism was a form of spirituality, a religious experience* arising from the heart of Calvinism that had more or less been imposed as

orthodoxy among Protestants; but this was an extreme form of Calvinism. The Puritans were sure that they were God’s elect, clinging to this certainty above all else, and seeking confirmation of it in the spiritual fruitfulness of their lives: their Calvinism was “experiential.” They took as their guides in this spiritual enterprise the famous “doctors of the soul” of their day, and some of them were to take this conception of religion with them into New England.

The most representative figure among the nonconformist Puritan preachers is undoubtedly John Bunyan (1628–88). He lacked originality, but his piety, of simple and fervent expression, was ideal for propagation. His most celebrated work, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, a “construction of pious morality” (L. Bouyer) that presents the wanderings of an allegorical hero on a quest for salvation, has enjoyed a success as wide as it is enduring. The evangelical conversion* of Vincent Van Gogh in 1875 (his family belonged to the Remonstrant tradition and the theological tendency known as the Gröningen school; see Calvinism) also represents an example of this form of spirituality. His experience was nurtured by two books in particular, *The Imitation of Christ* (devotio* moderna) and *Pilgrim’s Progress*, and both remained fundamental to his religiosity, as expressed not only in his preaching but also in his painting.

d) Puritanism and the English Revolution. Puritanism might have been merged into the English Protestant consensus if the Church of England had not also included a tendency hostile to Calvinism, and if this tendency had not been dominant at the start of the reign of Charles I (1625–49). This tendency is sometimes interpreted as an English variant of Arminianism, while others speak of “Laudism” because of the overwhelming influence of Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645). Its supporters identified Puritanism with Calvinism pure and simple, and launched a very broad reaction that contributed to the fall of the monarchy and the English Civil War*. This revolutionary context led to the temporary collapse of the Church of England, and the Puritans acquired the political means to realize their program and take the Reformation to its conclusion. However, once they had come to power, the Puritans succumbed to their own internal contradictions, and to the opposition between the principle of liberty and the principle of discipline. The monarchy and the episcopal church were therefore restored after 1660. Nevertheless, the Puritans, who generally came to be called “Dissenters” from around this time, remained a religious, political and social force, simultaneously the grain of sand and the pearl in the oyster of English life.

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See also **Anglicanism; Baptists; Calvinism; Congregationalism; Methodism**

Purity/Impurity

I. Anthropological Foundation

The notion of impurity is related to a feeling of repugnance at touching or eating certain things. It appears that the specific things that provoke disgust are culturally determined, but the feeling of repugnance is a universal anthropological given that many religions integrate into their conception of the cosmos*. Impurity is communicated by physical contact and alimentation.

II. Old Testament

I. Contact

a) *Sources of Impurity.* The following are impure: 1) bodily secretions (Ez 4:12ff.; Dt 23:13ff.: excrement); 2) corpses of humans (Nm 19:11–16) and animals* (pure: Lv 11:21f. and impure: Lv 11:27f., 11:31); 3) a swelling, eruption, or spot on the skin (generically called leprosy, Lv 13; Dt 24:8f.), a case of leprous disease on garments (Lv 13:47ff.) and on walls (Lv 14:34ff.). Certain rites of purification and pardon also render impure (Nm 19:7, 19:10; Lv 16:24, 16:26).

b) *Effects.* Impurity leads to exclusion from ritual observance (Lv 12:4, 15:31, 1 Sm 16:5). It is canceled by various forms of purification.

c) *Biblical Interpretation of the Distinction between Pure and Impure.* The sacerdotal document (P) and the code of holiness* (H) Deuteronomy 14:1–21 interpret the dichotomy purity/impurity as a prior condition for holiness. According to these texts it has a value of *imitatio Dei* (Lv 11:44f., 20:25f.). Purity is indispensable for approaching YHWH (Is 6:5ff.), who is surrounded by holiness (Is 6:3).

The cosmos is arranged in three concentric zones: the impure, the pure, the holy. On the outside is the impure, separated from the pure; in the center is the holy, separated from the impure by the *cordon sanitaire* of the pure, which occupies the intermediate zone. In an analogous arrangement foreigners are outside of the people (Lv 20:24ff.; Dt 14:21), lay* Israelites occupy an intermediate position between foreigners and priests, the consecrated priesthood* is at the center. Contact between the impure and the pure pollutes the latter (Hg 2:13f.). Contact between the impure and the holy annihilates the holy (Lv 21:4, 21:11f.), necessitating a new sanctification (Lv 16:19) under threat of a profanation that can lead to death* (Lv 15:31, 22:3; Nm 19:13, 19:20). Contact between the pure and the holy does not modify either one (Hg 2:12), except in certain circumstances where contact with the sacrosanct (*qodèsh qâdâshîm*: Ex 29:37, 30:29; see Ez 44:19) sanctifies the pure (consecra-

tion). The impure is never compatible with the holy, the pure is ordinarily compatible except when the sacrosanct raises it to the level of the holy. For the pure, contact with the impure is inevitable in human life, but it should be impossible for the holy (Dt 24:8f.; *see* Ez 22:26).

The divine injunction “be holy” (Lv 11:44f.; Dt 14:1f.) can be interpreted as an extension to all Israel (“democratization”) of priestly status, which is the furthest from impurity; this is how the injunction was interpreted at Qumran.

2. Pure and Impure Food

Impure food is limited to impure meat, all vegetables being pure. Impurity stemming from consumption of the impure cannot be rectified. This is why such impurity must be avoided, even at the cost of martyrdom* (2 Macc 6 Sq).

a) Pure and Impure Animals. Leviticus 11 (P), Deuteronomy 14:3–21a give two lists of animals with the criteria of purity/impurity.

They represent ancient traditions (tradition*), later completed, organizing all living beings in four groups: large quadrupeds, birds, aquatic creatures, and tiny beasts. The criteria of purity for quadrupeds are cleft hooves and rumination, and for aquatic creatures, scales or gills. There are no comparable distinctive criteria for the other two categories. This was an attempt to rationally organize a complex ancestral tradition by priestly reflection (Ez 22:26).

b) Cultic Immolation and Consumption. Only pure animals are suitable for sacrifice* and, among these, only domestic animals. Impure animals form the outer circle, those that can be immolated form the center, and the intermediate circle is composed of pure animals suitable for consumption. The connection between ancestral eating customs (e.g., grasshoppers, Lv 11:22) and sacrifices with consumption of the meat explains the choice of permitted species.

3. Anthropological Interpretation

a) Cultural Environment. The exclusion of impure animals from sacrifices and from the table is common to Near Eastern peoples, with variations among them as to the species prohibited.

The reason for the impurity of pork, donkey, and dog, domestic animals in the region since at least the Bronze Age (third millennium B.C.), is not known for certain. The pig was never a sacrificial victim in the ancient Near East, except perhaps in the Chthonic cults or funerary rites (*see* Is 66:17, 65:3f.). Dogs scavenge

on garbage and corpses (2 Kgs 9:10, 9:35f.). This dietary habit might explain why predatory animals are considered impure. The absence in the texts of any mention of poultry (except for pigeons), which were raised in Israel* in the first millennium, or of cats and horses, remains unexplained.

b) Symbolic System. The purity/impurity distinction is not founded on reasons related to hygiene, economy (food production), religion (rejection of “idolatry*”), nationality (signs of identity), or cosmic symbolism. These interpretations correspond to real concerns, but do not explain the disgust provoked by the impure, which is an intolerable, aggressive ugliness that provokes rejection and nausea (*tô‘évâh*). By degrading the sphere of life, ugliness offensive to sight and smell attacks social cohesion, which has a vital need for dignity and decorum in the organization of its life. The purity/impurity distinction preserves a privileged social space separated from nauseating polluting elements; this distinction is the symbolic expression of the harmony of social relations of the group threatened with physical and moral degradation from the surrounding world. On the religious level the discord of impurity attacks holiness. In Israel the refusal of impure food signifies confession of the holy God* of Israel (Tb 1:10ff.; 2 Macc 6f.).

c) Impurity and Sin. By analogy, sin* can be called impurity and vice versa (Is 1:16; Jb 14:4, 15:14; Ps 51:7). In particular, the following are said to be impure in a metaphoric sense: foreign countries (Am 7:17; Is 52:11) where the food is impure (Hos 9:3; Dn 1); the land of Israel sullied by sexual sins (Lv 18:27f.), murder (Nm 35:33), necromancy (Lv 19:31) or the invocation of other gods (Hos 6:10; Jer 2:23, etc.). The behavior of the people (Ez 36:17), and even their good works, can become impure (Is 64:5).

III. New Testament

1. Paul

No food is in itself impure (Rom 14:20): Paul bases this certainty on the authority* of the Lord Jesus* (Rom 14:14), without further explanation of the reference. On the other hand, he knows there are Christians, probably Jewish Christians, who consider that impure meat is forbidden, and he believes that this represents a conscientious obligation for them.

2. Synoptics

In Mark 7:1–23 par. and Matthew 15:1–20 a logion of Jesus (Mk 7:15; Mt 15:11) on impure food is developed. In Mark 7:24–30 par., the synoptic tradition de-

clares through an account of Jesus' action that the Jewish dietary prohibitions are null and void.

3. Acts

In Acts 10:9–16; 11:5–10, the narrative of vision reveals that God abolishes the two parallel distinctions between pure and impure foods and between Israel and pagans in the Church*. In 15:20, 15:29 Christians of pagan origin are ordered to abstain from meat immolated to idols, as from blood, the flesh of strangled animals, and illicit sexual acts. These obligations imposed by the “council” of Jerusalem* seem to correspond to those for *gérîm* (foreign residents, later proselytes): Leviticus 17:8f., 8:10, 8:13, 18:26. Pagans converted to Christianity are bound by the law of purity as are the *gérîm*.

Qumran extended sacerdotal purity to laymen, whereas the New Testament diminished and sometimes abolished the purity/impurity distinction because many non-Jews were entering the Church and replacing the practice of the law* by faith* in Jesus Christ, in line with Pauline thinking.

IV. Theological Interpretation

The purity/impurity distinction is the symbolic expression of the beauty* of the social space created by God and existing in his presence. It was a way of confessing God in gestures that touched on every aspect of daily Israelite life, expressing Jewish identity in the face of the world.

The New Testament diminishes this symbolic system in favor of faith in Jesus Christ, from whom it ex-

pects the energies and impetus that can structure the ecclesial community in beauty, even at the level of everyday life.

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See also Animals; Cult; Expiation; Healing; Holiness; Law and Christianity; Paganism; Sacrifice



Qualifications, Theological. *See* Notes, Theological

Quietism

Quietism, a polemical term that appeared in French, Italian, and Latin around 1680, designates a school of mysticism* characterized by the “prayer of quiet,” as opposed to asceticism and discursive meditation. It has its sources in the Scriptures* (Paul in particular) and in the teaching of the Fathers* (Clement of Alexandria); it is possible to follow its development in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (Mary Magdalen Pazzi). The mystical renewal contemporary with the Tridentine reforms led in the 17th century to a dissemination of “heroic indifference” (Francis of Sales, *Traité de l’amour de Dieu*, 1619), in which the human will attempts to merge with the will of God*, without nonetheless disappearing: it was, as a matter of fact, in the context of Francis of Sales’s thought that the first quarrel concerning “pure love*” occurred, in 1641 (the Jesuit Sirmond, author of *La défense de la vertu*, was opposed to a disciple of Francis of Sales, Monsignor Camus, bishop of Belley, author of *La défense du pur amour*).

The spiritual teaching of the Spaniard Miguel de Molinos (1628–96) was in keeping with a doctrinal context well represented in the *Rule of Perfection* (1608–9) by English Capuchin Friar Benet of Canfield

(1562–1610). Molinos’s correspondence and his spiritual guidance* supplied more evidence for his condemnation than his *Guia Espiritual* (1675). This book, however, contains such an exclusive panegyric of acquired contemplation* as might give rise to some unfortunate consequences: the illusion of “spiritual souls*” who believe they will no longer commit sins; a permanent state of abandonment to God without having to reiterate the act of faith*; or the secondary and discrete nature of any meditation on the Passion* of Christ*. These points were of foremost importance among the accusations that led to his arrest and to his trial in Rome*, in 1685, which culminated in his condemnation to life imprisonment.

A violent campaign against quietism was triggered off at the time, bringing suspicion on a number of mystical authors who until then had been considered orthodox: Benet of Canfield himself, some Italians, and French writers such as François Malaval (1627–1719) and Bernières de Louvigny (1602–59). These were the authors who had cultivated and nurtured the piety of a young widow, Jeanne Guyon (1648–1717). Obsessed by the personality of Jeanne de Chantal, and experi-

encing mystical feelings and extraordinary trials, Madame Guyon wrote *Les torrents* in the space of just a few days in the winter of 1681–82. This work was the first of a long series of treatises (among which the famous *Le moyen court*, 1685) and of biblical commentaries. Her encounter in 1688 with the theologian Fénelon (1651–1715), the future archbishop of Cambrai, added to her social influence and gave her a doctrinal support that radicalized her teachings. Close to Madame de Maintenon, and introduced into the circle of the Ladies of Saint-Cyr, Jeanne Guyon was denounced and indicted in 1691: she had to defend herself before the bishop* of Chartres, Godet des Marais, and then before Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. The latter's spiritual dynamism and theological rigor were, from the outset, opposed to the lack of constraint that characterized Madame Guyon's teaching and the mystical experimentalism supporting it. In 1695 the difficulty encountered in the writing of a draft agreement (the "Issy articles") led Fénelon to want to justify himself, which he attempted to do with the *Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure* (1697). This book betrays the prevailing climate of hostility; at times it hardens the positions, and several of its proposals are lacking in nuances. However, the efforts Fénelon makes to define matters are enlightening. He discerns five different ways of loving God. The first two are motivated by self-interest; the fifth is absolutely devoid of self-interest; it is pure love ("It is possible to love God in a way that is pure altruism, and without any motive of self-interest"); the third and the fourth are mixed: "love mixed with hope"* (which does not exclude love of self) and "altruistic love mixed with some remnants of self-interest." The decisive point was a delicate one, and concerned the precise difference between the fourth and the fifth kinds of love. Vehemently attacked by Bossuet and referred to Rome*, Fénelon's book was condemned in 1699. There were two principal objections to it. The first one was its "impossible assumption" that some exceptional souls might renounce their salvation* for the love of God; the second one was the assertion of a state of perfection already attainable during life on earth. Although milder than Bossuet's accusations (the act of pure love was not condemned, and Fénelon was easily able to yield), the brief *Cum alias* (12 March 1699, *DS* 2351 *Sq*) delivered a fatal blow to Catholic mysticism. Taken up in the Germanic countries and Great Britain, Jeanne Guyon's spirituality spread and survived among Protestants such as Pierre Poiret (1646–1719) and Jean-Philippe Dutoit (1721–93), among Anglicans such as Andreas-Michael Ramsay (1686–1743), and even in the Methodist Great Awakening.

Various doctrines have been linked under the um-

brella name of quietism: what they unquestionably have in common is the strongly traditional call for the selfless love of God, devoid of any hope for reward. They also have in common the lack of a christological center of gravity, which explains their difficulties. Their differences are important, however, essentially on account of the role given to acquired contemplation. There is a question that has remained open throughout the modern era (including Descartes*, Malebranche, or Leibniz*) right up to our own time, the question of pure love: is it possible to imagine a love of God absolutely devoid of love of self? A theological solution being impossible, the difficulties inherent in this question could not be abolished without having to review radically the egocentric and passionate definition, Cartesian in origin, of love.

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See also Asceticism; Contemplation; Hope; Love; Mysticism; Prayer; Spirituality, Salesian

Qumran. *See* **Apocalyptic Literature**

R

Race

The word *race* refers to a group of people delineated according to a common denominator distinguishing them from other groups or “races.” Such a common denominator may be chosen within the group or imposed from outside it, according to religious, anthropological, geographical, biological, or linguistic criteria. One might thus speak of an “Islamic,” “white,” “British,” “black,” or “Latin” “race.” When membership of a particular “race” is used to secure or deny certain rights or privileges, the term *racism* defines this attitude. Because of this variety of meanings, the word *race* has been used in many ways within theology*, under the influence of concepts taken from Greek or Jewish thought.

a) Greek Philosophy. According to Plato, the virtues* of the ideal citizen are an eager desire for knowledge of real existence, contempt for the pleasures of the body, and indifference to money (*Republic* VI). Although these criteria are presented as universal, they are firmly rooted in the cultural ideal of Plato’s Greece. Yet Plato does not explicitly claim the superiority of the Greek “race” over other cultures.

Aristotle agrees in defining the striving for virtue as the highest ideal that could be proposed, but he gives this virtuosity, and the lack of it, a distinctly “racial” connotation, by claiming that some are by nature fit to be slaves (*Politics* I, 1254 *a* 17– 1255 *b* 15). These “natural slaves” are people lacking certain key virtues, such as munificence and magnanimity, and are often,

though not exclusively, non-Greek (*ibid.*). These dicta have since been used to justify racist oppression and slavery, although it is not Aristotle’s suggestion to do so. In the Hellenistic era, it was individual excellence, a gift from the gods, that counted above all in judging the worth of people, rather than “racial” or ethnic origin (Koetzer 1982).

b) Judaism. In the Old Testament, the idea of a “chosen race” plays an essential role. Israel* is the “chosen race,” according to the great narrative* beginning with YHWH’s promise to Abraham to bless and multiply his descendants, proceeding through the Egyptian enslavement of the people* and their deliverance, and culminating in the conquest of the Promised Land by the descendants of Abraham. One reading of this history contained in theological justifications of racism is that belonging to the Jewish people was conditional on the physical link with Abraham; “race” is then a determinative factor, desired by God* himself, in distinguishing among human beings. However, in another reading of this same narrative, it is faith, and not “race,” that is the condition for the membership in question. Thus, a proselyte of any origin at all could receive circumcision and become a member of the Jewish community, and hence an inheritor of God’s promises.

c) New Testament. The latter reading is substantiated by the statement of John the Baptist that “God is able

from these stones to raise up children for Abraham” (Mt 3:9). This New Testament universalism*, especially plain in Pauline* writings, is generally considered to be a deliberate refutation of the importance of “race” as a category for determining membership in the Church*. Galatians 3:23–29 is often quoted as support, as well as the other Pauline passages where it is claimed that faithful Israelites are united with faithful Gentiles in Christ* (e.g., Eph 2:11–18; Rom 11; Heb 8; see also 1 Pt 2:9 f.).

d) Christian Theology. With regard to “race,” Greek philosophy influenced Christian theology in two ways. On the one hand, its inherent egalitarianism strengthened the Pauline relativization of “racial” heritage. On the other hand, the idea that there are natural slaves influenced some theologies in a racist direction.

During the patristic period many writers, such as Tertullian*, Cyprian*, Ambrose*, and Ambrosiaster (fourth century), allowed sin*, whether personal or inherited from our first father, to play a major part in equalizing all human beings. According to Augustine*, too, original sin* places all human beings on the same level before the holiness* of God (*De civitate Dei* II. xiv. 1). Augustine never renounced this egalitarianism, despite his view of “racial” divisions and the resulting breakdown of communication as consequences of sin.

Thomas* Aquinas takes up Aristotle’s idea of the “natural” justification of the slavery of certain people, but inverts it by using it to criticize the domination of pure strength over intelligence (*SCG* III, 81). He accepts that in certain cases slavery may be justified, in the interest of the slave as well as of the master, but it is not “natural” in any absolute sense (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 94, a. 5, ad 3; IIa IIae, q. 57, a. 3, ad 2). At the cost of a certain distortion of his ideas, Aquinas’s authority was claimed by both sides in the Spanish debate of the 16th century on the status of the American Indians: should they, or should they not, be viewed as natural slaves because they belonged to an “inferior race”? Vitoria (c. 1485–1546) argued against the theological justification of the “natural slavery” of “races” labeled as inferior, and concluded that the “aborigines” have true rights of property* and political autonomy.

Within the work of the fathers of the Reformation, notably Calvin* and Luther*, the importance of “race” and origin was deliberately minimized: for them, as for Augustine, what matters is the radically sinful condition of humanity before God. The humanist optimism of the Renaissance (Christian humanism*) produced theologies that were less pessimistic about human nature and gave new currency to the old Hellenistic ideal of human perfection. As in antiquity, this ideal was used in certain cases as the base for racist theologies

that served to justify colonial expansion. Later, during the 18th century, the age of the Enlightenment, it was seen as the sacred obligation of Europe to enslave and then educate the members of “inferior races” that in principle were “less excellent by nature.”

Within the romantic philosophy of the latter part of the 18th century, thinkers such as Herder (1744–1803) stressed the individuality of peoples and “races,” seeing the peculiarity of the *Volk* as the very image of the primordial. Hegel* takes up this term *Volk*, if only to accentuate the universal rational criteria that supersede “racial” differences. Thus, according to Hegel, the modern state must accommodate and accord civil rights to minorities, such as Jews, simply because they are human. “Universal reason” can never be the exclusive possession of one particular “race.”

The colonial expansion of Europe into Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the Pacific raised the recurring questions about the justification of slavery and the value of different “races.” The struggle for the abolition of slavery in America, culminating in the Civil War, focused theological discourse on the issue of racism. In *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917), Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918) claims that institutions can harbor intrinsically racist tendencies, and that such institutional racism can operate oppressively in any society*. In the wake of the civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King (1929–68), “black theologies” emerged, of which James Hal Cone was one of the main standard-bearers. This racially defined theology is an explicit attempt to do Christian theology from the perspective of people who identify with, and seek to affirm the experience of, the “black race.”

Finally, one cannot forget two notorious examples of 20th-century racism, along with the theological justification that could be provided for them, and also the theological opposition that they encountered. In South Africa, Afrikaner Calvinism* sought to justify *apartheid* by appropriating certain Protestant doctrines in a one-sided fashion. By hardening the Reformation notion of “racial” pluralism, and the theology of the autonomy of different social spheres developed by Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920), into a full-fledged racist theology, “racial” divisions were taken to be divinely ordained categories of existence that should be reflected in the structures* of the church and of society. Against this theology, the *Kairos Document* (1986) and the *Belhar Confession* (1986) reaffirmed the universalist message of the New Testament.

Within Protestantism* in Germany in the 1930s, “German Christians” elaborated an extremely dangerous theology of history* to justify Hitler’s program of systematic discrimination against and annihilation of the Jews, and thus placed a racist theology in the ser-

vice of hatred and criminality. Consequently, notably under the influence of Karl Barth*, Protestants who were opposed to this theology constituted themselves as the Confessing Church, and issued the Barmen Declaration (1934).

In the case of South Africa, as in the case of Nazi Germany, the legitimacy of racist legislation was challenged and disputed. State racism was condemned in the name of Christian universalism.

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STEFANUS DU TOIT

See also Adam; Anthropology; Church and State; Pauline Theology; Person

Rahner, Karl

1904–84

A. Life

Rahner was born at Freiburg im Breisgau and died at Innsbruck; he was the fourth of seven children of Karl Rahner, a schoolteacher, and his wife Luise, née Trescher. He grew up and went to school in the town of his birth. By the time he made his vows at Tisis (Vorrarlberg) in 1922 to become a member of the South German province of the Society of Jesus, his brother

had already been a Jesuit for three years. Rahner had previously belonged to the "Quickborn" youth association, especially influenced by Romano Guardini. It was in the context of the post-First World War Catholic revival that he became involved in the activities of the Jesuits: at that time influences from France (H. Bremond) and Belgium (J. Maréchal) were arousing con-

siderable interest in the life of prayer* and spirituality, while the study of sources and documents relating to the origins of the Jesuit order (*Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, MHSJ*) was offering religious youth a variety of inspirations and stimulating the revival of the *Exerzitienbewegung* (spiritual exercises) movement. The critical discussions that had begun in Germany (since the *Kulturkampf* and research within Protestantism* undertaken by figures such as H. Böhrmer) had led to important historical results (B. Duhr) that would influence the Order's conception of itself.

Along with his brother, Rahner grew interested and became involved in these trends, and he was soon advancing original points of view—as revealed in the short texts dating from these first years. Prompted by this strong interest in Ignatian spirituality*, from 1924 to 1927 Rahner undertook general, scientific, and philosophical studies at the Berchmannskolleg, which the Order had just founded at Pullach near Munich. So deeply involved did he become in these studies that toward the end of this period he decided to devote himself to teaching the history of philosophy* (in particular modern philosophy). However, this ambition did not however have any immediate consequences for the remainder of his training, since he was initially given the job of teaching languages to young members of the Order, and subsequently studied theology* at the Jesuit university of Valkenberg in Holland. He was ordained priest by Cardinal Michael Faulhaber in Munich in the summer of 1932—a summer marked by political unrest due to the rise of National Socialism. He spent his last year of general training in 1933–34 at Sankt Andrä (Carinthia), before returning to his home town to specialize in philosophy. Heidegger* had just resigned as Rector; at Freiburg, Rahner's studies were directed by M. Honecker. Rahner pursued a variety of courses, in particular Heidegger's seminars. He selected as his research topic finite knowledge in the work of Thomas* Aquinas, thus situating his research among the attempts to adapt neo-Thomism to modern philosophy. A number of theses supervised by Honecker approached this problem from different angles. Rahner chose to develop some suggestions made by J. Maréchal and P. Rousselot. His thesis, as it was presented in 1936, was not accepted by M. Honecker, but even before this news had been conveyed to him, Rahner, with the energetic support of his brother Hugo, had turned to church history*, done a theology doctorate at the University of Innsbruck and passed his examination to teach theology. This led to a change of plan: abandoning philosophy, Rahner prepared himself to take up a chair of theology at Innsbruck. At the "Salzburg University weeks" in August 1937 (the last before the Second World War) he presented the ideas

that would later be published under the title of *Hörer des Wortes* (*Hearers of the Word*, 1967); then, at the beginning of the winter term 1937–38, he took up his post at Innsbruck.

Following the Anschluss in the spring of 1938 the faculty was closed by the Nazis (effective the following summer), and Rahner, like the other members of the Order, was forced to pursue his academic work in semisecrecy. Only in 1945 was he able to resume his teaching openly, this time at Pullach near Munich (until 1948). Upon his return to Innsbruck he displayed a tireless energy in a variety of fields, throughout the years of reconstruction and right up until the Second Vatican* Council: the most important fruits of this period, apart from the *Theological Writings*, which originated as occasional texts, were the preparation of the second edition of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* and the publication of the series *Quaestiones Disputatae*. Thanks to his university activities and his sensitivity to the numerous challenges encountered by faith* and the church, he became more and more clearly aware of the gulf that separated the traditional presentation of Christianity from the new problems confronting it, and he felt the need for a theology that would truly be able to face up to them. It was in this frame of mind that he accorded increasing importance in his writings to spiritual* direction and began work on the publication of a large *Handbuch der Pastoraltheologie*. While his work was, above all, situated in a German context, Rahner's involvement with Vatican II—initially as an adviser to the Viennese Cardinal Franz König, then as an expert on the theological commission—enabled him to make his voice heard in the universal Church as well. Bishops and theologians discovered a man deeply attached to Catholic tradition*; a man who, concerned for a world that was moving ever further from its former criteria, displayed an incredible ingenuity for discovering new viewpoints.

It was precisely this talent that Rahner hoped to exercise when the philosophy faculty of Munich University asked him to succeed Romano Guardini to the chair of Christian thought. He accepted the offer in 1964, but soon realized that it was just as urgent to revitalize theology so as to ensure the acceptance of the council's decision at local* church level. With this in mind, in 1967 he rejoined the theology faculty of the University of Münster, where he pursued his academic activities until 1971. His services were particularly called on by the Diocesan Synod of the Federal Republic of Germany, which met in Würzburg from 1971 to 1975 and was concerned not only to implement the council's approach in the life of the German church, but also to respond to the spiritual transformations that had taken

shape in the meantime. 1976 saw the publication of the *Grundkurs des Glaubens (Foundations of Christian Faith)*, in which Rahner again sought to give impetus to the life of faith and to theological training. As discussions took a new direction, he defended the principles of openness and engagement in the face of the ever-stronger tendencies advocating a turning inward and a reassertion of traditional positions. At the beginning of the 1980s Rahner returned to Innsbruck, where he continued his activities until the end of his life. He died

soon after his 80th birthday and was buried in the Jesuit Church at Innsbruck. In the last years of his life he displayed a keen interest in young people and the questions they were asking, and made cautious attempts to establish a new dialogue with atheism*, in particular with representatives of the Communist intelligentsia. In this respect, the publication in 1983 of French and Hungarian translations of his *Foundations* represented the culmination and vindication of his work.

KARL HEINZ NEUFELD

B. Theological Outlook

This article deals mainly with Rahner's major insights, and with a few key concepts that give his work its coherence without making it into a system. The continuity of his life and thought, notwithstanding the changes associated with the context of the world* and the church*, justifies a synchronic approach.

1. The Living Source

"In order to free me from the fear which your immensity inspires in me, you must allow your infinite word to be contained within limits, you must make it pass within my narrowness" (*Worte ins Schweigen*, 1938). Rahner's theology is not simply the outcome of lecturing and academic research. It is grounded in a life of faith* and prayer*, of which four aspects should be borne in mind: an Ignatian spirituality*, involving the experience* of God* both on a personal level and through the church; familiarity with the Church Fathers*, leading to a spirituality centered on the mystery* of the Father*, his Word*, and his Spirit; the influence of Origen* and Bonaventure* and the doctrine of "spiritual meanings"; and attachment to the transfigured heart* of Christ crucified, the symbol of infinite Love* and source of the Church.

Rahner's spirituality was based on the incarnate Word, the *Word of the Father*; his life as a believer was lived out in a primordial affirmation of the physical church, the arena of our conversion*, so as to become a "minister of Christ" and "bring succor to souls." For Rahner the mind, forever turned toward the world, was also a self-awareness that could grasp itself, going beyond images and concepts and finding its freedom by seeking the invisible in the visible, listening amid the silence to the words of the beginning (*Urworte*), sim-

ple words that bore a secret mystery: the Nameless had come to express itself in human hearts and in the history* of peoples.

This living source of his theology gave an advance unity to his further philosophical and theological research. Destined to teach first philosophy and then theology, Rahner would always see the former as an intrinsic part of his theological research. Between the 1930s and the 1980s, however, his awareness of an insurmountable pluralism prevented him from taking a unified philosophical tradition as the anthropological foundation for a system of theological thought (which had itself become very diverse in the meantime).

2. Philosophical Influences: Maréchal and Heidegger

During his years studying philosophy (1924–27) Rahner studied the fifth *Cahier* in the series by the Belgian Jesuit Joseph Maréchal (1878–1944) entitled the *Starting Point of Metaphysics: Thomism in the Light of Critical Philosophy* (1926). Maréchal's aim was to integrate the truthful portion of modern philosophy (Descartes*, Kant*, Fichte) with Thomas's realism: the mind's thought as receptivity *and* activity in the act of knowing. This subjective impulse of knowledge was not the result of experience or knowledge. Rather, it was always already present in man, and constituted an a priori to which philosophy devoted an inquiry known since Kant as "transcendental": a consideration of the conditions under which experience in general is possible. Following Maréchal, Rahner took up this critical approach that highlights the necessarily subjective impulse of any knowledge, whatever it might be. Along with the Belgian philoso-

pher, however, he emphasized the other aspect of a transcendental approach, which is the mind's urge toward an absolute horizon.

From 1934 to 1936 Rahner worked on a philosophy doctorate at Freiburg and attended Heidegger's classes. He would subsequently tend to play down the influence of the author of *Being and Time* upon his thought. The Rahner of the late 1930s is nonetheless indebted to Heidegger—as, indirectly, is the author of the *Foundations of Christian Faith* (*Foundations*, 1976, English trans. 1978) in relation to two themes: the *existential* and *being-in-the-world*. Existentials, according to Heidegger, are the general and formal structures that make up the *Dasein*, in other words, the mode of being proper to man, and their analysis makes it possible to discern in man the locus in which the question of being* (*Sein*) arises, beyond the questions devoted to such and such an entity or group of entities. If being is in question in man, it is because the latter is defined first of all in terms of his openness to the world. Either in advance or straight away, man is “outside himself.” As Rahner wrote in 1940, “Man is from the outset open to the totality of the world. . . . In order to be present to himself, he must externalize himself, and make room in himself for the totality of the world” (*RSR* 1940, 162). Man, in short, is open to being not as a result of theoretical considerations, through the mediation of contingent experiences, but by virtue of a fundamental experience: the anticipation of death*. These themes, echoing Heidegger, would later be developed by Rahner in strictly theological terms.

Rahner's philosophy thesis, “The Mind in the World: The Metaphysics of Finite Knowledge in the Work of Saint Thomas Aquinas” (which was rejected), brought these philosophical considerations to a conclusion and announced some of the questions to come: with Thomas and Heidegger, Rahner conceived of man as a being forever linked to the perceptible, while with Kant and Maréchal, he saw in man a consciousness of self, the mind. It was thus, as both complete openness and impassable finiteness, that man pondered the conditions under which knowledge was possible.

3. Intellectually Honest Faith

As a teacher, an editor, and a preacher, Rahner had one paramount concern: not to gloss over difficulties, whether of the present time or of historical Christianity. He also sought to profit from the *chances of the Christian faith* by making clear that it was not an ideology. Hence the considerable thought he devoted to the relationship of theological method to that of other academic disciplines.

a) Two Ways of Conceiving the Fundamental Relationship between God and Man. Man appeared to Rahner first and foremost as the intended recipient of a possible revelation* in history, and God appeared to him first in his intimate mystery, as he had chosen to present himself to man in his grace* and in his Word made *flesh**. So Rahner formulated a rule intended to clarify any particular theological question: proximity and distance, dependence and autonomy, do not grow in inverse proportion but in direct proportion (*Schr. zur Th.* I, 29, no. 1; *Foundations*). The fullness of heavenly grace was Jesus* of Nazareth, born of a woman*. The fundamental theological law (*Grundgesetz*), the axiom of all Christian thought, and the christological principle of dogmatics* (*Schr. zur Th.* I, *ibid.*) was therefore this: in the sight of *Deus semper major*, finitude and contingency are not mere nothingness*, but rather creation*.

Within this theology a place was found for a consideration of the *experience of grace*. Grace was freely offered to all, and every human being could receive and experience it in his daily life, by virtue of the mind's transcendence of any object, even in the absence of a “religious” dimension. Christianity alone could recognize in it an experience of grace. If, however, this experience were not possible for everyone, Christianity could never have found acceptance.

On the basis of these axioms Rahner constructed concepts (or modified the sense of ancient expressions) intended to show how “it is possible to believe today,” and did so with one constant goal: that of conceiving of the intimate relationship that God wished to establish between himself and a man created with the capacity to understand a possible revelation; even more, to consider the mystery of the uncreated, which becomes the “most intimate constituent” of its creature.

b) Obediential Power. While Rahner did not invent the expression, he did give new life to the problem. This power characterizes man in two ways: both as an obedient openness (in other words, pure disposition) and as a positive capacity—resolute receptiveness, the *capacity for assumption* (*Foundations*). Grace (in other words, God giving himself) must be able to be received *as grace*, transcending all expectation and all desire; but it must also be able to be *received* by man. There must be an affinity between nature* and grace—if this were not the case, Christianity would remain external to the human condition in the universe. Obediential power is man's concrete essence. However, a particular concept of “nature” is thereby implied: the recipient of the free gift must be firm in himself.

c) *Supernatural Existential*. This second expression is linked to the previous one. While man is destined for a supernatural end, this is not as a result of some kind of legal decree: this destiny corresponds to what man is in his essence, in other words a being focused on the absolute, awaiting a possible revelation. By speaking thus of an “existential,” Rahner (following Heidegger) means to denote a structure that precedes any decision. However, by attributing to this existential the quality of being “supernatural*,” he makes it clear that the existential is not due, that it is not an attribute of a “pure nature,” but rather man’s absolute relation to God, the location of grace in the innermost part of man. Every human being lives under a desire for universal and effective salvation*.

d) *Self-Communication*. This term is a key concept of Rahner’s, and serves to express the mystery of God the Father who makes himself the innermost part of man. All metaphysical distance and impossibility are thereby transcended. The human being is then defined as an *event* of God’s self-communication, freely given and forgiving: not only as recipient and beneficiary, but also as partner in an act that comes complete from God in such a way that God allows freedom and intelligence to be recipients of it. God becomes the starting point for *man’s self-fulfillment (Foundations)*. In this way the “heart of Christianity” (ibid.) is affirmed: the absolute giver (the Father) coincides with the gift (the Word), and it is only thus (as uncreated grace, the Holy Spirit) that he enables man to receive it himself (rather than an idol, the projection of desires)—in other words, the Trinity*. Man’s finite nature and fragility are not abolished by such a gift; on the contrary, it gives them all their dignity.

e) *Anonymous Christians*. Since the human being is created to participate freely in God’s vision, and since the grace by which God offers himself freely to man has forever been the *gratia Christi*, Rahner is led to suggest that there must be women and men who, having received and acted upon the offer of participation in the life divine, have “believed” in Jesus Christ without ever having known his name* or belonged to his Church.

The theory of anonymous Christians is first a “theory of consequent grace” (Hilberath 1995). It is linked to two suppositions: the unity of love for God and for one’s neighbor; and the idea that the history of salvation and revelation is “coextensive” with human history. It aims to overlook neither the concrete nature of revelation nor the necessity that the “ministerial”

church should be a missionary one. The proposition of this theory gave rise to arguments that H. de Lubac partly dispelled: the existence of “anonymous Christians” was not in doubt, but to speak of “anonymous Christianity” would be to misrepresent Rahner’s intentions.

f) *Economic Trinity Is the Immanent Trinity, and Vice Versa*. The history of revelation would lose all its meaning if God did not give himself to man just as he is in himself. Rahner frequently ponders the theological implications of faith in the Trinity. The “economic Trinity” is the revelation of the God who gave himself in his entirety, as the Father, in the life, ministry and Passion* of Jesus his Son, and in the Spirit of filial adoption communicated to mankind. The “immanent Trinity” is the Trinity in itself, independently of the history of salvation: the Father is eternally the sole Uncreated, with his Word and his Spirit.

Rahner’s axiom (the economic Trinity is the immanent Trinity, and vice versa) may be interpreted from the starting point of mankind: the latter has access to the divine in-itself only by virtue of its revelation. If God reveals himself as the Trinity, it is because he is so eternally. Revelation *is* the communication through God of his own secret, his identity, in and through the human face of Jesus, the complete fulfillment of revelation in history. Taken from the starting point of God, the axiom signifies that his in-himself is a for-us (divine philanthropy, Ti 3:4). Here Rahner takes a stand against two extremes:

- 1) Against the separation of the treatise on the triune God from the treatise on the singular God, the latter being dependent on philosophical conceptions and providing prerequisites to any revelation, the former adding a dogmatic complement: a separation according to which the eternal Trinity, cut off from history, can end up resembling a conceptual game. Against such an isolation of the doctrine of the Trinity, Rahner aims to put back at the heart of theology what he calls the “unique Mystery”: the self-communication of the personal God, the Father, in the Incarnation* of his Word and in his Spirit’s gift of grace.
- 2) From here the question arises of why one should continue to posit a Trinity in itself, an immanent eternal Trinity. Against the second extreme suggested by this question, Rahner asserts that the Trinity in history would become meaningless if it were not the revelation of God’s eternal being. Revelation in history is indeed the self-communication of the Father’s secret, but this se-

cret is given precisely *as* inexhaustible. What is at stake here is the *gratuitousness of an infinite Love*, in itself perfect, which has *freely* wished to create another and give itself to that other.

“Vice versa” implies, in short, that the mystery of the living God is not really respected either by a strictly “economic” approach or by a pure doctrine of the “immanent” Trinity. Rahner frequently concludes his reflections with a *reductio in mysterium*. If he insists on “economy,” it is certainly not to imply that the Trinity exhausts itself in history. For this reason he is able to conclude his meditation on the Trinity by saying that “God himself, the unending sacred mystery, the incomprehensible foundation of man’s transcendent existence, is not only the God of infinite distance, but wishes to be the God of absolute proximity, in true self-communication” (*Foundations*).

g) *Sacramental Penance As “Reconciliation with the Church.”* An entire volume of the *Schriften zur Theologie* (XI) collects Rahner’s historical and systematic studies on penance* in the early church, and the last volume contains another text from 1980 on the status of the sacrament* of penance. This interest came from the wellspring of his thought: the life of faith, worship, the pastoral sense (“he wanted to be a pastor* out of love for mankind,” Vorgrimler 1998), the perception of the inner connection between the “loss of grace,” conversion*, and the social dimension of our being. Rahner’s thinking on penance is an exemplar of his whole theological method: the theology of grace and the anthropology of the *spirit in the world* are united in ecclesiology*.

With a sound knowledge of the history of doctrines and sacramental practices, Rahner frequently detected “forgotten truths.” In this particular case, the modern West had lost sight of an ecclesiological truth: “If the Church must be seen not only as an external canonical organization but as God’s *holy* people, as a covenant of grace, as Christ’s body animated by a Spirit, then *any* sin by a member of the Church contradicts the inner essence of the Church, not just those sins that the Church punishes with excommunication in the strict sense. This also stems from the fact that... any serious sin, before it is sacramentally erased, of itself excludes one from the Eucharist*, from the Church’s central mystery, and therefore always has an ecclesiological aspect” (*Schr.* VIII).

Rahner judged the post-Vatican* II reforms to the celebration of the sacrament of penance to be both important and insufficient. While he recognized the value of private confession, he nonetheless felt that community ritual better expressed the penitent sinner’s reconciliation with the Church (Vorgrimler 1998).

4. *Theologian in a Time of Contrasts*

Rahner always aimed to consider faith and the approach to faith as a theologian, in an age characterized by the proliferation and specialization of knowledge—an age, that is, when no one can any longer master everything he really ought to know.

Concerned about the theological training of the laity*, and also of future priests*, he aimed to introduce people to Christianity by starting from its essence, but also in the context of his own time. While no one can ever be sure of everything before embarking on a decision that will shape his whole life (profession, choice of religion, ecclesiastical vocation), an initial “knowledge,” as a preliminary to the specialized disciplines, must nonetheless exist, expressing both the most personal self and an openness to human experience in general. So there must exist, as an elementary postulation of all fundamental* theology, a rational justification of Christianity that will take account of the possibility, open to all, learned and uneducated alike, of understanding and believing that Jesus is Lord. As early as 1954 Rahner observed that there was a need to find a catechism for beginners, those whom Augustine called the *rudes* (*Mission and Grace*; see *Schr.* III,). It was really to this that he was applying himself in the *Foundations of Christian Faith*, in an age when we are all in some sense *rudes*.

The book is structured in nine stages, of which the first four, devoted to mankind, may be read independently of any Christian reference. The central part (a centrality proved by the relationship between the fifth and sixth stages) links the transcendental and categorical aspects of divine revelation, both of which culminate in Christ. The remainder of the book deals with ecclesiology, the life of the Christian, and eschatology*, all the while stressing the link between human experience and Christian revelation.

The attitude of the theologian who, in an age of contrasts, reflects on faith and hope*, can be summed up in one word: patience. This is in no sense resignation. It does all that can be done. It is oriented toward the absolute future, whose seed is already present *in a time of winter*.

Rahner involved himself ever more resolutely in ecumenical work, alongside Protestant theologians such as Eberhard Jüngel, with whom he had already published a pamphlet, *Was ist ein Sakrament?* (1971). In 1983 they published a new tract on patience (*Über die Geduld*). Without yielding to impatience or utopian visions, Rahner maintained, along with his pupil Heinrich Fries, that the unity* of the churches was already possible, around the *fundamental substance* of faith.

From the 1950s Rahner had asserted the right to free speech and the rights of the individual within the

church. The “yes to the physical church” (*Schr.* IX) and the respect for its hierarchical structure did not “rule out the right to disagree.” On this point Rahner was not always understood, either by the “Romans” or by the “dissidents” (as, for example, in his debate with H. Küng). But the testimony he bore to true Christian responsibility helped many Christians to follow Jesus in the Church. More than some of his critical writings, the humor of *The Speech of Ignatius of Loyola to the Jesuits of Today*, or of *The Undying Topicality of the Papacy* (*Letter of Paul VII to Peppino: A Papal Letter of the Twenty-First Century*, in *Schr.* XVI, 1983) expresses Rahner’s realistic support for the hierarchical church, as well as his refusal of lies or injustice in the church. Realism—and even a certain pessimism—is as essential to the Christian life as hope. Christianity does not conceal the reality of failure and death; the Christian proclaims the victory of a death that is *the one entrance to life* (*Foundations*, 449). Here Rahner takes up some observations from his earlier writings: “You have committed yourself to a perpetual coming. You have taken our state of slavery as the starting point for your coming, which will put an end to that slavery” (*Worte ins Schweigen*). And, echoing Heidegger: “Being resolute in one’s ‘being-for-death,’ this is the fundamental attitude demanded of the *Dasein*; to bear the anguish of nothingness, that is the courage to live” (*RSR* 1940).

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See also **Balthasar, Hans Urs von; Lonergan, Bernard John Francis; Lubac, Henri Sonier de; Spirituality, Ignatian**

Rationalism

Appearing in the 16th century in France as an antonym for *empirical*, the adjective *rationalist* was first used in philosophy. A rationalist is one for whom pure thought has more cognitive power than experience. It was not until the 17th century that the theological history of rationalism began.

a) Protestant Theology. The theological concept of rationalism came into being as a polemical tool. For the Lutheran theologian D. Hoffmann (1538–1611) and his student J. A. von Werdenhagen (1581–1652), their philosophical colleagues who followed Aristotle were *rationalistae* or *ratiocinistae* (*RE*, 3rd Ed., 21, 103). P.

Poiret (1646–1719) used the term (associated with *idealism*) in his critique of deism and Socinianism. The term was soon taken up by a strictly theological current. From the publication of L. Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae Interpres* (1666), there was a debate in the Netherlands between “rational” and “nonrational” or “antirational” theologians. In England there was opposition between the “rationalists,” the “skeptics,” and the “fideists.” Whatever its beginnings, rationalism was soon defined in terms of a critical reorganization of the concept of revelation*, in which theology* attempted to respond to the objections of the Enlightenment, particularly in Germany, where the *Aufklärung* did not seem armed with any hostility to Christianity.

Several movements can be distinguished. The *Übergangstheologen* (S.J. Baumgarten [1706–57], J.F. Buddeus [1667–1729], J.L. von Mosheim [1694–1755], and C.M. Pfaff [1686–1760]) defended the harmony of reason* and revelation by emphasizing the fact that revelation could contain nothing in contravention of the natural and rational knowledge* of God. There appeared simultaneously in Switzerland a “rational orthodoxy” among “Switzerland’s theological triumvirate” (J.A. Turretini [1671–1737], S. Werenfels [1657–1704], and J.F. Ostervald [1663–1747]). And again in Germany, the Wolffian theologians (J.G. Reinbeck [1683–1741], J. Carpov [1699–1768], and F.A. Schultz [1692–1763]) carried out a systematic organization of dogmas* designed to satisfy the demands of reason. An axiom was linked these movements: revelation is not only capable of justifying itself before the court of reason, it must do so.

Protestant rationalism was most fully developed in the “neologist” theologians (A.F.W. Sack [1703–86], J.F.W. Jerusalem [1709–89], J.J. Spalding [1714–1804], J.G. Toellner [1724–74], J.A. Ernesti [1707–81], and J.D. Michaelis [1717–91]) between 1740 and 1790. Faith* in a revelation remains, but its dogmas may not be supported unless they are subjected to the tests of reason and “moral conscience*.” Nothing more (but also nothing less) is revealed than the true content of “natural religion,” which leads the theology of the neologists to marginalize a substantial number of dogmatic affirmations (original sin* and the existence of hell*, among others). Kant was not a theologian, but when his *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* appeared in 1793 it looked very much like a concluding manifesto to the movement.

The movement thereafter experienced a further radicalization in the form of “Christian rationalism” (H.P.K. Henke [1752–1809], J.F.C. Loeffler [1752–1816], J.F. Tiefrunk [1759–1837], J.A.L. Wegscheider [1771–1849], H.E.G. Paulus [1761–1851]): in their work, what remained of Christianity was a path

toward the truly ethical and religious life. Hegel* was able to say of rationalism that it had emptied philosophy* of its content by “emptying heaven” and by “reducing everything to finite relationships” (*Jubiläumsausgabe* 17. 112). Opposed to rationalism was a “supernaturalist” school (G.C. Storr [1746–1805], K.C. Flatt [1772–1843], F.G. Süsskind [1767–1829], G.C. Knapp [1753–1825], and J.A.H. Tittmann [1773–1832]). An intermediate position was held by “rational supernaturalism” or “supernaturalist rationalism” (K.F. Stäudlin [1761–1826], E.G. Bengel [1769–1826], K.L. Nitzsch [1751–1831], and K.G. Bretschneider [1776–1848]), which affirmed a perfect coincidence of the revealed and the rational, while recognizing the divine origin of revelation.

In a theological landscape henceforth dominated by Schleiermacher*, rationalism had to retreat before the “theology of the awakening” or the confessional theology of the school of Erlangen, while its critical concerns were taken up by the Hegelian left. But rationalist theology resurfaced in the form of liberal Protestantism*. The “dialectical theology” created by Barth* wished to draft rationalism’s death certificate. Nevertheless, there were always voices as respectable as those of Dilthey, Troeltsch, and E. Hirsch to recall the contributions of rationalism to biblical criticism and to the history of Christian doctrines. Such individuals believed that it had made possible progress in theology itself: “There is a road that leads, through rationalism, to a knowledge of Christian truth* deeper than the truth that rationalism reaches. But there is no road allowing theology seriously to reach its aim by circumventing rationalism or relying only on what precedes rationalism” (Hirsch).

b) Catholic Theology. The influence of the Enlightenment on theology was substantially less in Catholicism* than in Protestantism (influence did occur, however—F.A. Blau [1754–98], J. Danzer [1743–96], J.A. Dereser [1757–1827], and L.B. Werkmeister [1745–1823]). The term *rationalism* did not appear in Catholic theology until the 19th century, and it appeared first of all in official declarations of censure. By opposing rationalism, on the one hand, to the pair formed by fideism* and traditionalism*, on the other, Catholicism articulated its relationship to a philosophy and a critical historiography that had taken shape outside its sphere of influence. The violence of the condemnations is obvious, although the modes of thought condemned did in fact lack maturity.

As early as 1832 Gregory XVI’s censure of the theories of Lammenais on religious freedom was presented as a censure of reason relying on its strength alone (*ASS* 4 [1868] 341, 344 *Sq*). The year 1835 saw the posthu-

mous condemnation of the works of G. Hermes (1775–1831). This theologian from Bonn, whose apologetics granted legitimacy to doubt as long as the conceptual work of establishing a foundation had not been accomplished, was said to have taught that reason is “a governing norm and the only means by which man may attain knowledge of supernatural truths” (DS 2738). On 9 November 1846 Pius IX devoted a part of his inaugural encyclical, *Qui pluribus*, to the errors of those who “constantly rely on the strength and the excellence of human reason” (DS 2775). In 1857 there was another cause célèbre: the condemnation of the Viennese A. Günther (1783–1863), a somewhat confused Gnostic thinker. The “system of rationalism” was dominant in his writings; he attributed “a magisterium to human reason and to philosophy, which in religious matters should not dominate but serve”; he had violated both “the distinction between science and faith and the perennial immutability of faith, which is always one and the same” (ASS 8, 446 Sq). In 1862 there was a third cause célèbre: the condemnation of J. Frohschammer (1821–93): “The author in fact teaches first that philosophy, if one has a proper notion of it, cannot only comprehend those Christian dogmas that natural reason knows as well as faith...but that even the very sacred mystery* of the Incarnation* of the Lord belongs to the province of human reason and philosophy” (ASS 8, 430 Sq). In 1863 a theological conference held in Munich and presided over by J.J.I. von Döllinger gave Pius IX the opportunity to recall the submission of science to the magisterium* of the church and the impotence of reason alone in the face of the “infallible and uncreated light of the divine intellect” (ASS 8, 438 Sq). Finally, in 1864 the *Syllabus* bringing together all the “modern errors” proscribed by the teaching of Pius IX provided the most precise definitions of rationalism. “Human reason, taking no account of God, is the only arbiter of the true and the false, of good* and evil*, it is its own law and can rely on its own strength to benefit men and peoples”: this is the way in which “absolute” rationalism was said to speak. “Moderate” rationalism was supposed to say that historical reason could penetrate to the depths of the truths of faith, that philosophy could not submit itself to any authority, that the principles of Scholasticism* were no longer suited to the scientific needs of the present time, and that “philosophy should be practiced without taking supernatural revelation into account” (ASS 3, 168 Sq).

The canons of the First Vatican* Council gave the condemnation its definitive formulation: “If someone says that human reason is so independent that God cannot command it to have faith, may he be anathema”; “If someone says that divine faith is not distinct from the natural knowledge of God and morality and

that, as a consequence, it is not required for divine faith that one believe in revealed truth because of the authority* of God who reveals, may he be anathema” (COD 810, 29–34).

It was left to Leo XIII to establish a “proper use of philosophy” by solemnly installing Thomism* in the position of official Catholic philosophy (ASS 11, 98 Sq). The modernist crisis saw a change in Roman language. In *Pascendi* (1907) it was under the rubric of “agnosticism*” (and also a certain “intellectualism”) that modernism* was condemned (ASS 40, 596 Sq). In 1950 the errors to be combated (in *Humani generis* of Pius XII, AAS 42, 561 Sq and 960) were now “idealism,” immanentism,” “pragmatism,” and “existentialism,” with the text referring to the *Code of Canon Law* of 1917 (can. 1366, §2) to recall that future priests* should be trained “according to the intellectual method, the doctrine, and the principles of the angelic doctor.”

A new perspective appeared with Vatican* II. Rationalism was no longer named; and the fascination that it had long exerted was from now on to be exerted by atheism*. But the new stance was that it was appropriate to engage atheism in a “loyal and cautious dialogue” (GS 19–21). A more refined theology of grace* and the supernatural*, along with a more rigorous reception by Catholics of modern philosophies, has made the denunciation of rationalism irrelevant to contemporary theory.

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See also **Faith; Fideism; Philosophy; Reason; Theology**

Ratramne. *See* Eucharist

Realism

Two senses of the term *realism* may be distinguished: a strict sense, which concerns logic and the ontological status of universals, and a broad sense, which has to do with the relevance of knowledge and also encompasses metaphysical, ethical, and theological considerations. In the first sense, *realism* is opposed to *nominalism**: it denotes the theory whereby the universal exists in things, while nominalism only acknowledges the reality of singular things. Arising from the tradition of Neoplatonist commentaries on Aristotle, the question was developed in Porphyry's *Isagoge*, in which he explicitly questioned the object of

Aristotle's *Categories*—were they vocal sounds, intellectual constructs, or things (*phonai*, *noemata*, *onta*)? It was revived in the Middle Ages by the application of logic to Trinitarian theology* (Trinity*), seeking to explain how the three divine Persons* could be one and the same God*, and how to distinguish between the existence of the one God and the common substance that enables three men to be “men” without being one and the same man. After almost vanishing from philosophical debate during the classical period, the question has once again become a crucial one for contemporary logic and analytical philosophy*.

A. Medieval Questions

a) *12th Century: The “Reals.”* We should begin by noting a terminological difficulty: the word *nominalist* only appeared in the 15th century, from the pen of opponents of nominalism in the modern sense (represented at the time by Ockham and Buridan) (Kaluza 1988, 1995), and the term *realist* seems to have developed in tandem. The 12th-century sources speak of two “schools” (*sectae*): “nominals” and “reals” (*nominales et reales*, according to the translation of Leibniz, *New Essays on Human Understanding* II, 21, §6, Gerhardt), which suggests an initial conception very different from that of the 15th century. Unfortunately, the sources often speak of an anonymous *realis*, or of *antiqui*, rather than mentioning specific individuals, which makes the identification of the theories involved more difficult. They reveal that in the 12th century the

ideas of the *nominales* were frequently opposed to those of the *reales*, but often only give us the opponent's viewpoint. Nevertheless, they do tell us something about the content of the ideas that were at that time considered to be realist: the ontological status of the *genus* and the *species*, the distinction between language and reality, the doctrine of the *unitas nominis*, and the conceptions of logical inference.

The *reales* (reals) adhered more or less closely to the position of William of Champeaux (Saint*-Victor), according to whom Aristotle's *Categories* concerned the first things, which implied that genera were things. In this form, realism was the standard doctrine professed during the 12th century and went hand in hand with a theory of the participation of the singular in universal forms. This was why its opponents (the “moderns,”

moderni) considered it the *positio antiqua*. Thus realism maintained that, in a proposition, what is attributed to a thing is a thing (*rem de re*), while nominalism held that predication predicates a term from a term (*terminus de termino*) (Iwakuma-Ebbesen 1992). More precisely, “some maintain that it is only terms that may be predicated, while others maintain that it is things, in other words that which the terms signify” (anon., *Ars Meliduna*, Oxford, Digby 174, fo 218 vb, cited in Libera 1996).

The problem then was to know whether a complex proposition (“Socrates is a living being”) referred to a structure in the order of things (the inherence of a form—living being—to a particular thing—Socrates) or whether the two linguistic signs (*Socrates*, *living being*) referred directly to the same singular thing. William of Champeaux thus maintained that singular men, distinct in themselves, constitute one single being in mankind (in other words they are the same essence—humanity). Singular by virtue of their distinctness, these men were nonetheless regarded as universal by reason of their nondifference and their convergence in one likeness. The ontological consequence of this was that substance was in itself essentially identical, but became diverse through the forms of the beings that came under its universality; in these terms essence was an undifferentiated background, and form was what produced distinctions.

According to Godfrey of Saint-Victor’s *Fons philosophiae* (II, 450) and John of Salisbury’s *Metalogicon* II, 17 (1159), the reals were apparently grouped into four schools: the followers of Robert of Melun, Albéric du Mont, Gilbert de la Porrée, and Adam of Balsham (Parvipontanus).

According to Albéric du Mont, the universal was both the thing existing by itself and the so-called thing of substance: the *Categories* spoke not only of *voces* and their meaning, but also of *res*. According to the school of Robert of Melun (*Ars Meliduna*), universals were neither terms, nor things, but the very being* of things: they were neither substances, nor properties, but they had existence in their own right “just like the utterable subjects, time*, vocal sounds, and glory.” This clearly corresponds to the status of incorporeals according to the Stoics: the mode of being of objects of discourse, which have no existence of their own. According to Gilbert de la Porrée, the problem was to explain how two men were simultaneously “two” and “men.” He justified this convergence by the fact that they shared the same form (*conformitas*). In the case of collective nouns, such as *a people*, the term denoted merely a collection (*unio*), but “the conformity of singular natures is the full resemblance which causes Socrates and Plato to be considered naturally alike by

reason of the singular humanities which make them resemble one another” (*Summa Zwetlensis*, I, 18, Ed. N. Häring, 1976).

This realism, then, was far from being naïve: paradoxically, it was through the same singular form that two singular things were distinct one from another and that they were consistent with the universal.

At the root of the crisis of realism we find the position of Abelard’s teacher Roscelin: “vocalism.” In his view, words referred to singular things whose qualities were inseparable, to the extent that when one of their parts disappeared the words no longer referred to them, even though they survived as mere vocal sounds (*voces*). Only the whole existed: the word referred to a whole whose parts were indivisible, and the universal was merely a name which referred to a multiplicity of things, while a reality of which a part was lacking was incomplete and no longer deserved the same name. The development of Abelard’s nominalism in reaction to this doctrine is a familiar story.

b) Grammar and Theology. Chiefly in the writings of the early 13th century, grammar added to the logical problem the problem of *unitas nominis*. This question played a large part in the debates about the immutability* of divine knowledge (divine science) and about the unity of a faith* expressed at different moments in time (in particular prior to the Incarnation*, among the prophets* and, later, among Christians). For the nominals the unity of the universal resided in the “name”: in spite of the case introduced by declension, the three vocal sounds *albus*, *alba*, *album* were one and the same “name,” since they referred to the same *res significata*. This same unity subsisted in temporal utterances: the same *res* was initially in the future, then in the present, and finally in the past. To say that something was to come, or present, or past, was not to introduce a multiplicity of things signified, but simply a multiplicity of vocal sounds. So the utterance retained the same meaning and remained true. For this reason the nominals held that what had once been true would always be true. This interpretation, similar to the unity of faith through time assumed by Augustine* (*Tract. in Io*. XLV, no. 9, PL 35, 1722), was referred to by Peter of Capua, Prévot of Cremona (Chenu, Landgraf), and Bonaventure* (*Sentences* I, d. 41, a. 2, q. 2), and sanctioned by Peter Lombard (*Sentences* I, d. 41, chap. 3; I, 293). It implied that God was eternally aware of contingent realities in the past and future, and that Abraham’s faith in the coming of the Messiah* was the same as the Christian’s after that coming.

Against this interpretation, the reals suggested that God could begin to know something, and that Abraham’s faith was not the same as the Christian’s: “The

realis concedes that since it is true that ‘I am’ (*me esse*), and that this has not always been true, so God knows it at one moment and has not always known it, but that he is not in consequence any more knowledgeable than he was before” (Peter of Capua, *Summa*, cited in Courtenay 1991).

Immutability therefore had to be understood in a different way, as the living unity of a knowledge that changed object and content while remaining the same; and epistemic utterances (those concerning knowledge, belief, or doubt) must be considered as identical despite the contingency and volatility of their objects.

In some 12th-century treatises the realists’ doctrine was related to the rules of logical inference. The *Obligationes Parisienses* mention (only to reject it) the rule according to which the acceptance of a false premise makes it possible to accept and prove any contingent thing (De Rijk 1975). According to the anonymous author of the treatise *De communibus distinctionibus*, in the view of the *nominales* anything follows from the impossible (*ex impossibili sequitur quidlibet*), while for the *reales* nothing follows from it (*ex impossibili nihil sequitur*) (De Rijk 1988).

c) *13th and 14th Centuries.* By the 13th century the *nominales* and *reales* were a mere memory, mentioned only in the context of the theological problem of *unitas nominis*, and summed up thus by Albert the Great (who regarded nominalists as Epicureans): if one situated universals’ property of “being in many” in things themselves, one was a realist; but if one situated it in human thought, one was a nominalist (*De Praedicabilibus* IX, 3; I, 147). Realism triumphed in the great metaphysical and theological works (Albert the Great, Bonaventure, Thomas* Aquinas, Duns* Scotus). Three factors combined to alter the nature of the problem: the rediscovery of Aristotle’s *De anima*, in which all the critical debates about the formation of the universal are condensed (II, 5, 417 b 23: “The universal exists in the soul”), and also of his *Metaphysics* (Z, 13, 1038 b 9: “The universal, as a universal, is not substance”); and the influence of Avicenna, who offered a coherent formulation of the problem of universals.

According to Avicenna, every being had an essence that made it what it was, independently of its existence or its nonexistence, irrespective of whether it had real existence or the status of being imaginary (*Philosophia prima* I, 5 and V, 1). The essence of a horse was only the essence of a horse, and all other circumstances (existence, singularity, or universality) were incidental to it. This solution established the distinction and correspondence between three statuses of essence: the intelligible (*intellectuale*) in itself, before the thing (*ante*

multiplicitatem), physical realities (*naturalia*) in the multiple (*in multiplicitate*), and in the intellect after the event (*post multiplicitatem*) (*Logica*, fo 12 ra-va)—recalling the Neoplatonic threefold scheme of “physical,” “logical,” and “theological” viewpoints. This structure and this correspondence, taken up by Albert the Great in terms of the universal *ante rem*, *in re*, and *post rem*, influenced the interpretations of Thomas Aquinas. The latter emphasized the importance of the intellect in the constitution of the universal, and thus the disparity between these different levels. Duns Scotus was also influenced, but concerned himself more with intentional correspondence and the persistence of the essence in spite of the diversity of levels (Boulnois 1992). During the 14th and 15th centuries Scotus’s position was maintained by the Oxford realists, John Sharpe and John Wycliffe, while that of Albert the Great was recast by his school, notably the Köln neo-Albertists such as Jean de Maisonneuve and Eymeric de Campo (Kaluza 1986). It may thus be said that by the end of the Middle Ages, notwithstanding noetic refinements such as the theory of intuition, the form and content of realism was fixed.

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B. Modern and Contemporary Questions

a) *Realism, Neoscholasticism, and the Theory of Knowledge.* In modern and contemporary theology, and in a large part of 19th- and 20th-century philosophy, the term *realism* generally no longer implies the opposite of *nominalism*, but instead usually means the opposite of *idealism*, in a new schema that has arisen within Catholicism. In Neoscholastic parlance the term *realist* was applied to a theory of knowledge aimed at refuting Cartesianism and Kantianism, two philosophies that see knowledge of the world as a knowledge posterior to the proper knowledge of the self (Descartes*), or as a knowledge mediated by the self and its capacity for experience (Kant*). According to J. Kleutgen, who better than anyone codified Neoscholasticism (see McCool 1977), it is possible to speak of knowledge only "when the thing is known from the foundation of its being, and consequently when the foundation of being* is the foundation of knowledge" (I, 148). In the context of the new school this idea was developed in two directions, both of which Kleutgen had suggested (McCool 1977).

- 1) D. Mercier (1851–1926, professor at Louvain, archbishop of Malines-Brussels, made cardinal in 1907) pursued an epistemology aimed at "examining the certainty that the mind has when it is aware that its knowledge is true" (1918): a theory of evidential criteria that ruled out postulating the existence of unknowable noumenal realities. J. Scheuer and J. Maréchal followed Mercier and

refined the project of a "Scholastic* solution to the paradoxes of Kant" (Maréchal 1926), in a manner that took considerable account of Kant's demands. The decision to "go beyond Kantianism from the starting point of Kantianism itself" (ibid.) presumes at least the acceptance of the terms of a question, and Scheuer accepts more than this, seeing Kant as "the Newton of the universe of ideas" (Scheuer 1971).

- 2) To a realism that might be termed "mediate" there was opposed an "immediate" realism that resolved the problem of knowledge by postulating the "immediate apprehension of things by the mind" (Noël 1925). However, the most serious objection came from Gilson. Realist theories, according to the great historian, all had one original sin in common—that of being theories of knowledge that took Descartes and Kant as their starting point, and which attempted to "find in a particular doctrine [i.e., that of Thomas* Aquinas] the solution to a problem which that doctrine never suspected" (1930). True fidelity to Thomas demanded in practice that one "free oneself from the obsession with epistemology as a precondition of philosophy" (ibid.). Once one had concluded that one "will never obtain from any cogito the justification of Saint Thomas Aquinas's realism" (ibid.), there still remained a mission: "to think from the viewpoint of the object" (ibid.).

Maréchal's realism and "immediate" realism were both influential. The German Jesuits were Maréchal's most energetic followers; and this "transcendental" Thomism* inspired J. B. Lotz's philosophical (and spiritual) project as much as it did K. Rahner*'s theological project—though it should be added that from 1927 the German Neoscholastics judged it necessary to confront the new questions posed by Heidegger*, so that that of realism inevitably receded into the background. In the French-speaking world, and in the faculties of Rome, most notably at the Angelicum, the "immediate apprehension" of being—of the *ens*—by the human mind was an unquestioned dogma, although arguments did arise about the means of this apprehension. Maritain, for example, spoke of intuitive apprehension ("the intuition of being as an analogue"), though few followed him. In any event, Gilson's scheme remains the most exact formulation of the Neoscholastic realist project. Sketches toward its completion are to be found in Gilson's own work, for example in *Peinture et réalité* (1972).

b) *The Real and the Unreal.* The history of Neoscholasticism is not finished, and the concept of realism is still a shibboleth in the circles where it continues. Meanwhile, however, the realist question has been taken up anew, in two contexts.

- 1) In epistemology and in the theory of knowledge, an argument about realism has been unfolding in the work of English-speaking philosophers who call themselves (or are happy to be called) "unrealists" or "antirealists," and who share a rejection of W. V. Quine's hard realism or physicalism. In the extreme position adopted by N. Goodman, every object is a human artifact, in the sense that it is an object in a "world" whose unity results from its being a system of references, perceptions, preferences, and so on, organized by human beings. In the moderate position taken by H. Putnam, who incidentally cites Kant as an inspiration in his recent texts, we maintain an "internal" realism. Within a coherent structure of experience, knowledge, and theory, the realist demand is valid: an armchair is "real" in the world of life, an electron is "real" in the world of physics. But there is no divine viewpoint or "God's eye view": each thing bears witness to our organizing spontaneity. Mention should also be made of M. Dummett's linguistic unrealism (criticism in Alston 1996): a theory of meaning that uses logic and mathematical intuitionists to link all access to the real to the canonical proof of its reality, which can be provided here and

now. Nor should we overlook R. M. Chisholm, the author of works that, on many points, agree with the thrust of Cardinal Mercier's "mediate" realism (see Chisholm 1966–89).

- 2) The debate concerning religious and theological language* that began in the 1930s has continued at the fringes of the recent philosophy of religion* (Phillips and also Cupitt, primarily influenced by Wittgenstein*; see Runzo 1993). Here there have been attempts to assert the validity and importance of religious language, while at the same time denying that there is meaning in saying that God "exists" or is "real" independently of and outside these language wordplay: "the distinction between the real and the non-real is not determined in advance of the usage peculiar to different language play" (Phillips 1993). Some recent critics of the onto-theological God at times reach similar conclusions (Levinas, Marion, Lash), but the God they attempt to conceive "without being" or "without metaphysical contamination" is a God outside language. The question is not one of his reality, in an unequivocal sense, but rather of his mode of "being" or reality.

c) *Reality of Higher-Order Objects.* Thus, in the inventory of the world's ontological equipment the debates that occupied people in the Middle Ages concern people just as much today, and still bring into opposition realist and nominalist tendencies. Certain questions are continually being investigated: the status of mathematical objects (the ontological implications of Cantor's work on set theory and mathematical infinity*, the reduction of mathematics to logic in the work of Russell, etc.), the status of wholes and parts (Husserl's *Logical Investigations*, Lesniewski's work on "mereology," etc.), the status of "propositions" (Bolzano's theory of "phrases in themselves" [1837], the theory of "states of the thing," *Sachverhalte*, beginning with Twardowski [1894], Meinong's theory of "higher-order objects" [1913], etc.), the status of "sensory data" (the positivism of Carnap, then A. J. Ayer and J. Austin's criticisms of him, etc.), and others as well (see survey in Smith 1994). The key question probably concerns what it means to exist. It was undoubtedly Meinong who had the distinction of formulating it, when he denounced a "prejudice" in the philosophical tradition "in favor of existence" and erected a theory of "objects" (an object being anything about which meaningful propositions may be formulated) intended to take account of the "manner of being" (*Seiensein*) of any object, including gold mountains and square circles ("impossible" or "stateless objects"; see Chisholm 1982). Long condemned in the wake of

Russell's criticisms (see *Essays in Analysis*, Ed. Lackey, London, 1973: texts by Russell and commentaries by the editor), but rehabilitated in the 1970s, Meinong's theory is an extreme realism, which has been construed as an extreme form of Platonism. It has a counterpart, within recent philosophy, in "reist" theories, which admit the existence only of individual things (see Brentano's late texts, Kotarbinski 1929, etc.). The field remains open (see, e.g., Chisholm, *A Realistic Theory of Categories*, 1996, and Nef, *L'objet quelconque*, 1998); moreover, the theological reception of these investigations remains to be undertaken.

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See also **Chartres, School of; Language, Theological; Nominalism; Saint-Victor, School of**

Reason

Reason is defined in Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française* as "the faculty by which man knows, judges, and behaves." Christian theology* has never denied that man is an animal endowed with reason and has always claimed that its own discourse is reasonable, even if it is not first and foremost addressed to the reasonable animal, but to a mortal sinful animal to whom it announces salvation*. The theological problem of reason may be put in Pauline terms. The Greeks seek

"wisdom," and the central affirmation of the Christian kerygma can appear as nothing but "folly" to them (1 Cor 1:22 f.). In the field of experience that Paul calls the "world*," human beings live "without God," "atheistically" (Eph 2:12). And if God* remains to a certain extent knowable to the pagan and to pagan reason, the actual reasoning (*dialogismoi*) of the pagans nevertheless shows itself to be "vain" and prevents them from treating God as he should be treated: the use

of reason is connected to the life of the heart*, and the pagan's "unintelligent" heart (*asunetos*) "confuses" his reason (Rom 1:18–22). Therefore the theological status of reason can only be determined with reference to the status of faith*. Faith accomplishes a work of knowledge and can understand itself by way of the logos ("apologetics" is the same as saying *logos*). But it only knows by virtue of a gift, a "revelation*," that makes accessible to human beings that which is not natively accessible. There is a "natural faith" (our trust in Peter or Paul), and there is a theological faith (faith in God), distinguished from all simply rational knowledge* of God in that it is supernatural: human beings believe by grace*. And faith is not only rational consent, because it involves the will (Thomas* of Aquinas, *ST* IIa IIae, q. 2, a. 1 and 2).

Once it is granted that there is a faith (*pistis*) that enables one to know (opens the field of a *gnosis*), the task of theology can be defined as an "understanding of faith" or a "faith seeking understanding," *fides quaerens intellectum*. Then the question of the intrinsic limitations of "natural" reason must be a central preoccupation of theology. Augustine* claimed that ignorance is one of the consequences of original sin* (*De nat. et grat.*, BAug 21, 403): the (postlapsarian) nature* of man is defined in terms of wounds, and reason is a wounded reason. The nature assumed by Christ*, says John Damascene, is an "ignorant, servile nature" (*De fide orthodoxa* II, 21). Bonaventure* formulates a common theological opinion in subsuming the consequences of the first sin under the categories of ignorance and concupiscence. At that time, a consistent strategy of Scholastics* for measuring the exact limits of natural reason was to set up a "protology of reason" and an "eschatology* of reason" that would allow the experiences of faith and rationality to be put in proper perspective. The eschatological destiny of knowledge is the beatific vision*. The first man did not experience this vision, but knew God through the sensible (*ST* Ia, q. 94, a. 1) and "had knowledge of all things in virtue of species infused by God" (a. 3). Adam* did not have to "believe," but he did not "see" God: his knowledge held to a middle term.

The question of the weaknesses of natural reason occupies an important place in the thought of Luther* (where reason is the "blind prostitute of the devil," WA 40/1, 365) and in Lutheran confessional writings. Rationality remains after the Fall as practical reason that can attain the "justice* of the law*" and as an aptitude to speak of God or render a certain ritual observance to him (*BSLK* 311, 25 *Sq*). The emphasis, however, is on a reason that cannot lead to the love* of God: "It is not true...that left to its own unaided force, reason can love God above all and fulfill the law of God" (*BSLK*

165, 15). The logic of natural reason is not a logic of spiritual life*: "We believe that the intellect, the heart, and the will of unregenerate man left to their own natural forces understand nothing of spiritual and divine things" (*BSLK* 873, 7). Seventeenth-century Lutheran scholars still speculated on the knowledge of Adam and the knowledge of believers. J.A. Quenstedt (1617–88) believed that Adam possessed a form of knowledge that was "excellent, full, perfect, and such that no man after the Fall could acquire it, either from the book of nature or the book* of Scripture*" (*Theologia didactico-polemica* II, 6); but after receiving the Holy* Spirit the apostles* knew even more. J.W. Baier (1647–95) gives a good synthesis of the Lutheran position: "As for the intellect, original sin inflicted on it a total deprivation of spiritual light, such that it cannot know God directly nor can it thus perfectly prescribe the way we must adore God.... And even in matters that pertain to natural light, [it inflicts] a certain powerlessness to know God and regulate one's life" (*Compendium theologiae moralis*, 406–8). However, it would be a mistake to exaggerate the irrational or antirational elements of Lutheran theology. Luther's antiphilosophism was not stronger than that of Bernard* of Clairvaux or Peter Damian; his positions on the "denaturing" of sinful man and his reason are extremist, but this extremism draws on the best traditional cautions—the Council of Trent* was not mistaken in finding absolutely no need whatsoever to rehabilitate reason.

Calvin* unconditionally affirmed the universal possibility of knowledge of God: "We put beyond doubt that men have a sentiment of divinity in them, even of a natural movement. Because God imprinted in all of us a knowledge of himself, so that no one could seek refuge in the name of ignorance" (*Inst.* I, 3, 1). This argument was not meant to preserve the rights of reason but to establish the guilt of one who knows God and does not honor him. The tone hardens when the confessional texts deal with the consequences of original sin, for example, in the *Confession of San Rochelle*: even if sinful man "still has some discretion of good and evil, we nonetheless say that his clarity is converted to shadows, when it is a question of seeking God, so much so that he cannot approach him by his understanding and reason" (*BSKORK* 68). A fundamental hostility toward all natural* theology is certainly a constant feature of Protestant thought, which always counters it with a "more natural" theology (E. Jüngel) organized around divine revelation*. The official Catholic position was not solemnly affirmed until Vatican* I, in a changed context. The Enlightenment proposed a model of "emancipated" reason, which has the force of its natural light alone. In opposition to the

Enlightenment, 19th-century Catholic traditionalism* and fideism* attempted to elaborate a model of rationality that almost completely forgoes natural theology. Its rights were affirmed as clearly as possible by Vatican I. The richest exercise of reason is certainly that of a “reason illuminated by faith.” But if “someone says that the one true God, our Lord and Creator, cannot be known for certain by the natural light of human reason, may he be anathema” (DS 3026). The antimodernist oath hardened the terms by affirming that the existence of God can be “demonstrated” (DS 3538). According to various 19th- and 20th-century Roman Catholic declarations, the existence, immortality, and liberty* of the soul* can also be known by natural reason (DS 2766, 2812), and the same is true for natural moral law (DS 2866, 3875). “The use of reason precedes faith and leads us to faith with the help of revelation and grace” (DS 2813). This thesis, opposed (in 1855) to the traditionalism of Bonnetty, expresses the apologetic strategy dictated to Catholicism by an optimistic concept of “natural” reason. Theism occupies a commanding position on the path that leads from the natural use of reason to the consent reason gives to supernatural truths.

The problems were posed in a different way in the 20th century. The 19th-century Roman Catholic texts defended a possible knowledge in a context that suggested, and even urged, recognizing in certain conceptual systems (specifically those of a reviving Scholasticism) the enduring power to realize that possibility. But in a period when Protestant theology began to show more interest in questions of apologetics or fundamental* theology (E. Brunner, W. Pannenberg, W. Joest), Catholic thought itself was seeking to reorganize the relation between reason and faith. The primarily intellectualist understanding of faith was replaced by a primarily existential understanding, largely under the pressure of contemporary biblical exegesis*. Similarly, the strictly intellectualist understanding of reason seems to be receding. Reason is thought from action according to Blondel*; it is thought in the experience of the communion* of persons according to G. Marcel; while for others intellectual knowledge cannot be dissociated from affective knowledge (e.g., Heidegger*, or more recently M. Henry). The recent appearance of a hermeneutic model of reason favors the (re)birth of the philosophical reading of biblical texts (P. Ricœur, etc.) in which the “hermeneutics* of witness” sometimes seems to serve as “preamble to faith.” The existence of a reason pure of all belief is no longer a philosophical article of faith

(e.g., Husserl). Epistemology draws attention to “personal” factors of knowledge that exceed the abstract use of reason. (M. Polanyi). Philosophies of history* can offer theological reason and philosophical reason a more fertile field of dialogue than the one where God the Creator, first named and philosophically named only as such, had to give way to a revealed God of which no philosophy* could provide any precomprehension. The concept of a “philosophy of revelation” (Schelling*) is among those that theology must henceforth take into account. While all the theologies of the end of the 20th century know perfectly well what “belief” means, the identification of “natural reason” has in fact become a problem for them, because it has become a problem for almost all philosophies.

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See also Faith; Knowledge of God; Natural Theology; Rationalism

Reception

a) Definition. Most generally, the term *reception* refers to the process by which the church* apprehends, appropriates, and is appropriated by, the gospel*. In recent theological discussions, *reception* more specifically refers to the comprehensive process by which something—a doctrinal decision, a change in the liturgy*, an ecumenical proposal—is accepted by the church and taken into its life. This second sense of the term cannot be understood except in relation to its primary sense. The church is inherently receptive: it exists only because it has received the Holy* Spirit (Jn 20:22; Acts 1:8). The church teaches not what it has invented or discovered, but what it has received (1 Cor. 11:23, 15:3). Even if “the faith... was once for all delivered to the saints” (Jude 3), reception still goes on, as the Spirit leads the church ever deeper “into the all the truth” (Jn 16:13). The church’s reception of, for example, the decrees of a council* or the results of ecumenical dialogue should therefore be placed in the context of its continuing reception of the gospel. The subject of reception is thus the church as a whole, rather than merely one part of the church, such as the hierarchy. The reception of the Christology* of Chalcedon*, for example, must be sought not only in the teachings of later councils, but also in hymns, prayers*, icons—the entire spiritual life of the church. Reception is a spiritual reality that cannot be reduced to the official actions of synods* or church leaders. As such, reception cannot be commanded.

The attraction of the concept of reception lies in its complex relations with other important and difficult concepts: the priesthood* of all believers, the teaching authority* of councils and popes*, the indefectibility* and infallibility* of the church, consensus, and the church’s continuous conversion* to the gospel.

b) Reception in the Classic Sense. In the classic sense (Rusch 1988), *reception* refers to the acceptance and appropriation by the church of authoritative teachings or decisions, such as those of ecumenical councils, synods, or popes. Doctrinal declarations have usually been followed by prolonged periods during which the decisions have been debated and interpreted. Some councils (e.g., Nicaea* I) gave rise to decades of debate before they achieved widespread acceptance. Some other councils were finally rejected by signifi-

cant portions of the Church (e.g., the Eastern Orthodox rejection of Chalcedon). Ephesus II (449), the “Robber Synod of Ephesus,” encountered widespread rejection and was overturned by Chalcedon.

Most theologians agree that the church’s reception of a teaching or decision is an important sign that it represents the faith. The sheep know the voice of the Shepherd (Jn 10:4, 10:14) and an authentic teaching, related to the very principles of the faith, cannot fail to be received. In the case of the universal Church’s acceptance of a teaching or decision by a regional synod (e.g., Antioch 268 rejecting the teachings of Paul of Samosata, or Carthage 418 rejecting Pelagianism*), such acceptance is an important reason for asserting the universally binding character of the teaching. The controversial question concerns the relation between reception (or the lack thereof) and the authority of the teachings of ecumenical councils and popes.

This relation is very important in Orthodoxy* (Hryniewicz 1975). The Russian theologian A. S. Khomiakov (1804–60) and his followers have asserted that reception by the church constitutes a criterion of the infallibility of a council’s decrees. While this assertion remains controversial among Orthodox theologians, it expresses the emphasis on reception in Orthodox understandings of authority.

Reception has played a smaller role in Protestant understandings of authority (Protestantism*). The authority of a teaching is more directly tied to its agreement with the gospel or the Scriptures. Nevertheless, Luther* could appeal to universal reception as one reason for accepting the doctrine of Nicaea on Christ’s divinity (WA 50, 554, 4–5) or infant baptism* (WA 26, 167, 19–26).

The relation of reception to authority in Catholic theology (Catholicism*) is the matter of continuing debate. On the one hand, Vatican* I stated that *ex cathedra* teachings of the popes are “of themselves, and not by the consent of the church, irreformable” (DS 3074). To the degree that *reception* means “consent,” the authority of such teachings (and teachings “of the same order” by councils) does not, therefore, derive from their reception. On the other hand, Vatican* II stated that “the congregation of the faithful... cannot be deceived in the faith,” since they possess “the supernatural sense of faith” (LG 12).

Thus, “the assent of the church can never be lacking” from doctrinal definitions of the teaching office (*LG* 25). Some Catholic theologians and ecumenical dialogues (*see* ARCIC) have sought to understand reception as a sign that true teaching has occurred, although not as a source of the authority of such teaching.

c) Reception in the Ecumenical Sense. The term *reception* has been extensively used in ecumenical discussions. Narrowly, it refers to the Church’s receiving the results of the various dialogues and discussions among churches. Such reception includes official responses to their diverse proposals, as well as the entire process of testing results and reshaping church life along more ecumenical lines. More broadly, ecumenical reception refers to the process of the churches accepting or receiving each other in a continuing conversion to the gospel. This presupposes that each church renews the reception of its own traditions*, so that they may become an enrichment for the entire Church.

The discussion and reality of ecumenical reception

are still in their infancy. The specific character of ecumenical reception, and its relation to reception in the classic sense, are subjects of contemporary research (Birmelé 1995).

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See also **Authority; Council; Ecumenicism; Magisterium; Sensus fidei**

Reconciliation, Sacrament of. *See* **Penance**

Redemption. *See* **Salvation**

Reformation. *See* **Anglicanism; Bucer, Martin; Calvin, John; Calvinism; Hus, Jan; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Methodism; Protestantism**

Reformed Churches. *See Calvinism; Zwingli, Huldrych*

Regional Church

In the texts of Vatican* II, the terms *regional church** and *local church* designate either a diocese, a grouping together of dioceses, or a regional church with regard to its rituals or its cultural context. The *CIC* of 1983 never uses *local church* but adopts the term *regional church* technically and exclusively (can. 386) to designate the diocese and the institutions that the law* assimilates to it: prelature and territorial abbeys; vicariate, prefecture, and apostolic administration. Personal prelature is clearly distinct about it: thus it is treated in the section of *The Christian Faithful* (cans. 294–7).

Such a semantic option translates a material fidelity to Vatican II, where *regional church* predominates for designating the diocese. However, one cannot come to theological conclusions from this specialization of canonic vocabulary from which two questions emerge: that of the diocese's own consistency and that of the persistent weakness in the statute of regional churches.

a) Particular Consistency of Regional Churches. To designate the diocese systematically as a regional church runs the risk of resulting, at least in the Romance languages (but the same danger exists in German with *Teilkirche*), in an inadequate understanding of the articulation between the diocese and the entire Church. There is in effect a semantic opposition between the particular and the universal, whereas the regional church and the universal Church are the one and the same Catholic Church. Moreover, *universal* connotes a geographic extension—whose theological reach is modest—and also a uniformity and abstraction one reaches by stripping them of their particularities, while the unity* of the Church is multiform. As for the diocese thus designated, the same logic is likely to make it conceived as a subordinate part to the whole that alone would have plentitude, while it is a portion of the people* of God, equipped on the theological

level with all the goods of the whole: the gospel, the Holy* Spirit, the Eucharist*, and the episcopate (*CD* 11), so that according to *LG* 23 it is “in them and from them [the regional church dioceses] that the Catholic Church exists as one and unique.” Thus, a number of theologians prefer their traditional vocabulary to the systematic option of the *CIC*. Such an option risks weakening the perception of the ontological Catholicism of the church diocese and reinforces the inadequate image of “an anterior universal Church or presumably existing in itself, outside of all churches [local],” that could only be “a being endowed with reason” (Lubac 1971), as if the universal Church were “a reality ontologically and chronologically preconditioned of any singular regional church” (Sicard 1993).

b) Regional Churches in Catholic Ecclesiology. The preceding shows that the expression *regional church* is better suited to the different regional realizations of the Church that translate its cultural pluralism (such as the Latin church or the Greek church), or to the canonical gatherings or the diocese under the form of ecclesiastical provinces, patriarchates*, Catholicosates (patriarchate outside of the Roman Empire), or even national churches that took shape in undivided Christendom (e.g., the Gallican church). All these translations of the gospel in history* and culture, because they are limited, can be called *regional church* without equivocation.

Vatican II conceived of divine providence* as having coalesced “in the course of time into several groups organically united,...churches that enjoyed their own discipline*, their own liturgical usage, and their theological and spiritual heritage” (*LG* 23). The patriarchal churches are given as an example of this context. The episcopal conferences might contribute to the new face of regional churches: the stake is crucial for ecumenism* because a unitarian church is an obstacle to

a unique church, and it is also for a church that exists from as a heaven in all the cultures of humanity.

Because of their restrained national framework and the modesty of the canonical competencies, the episcopal conferences certainly cannot be enough to carry out this wish. The Continental regroupings of the episcopal conferences, combined with the revival (canonically open) of the councils*, can be fruitful in this sense, just as a better articulation between the papacy and the episcopate could be, which cannot be reduced to the problematics of decentralization.

Through the diversity of their historical forms both past and present, regional churches express the catholicity of the Church in its relationship to cultures; and, plenary presence of God's Church in a region, the diocesan church is in a relationship of necessary interiority with the entire Church.

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See also **Bishop; Collegiality; Ecclesiology; Pope; Unity of the Church; Vatican II, Council of**

Reign of God. *See* **Kingdom of God**

Relation. *See* **Being**

Relativism

Relativism is a theory that proposes to explain beliefs by claiming that judgments of truth and falsity are not simply influenced by, but are entirely relative to, the temporal and spatial circumstances of those making the judgements.

Although the term dates from the 19th century, the doctrine has much older roots. The father of relativism is often thought to be Protagoras (485 B.C.–11 B.C.), al-

though he may have maintained only the modest thesis that morality is not immutable, but changes along with institutions. If there was a relativist movement, Sextus Empiricus (third to second century B.C.) would more obviously be its founder; he counseled suspension of judgment in the face of an evident contradiction in behavior or ideas. Montaigne (1533–92), Hume (1711–76), and Nietzsche* are in various ways heirs to

this tradition, the last-named even augmenting it by his attempted “genealogy of morals.”

Relativism takes different forms depending on three factors: the scope it is alleged to have; the nature of the circumstances held to be crucial in generating various beliefs; and the philosophical presuppositions it may involve. In the first place, relativism may be global or partial, but if it is applied to all judgments of truth* it obviously destroys itself, which hardly makes it plausible. More usually, therefore, it is a thesis about a specific domain, such as science, religion, or morality. Second, there are different forms of relativism, depending on whether one sees the reasons for divergences of opinion in terms of culture, means of production, historical period, or gender. Finally, relativism, whether global or limited, may be either epistemological or metaphysical. It may, for example, be limited to asserting that in relation to a specified domain, we have no means of establishing truth or falsity; but it may go further and claim that this impossibility is explained by the fact that there is no truth of the matter at stake. This radical thesis seems to be an element in some versions of postmodernism* and is maintained, for example, by Richard Rorty.

Although relativism in relation to moral beliefs therefore has a long history behind it, its status as a good explanation of moral disagreement within and between different societies* is open to question. Some critics doubt the existence of fundamental disagreements about moral judgments among human beings: after all, the most radical differences of practice can arise from common moral values. Even where the existence of deep disagreements is admitted, and when these disagreements are explained by reference to social or historical factors, it remains to be shown whether it is impossible to overcome them by rational deliberation. Without that, such disagreements merely show that there is indeed a plurality of moral views. However, to establish this impossibility is by no means a straightforward matter, and “antifoundationalists” such as Alasdair MacIntyre have contended that relativism is justified only if one postulates standards of rationality that no beliefs could satisfy. Antifounda-

tionists acknowledge that moral beliefs cannot be derived from some neutral, self-evident foundation, but necessarily belong within particular traditions of thought and inquiry. They argue, however, that these traditions may be judged to be adequate or inadequate, since they are subject to articulation and to questioning from other traditions.

Belief in moral relativism is often thought to entail pluralism and tolerance; however, since the supposition that moral beliefs cannot be satisfactorily justified also applies to the claim that we ought to respect values and practices other than our own, the alleged justification is clearly fallacious. In his encyclical *Veri-tatis Splendor* (1993, *The Splendor of Truth*; AAS 85, 1128–1228), John Paul II warns that moral skepticism is more likely to lead to oppression than to tolerance, and asserts that humankind may discover the natural law*, and thus acquire valid norms of conduct, by the light of reason* and guided by the magisterium*. What the church* teaches in the name of God* is therefore accessible, in principle, to every intellect, and, accordingly, the church’s teaching is addressed to every human being. Within Protestantism*, thinkers such as Barth* (*KD II/2*) or Bonhoeffer* (*Ethik DBW6*) have usually been more ready to suppose that knowledge of good* and evil* is given in and with knowledge* of God. It is thus also revelation—and cannot and should not seek to justify itself against secular thought.

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See also Ethics; History; Revelation; Truth

Relics

In its religious and Christian sense, the term *relics* has two meanings. It refers primarily to the bodily remains of the saints, and secondarily to objects that are directly connected with the life of Christ* (the cross, for instance) or of a saint, or again, to objects that have touched a saint's body. From the earliest times Christians have venerated these remains in a manner consistent with faith* in the Incarnation* and in bodily resurrection, as well as with the Christian rejection of cremation, which was the practice in the Roman world.

In Smyrna, after the bishop* Polycarp's martyrdom in 177, the veneration of his body and tomb had already emerged as an essential component of the cult* rendered to the saint. A particularly important practice in Rome was the cult, attested a little after the year 200, of the "trophies" of the apostles Peter* and Paul (probably their remains). Similarly, in Jerusalem* in the fourth century, the discovery of Christ's cross led to the creation of a cult that would extend to the fragments derived from it. The status of such a cult had to be defined with care and precision, and a distinction laid down by Augustine* (*De Civitate Dei* X, 1) made this possible: adoration is due to God alone (*latreia*, or *latry*, the opposite of idolatry, which is the adoration of idols), while the saints are owed veneration (*douleia*, *dulia*). The eucharistic cult, and in another form, the adoration of the cross and the veneration of the Gospels*, belong to the cult of *latria* (Nicaea* II, *DS* 601).

In the fourth century there began the translation and sharing out of relics (for a long time the Roman church* was opposed to such division), as did the use of a saint's relics at the dedication of a church, when they were placed beneath the altar. During the same period the Fathers* of the Church took a position on the doctrinal validity of the practice.

According to the Basilian homily on Psalm 115 (PG 30, 112), "whoever touches the bones of a martyr shares in the holiness and grace that reside in them." And Gregory* of Nazianzus says of the martyrs: "their very bodies have the same power as their holy souls*" (*Against Emperor Julian* I, 59, PG 35, 589). Finally, at the time of the quarrel with the Gaul Vigilantius, a

priest who criticized the cult of relics, Jerome's pamphlet against him (*Contra Vigilantium*) synthesized the state of the practices and justified them.

From the earliest days of Christianity, abuses of the cult of relics were encountered. Such abuses resulted variously from their collectors' credulous naivety or from superstition. In any event, the church's expressed opinion, and especially its practices, were qualified. We cannot know what Vigilantius really thought, but it can be seen that the process of Western Europe's evangelization avoided an uncompromising attitude toward the prior customs of the people (*see* Gregory* the Great to Augustine of Canterbury, *Registrum Epistolarum* XI, 45 [CCHR.SL 140 A, 961]).

The Reformers opposed both the abuses and the very principle of the cult of relics. At the Council of Trent*, on the other hand, the very same decree (*DS* 1821–5) condemned abuses while reaffirming the legitimacy of the principle of this cult and its consistency with faith in the resurrection of the body (*see* Vatican* II, SC no. 111). From the Catholic viewpoint, two obligations stem from this cult: the duty to ascertain the authenticity of relics, and the duty to distinguish carefully between the "objects of the cult," in the general sense of objects used in the cult, and the "object of a cult." And since a relic, in its precise meaning, is an object to which worship is rendered, its intrinsic sacredness implies that it cannot be deconsecrated.

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See also **Cult; Cult of Saints; Holiness; Liturgy**

Religion, Philosophy of

I. History

From the very beginning, philosophy* took an interest in religion and its content, but a philosophy of religion was not established in Europe until the 17th and 18th centuries (K. Feiereis). Before that, in its approach to religion, philosophy was itself a theology*, that is, a theory of God* (of the gods, of the divine), whether in the form of rejection, critique, or affirmation. The Enlightenment marked a shift: attention was no longer focused on the deity*, Being*, the One, but rather on man as, and to the extent that, he was in relation with the deity.

Kant summarized the fundamental concerns of philosophy in a question: "What is man?" and this reversal of terms needs more legitimating than can be provided by the fact that it now seems to go without saying. Despite an approach that was still strictly theocentric, Hegel* similarly asserted "the theory of God cannot be understood and expounded except as a theory of religion."

The philosophy of religion thus finds its source in the movement of emancipation that was the Enlightenment, and this has not been without implications for the discipline following the Enlightenment. In attempting to "reach maturity" and depend only on its own rationality, thought has brought about a divorce involving the loss of a fundamental dimension of religion, its relation to authority* and tradition*. This situation, moreover, also characterizes the religious sciences, because even though they themselves developed on the same premises, they are now directly linked to the philosophy of religion.

This is not the place to consider the different factors—intraphilosophical, theological, socioeconomic, political, (inter)cultural, historical (in terms of personal trajectories and scientific developments)—that have affected this development. It remains true that the old certainties have collapsed, and that a fundamental rethinking, that is, a *philosophy* of religion, has become both possible and necessary.

II. Approaches

1. Major Orientations

Three major orientations may be distinguished: 1) the rejection of religion in the name of human freedom

and autonomy; 2) the defense of religion (and in the first place of Christianity), that is, apologetics; 3) the theoretical and scientific study of religion, in the perspective of anthropology* or the philosophy of culture.

a) *The rejection of religion* is commonly characterized as "(radical) critique." Aside from a usage of the word *critique* that is not accepted by more conservative thinkers, it suggests that apologetics is always uncritical by its very nature. This obscures the fact that the critique of religion has its source in religion itself (R. Schaeffler), in the prophets*, the church fathers*, and the doctors* of the Church.

Those who reject religion see it as a form of false consciousness, whose existence they attempt to explain and whose causes they attempt to treat. Some impute the failing to imperfect knowledge of and control over nature*, or to the development of a civilization that has made us lose the natural sense of existence. As a remedy they count either on the development of science* and technology, or, conversely, on a new adherence to nature, in a restored immediacy of the perception of the senses and "natural" relationships between individuals, and at a higher level in artistic creation and an esthetic view of life. The most ambitious program combines the two perspectives: "Whoever possesses art and science / Possesses religion as well. / May religion come to the aid / Of whoever has neither art nor science!" (Goethe). Others bring in the social perspective. The weakness of the lower classes, fear of thinking, and, among the best educated, self-deception, a lack of political courage, or a deliberate intent to deceive: all these conspire to perpetuate false ideas. The progress of science and reason should thus open the way to the humanization of society*, just as, conversely, social reforms and revolutions* make religious representations superfluous.

With respect to the future that we should expect or prepare for, there are two opposing groups among the adversaries of religion. On the one hand, there are those who hope for a deeper fulfillment of man, either through the restoration of a lost origin (Ludwig Feuerbach) or by the appearance of a new man or superman, as a higher goal of evolution* (Nietzsche*). On the other hand are those who perceive the imminence of a future without illusions (e.g., Freud*).

But at the “end of modern times” (Guardini) it is not so easy to oppose religion to nature or to society. Although it may have been possible 20 years ago to predict the disappearance of religion in modern urban civilization, the century just ended now seems to us to be stamped with religion and religiosity. (In the realm of the history of ideas, one might speak of a victory of Schleiermacher* over Hegel.) Religion has not always benefited in the process, as shown by the emergence of such diverse phenomena as militant fundamentalism* or dubious organizations that adopt the name of “church” for legal and tax purposes.

b) *The defenders of religion* respond by developing and refining, on the basis of the rational nature of human beings, a *natural* theology* with a metaphysical character. But this is at the cost, particularly in deism* and its “natural religion,” of a disqualification of history*, despite the fact that (through authority and tradition) it plays an essential role for religion.

Growing out of German idealism, transcendental-subjective approaches (M. Blondel*, J. Maréchal, J. B. Lotz, K. Rahner*) have been added to this objective and metaphysical justification. These approaches justify religion as an open expression of fundamental actions that also condition the possibility of nonreligious attitudes, in both daily life and scientific activity (e.g., in the exercise of judgment).

Finally, the 20th century also witnessed an existential and personalist defense of religion, the roots of which are to be found in the crises and transformations produced by modern wars*. F. Ebner, M. Buber, E. Rosenstock-Huussy, F. Rosenzweig, and R. Guardini are representatives of this dialogical thinking that claims descent from Kierkegaard*. These last two approaches have been criticized for their unhistorical character and their lack of communitarian perspectives. (In Latin America, a philosophy of liberation has recently joined liberation* theology, and the developed countries have even witnessed an attempt, marked by several different tendencies, at a feminist defense of religion.)

c) *The third approach*, which took hold in the course of the 19th century, did not take a position for or against religion, but studied it from an empirical and scientific perspective in its historical, sociological, psychological, and phenomenological dimensions. Neither in themselves nor in the uses to which they were at first put did these works present a philosophical character in the classic sense; they derived rather from the *religious sciences*. They nevertheless require a concept of religion in order to structure their area of study, and to the extent that, for this purpose, they have

adopted empirical and inductive approaches, they have themselves entered into the domain of the philosophy of religion, while sharing the formal and general characteristics previously set forth.

A particular form of this approach is the *analytic philosophy of religion*. It adopts, while radically transforming, all the aforementioned points of view. After working out positivist arguments about the absence of meaning in religious statements in a first phase, it is now engaged in methodically “clarifying” their presuppositions, verifiability, rationality, and theoretical and practical justification (L. Wittgenstein, A. Flew, A. MacIntyre, I. U. Dalferth). But in doing so it seems to have left to one side (for the moment?) the central question for religions themselves: that is, of the truth* of what they profess, of the reality of their object. Is it not necessary for any scientific approach to lead finally to a defense or a rejection of religion?

2. Methods

It is more useful to distinguish different ways of proceeding. This is because the philosophy of religion, as a philosophical discipline, has as its primary task the development of an adequate *concept* of religion, on the basis of which it may fulfill its descriptive, comparative, and normative functions in the service of the lived experience* and the scientific or philosophical treatment of religion or religions. Our first typology indeed presupposed a concept of this kind. The methodological criterion also brings out three approaches.

- a) *The deductive method* is first of all that of metaphysics (which does not necessarily mean that it proceeds purely a priori, in the sense of the “ontological proof” dismantled by Kant). Having demonstrated the reality of the absolute, it takes the absolute, that is, the supreme Being, as a starting point in order to determine man’s relation to it. The deductive method is also used by those who begin with a transcendental hypothesis about the fundamental human faculties and actions in order to offer a reconstruction of religion as the fulfillment of essence and the unconditioned. The philosophy of culture adopts the same program, but bases itself on the human community and not the individual subject. In the final analysis, religion is then defined and judged according to its function, for the individual as for society. In all these forms, the specific “quality” of the religious as such does not seem to be taken into account.
- b) *Empirical methods* propose precisely to identify that specificity. They investigate “religious” behavior (prayer* and sacrifice*), distinctive char-

acteristics (moments, places, persons, objects, and instruments), the language used in myth* and ritual, and the speech acts appropriate for contemplation* and for the liturgy*. But in their accumulation of materials and their extension to the “myths” and “rites” of daily life, these analyses end up by losing any substance and become unusable, particularly—but not only—for normative purposes.

- c) *Phenomenology*, derived from Husserl, follows a third path. It begins with concrete acts in order to bring out their deep structure and, on that basis, the essential form of the reality toward which they are directed. It thus follows a procedure of transcendental unveiling. Perhaps the most fruitful results can be obtained from this method.

III. Problems

1. Objectivity?

We thus return to the question of content. What would justify the choice of a particular method or a particular concept? Some wish to understand religion in accordance with the idea it has of itself. Others on the contrary attempt to understand it from an extrareligious point of view, showing not so much harmony with the object as the intent to *explain* it.

But neither approach really leads to objectivity. The external perspective, on the one hand, does not see what religious consciousness aims for. In its view, in fact, religion is “in reality” something other than what that consciousness is directed toward: it is “opium” or “the cry of the oppressed,” it is an instrument of social stabilization (Durkheim, Weber), a means of mastering contingency (H. Lübbe), and so on. The internal perspective, on the other hand, always includes the observer in the observation, and can therefore only be located concretely within a single religion and must consider the others from outside.

It would be tempting to attenuate the dilemma by hypothesizing that all religions in the end mean the same thing. But if, following a widespread conviction among believers, “any religious knowledge of God is also knowledge given by God, in the sense that its very conception is the work of God” (M. Scheler), then we do not have the right a priori to consider all revelations* as equivalent and equally subject to change: that is, as being in the end a matter of indifference. Moreover, it is hardly possible to reconcile ideas as different as that of successive incarnations supposed to lead a soul tormented by existence and finitude to a redemptive nirvana, and that of the bodily resurrection* of an individual whom a personal God calls by name.

If we nevertheless wish to follow this path, by trying

for example to “put in perspective” and complement each of these views with the other, they can then only be seen as subjective “opinions” (if not as mere figures [K. Jaspers] of a common attitude of flight from the world), and not the manifestation of an absolute Truth, the truth of the Sacred itself. But this position would be no less “dogmatic” and “intolerant” than the truth claims of the competing religions that it alike dismisses. In any event, it is a confusion of levels of discourse to speak of “tolerance” or “dogmatic intolerance,” for tolerance does not characterize the relation to truth itself (whether it is the object of real or illusory knowledge), but, in the conflict of convictions about what is true, the relation to a person who thinks differently from us. If the agnostic renunciation of the truth were to become general all tolerance would come to an end. In the meantime the agnostic himself must show tolerance to anyone who confesses “to know whom I have believed” (2 Tm 1:12) and who therefore accepts the customary opposition between “believe” and “know” only with significant qualifications (the problem takes on a different form if instead of the verb *believe*, we use the noun *faith**). If agnosticism* and relativism* are therefore anything but neutral and objective, we must say the same of attempts aimed at reducing various religious doctrines to simple “views” on one or another concrete area of existence or on the deep reality of the world. We do not in any way conform to a material constraint, but to a personal choice and a personal value judgment, when we devalue as mere forms of anthropomorphism* (e.g., G. Mensching) the personal categories of uniqueness, the free promise of faithfulness, and the formal commitment of God, preferring in their place the impersonality of natural images such as the river of life, concentrated energy, the music of the universe, or the lunar sphere, which, though unique, is never reflected in the same way in the moving mirror of the water.

2. Question of the Truth of Religion

The concrete answer to the question of the truth of religion can be given only from within religion, on the basis of faith or a theological position. In a first phase, nevertheless, philosophy also possesses critical competence in this regard, for example in relation to polytheistic views. The philosophy of religion ought to define the essence of religion and distinguish it from its “distortion” (B. Welte), that is, from the many forms of *pseudo-religion* and pseudo-religiosity. Once the philosophically undecidable question of the *truth* of religion is put aside, philosophy should organize a problematics of *veracity* in the religious domain, in order to denounce any unwarranted attribution of the absolute (“divinization,” idolatry*) to limited and con-

ditional realities (or the “totalization” of the absolute, the desire to transform God into an idol).

To be sure, no religious act is exempt from distortion. It is therefore necessary to decide whether factual situations of unfreedom—concerning individuals, groups, acts, structures—within a religion are in contradiction with it, and must therefore be judged and abolished on the basis of the religion itself, or whether on the contrary they are the result of that religion. To this extent, the philosophy of religion is in accordance with Hegel’s statement: “Religion is the place where a people [a man, a community] defines for itself what it holds to be true.” It thus appears that the unavoidable task of the philosophy of religion is to pose the question of the essence of religion while preserving both within and without—in a language shared by believers and nonbelievers—the central truth of the religious phenomenon.

IV. A Concept of Religion?

1. Concept

Before posing the question of the “essence” of religion—what it “really” is—it is advisable to distinguish the level of definition on which that essence must be grasped. The path would be too undefined if we were to begin either with an ultimate value or foundation (Tillich* and his “ultimate concern”), or with things that “are sacred for human beings” (music, love, the nation), or even with the capacity of the human organism to transcend biological nature (T. Luckmann). But on the other hand, the path would be too narrow if we were to settle on the idea of a personal and transcendent God. Even the phenomenon of sacrifice presents an unresolved ambiguity. It is for this reason that R. Schaeffler, for example, calls for an analysis of the language of prayer, which implies both an intentional drive toward transcendence and a demarcation from the profane sphere.

In this context, we can see a combination of phenomenological thematics, transcendental method, and analytic choice of criteria. If we can understand a transcendental theory of God as a hermeneutic* proposition addressed to religious consciousness, then religious discourse—in its reflexivity and its objectivity, in its statements and its speech acts, in its professions of faith, its prayers, and its narratives—provides criteria for identification and evaluation of the religious and thus makes it possible to deal with the themes of a transcendental phenomenology of religion.

2. Quest for Salvation and Adoration of the Sacred

There is today among theologians and specialists in the philosophy and sciences of religion a nearly unanimous

consensus in designating the goal and basis of religion with the term *salvation**. This is indeed what the divine offers to us “naturally,” and what it anticipates that we will expect from it (*see* Is 7:12–15). But how does one move from that to the noble thanks expressed in the Gloria of the Roman mass: “We thank you for your immense glory*”? Indeed, this is not a despotic glory, but one expressing the goodness of the God of love*. But do we praise that love while looking toward ourselves (confessing his “mercy”) or—in total forgetfulness of the self—in looking toward him? Hegel already believed that philosophy now had the task of saving a truth or some truths that “certain forms of theology” sacrificed to the spirit of the age, and philosophical reflection today might again be called on to administer a “fraternal reprimand” to pastoral theology. Before and beyond salvation, it would be necessary to speak of a Good* that is “something other than saving and being saved” (Plato), of a good that does more than doing good (Levinas); it would be necessary to speak of the sacred. The fundamental and final fulfillment of religion would then be not to overcome finitude but to transcend oneself in the *adoration* of the divine.

It is through religion that things even now (provisionally and in the form of a “pledge” [2 Cor 1:22] of the order to come) find their place in time*. It is through religion that the world finds its order.

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See also Atheism; Existence of God, Proofs of; Fundamental Theology; Hermeneutics; History; Knowledge of God; Language, Theological; Mysticism; Negative Theology; Reason; Revelation; Spiritual Theology

Religion, Virtue of. *See* **Cult**

Religions, Theology of

1. Concept

The theology of religions may be defined as a systematic study of non-Christian religions, intended to relate their essential contents to the revealed truth* of Christianity. The existence of the Church* and of theology has always been fundamentally linked to the encounter and confrontation with other religions that claimed their own legitimacy. But it has been under the impetus of the Second Vatican* Council, and within the framework of the interfaith dialogue set in motion by the Ecumenical Council of Churches, that reference has become more and more frequent to “religions as a theme of theology” (H. R. Schlette), to a “theology of the history of religions” (E. Benz), or to a “theology of religions” (H. Bürkle). A theological study of non-Christian religions has thus grown up around particu-

lar themes, and points in specific directions. H. de Lubac*, for example, studied Buddhism from the perspective of “the origin of religions.” Y. Congar was concerned with a clearer perception of “the truth and [the] dimensions of salvation*.” J.-A. Cuttat took a primary interest in the spirituality of Asian religions. All these works approach religions from a theological angle and are thereby distinct from studies based on historical, comparative, or phenomenological methods. The theology of religions of course presupposes these kinds of analysis, and others as well (e.g., field studies, the psychology of religion, or the history of civilizations), and it benefits from these in conducting of its own research. But its basis and point of departure are located in the convergences and divergences presented in the light of the revealed truth of Christianity

by the different religious paths by which human beings have expressed their “desire for God” (CEC §27).

2. Religions in Holy Scripture

The history of the Old Covenant* is already bound up with the encounter and confrontation with religious cults* and beliefs of other peoples. The unique election of Israel* and the unique revelation* received through Mosaic law* and the prophets* are rooted in a certain historical configuration involving spheres of influence external to Israel. But despite the parallels that may be established between Judaism* and other Semitic religions, the exclusive covenant established by God with Israel and the affirmation of his sovereignty over the people of Israel confer a new meaning on these religions. They remain imprisoned by a religion of nature and its polytheistic cults, whereas Israel, through its covenant with the Creator who is the origin of all natural reality, rejects those bonds and frees itself from the power of the divinities of nature. The self-manifestation of God in Israel, on the other hand, takes on a universal character that abolishes all ethnic boundaries; this universality is expressed with particular force in Deutero-Isaiah (Is 45:14 ff.) and in the Psalms*.

The language and the concepts of the New Testament are not derived from the tradition of Israel alone. Greek philosophy* and religion (notably Stoicism and the Gnostic and Neoplatonic traditions) contributed to the theological interpretation of the mystery* of Christ*, as did the Roman imperial cult. The language of myth, ancient cosmology, and Roman aristocratic titles were all put at the service of Christ and his message. “The light that appeared at the heart of human darkness in Greece is nothing but the reflected light of another sun. That sun is Christ” (H. Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* 10). The theological study of non-Christian religions thus finds its New Testament model in Paul’s speech before the Areopagus in Acts 17. Before the multitude of altars, in the heart of the great bazaar of systems and beliefs of the time, Paul presents Christ as the goal and the fulfillment of every religious quest. Through the multiplicity of their answers to the question of the foundation and the ultimate goal of their existence, human beings confess that they have not yet experienced divine reality in its depth and completeness (“What therefore you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you,” Acts 17:23). The religious progress of human beings is an expression of their sense of their condition as creatures (R. Otto). In various ways it shows that they are in search of the divine reality on which all of creation* is based and thereby in search of the unity of the human species (Acts 17:26). This common origin already provides a

principle of pre-Christian and extra-Christian solidarity. This is why God, despite the different names* that have been given to him, despite the diversity of paths on which human beings seek salvation, is proclaimed as an absolute who is close to everyone and present to all his creatures (Acts 17:27 f.). Confronting the world of other religions, the New Testament does not call on theology to pronounce their abolition; in these provisional and partial approaches to salvation it is necessary on the contrary to discern the still open demand for complete salvation and respond to it by basing itself on the advent of Christ (Acts 17:30 ff.).

3. Historical Landmarks

The whole history* of the Church is linked to the theology of religions in a more or less intense way depending on the period. The theology of the early Fathers was primarily directed at establishing the New Testament foundation of faith in the face of paganism*, and therefore was obliged to make judgments about the meaning of religions that had preceded Christianity and still coexisted with it in the Roman Empire. In the theology of the *apologists** of the second and third centuries the problem was resolved by a pattern of argument in terms of continuity and difference. Christian revelation did not negate but instead brought to perfection the results, weak and distorted though these certainly were, that paganism had been able to produce in its quest for virtues* and values of use to the human community. The doctrine of the Logos made it possible to deepen this argument, and played an essential role in the confrontation of Christianity with the representatives of the ideas of classical antiquity. For *Justin* (†165), for example, it became a bridge enabling him to link the christological economy of revelation with every action of God prior to Christ and independent of him; thus, it was said of the elements of virtue and wisdom* contained in pre-Christian doctrines that they consisted of “germs” or “seeds” (*spermata*) of the divine Logos revealed in Jesus Christ. *Clement of Alexandria* (A.D. 140), familiar with the mystical* and theosophical movements of late antiquity, was able to recognize in them means of access to the true and authentic mystery of the incarnate Logos: “[He] was able to recognize the element of relative truth [in the] philosophical message [of paganism]. But full and clear knowledge could be found only in the prophets and above all in the Logos itself which leads to all truth” (H. von Campenhausen, *Griech. Kirchenväter* 35).

In the *Summa contra gentiles* (1259–64), Thomas* Aquinas worked out his own theology of religions, and he did so by establishing a close relationship between dialogue and mission*, in order to support the preach-

ing* of his Dominican brothers among the Muslims. In the absence of a sacred text common to the two religions that would make it possible to distinguish between true and false belief, Thomas relied on rational knowledge, by nature common to all human beings. Because faith* could be expressed only by analogy* with the created order (*analogia entis*), Christian truth had to be connected to truths accessible to the non-Christian, hence to truths taken from the sphere of the world of created beings. But only illumination by the Holy* Spirit made it possible to cross the border between nature* and the supernatural (*ST* Ia IIae. q. 109. a.1). The biblical model of divine revelation as prophecy and fulfillment found a new expression in Nicholas* of Cusa, through the link he made between diversity and unity. In his *De pace fidei*, Nicholas presents an imaginary dialogue in heaven concerning the way to institute peace* between religions. The area of tension within which religions are in conflict with one another has as its principle the *explicatio* and the *contemplatio* of God, by virtue of which laws, customs, and religious rites have taken on different forms depending on circumstances. In order to ensure the harmony of religions it is therefore necessary to undertake a “return” to that explanatory diversity in the *complotio* of the one true God. In this context Christianity enjoys the privileged status of bringing together the elements of an authentic quest for God that appears in a dispersed state in other religions. Those elements converged in Christian faith and found in it their fullest expression in the form of a true love* and a true knowledge* of God.

The Enlightenment and ideas of social evolution influenced some theories of religion, among which the parable of the rings in *Nathan the Wise* by G.E. Lessing (1729–81) provides the most eloquent summary. The concern with revealed truth is replaced by a quest for truth and for a truly moral life: “It is not in possessing but in searching for truth that [the] capacities [of man] flourish, and this is how he always progresses further toward his perfection.” This philosophical approach to religion and its call for tolerance were particularly influential in non-Catholic theology, and it is now experiencing a renaissance in various theological programs guided by social and ethical concern centered on the human person. It was in this perspective that E. Troeltsch (1865–1923) suggested the idea of a cultural relativization of religions, which would be dependent on the “individual particularities of different cultural and racial spheres” and the “specificity of their unifying religious structures” (*Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte* 78).

This development of liberal Protestantism* was one of the principal targets of the “dialectical” theology

that grew up around the young Barth*. Because any natural knowledge of God was radically excluded, Christian faith maintained a relation of pure opposition to religion, which was accused of wishing to make of “man...the creator of God, with God [becoming] in a dubious way the God of man, a predicate of the being and the life of man” (*KD* IV/1, 769). On this basis the theology of religions could have no purpose but to explain the incomparable particularity of Christianity (e.g., in the very Barthian book by H. Kraemer, *Die christliche Botschaft in einer nichtchristlichen Welt* [Zurich, 1940]). Only the encounter with religious traditions of other cultures, within the framework of a broadened ecumenical platform, would make possible the emergence of another perspective, which itself has had consequences in the theological realm.

4. Theology of Religions as Dialogue

Vatican II (1962–65) was able to provide a rich reformulation of the indications supplied by Scripture and tradition* on the relations between Christian revelation and other religions. The groundwork had been laid by an intense work of theological analysis and by the careful examination of the transformations that religions had experienced in the modern world. The doctrine of the council owes a good deal to the contributions and initiatives of theologians such as Y. Congar, H. de Lubac, K. Rahner*, H. Dumoulin, F. König, and others, for whom the swift changes in conditions with which humanity had been confronted had made it possible to recognize the role of non-Christian religions, along with Christianity, in a single task of taking charge of the world. The point of departure of *Nostra Aetate* (NA), the council’s declaration on the Catholic Church’s relations with non-Christian religions, was thus humanity, considered in its singleness and against the background of the ever closer ties uniting peoples to one another. Between the original unity of the human species, as it was intended by the Creator, and the unity restored in the sight of everyone by the fulfillment of the plan of divine salvation, humanity is in search of a meaning and a direction. By looking in different religions for “the answer to the hidden riddles of the human condition,” human beings demonstrate not only their openness to the ultimate reality of God, their religious attitude even expresses a “certain perception (*quaedam perceptio*) of the hidden power” that governs their lives. The council document nonetheless recognizes that religions, as their history shows, also develop in relation to the development of cultures. Far from being static formations, closed off from any outside influence, they are themselves already evolving, to the extent that they attempt “to answer the same questions with more precise notions

(*subtilioribus notionibus*) and more complex language.”

At the same time, what Vatican II says of different religions outlines the major directions that now govern theological dialogue with the representatives of those religions. The religions of nature and tribal cults are, of course, not expressly mentioned in *NA*, but their particular type of religiosity is obviously alluded to in “the perception of a hidden power” or the “recognition of the supreme Divinity, or even of a Father” (*NA* 2). The theological contributions to the study of these ethnic religions (“primal religions”)—in the wake of the work of P. Tempels on Bantu philosophy, which has been widely accepted—deal with the global vision expressed through religious rites and observances, and with the image they present both of man in his knowledge of himself as a created being, and of his group envisaged as a community of the living and the “living dead” (J. S. Mbiti). With regard to Hinduism, the council document refers particularly to “the inexhaustible fertility of myths,” the “penetrating efforts of philosophy,” “ascetic forms of life,” and the “depth of meditation,” all of which makes it possible for the followers of that religion to “examine the divine mystery.” Theological dialogue with Buddhism revolves around the “radical insufficiency of this changing world” and the search for a “state of complete freedom” and “supreme illumination.” As for Islam, it has the virtue of adoring the “one God,” referring to the Old Testament, venerating Jesus* as a prophet, and honoring his mother. Finally, the relationship of Christianity to Judaism is treated separately, by virtue of the common legacy that makes them the two chosen religions.

The impetus provided by Vatican II has given rise to a large body of scholarship that has taken concrete form in a multiplicity of monographs on non-Christian religions. Along with seminars and meetings organized by the Pontifical Council for Interfaith Dialogue, conferences sponsored by the Ecumenical Council of Churches and its program of studies for dialogue with representatives of non-Christian religions and ideologies have, on the Protestant side, contributed a mass of materials and particular contributions. In the face of the divergent developments and tendencies that have appeared in the theology of religions, the doctrinal texts *Redemptoris Missio* (1990) and *Dialogue et annonce* (1991) have, on the Catholic side, recalled the tasks that Vatican II assigned to the discipline.

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See also Experience; Inculturation; Judaism; Religion, Philosophy of

Religious Life

The term *religious life* now principally refers to all forms of church life marked, in Roman Catholicism*, by the profession of the evangelical counsels: “it is the *profession* of those counsels in a stable manner of life recognized by the church* that characterizes the life consecrated to God*” (CEC §915). Under this definition fall some hermits, consecrated virgins (and consecrated widows, for the CCEO), religious life under its various aspects, the institutes of the secular clergy, and, in a closely related way, the societies for apostolic life. Indeed, since Pius XII’s apostolic constitution *Provida Mater Ecclesiae* (2 February 1947), religious life—which also included, according to the CIC of 1917, the brothers and sisters of congregations taking simple vows—has been subsumed under the category of consecrated life, which, following Vatican* II, the Code of 1983 describes in terms of following Christ* under the action of the Holy* Spirit (can. 573). The Ninth Synod of bishops of October 1994 saw chastity for the kingdom* as its determining criterion (*Propositio* 3; see 13).

There is no lack of doctrinal difficulties connected with this teaching of the magisterium. What is the link between this “particular consecration” (LG 42) and baptism*? How is this manner of life related to the New Testament, if the practice of the “evangelical” counsels of chastity, poverty, and obedience does not find its literal basis there? Can it be maintained, along with the recent code (see can. 607), that religious life, so abundant and so representative of the “great tree with many branches” (LG 43), is characterized by vows, when not all regular clergy are governed by the threefold vow: by communal life, which is now in competition with fraternal communion*; by public profession, when the particularity of the habit, the habitat, and activity are disappearing; or finally by separation from the world*, when it is more urgent than ever to evangelize? In confronting this crisis of concepts—linked, in the West at least, to the confusion of practices—history* is certainly a resource, because many monographs have indicated, particularly with regard to recent centuries, the existence of a spiritual family irreducible to its sociological interpretations (see in particular essays devoted to “flight from the world” and to the increased value placed on women). From the very beginning of the Christian era, there did

indeed emerge ascetics, virgins, and the continent, who “remain in chastity in honor of the flesh of the Lord” (Ignatius of Antioch, *To Polycarp* V. 2; see the *Didache*) while never being assimilated to the Greek, Jewish, Gnostic, or Encratic movements that perhaps anticipated and certainly surrounded them. This commitment was widespread in the third and fourth centuries, as demonstrated by Tertullian*, Ambrose*, Jerome, and Augustine*. The archetype (and its integration into the church) goes back to the *Life of Anthony* by Athanasius* of Alexandria, soon followed by the rules of the first “monks,” notably Pachomius and Basil*. From Marseille, Jean Cassian, in his *Institutions*, and especially his *Conférences*, spread abroad the reputation of these Desert Fathers (and Mothers) who had some predecessors in the West. Saint Benedict himself, whose *Rule for Monks* influenced the entire Middle Ages, did not represent an absolute beginning. While Christian ascetics were broken down into hermits, monks, cenobites, canons, and the like, monks became priests*, priests became monks, and their sisters followed them at a distance (deaconesses*, canonesses, beguines*, etc.). This early back-and-forth between the priestly and religious vocations almost led Pope Nicholas II in the 11th century to impose communal life on all priests, who had for several centuries adopted continence and then celibacy. In the East, monastic life, marked by the evangelical practices of continual prayer, healing* of the heart, and compassion for all created beings, has persevered up to the present, with great institutional fluidity, in the humble service of spiritual discernment and fatherhood, in a fraternal community, along with the evangelization of the people.

Irenaeus*, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine had thought about the soon-to-be-classic differentiation between precepts* and counsels. In Thomas Aquinas, especially in the *Summa Theologica*, this teaching is set in a doctrinal synthesis: counsels appear as the means best adapted to the ultimate goal, the love* of God and of our neighbor. The economy of the “states of perfection” flows from this, with the bishop* being seen as the *perfector* and religious life, particularly of the mixed variety (joining contemplation* and action), as representing the state of perfection “to be attained.” Committing oneself in this form of life to the practice

of the evangelical counsels, by devoting oneself to one's neighbor for the love of God, does indeed establish an association with the perfection of the bishops (*ST* IIa IIae. q. 188. a. 6). This also attests to the bond of spiritual life* with the hierarchical priesthood*, the communion of charismatic life with apostolic duty. This balanced manner of thinking (still at work in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola), notwithstanding Francis of Sales and his *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, was overturned in favor of "monks." Luther*'s radical challenge, and that of the Reformation (despite the persistence in Protestantism* of forms of life that were to make possible the 19th-century revival of a diaconal religious life and even a contemplative life), represented on the doctrinal level, for the monastic vows, a danger of eradication at least as great as the threat that the French Revolution posed to those who actually professed those vows.

Undermined in this way by theological and political egalitarianism, religious life nevertheless experienced an upsurge in the 19th century, particularly among women, that was even greater than that which had greeted the appearance of the mendicant orders in the 12th century, or the regular clergy in the 16th. But recruitment was declining in the West even before the Second World War, and the years since Vatican II have seen the shift of center of powers (not to mention financial resources), first to North America and now to Asia, with Latin America and especially Africa neglected in this regard.

If this history has a meaning, it is to show that the religious or consecrated life is marked by a practice inherent in the life of the church. This practice is by its very nature distinct from the priestly ministry*, and distinct in every respect from its *other*, which is Christian marriage*. Its remarkable persistence, its many forms, its universal extension, and also its variations mean that there is always a risk that any proposed formulations of the essential elements of religious life will be too narrow, although they do exist. As has already

been said, celibacy for the kingdom is its lowest common denominator. Most commonly added to this is an agreed manner of living together ("life to be led in common," according to Vatican II; *see PC* 15) and often of working in the vineyard of the Lord (a common apostolate, "corporate action"), as for example in the practice of poverty and obedience. But these fragments shine, among all those who are consecrated, with their full brightness only if we indicate, at the heart of the inexpressible experience* of the paschal mystery*, an immediate encounter with the risen Christ, who, while he certainly brings forth and directs life, also infallibly accompanies it in person (consecration).

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See also Asceticism; Life, Spiritual; Monasticism; Precepts

Renaissance

As a period in European history the Renaissance is generally considered to have extended from the begin-

ning of the 15th century in Florence until about the end of the 16th in northern Europe. As a cultural phenome-

non, on the other hand, there is no real consensus about its nature, its relationships with the 16th-century schisms collectively known as the Reformation, and there is no agreement about the part played in the Renaissance search for a new educational ideal by renewed recourse to the pagan texts of classical antiquity.

The Renaissance had a central philosophical and theological core, but spilled over into all the arts and sciences, and is often treated primarily as an episode in the history of the visual arts and secondarily also in music. At its heart was a sense of optimism about the dignity of human nature, a dignity that, on account of its diminution or abolition of the effects of original sin, late medieval theological orthodoxy could not accommodate. This optimism was made clear by the excited sense of innovation among those like Erasmus (1467–1536) who, in the wake of Francis Petrarch (1304–74), rallied to the clarion call of *bonae literae* (good learning), and claimed that they were inaugurating the rebirth or reflowering of an antique educational ideal. They created the term *Middle Ages*, which they variously regarded as “dark,” “Gothic,” or “barbarian,” to denote the millennium between 500 and 1500. The diffusion of the cultural change it mediated was powerfully assisted by the technological revolution in communications when the discovery of a metal compound both soft and durable enough to be used for movable type vastly speeded the multiple reproduction of texts.

The early adepts of the new learning were conscious of promoting a new “humanism,” understood both as a potential alternative to Scholasticism and in the Ciceronian sense of professing elevated standards of personal morality. At the very end of the 18th century the marquis de Condorcet (1743–94) was to speak of this movement as the revolt of “the sciences and philosophy” against “the yoke of authority,” and the 19th-century romantics then built on the view of the Renaissance promoted by Germaine de Staël (1766–1817) in her 1800 *De la littérature*, as a rebellion against an obscurantist past. That view was famously restated by Jules Michelet (1798–1874) in the seventh volume of his history of France (1855, but drafted as early as 1841) and further elaborated in the fundamental work for modern Renaissance studies, the 1860 *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* by Jacob Burckhardt.

Not until the 19th century were Michelet’s historical discontinuities seriously attacked, and only toward the end of the 20th did it begin to become clear that the Renaissance was itself neither necessarily secularizing, nor a movement that originated in Italy and fanned out north of the Alps. It may well be that something

analogous to the shift in values and attitudes constitutive of the Renaissance on the Italian peninsula occurred against a quite different intellectual, sociopolitical, and religious background, but spontaneously and independently, in France, the Low Countries, England, and northern German-speaking Europe.

Florence under the Medici anchored its new view of human dignity, which demanded a positive reevaluation of attitudes toward the virtuous potential of instinctive human behavior, through recourse in painting, literature, and the arts generally to metaphor, allegory, classical mythology, and the elaborately Plotinian Neoplatonism* elaborated by Marsilio Ficino (1433–99). In northern Europe the pattern of reform, emphasizing more insistently that spiritual fulfillment had to be intrinsic to moral elevation, was modeled on the imitation of Christ, the spiritual doctrine of the *devotio* moderna* based principally on humility, a devotional ideal derived from the Rhineland* mystics, and the quiet celebration of the domestic virtues of life.

The reciprocal independence of the northern and southern Renaissance must not be over-stressed. Although from the 14th century northern painters clearly derived inspiration from south of the Alps, by the 1470s Italian painters were painting landscape backgrounds and foreground figures in a style derived from Flemish realism. The great painters of the Italian Renaissance painted and were patronized by princes and popes. Sculptors and architects imitated ancient Roman models, while painters concentrated on portraits, frescoes, and altarpieces. The new style of painting in the north, where oil-based pigments originated, was on the other hand developed from miniaturists and manuscript illumination. Northern painters more often painted groups of guild leaders, town councilors, domestic interiors, and scenes of communal emotion, whether joy, sorrow, or fear, but all with a naturalistic precision, which did not differentiate between the significance of details.

Outside the visual arts, it was the Renaissance writers themselves who emphasized their rejection of the Gothic past, which had been intellectually monopolized by Scholastic arguments based on intricate divisions and subdivisions. The Scholastics, primarily north of the Alps, had produced an endless series of irresolvable dilemmas resulting from the hardened precision of categories like intellect and will, nature and grace, body and soul, transcendence and immanence, predestination and free will, which the late Middle Ages had imposed on the legacy of Augustine. Intellectually, spiritually, in his view of history as essentially remote from the present, and in his enthusiasm for Plato and an elegant Latin style, Petrarch is regarded as the first precursor of the full Renaissance

change in moral, religious, and literary culture. He consciously modeled himself on Augustine, turning toward Plato and away from the Scholastics' Aristotle, whose philosophy seemed to Petrarch to endanger belief in the immortality of the soul.

Petrarch's advocacy of a new system of values, still tentative and oblique, was taken up by Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75), and in moral philosophy and Latin style by Coluccio Salutati, chancellor of Florence from 1375. It was Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464) who had Ficino trained as a scholar and who commissioned from him the translation of Plato. Furthermore, Ficino not only translated Plato, Plotinus, and a miscellany of what he referred to as "Platonic books," but also adapted Plotinian Platonism into a "theology" of the immortality of the soul and, in his adaptation of Plato's *Symposium*, tentatively suggested that ordinary human emotional relationships, not exclusive of physical sexual union, might be the first stage in the soul's ascent to the beatifying love of God.

Ficino's achievement was much enhanced by the influx of Greeks into the Italian peninsula for the 1439 Council of Florence. However sparsely, Greek began to be taught in the West, and there arose an important, bitterly conducted dispute between the advocates of Aristotle and those of Plato, ending with the celebrated defense of Plato by the Greek cardinal Bessarion (1400–72), the *In calumniatorem Platonis* printed at Subiaco early in 1469 on the first Italian printing press. Ficino was to draw on it.

Ficino's literary influence was enormous, and his view of love, for which he coined the term "Platonic love," immediately became widespread and popular, establishing a whole new literary genre, the *trattato d'amore*. But he also became a cult figure among a tiny number of scholars, mostly from France, England, and Germany, who were more interested in the content of his theology. Among those most active in its transmission north of the Alps were Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94), who spent a year and a half in Paris, and from whom Erasmus derived much, and John Colet (1467–1519), the Oxford theologian who founded Saint Paul's School in London, to whom Erasmus looked for patronage.

Erasmus was himself the single most important intellectual figure of the northern Renaissance to combine classical learning with a desire to promote religious reformation. Like Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (†1536) in France, Erasmus became preoccupied with the dissemination of scriptural teaching in the vernacular, although he published the first critical edition of the New Testament in Greek, preceding by several years the more distinguished but less radical Complutensian Polyglot Bible being prepared by the team

of scholars gathered by Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1436–1517) at Alcalá. Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) was inspired by Erasmus, and although Luther was not himself much concerned with the new learning, his principal lieutenant, Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) was an accomplished humanist. Erasmus was also on intimate terms with John Fisher (1469–1535) and particularly Thomas More (1478–1535) in England. He wrote satirical as well as pedagogical works, scriptural translations and commentaries, edited both classical and patristic texts, and wrote thousands of letters; he was at the center of nonschismatic religious reform, and was reluctantly cornered by the papal curia into writing against Luther in 1524. At the high point of his optimism he declared, in a passage to be borrowed by Rabelais, that there was only a "minimal" inclination to evil in the best-endowed human beings.

The new Renaissance attitudes to human nature and potential both permeated the relationship between the church and the new nation states, and changed the way in which the church regarded itself. It had seemed, especially during the pontificates of Julius II (reigned 1503–13) and Leo X (reigned 1513–21), as if the reimposition of papal authority after the conciliar movement had ebbed away depended on the existence of a secular papal state with an income independent of that which flowed from the nation states, on account of the church's sacerdotal sovereignty*. Popes outdid the great Renaissance princes in the magnificence of their building and the lavishness of their artistic patronage.

The first wave of the Renaissance was over by the time the decrees of the Council of Trent were promulgated in June 1564. The council had been called primarily to restore proper ecclesiastical discipline, although it is now best remembered for its strongly reactionary dogmatic decrees. Christendom had been split, and Trent's decrees hardened the divisions. The Renaissance optimism of Rabelais and Erasmus was dimmed, and was further to be challenged by religious schisms and subsequent wars. Nonetheless, it was recognizably from the culture of the Renaissance that modern Europe would eventually emerge.

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Renewal. *See* Pentecostalism

Resemblance. *See* Analogy; Trace (Vestige)

Resurrection of Christ

A. Biblical Theology

a) Acts of Faith. To establish the fact and the sense of Christ*’s Resurrection requires an interpretation of the testimonials, because all claims and statements about the Risen Christ are made with reference to an experience* (known as “paschal”). This has been expressed in three forms: 1) the structured forms of confession of faith, invocation, and hymn; 2) the direct witness of Paul; and 3) the Easter narratives* in the Gospels*.

The earliest acts of faith* belong to the first group. They include: a) participial forms that attribute to God* the act of raising Jesus* from the dead, including Romans 4:24 and 8:11, 2 Corinthians 4:14, and Galatians 1:1; b) the invocation—“Our Lord, come!” in 1 Corinthians 16:22 and “Come, Lord Jesus!” in Revelation 22:20—that calls for the final coming of this Jesus, presupposed Lord of the last times; and c) hymns celebrating the domination over all reality exercised by the man who was seen in his earthly humanity and is now exalted—as in Philippians 2:6–11 and 1 Timothy 3:16.

The second group, the Pauline witness, is especially important, as it is a unique, direct, personal witness of a paschal experience (1 Cor 15:8–10; Gal 1:15–16; and Phil 3:8–11).

The third group includes the accounts of the empty grave (Mk 16:1–8 and parallel passages) and all other narrative passages. Some of these narratives are in the literary form of “narrative of recognition,” in which

the Risen Christ shows himself, is not immediately recognized, and is finally recognized before he disappears (Lk 24:13–32 and Jn 20:11–17). Others take the form of “narrative of apparition,” in which Jesus appears in a marvelous modality, is immediately recognized, and then spends some time with the disciples and entrusts them with a mandate (Lk 24:36–49 and Jn 20:19–23). In Mark 9:2–10 (the Transfiguration) and Mark 6:47–52 (walking on water) the narratives of apparitions of the Risen Christ are projected onto the prepaschal narrative, but this reading is too conjectural.

b) Times and Places. A sequential organization of events (discovery of the empty grave—apparitions—Ascension—Pentecost) was imposed starting from Luke 24 and Acts 1–2, but in fact the testimonials vary. Matthew 28 and John 20–21 diverge on the distinction of the events and their temporal distribution. The structured formulations (confessions of faith, etc.) permit the supposition of a different intelligence of the event. These testimonials are verbal condensations of a complex spiritual experience subject to diverse interpretations by the texts. The apparition of Jesus (1 Cor 15:5–8), his exaltation (Phil 2:9), his enthronement as Son (Rom 1:4), and his assumption in glory (1 Tm 3:16) are acts of the Spirit (Rom 1:4 and 1 Tm 3:16), and the Spirit is a gift to the community. Along these

same lines the Risen Jesus, giving witness of himself before Paul, makes Paul an apostle* invested by the Spirit. Vision, hearing, and ecstasy are combined in the paschal experiences. Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost join together. In the later version of John (Jn 14:1–31) they are still present as a unit; in Luke they are projected in a linear succession.

However, this approach does not solve the whole problem. Two questions remain: 1) Should the motif of the “third day” after the death of Jesus (1 Cor 15:4) be seen as a historical fact of the first paschal experience, or a pure theological elaboration? The motif can be traced to Hosea 6:2, or to the idea that the soul* does not completely leave the body until after the third day. The vagueness of these other possibilities argues for treating the motif as a historical fact. 2) How can the apparently contradictory localization of the apparitions in Jerusalem* (Lk 24 and Jn 20) and in Galilee (Mk 16:7; Mt 28, and Jn 21) be resolved? The sequence in John 20–21 is a rewriting. Further, the two localizations have theological bearing in Matthew and Luke. (The same procedure is used in Mk 1:14–39, 9:30, and 14:28; Luke 24:47; and Acts 1:8.) The fact that the disciples were in Jerusalem, where the first community was organized, argues in favor of Jerusalem.

c) *Empty Grave.* Did the Gospel of Mark, in its primitive version, really end with the women’s discovery of the empty grave, adding that the women were “afraid” (Mk 16:8)? It is generally accepted that Mark 16:9–20 is a later addition. This raises a problem: Can the paschal faith be built on the empty grave? An evaluation of Mark 16:1–8 should focus on the fact that the core of the narration is not the empty grave, but the paschal confession pronounced by the angel* (Mk 16:6, Rom 4:24, etc.). In that context, the angel’s word responds to the Passion* of Jesus, identified with the suffering of the Just One (see Ps 22:23–24 and 69:29–33). The empty grave does not prove the Resurrection of Jesus, but it serves as scenic background to a message unambiguously upheld by other New Testament witnesses, and adequately founded by the encounter with the Risen Christ in person in the apparition experiences. The faith of Easter does not stand on the credibility granted by historians to accounts of the empty grave. The witness of the apparitions comes first, the empty grave, second.

d) *Resurrection and Christology.* The theological meaning of Easter can be described as follows: the death of Jesus (Gal 3:13; see also Wis 2:12–20) and the flight of his disciples (Mk 14:50) showed that Jesus had failed in his self-appointed goal of rendering God totally present to Israel*. The paschal experience

opened a new perception: the Jesus put to death for God (Mk 16:6 and Rom 4:24) is recognized by God as his own. The consequences of that recognition are conveyed in the metaphorical language of awakening, resurrection, and exaltation, given descriptive or at least cognitive meaning by the texts. This network of signifiers (death and resurrection) functions first of all to block the hypothesis of an apparent death followed by reanimation.

In the same way that the texts establish the new status of Jesus at Easter, they all, without exception, attest to the reality of his death (1 Cor 15:3–4). The Risen Lord is associated with the celestial reality of God; he himself brings testimony of his resurrection to the disciples. And his paschal status is the starting point of the Christology* that would immediately and forcefully spread, retrospectively casting a new light on Jesus’ prepaschal existence. Thereafter it is accomplished: In Jesus, God fixed forever his relation to mankind (1 Thes 1:10, 4:17) and to all that is real (1 Cor 15:20–28 and Rom 8:18–23). Christology would then be elaborated to relate that affirmation. Borrowing concepts from Jewish apocalypics*, Paul called Jesus “the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep” (1 Cor 15:20), and saw his times as the last times before judgment* and the fulfillment (Rom 13:11).

There was no reflection on the corporeity of the Risen One and his post mortem condition in the earliest texts, which do not go beyond the confession of a corporeal resurrection. In Luke 24 and John 20–21, presence in the world and transcendence to this same world come together at an extreme degree of tension. In 1 Corinthians 15:35–50, Paul uses the vocabulary of corporeity in an argumentation aimed at showing the specifically unworldly nature of the risen existence, an absolute future of the body that exceeds all worldly limits. By the apparitions of the Risen One and the gift of the Spirit, the community of the disciples was founded anew and became the Church* of Christ. Mission* and apostleship were articulated on that new foundation (see Mt 28:19–20; Lk 24:46–48; Jn 20:21–23; and Acts 1–2), soon followed by development of the ensemble gospel-faith-salvation (1 Thes 1 and 1 Cor 15). The paschal faith became the foundation of Christian hope*. The God who raised Christ from the dead is the one who will annihilate suffering and death and bring all reality to its ultimate fulfillment (1 Thes 4:13–18; 1 Cor 15; Rom 4:17 and 8:11–12).

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Creation; Creeds; Death; Eschatology; Faith; Gospels; Holy Spirit; Jesus, Historical; Judgment; Passion; Resurrection of the Dead; Soul-Heart-Body

B. Theological Problematic

The first conviction of Christians is that God tore Jesus* of Nazareth away from death. This explains why the “Lord’s day” is a celebration of the victory of the Risen One (Justin, *I Apol.* 67, 7, Ed. Wartelle, 193), why Easter comes first in the liturgical cycle in all Christian churches, why the celebration of the Eucharist* commemorates the Crucified-Risen. (Hippolyte, *Trad. apost.* 4, SC 11 bis, 51–53). The memory of the faith* is not connected solely to the ignominious death of Jesus: “On the third day he rose from the dead” was proclaimed by the first Christian authors in christological confessions of faith in which the Resurrection figures prominently, even though Incarnation* or Crucifixion may be the only mentions that gloss the name of the Son in some binary or ternary confessions. The words of Polycarp of Smyrna are a typical affirmation of faith of “those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ* and in his Father* who raised him from the dead” (*Letter to the Philippians* 12, 2, SC 10 bis, 221). Afterward, all church creeds mention in the second article Jesus’ Resurrection in the narrative* of the paschal mystery*, with the corresponding general resurrection of the dead following in the third article. It is this “awakening” to life, transcending the precariousness of our world*, that calls to mind his earthly itinerary, including the death sentence. Without this resurgence, Jesus would not be proclaimed the Lord of history*.

1. History

Of course this initial element of Christian faith, already present in Clement of Rome, who saw it as the “premises” of our coming resurrection (*Aux Cor.* 24,1, SC 167, 143), encountered immediate opposition. The Docetic movement of the Gnostics devaluated the sense of the Resurrection by questioning the fleshly reality of Christ. Ignatius of Antioch forcefully declared

that Jesus Christ “is truly resurrected from the dead” (*Trall.* 9, 1, SC 10 bis, 119) and this resurrection is the most manifest sign of Jesus’ divinity (*Ephes.* 7, 2, *ibid.*, 75). But the most radical objections came from the Greeks, who considered the very idea of the resurrection of the dead as nonsense.

The pagan Celsus ridiculed it: “Once that flesh was deposed, did it perhaps become God*? And why not Asclepius, Dionysius, Heracles?” He jeered at the Christian argument that founds the divinity of Christ on the testimony of his resurrection, and he rebuked the Christians for mocking “those who worship Zeus because his tomb is exhibited in Crete” whereas they worship “a man who left his tomb, but they don’t know how or why the Cretans do as they do” (*see Origen’s Contra Celsum*, III, 42–43, SC 136, 101). Origen* retorted that Celsus “criticizes us because we have admitted that our Jesus was buried; but we say that he rose up from his grave, and the Cretans have not yet dared claim as much for Zeus” (*ibid.*, 103). He goes on to show the difference between the mythological legends alleged by his adversary and the undeniable, public nature of Jesus’ death. His disciples, who knew him, testified all the more courageously to his resurrection.

Nevertheless, the discourse of second and third century apologists* was centered not on Jesus’ Resurrection but on the general resurrection of the dead or the flesh, of which Jesus’ Resurrection was the best example. Tatian, Athenagoras, and then Irenaeus*, Tertullian*, and Origen all took major positions on this subject. And it was the basis of speculation on the possibility and the reality of the resurrection of the flesh and on the nature of the risen body. Concerning Jesus himself, his ignominious death on the cross had to be justified first.

Thus, in the fourth century, Jesus’ Resurrection became the subject of a “peaceful possession” in the

church. The great Christological debates of that time centered primarily on Jesus' Incarnation and human-divine identity. This went so far that some modern thinkers accuse the Greek church fathers*, wrongfully, of shifting the center of gravity of the faith from the Resurrection to the Incarnation (*Jossua* 1968). In fact, the debates at Ephesus* and later at Chalcedon* on the truth* of the being-become-man-of-the Word* of God, in the distinction of his two natures, was meant to found the truth of the paschal mystery—that is, of the death and Resurrection in the flesh of that same Word. “His flesh being resuscitated, we still speak of his resurrection, not that he fell into corruption, but because his body is resuscitated” (Cyril of Alexandria, *DCO* II–1, 111). “Even if the resurrection of the dead is said to have taken place through a man, still it remains that we conceive of this man as the Word born of God and the means by which death was broken” (*ibid.*, 133). The entire argumentation has a soteriologic intention: Christ Risen realizes first in his own body and for us the fullness of life that is the destiny of all mankind that is saved.

However, the Greek Fathers came up against the Hellenistic interpretation of the immortality of the soul* as an obstacle to the scriptural representation of the Resurrection. They made a considerable effort to justify it without denying the radical discontinuity caused by death, resorting to the Creation* and the necessity of assuming in glory the real history of the individual (Origen, *De Principiis*, 1–4, SC 252, 375 ff.; *Comm. Jo.*, II, 225–45, SC 157, 519 ff.; Gregory* of Nyssa, *De Anima et Resurrectione*, Paris, 1995).

The situation remained stable in the Middle Ages and up to the dawn of modern times. Thomas* Aquinas treated the Resurrection of Jesus among the mysteries of Christ's life (*ST* IIIa, q. 53–59). He distinguished miracles* that are arguments for the faith from those that are objects of faith, placing Jesus' Resurrection in the latter category. Nevertheless, it also confirms the faith. Thomas particularly emphasized its salvational importance. Just as the Passion* liberates us from our ills, the Resurrection raises us to the goodness of the justification* (*ST* IIIa, q. 53, a. 1). This led Thomas to speculate on the charnel identity of the Risen Christ: his risen body is a real body, the same one he lived in before Easter. But it is also a “glorious” body: continuity must leave room for the rights of discontinuity. Thomas was careful to not transpose this earthly world into the glorified world (because of his theory of the soul as form of the body); his theology* does not contain any revivification of the corpse. However, marked by an overly literal interpretation of scriptural narratives, he granted a largely uncritical credibility to the neotestamentary representations of Jesus Risen, taking

the expression of a transcendent presence for information on a nonearthly state (*ST Suppl.* q. 75–81; *IV Sent.*, dist. 43 and 44). He did, however, pose precise questions on the signs of his resurrection given by Jesus, and their credibility*.

In the 16th century Luther* rejected the complications of Scholastic* speculation and announced the cross and the Resurrection of Jesus as the first event of salvation*. In the 17th and 18th centuries the resurrection of Jesus was put in doubt by a rationalism* wary of all miraculous notions. These doubts raised by the Enlightenment culminated in the 19th century in research on the life of Jesus that tried to account for the Resurrection by seeing it as a lovely myth* (myth being understood as the Other of history), as revelation of a religion of humanity (D. F. Strauss) or, more flatly, as the fruit of hallucinations by Jesus' disciples (E. Renan). Under pressure from these arguments, theology was led to favor an exclusively apologetic treatment of the Resurrection. In the order of reasons adopted by Neoscholastics in the latter half of the 19th century, the Resurrection stands as a supreme historical proof of Jesus' divinity. They tried to found this proof on rational historical arguments, supposedly valid regardless of any presupposition of belief. But these arguments often left out transcendence of the risen body with respect to the empirical order of phenomena, which makes them a bit naïve. At the same time the Resurrection almost disappeared from the field of dogmatic* theology. Soteriology was reduced to an analysis of the sense of the Passion and the cross.

The 20th century deserves credit for restoring the Resurrection of Jesus to its central position in the ordained exposition of the Christian mystery. F.-X. Durrwell's *La résurrection de Jésus mystère de salut* (1950, frequently reprinted), was particularly effective in this restitution. Thereafter, the Resurrection was restored to the heart of soteriology and its eschatological dimension regained a vivid relief. However, in recent decades, critical exegesis* has combed through the New Testament testimonials, bringing dogmatic interest and critical concerns to play in the highly diversified interpretations of the first element of the faith. In the minimalist line already fixed by Schleiermacher* (belief in the Resurrection is second with respect to the first element, God acting in Christ), followed by E. Troeltsch, some interpretations reduced the Resurrection to nothing more than the salvational sense of the cross, as perceived by the faith (Bultmann*'s Jesus risen “in the kerygma”). Other reductive interpretations saw it as the present energy of the faith of Peter*, giving a future to the event of Jesus Christ (W. Marxsen 1968), or as the ever vivifying act of the Spirit (J. Pohier 1977). At the same time, recent research has also produced

“maximal” interpretations of the Resurrection as the expression of the salvational act of God for mankind (Barth*, etc.), an eschatological anticipation so radically inscribed in the history of the world that it is a possible object of all historical research (Pannenberg). The Resurrection contains all the keys to interpretation of the faith. One point should not be contested: a correct theological access to Jesus’ Resurrection supposes that one has overcome all disjunction between “fact” and “sense.”

2. A Fundamental Theological Problem

The dogmatic challenge cannot hide a major difficulty overlooked in the apologetic approaches—paschal kerygma does not speak of an event that belongs entirely to common history; the veracity of this discourse cannot be established on the sole bases of verisimilitude and credibility of the witnesses (X. Léon-Dufour). The death of Jesus is undeniably inscribed in the order of the probable and verifiable. The observation is not limited to the testimony of friends, it goes beyond the circle of his followers, and it does not transgress the verisimilitude of all reasonable interpretation. The same cannot be held (despite Pannenberg) of the Resurrection: Jesus, who is said to have vanquished death, slipped away from the world he had belonged to. Thereafter, he is no longer inscribed within common credibility; he stands apart from all public transmission of information because he only manifests himself, alive, to a few friends and disciples (Acts 10:40–41). And even if the “rumor” (Moingt) of his resurrection soon began to spread, it does not modify the initial form of the witness, which is the word of a self-implicating commitment. (Because of its original ambiguity—resurrection or theft of the corpse?—the account of the empty grave is no less so.) For he who is called to believe and did not see the only possible access to the Resurrection is a hermeneutics* of the testimony. And because the theology of the Resurrection does not treat anything that it is authorized to describe, it must allow the organization of meanings of an event filtered from signs given to it.

3. Systematic Theology

The condition of believer suggests the following arrangement in four periods:

a) Subdued Victory. This title refers to the ambiguous nature of experiences that give rise to the two testimonial elements: the empty grave and the play between nonknowledge and recognition of the Resurrection in apparition accounts.

The account of the empty grave is detached from in-

formation that spoke the truth of Jesus’ death, condensed in the words of the Apostles’ Creed: “He descended into Hell.” This account tries to capture both the reality and the strangeness of Jesus’ arising. Because it is related, the ambiguity is hard to reject. In fact, the disappearance of Jesus’ mortal remains fits more easily with theft than “awakening.” Whereas the emphasis on his burial in the grave calls for a clear determination, in the attestation of his resurrection, of what became of his corpse. The affirmation that he is risen in his body is problematical if his corpse can also be venerated. Of course, the presence of his spirit near to God could be maintained, but an essential element of the sense of that “awakening” would be excluded from the experience. Therefore, the ambiguity of the empty grave does not eliminate the importance—both objective and negative—of that signifying trace in backing the attestation of the resurrection of Jesus’ body. The “he is not here” (Mk 16:6) indicates the sense of that trace; but the empty grave in itself does not impose a unique, unquestionable interpretation (Moingt 1993).

Nor do the apparitions escape two forms of ambiguity, one emphasizing strangeness (Lk 24:36–37) and the other underscoring the continuity (Mt 28:9 and Jn 21:9–11) with Jesus’ earthly existence. First, the strangeness: the visionaries do not recognize Jesus when he appears before them. Then the continuity: Jesus is described as if he belonged once more to this world. He is seen preparing a meal (Jn 21:9–11). His friends know it is him; they recognize him by a sign; their doubt or astonishment is so strong that they cannot ask him to decline his identity (Moingt 1993).

The ambiguity of the account is reinforced by the strangeness and continuity of the personage in the apparitions. Where the author emphasizes the strangeness, we might seem to be dealing with a ghostly apparition (Lk 24:37), a communication with the other world, revealing nothing of the effective result of the resurrection of Jesus, and diminishing the corporeal sign. One thing is sure: he who appears this way escapes the confinement of death, because he can show himself at will. The corporeal sign acts as a necessary representation to make his presence tangible in our world. When the author underscores the continuity, he gives the impression that the risen body has the same status as his prior condition; this would be the same as Lazarus’ return to life. However there is an important difference. He who appears in a corporeal form in the narrative has mastery of space, because he makes himself seen where he wants, to whom he wants; Lazarus did not have this ability. The narratives of apparition are ambiguous because they recount a marvelous event as if it were ordinary.

b) The Corporeal Sign. The ambiguous nature of the apparition accounts orients confessions of faith toward the corporeal sign. The motif of the resurrection of the body becomes the central point of the tradition*. The disappearance of the corpse was already an invitation to place emphasis on “the body,” which is the locus of all awakening. The apparition accounts—by their insistence on a spatial, convivial presence—are organized around the same concern: the Nazarene not only survives in soul and spirit, he prevailed over death in his totality as a physical human subject.

The allusion to a descent* into hell accentuates the truth of Jesus’ death; Jesus went to Sheol, the place where the defunct lead a larval existence. He does not come back from Sheol as a spirit or a soul given permission to communicate with earthlings, such as Samuel with Saul in the conversation at Endor (1 Sm 28:8–20), he awakens from the dead in full possession of that which constitutes the human being. Because the body is not a superfluous element, it is that by which the subject manifests itself, communicates, constructs, and develops itself over time (Pannenberg 1993). To say that Jesus not only survived like the souls that sleep in Sheol but arose from death with his body is to recognize that the body by which he manifested himself to humans, communicated with them, and constructed himself as human subject, was not abandoned like useless remains.

Jesus rose up from hell to live intensely, in a way unknown to us, that which constituted his history; he rose up as a human being. The body is not a simple metaphor to designate the fullness of an awakening to “divine” life, it is the point of incandescence of the life given by God in the victory over death. The specific affirmation of the Christian faith on Jesus is that he lives next to God as an intact human subject. This risen body cannot be described, we have no experience of it, we have only obscure signs of a strangeness that does not exclude a certain proximity. The Word of God does not respond to curiosity, it speaks the plenitude toward which the earthly life of Jesus led, despite the death endured. This plenitude concerns all who believe in Jesus or are called by him.

c) The Universal Vocation. Jesus’ rising from the dead is not an unprecedented divine act in his life, it is the seal placed on an itinerary of unconditional opening to the will of God to signify his proximity and love*. The kenosis* (Phil 2:6–11) designates the originality of that prophetic life; it also expresses God’s renunciation of the exercise of power. Jesus’ liberty* with respect to the law*, and his proximity with the distressed, and it led him to words and deeds whose ambivalence expanded endlessly under the horizon of hopes* borne by the tradition of Israel* (Moltmann,

Theissen, Pannenberg). By not hiding the originality of his message or his disinterest for any immediate messianism*, Jesus alienated the crowd without holding off the hostility of the ruling class. His “assassination” is the fruit of his prophetism* and his proximity to sinners, and the outcome of a path he did not want to change, despite the dangers.

Jesus died of our sins* and for our sins, making himself the brother of the poor in all times. This itinerary is universal and negative: rejected by human beings, Jesus went to the extreme of dereliction, believing himself abandoned by God. In the heart of his solitude, Jesus cries out a cry that symbolizes his word with regard to those who kill him: “Father, forgive them” (Lk 23:34). This cry is heard. To the one who did not refuse to give his life for his own, God gave life in plenitude, tearing him out of hell and bringing him into his kingdom without denying his humanity. In his body Jesus devoted himself to others, in his body he felt the force of life. In the gift of himself to humanity, the sense of his existence comes to light: God has it proclaimed that Jesus belongs to him, and designates him Son (Rom 1:4), first born of a multitude of brothers. He died for others a death with universal value; thereafter, he lives, for others, a life with universal meaning. The Resurrection narratives are envoys on mission*.

d) Current Energy. The Resurrection is not an event of the past inscribed once and for all in the immobility of history. A past event is not current, but finished. This is not true of the Resurrection; it functions today, because it is today that the Eternally Living gives the Spirit (Moingt 1993). The Resurrection is operational not only as a chain of actions inscribed in history by virtue of an initial inspiration and witness. It did operate on the level of values and institutions. Believers stood up to realize in part the demand that inhabited his preaching*. Already, in this sense, the initial event of the witness remains actual. But when a believer affirms the present reality of the Risen Christ he is not thinking in the first place of this historical inscription. He thinks of the actual subject of that new existence, that which the Spirit now gives so that others will follow the path he took and attain a similar glory, that which leads history to the fortunate term that Scripture calls the kingdom of God. It is he, the Risen One, who by the constantly given Spirit confronts the recurrent figures of evil* and death. The actuality of the Risen One thus designates his present action, in continuity with that of his life as a prophet*, but different, because it stimulates subjects whose task is to work for a fortunate history, not subject to the judgment* of God, liberated from the “day of wrath.”

That is why the Gospel Resurrection narratives are in themselves narratives of mission. The disciples are sent out so that, in Jesus, God reconciles the world (Mk 16:16–20). The order given to the apostles*—to proclaim the gospel over all the earth, to baptize in the name of Jesus, to pardon sins—is heard on the horizon of the active presence of the Living for centuries. The mission of the disciples is the form henceforth taken by the action of the Risen Christ. It is not the only one; in other forms the Risen One gives the Spirit so that human history will not be only a place of violence*, but will be worthy of the one that Dante* called first Love (*Inferno* III, 6). This action is supposed, by reason of the divine will, to save all men (1 Tm 2:3–4). The mission of his disciples and his own mission will not reach their term until Christ has vanquished, in all, death, his enemy, and submitted all to his Father, so that God will be all in all (1 Cor 15:26–28). The actuality of the Risen Christ is inseparable from his eschatological force (Moltmann 1964).

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See also Adoptionism; Barth, Karl; Bultmann, Rudolf; Christ and Christology; Creeds; Descent into Hell; Eschatology; Fundamental Theology; Miracle; Passion; Resurrection of the Dead; Salvation; Word

Resurrection of the Dead

A. Biblical Theology

a) *In the Hebrew Bible.* Although Sheol* occurs as a common element of Old Testament eschatology, the resurrection of the dead is mentioned infrequently. In this context we need not include those earthly resurrections brought about by Elijah (1 Kgs 17:17–24) and Elisha (2 Kgs 4:31–37, 13:2), which are akin to the healing* of individuals and in no way foretell mankind’s ultimate destiny. Linked to the Canaanite agrarian myths, the Israelites’ hope, as expressed in Hosea 6:1 ff. (“After two days he will revive us; on the third day he will raise us up,” 6:2), a hope of which in any case the prophet does not approve (6:4–6), con-

cerns the nation’s restoration. Similarly, the evocation of the dry bones springing back to life (Ezekiel 37), this time based on the Yahwist theme of Genesis 2:7, heralds the revival of Judah after its downfall in the sixth century before Christ.

On the other hand, a passage from the apocalypse of Isaiah, usually dated from the Persian period (sixth century B.C.)—Isaiah 26:19—by use of the verbs *chyh* (to live), *qwm* (to arise), and *héqîç* (to awaken), announces the resurrection of those among the faithful people* of God who had died (death*), while the impious, the oppressors of this people, will vanish for ever

(26:14). Around 165–164 B.C., at a time of fierce persecution, and basing itself on Isaiah 26:14 and 26:19, but also on Isaiah 53:11 (Septuagint and IQIsa) and 66:22 ff., Daniel 12:1 asserts, in an apocalyptic context, the resurrection of the faithful who have died and their transfiguration in the beyond.

The best and most generally accepted interpretation today of this crucial text, which exerted a strong influence on later traditions, is the one proposed by B. J. Alfrink. At the moment of the final intervention by Michael, the guardian angel* of the people of God, the living inscribed in the Book* of Life will escape death and a great many of the dead will reawaken (Dn 12:1–2 a); therefore, only a portion of the living will preserve their lives and a portion of the dead will regain theirs. These are all the faithful, righteous people. The following verse (Dn 12:2) specifies that the latter will be destined for “everlasting life” (life*, eternal) while the others, both those who died during Michael’s intervention and those who had died earlier, will not reawaken during this final intervention, but will experience everlasting shame and contempt (*see* Is 66:24). There is, then, no universal resurrection: only the righteous among those who had already died before Michael’s intervention will come back to life. The verse that follows this one (Dn 12:3) concerns the spiritual guides (*see* Is 53:11) of those mentioned in Daniel 12:1–2a, those who will not die and those who will reawaken: they will be transformed and will share in the luminous and transcendent world of the stars, assimilated to the angels.

b) Supplements to the Septuagint. Written at an uncertain date between 160 and 180, the didactic account of the martyrdom* of the seven sons and their mother (2 Macc 7) develops Daniel’s views (12:2) while clarifying them. Faithful unto death to the laws* of the Old Covenant, each one of these martyrs affirms in turn the doctrine of the resurrection. The first son states the scriptural argument: “He [the Lord] will have compassion on his servants” (Dt 32:36, quoted in 2 Macc 7:6). The second son then specifies that “the King of the world will revive us for an everlasting return to life” (7:9). The third, holding out his tongue and his hands, hopes to recover them: thus the body shares in the resurrection (7:11). According to the fourth son, the impious have no share in this resurrection (7:14). As for their mother, proclaiming her faith* in God the Creator, she encourages her sons: “through his mercy* he will restore your minds (*pneuma*) and your lives (*zôè*)” (7:23). Finally, the youngest of the sons states that his brothers have undergone “fleeting pain for the sake of boundless life” (7:36). Nothing is clearly stated about the time of the righteous martyrs’ resurrection, since

the author is more concerned with the fact than with the date.

The author of Wisdom, a contemporary of the emperor Augustus, does not speak explicitly of resurrection. He only mentions Greek notions of immortality (*athanasia*), of the hope and reward of the righteous subjected to trials (Wis 3:4 ff.), and of incorruptibility (*aphtharsia*), for which man was created (2:23), and which God grants to his faithful by bringing them closer to himself (6:18 ff.). And yet Wisdom’s eschatology seems to entail resurrection. The author’s silence on this subject arises perhaps from the fact that he is more interested in the final salvation* of the righteous than in the way in which it will happen. Certainly, on the day of judgment* (their “visit”) the righteous “will become resplendent” (Wis 3:7, *see* Dn 12:3) and a transfiguration of their being can be imagined. Such imprecision is clarified by Wisdom 19: there, against the backdrop of the Creation*, the author gives a rereading of the episodes leading to the event that founded Israel*. The episodes of the Exodus, for example, where the punishment of the impious and the freeing of the righteous are brought about by means of cosmic elements, strike the author as another creation (Wis 19:6), in which the world’s component elements are transformed in order to save the righteous from death (16:24). This history*, which implies a cosmology, founded an eschatology: if the Exodus, the prototype of the history of Israel, was a new creation, eschatology also calls it; therefore one can speak of the physical salvation of the righteous; and the meditation on the Exodus (11–19) illuminates the author’s thoughts about the final destiny of the righteous (1–6).

Israel therefore gradually asserted the resurrection of the dead. This began during the Persian period in a historical context marked by the trials endured by its people. It was essential for them to understand how the fidelity of God, the master of life and death, toward his faithful ones did not cease with their deaths, with the gift of their lives which they made him. Resurrection involved only the righteous, for it implied that in the beyond they would be close to the God whom they had served and loved here below; and it was seen collectively, for the individual merged with the community. Moreover, contrary to the Greek body/soul dichotomy, biblical anthropology* could not conceive of the human being without a body; the soul (*nèfesh*) did not enjoy an autonomous existence: it animated the body, thus making it a living being. Victory over death thus implied a revivification of the body.

c) Intertestamental Jewish Writings. These texts reveal a great diversity in their conception of an afterlife, but in general they accept that in the beyond the righ-

teous will be rewarded for their faithfulness. Even within the same book, diverse conceptions sometimes occur. Some writers derive their ideas from a more Greek conception: 4 Maccabees speaks of immortality (16:13) and incorruptibility (9:22, 17:12). Moreover, the texts are not always as clear as one would like, and this is what explains discrepancies between their commentators. Nonetheless, the idea of resurrection was making progress. Certain of these texts grant resurrection only to the righteous: 1 Enoch 51, first century (controversial date); *Test XII* Judith 25:1–5; *Test Abraham A* (long version) 18:9–11; *Psalms of Solomon* 3:12; *Biblical Antiquities* 3, 10 (?), 19, 13; 2 Baruch 30:1–14, the *Life of Adam and Eve* 13:3 (add.). Others envisage a universal resurrection, before the judgment that separates the righteous from the impious: *Test XII* Benjamin 10:5–10 (but 10:8 is a Christian gloss); 2 Baruch 49–51; *Test Abraham B* (short version) 7 and 13–17; *Sibylline Oracles* IV, 179–92; *Test Job* 4:9; 40:4 (see *Job LXX*, 19:25; 42:17); 4 Esdras 7:32–37; *Biblical Antiquities* 3:10; *Life of Adam and Eve* 41:3).

As for the texts from Qumran, the controversy continues. Fragments from cave 4 provide the testimony of belief in the resurrection of the sons of light alone: 4 QTestQah 1 II, 5; 4Q Vis, Amr, 1 II, 14; 4Q245 = 4QPs-Daniel, 4 ('), but these texts are pre-Essene. 4Q385 II, 5–9 + 4Q Deutero-Ezekiel (see Ez 37) and especially 4 Q 521 2 II, 12 might reveal Essene thought on the resurrection of the righteous.

d) *The Jewish Sects* in Jesus' time held different opinions. The difficulties raised by the Essene texts have just been mentioned. For the Sadducees, we have at our disposal only the testimony of their adversaries, the Pharisees and the Christians. Despite this fact, their rejection of the resurrection of the body, of retribution after death, and even of any kind of afterlife, can be maintained; for them, there was fundamentally no scriptural argument for such beliefs. Passages from Matthew 22:23–33 (about tithes), as well as Acts 23:6 ff. (Paul before the Sanhedrin) clearly mention the stance of the Sadducees, to which a few scattered Pharisean texts refer (Abbot de Rabbi Nathan, A 5; *Misnah Sanh* X, 1; *TB Sanh* 90B–91A).

The Pharisees, on the contrary, made the resurrection of the dead an essential point of their doctrine, and it passed from them into postbiblical Judaism*, but their explanations vary. Although perhaps a few Hellenic influences can be found in it, the roots of Pharisean thought remain deeply embedded in the biblical understanding of the human being. While the Pharisean scholars also searched for scriptural sources (e.g., Dt 32:39; 1 Sm 2:6; Is 26 and 19; Ez 37; Job

10:10 ff.), they concentrated on the body's ultimate fate, sometimes with a realism that contrasted sharply with the spiritualizing trends of the intertestamental writings. In short, although certain Pharisees thought that everyone, both the righteous and the unrighteous, came back to life, ready to meet different fates, the majority held to the resurrection of the righteous alone, and perhaps even of the repentant.

e) *New Testament*. The restorations to life accomplished by Jesus* (Mt 9:25 par.; Lk 7:15), Peter* (Acts 9:40) and Paul (Acts 20:10), being prophetic signs of the new times (Mt 11:5: "The dead are raised"; see Is 26:19), do not belong in the list of resurrections. In opposition to the Sadducees (Mt 22:23–32; Acts 4:1 ff.), but following in the steps of the Pharisees (Acts 23:6, 24:15), Jesus proclaimed the resurrection of the dead (*anastasis [tôn] nekron*); together with the eternal judgment, it is among the fundamental teachings of Christianity (Heb 6:2). As the work of the power of God, the resurrection transforms: "they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven" (Mt 22:30). It is primarily, on the Day of Judgment, the reward of the righteous (Lk 20:35: *anastasis ek nekron*), whether Jews (Lk 14:14: "you will be repaid at the resurrection of the just") or pagans (Mt 12:41 ff.; Lk 11:31 ff.). Yet Paul (Acts 24:15) and John (Jn 5:28 ff.) announce the resurrection of the righteous and of sinners, a resurrection that will lead to different destinies. This judgment, which Matthew 19:28 situates at the time of the "new world" (*paliggenesia*), will involve all the nations and will be pronounced by Christ* in his glory (Mt 25:31 ff.). Jesus himself will raise up at the last day whoever believes and shares in his flesh and his blood (Jn 6:39 ff., 6:44, 6:54). More than a simple bringing back to life (see Jn 11:39), the resurrection of Lazarus—which Martha assumes will take place on the "last day" (11:24)—is accomplished by Jesus as a sign of the mission he has received from the Father* (11:42): Jesus is the resurrection (11:25). Finally, Luke 13:28 ff., 16:19–31, and 23:42 ff. give us to understand that at death each person's fate is provisionally decided, in expectation of the last judgment.

His Pharisean roots meant that Paul had retained the Jewish and not the Greek view of life after death, but he subsequently based his views on the Resurrection* of Christ, to whom he gave his energies until the end. At the time of the Lord's Parousia (1 Thes 4:15; 1 Cor 15:23)—in his epistles Paul only looks at the position of Christians (except for 2 Tm 4:1)—those who have died in Christ (1 Thes 4:16; 1 Cor 15:18) will come back to life and the living will be caught up together with them (1 Thes 4:16 ff.).

They will all be transformed (*allagèsometha*, 1 Cor 15:51), and will clothe themselves in incorruptibility and immortality (1 Cor 15:53 ff.: a concession to Hellenism?). To return again to our celestial abode we must either be naked (dead) or “put on more clothing” (if we are alive: *ependusasthai*, 2 Cor 5:4). Our raised body (*sôma psychikon*) will become a spiritual body (*sôma pneumatikon*, 1 Cor 15:44): Christ “will transfigure (*metaskhematisei*) our wretched body by making it conform (*summorphon*) to his body of glory” (Phil 3:20 ff.).

Until the time of the Lord’s revealing (1 Tm 6:14), those who have died in Christ are nevertheless already united with him (1 Thes 5:10; Rom 14:8; 2 Cor 5:8; Phil 1:23). In order to recount this mystery* (1 Cor 15:51), Paul, while basing himself on the word of the Lord (1 Thes 4:15), resorts to the apocalyptic* (such as Revelation 20 for the universal judgment) and to the analogy* with nature, as in Judaism (*see* 1 Cor 15:36 ff.

and the parable of R. Meir, *TB Sanh* 50 B). Moreover, Paul thinks that the resurrection is anticipated in the present life of all those who, through baptism*, share in Christ’s resurrection (Eph 2:6; Col 3:1 ff.).

- B. J. Alfrink (1959), “L’idée de résurrection d’après Dan XI, 1–2,” *Bib* 40, 355–71.
- P. Beauchamp (1964), “Le salut corporel des justes et la conclusion du Livre de la Sagesse,” *Bib* 45, 491–526.
- R. Martin-Achard (1981), “Résurrection des morts,” *DBS* 10, 437–87.
- K. Spronk (1986), *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- E. Puech (1993), *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d’une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, Paris.

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See also Anthropology; Apocalyptic Literature; Cosmos; Death; Eschatology; Hell; Judgment; Salvation; Soul-Heart-Body

B. Historical Theology

Based on the biblical accounts, especially in the New Testament and particularly in the writings of Paul, in Christian tradition* the resurrection of the dead is one of the earliest attested articles of faith*. Its founding formula can be seen in the Apostles’ Creed: “I believe in the resurrection of the flesh (*eis [...] sarkos anastasin*)” (*DS* 11) or in the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople: “We await the resurrection of the dead [*anastasin nekron*]” (*DS* 150). The fact that the resurrection is the resurrection of the body and not only the immortality of the soul* is central in the doctrinal history of this article of faith.

1. Early Christianity

a) The Apostolic* Fathers, although with varying emphases, agreed unanimously on the resurrection of the dead. Clement of Rome (*I Clement* 26, 3) describes it as a resurrection of the flesh*, meaning by *sarx* not the body as distinct from the soul, but the perishable creature, and as such contrasted with divine immutability*. This nondualist meaning of *flesh*, which occurs in the Roman creed, had first of all an exhortatory and ethical force: because salvation* takes place in the flesh, which will be raised and judged, from now on the holiness* of this flesh must be preserved. But

since it must be judged, that means that resurrection is not identified with salvation but has a neutral character rather, which is why the Roman creed mentions “everlasting life,” which completes salvation after the resurrection. As for the dead awaiting the resurrection, according to *I Clement* they dwell in a temporary abode similar to the Hades of the pagan poets. On the other hand, according to Ignatius of Antioch (*Epistles*) and *The Acts of the Martyrs*, the righteous—at least the martyrs, who must include the patriarchs and the prophets*—go to meet Christ at once, which can be interpreted as a resurrection at the very moment of death*, since these authors do not express the idea of the survival of the soul (*see* Greschake-Kremer 1992).

b) The Apologist* Fathers (second century), more fully aware of the Platonist tradition and Gnosticism*, have a clearer idea of the distinction between the immortality of the soul and resurrection. But although the former facilitates a certain approach to Christian hope* (Justin), its announcement of resurrection is charged with an originality that it can in no way translate: “If the Savior... had announced as good news only the life of the soul, what new thing would he have contributed compared to Pythagoras, Plato, or other men?” (Ps.-Justin, *De res.* 109). For Irenaeus* of Lyons and

Tertullian*, the resurrection is the decisive criterion that separates Gnosticism from Orthodoxy. While the Gnostics view the flesh—that is the body, the world, and history*—as the creation of a lesser god, a creation from which the soul must be delivered in order to return to its celestial abode, Irenaeus states that all flesh (*pasa sarx*) has been created by God* and is appointed for salvation: “What is more ignominious than dead flesh? On the other hand, what is more glorious than that same flesh once it is raised, having received incorruptibility as its portion?” (*Adv. Haer.* V, 7, 2). Similarly, Tertullian declares that: “the flesh is the pivot of salvation” (*caro cardo salutis*, *De res.* 8,2). And to oppose Gnostic interpretations that understood resurrection in a purely spiritual sense, these authors insist on the absolute conformity of the terrestrial body to the resurrected body and establish the existence of an intermediary stage that excludes the possibility of salvation for the soul alone. According to Tertullian, for this reason the soul guards the body’s effigy in Hades while awaiting the resurrection that will constitute the fullness of salvation: it would indeed be “unworthy of God to grant salvation to only one half of man” (*De res.* 34).

c) *Doctors of the School of Alexandria** (Third Century). By *anastasis* Clement of Alexandria and Origen* mean a process of maturation and of ontological ascent that begins in man in this life, through the gift of the Holy* Spirit, and which is completed after death by means of a transfiguration of the body, which becomes a spiritual body (*sôma pneumatikon*). In his controversial work, which contradicts both those who deny the resurrection of the body and those who confuse it with the reanimation of the corpse, Origen invokes the soul’s mediation in order to establish the continuity between the earthly body and the risen body. Although incorporeal by nature, the soul needs the body as a “vehicle” or as “clothing,” of which it retains an identical form (*tupos* or *eidōs*), even when the body materially melts away. Through divine grace*, this bodily form will be preserved and transfigured after death: “To inherit the kingdom of heaven and live in a region different from earth, we need spiritual bodies; nevertheless, our original form (*eidōs*) will not disappear but will be glorified, just as the form of Jesus* and that of Moses and Elijah remained the same in their transfigurations” (*Comm. in ps.* 1, 5).

Origen emphasizes just as strongly the ecclesial aspect of the resurrection, which will not attain its perfection until Christ’s body is constituted definitively: “Abraham still awaits us . . . and all the prophets await us to receive perfect beatitude* together with us. For there is only one body which awaits its redemption” (*In lev.*, hom. 7, no. 2).

d) *Augustine** (fourth–fifth century) can be viewed as a link between theology of the patristic age theology* and medieval theology. Influenced by Neoplatonism, his anthropology* gives priority to the soul in defining man as “a rational soul that uses an earthly and mortal body” (*De moribus eccl.* I, 27, 52). All the same, man’s unity remains inconceivable to Augustine without the body, and it is for this reason that the soul preserves after death a “natural appetite” for the body that will be restored to it at the end of time*. This risen body, although made spiritual and immortal, will be absolutely identical to the earthly body. To answer objections from the pagans and certain Christians, Augustine was led to specify that the size, age, organs, and so forth of the raised body would indeed reconstitute the earthly body, but in a state that would make its beauty shine through (see *De civ. Dei* xxii, 12 Sq). It is also noteworthy that Augustine takes the opposite tack from the theological tradition that dominated the battle against Gnosticism and introduces the idea of a resurrection of the soul (*ibid.*, XX, 6) or of a first resurrection: the soul, fallen into sin*, comes back to life in a state of grace from that day forward, while awaiting the second resurrection, that of the body, which will perfect the first one. He therefore follows Origen and the earlier patristic tradition when he recalls that individual resurrection is commanded at ecclesial communion* in the body of Christ: “See, the perfect man, both head and body, composed of all the members who, at the time ordained, will all be present. Every day, however, members join this same body, as long as the Church* continues to develop” [(*ibid.*, XXII, 18). In short, according to the patristic tradition and its followers: 1) Contrary to Platonist and Gnostic interpretations, the resurrection is totally distinct from a simple salvation of the soul or of the “inner man,” which results in its deferral to the “last day,” when it will be a miraculous event due to divine action. 2) Dependent on the Incarnation* and Christ’s Resurrection, the resurrection of the dead fundamentally involves the “flesh,” and the creation* taken in its material and temporal aspects. It thus gains a hitherto unknown value and dignity, enabling Tertullian to declare Christianity an “apology of the flesh” (*praeconium carnis*).

2. Medieval Theology

a) *11th and 12th Centuries.* It was generally accepted in the Middle Ages that man was composed of a soul and a body, that the resurrection of the body would set a seal on his eternal fate, and that in this life the immortality of the soul already expressed its destiny. Nonetheless, this eschatological perspective led to an anthropology in which Platonist and Aristotelian

references would oppose each other. For theologians influenced by Augustine, the soul alone constituted the human person* (Hugo of Saint Victor), to the point that the human person did not fully appear until the separation of the soul and the body (Abelard*). In these theories, resurrection would seem secondary or even futile were it not required by the biblical data.

Faced with this perplexity, other authors referred to Aristotle's doctrine, according to which the soul was the form of the body; this enabled them to state that man's substantiality was no longer only to the soul, but to the unity of the composite of matter and form. But adoption of this point from Aristotle, for whom the mind (*noûs*) belongs to another order than the compound and comes from outside to lodge in it, seemed to lead to the admission along with him that the form melts away alongside the matter and therefore to an abandonment of the concept of the soul's immortality. The Augustinian aporia of a man who is defined by the soul but cannot be himself except by virtue of the soul's and the body's union was not raised.

b) Thomas Aquinas (13th century) was to solve the problem by conceiving the Aristotelian statement differently. According to him, the soul may be at once an incorporeal substance and immortal (in the Augustinian sense) as well as the form of the body, and this is possible because it transfers its own substantiality to the body. Body and soul are not two separately definable realities, but it is the soul that completely determines the body by appropriating its materiality. Man's nature is such that he is a mind by dint of his bodily relation with the world and with others, and it is not possible to conceive of his perfection without that relation (see *In Sent.* IV, d. 44, q. 1, a. 2, ad 1). Since that is so, death is truly an annihilation of man, since the "separated" soul, deprived of the body, lives on only as a monad without relations and without a world, and therefore in a state that goes "against nature" (*CG* IV, 79), a state in which it has no knowledge beyond that which comes to it directly from God. Arising from this fact, if man is to achieve his purpose, resurrection is a necessity of his nature—which does not mean that it is natural, for through its own means nature has no capacity to effect it: "to speak categorically, resurrection is a miracle*; it cannot be called natural except in relation to its end" (*ST Suppl.*, q. 75, a. 3). However, Thomas's position leaves certain questions open: 1) How is it possible to reconcile the soul's incomplete state when deprived of its body with the assurance of a possible beatitude immediately after death? 2) Is it necessary to state, as Thomas does, following the anti-Gnostic argument (and doubtless in reference to the cult of relics*), that there

is material identity between the earthly body and the risen body, when the material identity of the body is determined by the soul in its quality of substantial form? 3) Does the idea that resurrection does not occur until the end of time necessarily imply the concept of the survival of a separated soul?

3. Modern Theology

The end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era are characterized by a shift of emphasis, from resurrection to the immortality of the soul. The motives for this shift are both theological and philosophical.

a) Theological Motives. These were related to the preservation of a dualistic concept of man that overvalued the "soul" as against the "body." Although the Council of Vienna* (1312) consecrated the formula "soul, the form of the body," this statement was understood in various ways, often far removed from Thomas Aquinas's understanding, and ways in which the integral unity of the human person was lost. Moreover, Benedict XII's Constitution *Benedictus Deus* (1336) condemned the opinions of his predecessor, John XXII. The latter had laid down that souls in their separated state could not yet know beatitude, though John abjured this thesis on his death bed. Benedict, by contrast, drew attention to the soul's absolute future in a way that tended to push into the background the question of the future of the body.

b) Philosophical Motives. These themes made their appearance with the return to Platonism that characterized Renaissance humanism. This Platonism unfolded in a new context in which the soul was no longer considered a substance but a subject (Marsilio Ficino). This context reached its full expression in Descartes*, for whom the soul was a *res cogitans* (thinking thing) distinct from the body described as a *res extensa* (extensive thing). The growing role of the subject in the philosophies* of mind that were to distinguish modernity and would culminate in German high idealism (Fichte, Hegel*) left little room for any question of the body and its fate. Thus, the Enlightenment philosophers who refined the proofs of the soul's immortality often held resurrection to be a mythic representation. This was the case with Kant*, for example: "The spirit can see no advantage whatsoever in dragging after it for eternity a body which, however purified it might be, must nonetheless still consist of the same matter" (*Religion within the Boundaries of Pure Reason*).

In this climate of thought, theological meditation tended to limit the eschatological problem to the ques-

tion of the soul, or at least to treat the theme of the resurrection as secondary. The Fifth Lateran* Council (1513), when it condemned Pomponazzi's Aristotelianism influenced by Averroës, concerned itself only with the immortality of the individual soul. It is also noteworthy that from the 17th to the 19th century, the language of popular piety no longer evoked the resurrection of the body and the last day, but rather the salvation of the soul and everlasting life (*see* Althaus 1961). Although theological textbooks still mentioned resurrection, they dealt with it as a speculative question more than as an existential problem (*see* Greschake-Kremer 1992).

4. Contemporary Theology

The renewal in biblical studies and the questions raised by a new scientific and cultural climate have led recent theology to approach the theme of the resurrection of the body in a manner that takes these changes into account. The most important recent trends are summarized below:

a) Resurrection of the Dead Rather Than Immortality of the Soul. In reaction against an eschatology* that dampened faith in the resurrection by means of philosophical argumentation that favored immortality, many reformed theologians, swayed by a return to Luther*, reject the idea that one can find in man any residue whatsoever, either spiritual or corporeal, that might ensure the transition between earthly life and revivification. Death therefore seems to be a total annihilation and resurrection a new creation *ex nihilo*, the identity between mortal man and the risen man being assured only through the fidelity of a God who has both created and saved. What remains in man, at his death, "is neither anything divine nor anything created, but the Creator's action and attitude with regard to his creation" (Barth* 1959). It is in this spirit that O. Cullmann strongly emphasized the opposition between the Greek and the biblical conceptions of death and the beyond: "The biblical conception of death is thus founded on a story of salvation, and consequently it must differ totally from the Greek conception; nothing shows this better than the comparison of the deaths of Socrates and of Jesus" (1956). Catholic theologians do not take to such lengths an argument that fails to explain why God, in the life he himself recreated, would make man answerable for his deeds in his present life, but they agree to emphasize a necessary return to a biblical theme that, insofar as the resurrection is concerned, gives priority to divine action.

b) Hypothesis of a Resurrection at the Moment of Death. To avoid the perplexities raised by the sur-

vival of the separated soul, certain theologians—following Thomas Aquinas's reasoning about the soul as a subsisting form that determines its own body—propose the hypothesis of a body that would reappear immediately after death, in a shape not physically perceptible: the idea of "resurrection in death" would thus correspond to a conception of the person that would require a relational foundation, not only religious, but also social and cosmic, which would be the equivalent of a "resurrection in death" (*see* Greschake-Lohfink 1978). J. Ratzinger nonetheless bases himself on the "Notice by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in Everlasting Life and in the Beyond," which gives a reminder of the necessity of belief in the survival of the soul after death, in order to challenge a thesis that "is in no way a possible expression of the common faith, such as it is commonly understood" (1990 [6th Ed.], 218). The hermeneutic* difficulties of the new definition undoubtedly stem from the way it seeks to evade the spatiotemporal framework in which traditional representations have been elaborated.

c) Stages of a Philosophy of the Body and the Flesh. While theology once borrowed from philosophy, in particular, the vocabulary of the soul, today it questions philosophy about new ways of speaking about the body. The phenomenological approach to the body as a "transcendental body," as found in the works of L. Landgrebe, M. Merleau-Ponty, M. Henry, and others, could provide a new theological access to the question of the resurrection; B. Welte (1965) and C. Bruaire (1968) have tried to take advantage of this possibility: "A phenomenological and transcendental meditation on corporeity might arrive at a formal concept of resurrection (of the body as flesh) that might go beyond the simple concept of a spiritual and indestructible part of man and refer back to the Christian hope represented by the *resurrectio mortuorum* [resurrection of the dead] as to an image that is at least not unreasonable." (Greschake-Kremer 1992).

d) Indissoluble Link between the Resurrection of the Dead and Christology. However, no rational or strictly philosophical approach can afford to forget that, following Pauline* and patristic tradition, Christ is the unique mediator, whose death and Resurrection lead the universe from the first Creation to its completion in the glory* of God (*see* Martelet 1974). This central reference to Christology* must thus serve as a theological criterion when it is a question of determining whether faith in the resurrection of the dead is compatible with beliefs of another nature—for example, with the reactivated thesis of reincarnation (*see* Schönborn 1990).

e) *Analogical Value of Representations of Resurrection*. If, all things considered, none of the representations of the resurrection and the future life is really adequate, that means that they are attempting to deal with a mystery* that has no common measure with our expressive and imaginative abilities. Like the mystery of God to which it is closely related, the resurrection of the dead is approachable only by means of analogical expressions that serve to support faith, while effacing themselves before the reality they designate.

- P. Althaus (1922), *Die letzten Dinge*, Erlangen, Gütersloh (8th Ed. 1961).
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See also Anthropology; Death; Eschatology; Hell; Hope; Judgment; Life, Eternal; Resurrection of Christ; Salvation; Soul-Heart-Body; Vision, Beatific

Revelation

The vocabulary of revelation (Greek *apokalupsis*, *epiphaneia*, *dèlôsis*; Latin *revelatio*, *manifestatio*) has existed in Christian literature from the beginning, but Christianity took a long time to provide a structured concept of revelation. What the words designate, in any case, is one of the theologically central facts: God* is known through God. This knowledge, however, arises in several ways. The *Trésor de la langue française*, for example, distinguishes three meanings of revelation in the Judeo-Christian context: 1) "Natural revelation, a manifestation of God who makes himself known through creation* and the consciousness of man"; 2) "Supernatural revelation, a manifestation of God communicating to man, by words addressed to his messengers, the knowledge* of his being*, his will, his plan as it unfolds in history*"; and 3) "Direct revelation, a communication that God establishes directly with one of his elect, notably through vision or hearing." These definitions provide only a preliminary understanding. In any event, they make possible a perception of the major problem of any theology* of revelation: that is, if revelation must be interpreted in terms of divine spontaneity and human receptivity, and if revelation is therefore a process that includes its audience, then no satisfying concept of it can be pro-

posed that does not do equal justice to subjective and objective factors.

a) *Biblical Theology*. Faith* in a hidden God occupies the center of the experience of Israel* (Is 45:15). "For the theology of the Old Testament, it is unthinkable that man can know God through his own resources. God can be known only when he allows himself to be known, that is, when he wishes to reveal himself" (E. Haag, *Bibellexikon*, 1968).

God allows himself to be known in many ways: in catastrophic events such as storms or earthquakes, in numinous experiences of his glory, in the prophetic word authenticated by the formula "Word of YHWH." The hidden God reveals himself as a savior God: the theophany* of Sinai is the gift of the law* (moreover, this "gift of the law," *mattân torah*, provided rabbinical Judaism with a technical term to identify divine revelation). God reveals himself in the communication of his Name* (if we agree not to treat Ex 3:14 as an expression of refusal). He reveals himself in the great deeds accomplished for the benefit of Israel. Revelation is bound up with election and reaches the people through chosen mediators, Moses and the prophets*. The witness that God gives of himself ("I am the Lord,

the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac,” Gn 28:13; Ex 6:2, 29; Is 45:5 f.) provides structure for a people that knows the will of God. The theme of veiling and unveiling is certainly not omnipresent in the Old Testament, and the discretion of its presence in the Wisdom writings is striking. Ecclesiastes never refers to a revelation; Ecclesiasticus assimilates its teaching to a prophetic teaching (24:33), but it is the teaching that asks to be heard, and not the word of God. The Wisdom books, however, make their contribution to a theology of revelation by emphasizing the gratuitous character of a wisdom* that, although not “revealed” in the technical sense, comes to man from beyond himself. If God manifests himself through his creation, wisdom is the privileged bearer of that manifestation. And if God does indeed reveal himself to everyone as the Creator, then it is possible to say that the idolatry* of the pagans “is not forgivable” (*oude suggnôstoi*, Wis 13:8; see Rom 1:20, *anapologètoi*).

Bultmann’s judgment of the teaching of Jesus* remains to some extent valid: his word does not communicate “a doctrine of God, a vision of the world, but a call to conversion* in the face of the coming kingdom of God” (1933). Neither the vocabulary nor the fact of unveiling is, however, absent from the New Testament. In Paul the language of mystery* is linked to the language of manifestation (*phaneroun*, Rom 3:21, 16:26) and of revelation (*apokaluptein*, 1 Cor 2:10; Eph 3:5). The Johannine Logos is presented as an interpreter or explainer of the invisible Father* (Jn 1:18). The revelation of the Name occupies the same central place in John that it did in the Old Testament (Jn 17:6), linked to the revelation of divine truth* and grace* (Jn 1:17). The word transmitted by the Son seals a history punctuated by many divine utterances (Heb 1:1 f.). Even if God is knowable outside the historical limits of the Covenant*, on the basis of the nature of things (Rom 1:20; Acts 17:22–31), John 14:9 states that he is clearly visible in Jesus. The soteriological focus of the New Testament excludes almost all apocalyptic concerns. The texts do not pretend to provide information about or descriptions of the end of the present age, the kingdom of God, and the like. But although the point of the testimony is to provoke interest not in a theophany or an epiphany, but in the dialogical relation between the savior God and man the sinner, the language of salvation* and conversion cannot be used without also using the language of knowledge—the revelation of the salvific purposes of God calls for faith and elicits praise*, which is inseparable from contemplation*.

b) Patristics. In the theology of the Fathers* of the Church, revelation is generally the object of a subsidiary interest, dependent on the gradually developing

organization of Christian discourse. Many themes appear and use various words. Schematically, a few tendencies can be distinguished, all of which, from the period of the Apostolic* Fathers, are present together and intertwined. (The term itself, *revelare*, was established in Latin beginning with Tertullian*, under the influence of the first Latin translations* of the Bible*.)

The first tendency emphasizes the role of Christ* as master and teacher. The *Didache* links “life” and “knowledge” to describe Christian experience (19. 3), and 1 Clem. uses the verb *paideuein* to give an account of Christ’s mission (59. 3). This theology adopted conceptual tools from Clement of Alexandria’s theory of Christian knowledge (*gnôsis*). Clement had adopted and Christianized the idea of God as teacher already present in Plato (*Laws* X 897b), and later in Origen*, according to whom the revelatory activity of God makes it possible for human beings to leave the realm of the “shadow” for the realm of the “image,” and thence to the realm of “truth,” while at the same time closely linking revelation to the very Person* of the incarnate Word*, *autobasileia*, “kingdom in person.” All truth comes from God through the mediation of his Logos.

Because the God of Jesus Christ is the creator God, a second tendency leads to emphasis on the inherently revelatory function of the creation. The work of the apologists* among the early Fathers contains a first encounter with the God of the philosophers, whose transcendence made the idea of revelation problematic, but this encounter did not produce a sharp distinction between “faith” and “reason*.” In Justin, the theory of “seminal reasons” (*logoi spermatikoi*), adopted from Middle Platonism and Stoicism, makes it possible for pre-Christian wisdom outside the Bible to play a role in the knowledge of God; but as an indirect consequence, the theory devalues the demonstrative role of the incarnate Word. Theophilus of Antioch also speaks of a God knowable on the basis of the order of the world. (*Ad Autolycum* I. 5). Clement of Alexandria speaks of a revelation (*emphasis*) of God through nature. Further, philosophy* for Clement is seen as a “gift of God to the Greeks.” Philosophy, law, and gospel thus appear as three testaments all authored by the Logos.

By contrast, a third tendency involved a concentration on the history or the “economy” (*oikonomia*, a term already used by Paul in Eph 1:10, 3:2, and 3:9), in which God saves and makes himself known. Irenaeus* is no doubt the most influential representative of this tendency. He adopts the leitmotif of every biblical* theology of revelation: “God is not known without God.... And all to whom the Son has revealed him know him” (*Adv. Haer.* VI. 6. 4; see also, e.g.,

Clement, *Strom.* V. 82. 9). He adds major themes that were to structure the later theology of revelation. Against Gnosis*, he denies that secret traditions can have apostolic value. Also against Gnosis, he establishes the criterion of apostolic transmission: the transmission of the truth (which as early as Tertullian begins to occupy a place as important as that of the revelation of the truth) is an act of the church materially guaranteed by the succession of bishops in episcopal sees. The link between Scripture and tradition* does not yet pose any problem, much less any aporias. Emphasis on Scripture (Origen: “The Logos constantly becomes flesh in the Scriptures in order to set up its tent in us”; *Philocalia* XV. 19, PG 14. 1313 B) meets without tension an emphasis on a process of tradition derived from God himself (Tertullian), while Tertullian also sets out a Roman understanding of the argument from authority*. Reduced to almost nothing in Marius Victorinus, who sees revelation only in a philosophical framework, the reference to history by contrast occupies a central position for Augustine’s mentor, Ambrose*.

A fourth tendency leads to a view of revelation as a process that has been concluded and that is reactualized in the experience of faith. In the *Visions of Hermas* it seems that revelation can still continue to occur in the church*. For Clement of Alexandria, the present of the liturgical and mystical life was conceivable in terms of revelation, and Gregory of Nazianzus also maintained that the church, which lives within the time of the spirit, is experiencing a continued revelation (*Or* 31, 26). But already in the works of Cyprian* (who uses *traditio* for revelation), what he calls *Traditio* is not a permanent possibility but an accomplished fact: it is a present divine revelation that is normative for the church, and of which the apostles* were the authentic channels, and which Christians only need to appropriate. The lack of insistence on what would later be called the revealed “given” did not keep the Latin Fathers from wondering about the human medium of divine revelations—the theology of revelation is organized around the theory of prophetic inspiration, as with Jerome for example; remnants of such an organization can be found in Thomas Aquinas—and on the illumination that allows the believer to welcome divine revelation. There are variations that reflect theological differences generated elsewhere: while the theologians of the school of Antioch* placed a clearer emphasis on the past history of salvation, Cyril of Alexandria continued a conception that already existed with Origen and which states that the proclaimed word must be accompanied at all times by an illumination (which he calls revelation). Augustine uses language close to that used by the Alexandrians, marked by

Christocentrism and an increasing interest in the experience of the believer: Christ is present in the one who believes, and fulfills in him a revelatory function. The revealed God of Augustine is a God who is a teacher: “In order for the human mind, moved by the desire for knowledge, not to fall from weakness into the misery of error, it needs a divine magisterium that it may freely obey” (*Civ. Dei* XIX. 14). But this magisterium is not exercised in an extrinsic way. The process of revelation does not take place outside man, he grasps it existentially. Revelation is an “attraction” exerted by God, and it is exerted concretely within a totally sacramental universe in which everything signifies divine will and divine love*.

Patristic thinking about revelation was bound up with doctrinal conflicts. Irenaeus responded to the Gnostic challenge; and, confronting Montanism*, the church had to express its rejection of a revival of revelation. The Arian crisis also made possible a major proposition: in Jesus, it was God himself who manifested himself in order to recreate man in his image (Athanasius*). Finally, against Eunomius, who claimed it was possible to know God as he knows himself, the Cappadocian Fathers explained that there was revelation, but it was of a God who remained strictly incomprehensible.

Finally, a conclusion emerges clearly from the synthesis of Pseudo-Dionysius*: creation and revelation are two aspects of a single divine act calling human beings to an “ecstatic love” and a cosmic contemplation leading to the perception of the traces of divine goodness everywhere. For Maximus* the Confessor, on the other hand, the two are clearly distinct, and there is room for an autonomous *theôria phusikè* providing knowledge of God through the nature of things. For John the Scot Eriugena, the principal transmitter to the West of the writings of Dionysius and Maximus, revelation is theorized in two stages. In itself, the creation is a perfect revelation (Eriugena thus conceives of creation as revelation: *creatio, hoc est in aliquo manifestatio*, PL 122. 455 D); but because of human sin*, revelation also comes in the form of the word.

c) *Middle Ages.* The tendencies of patristic theology—above all, the search for a balance between historical-objective and subjective-existential factors—were also those of early medieval theology. For Anselm*, Scripture has the status of objective norm, whereas the *intellegentia fidei*, as a subjective norm, always remains in the foreground. Already known to patristics, the neglect of history found a distinguished practitioner in the person of Abelard*, for whom revelation was not only turned over to dialectics, but seemed thoroughly suited to a dialectical treatment. A

view of revelation rather analogous to that of Eriugena found an equally distinguished representative in Hugh of Saint-Victor, for whom creation as a whole was the “book of God,” but a book that fallen human beings could no longer read, and which Scripture alone could make readable. However, the Middle Ages placed its distinctive mark on the theology of revelation. The vision of Augustine and Dionysius of a totally sacramental universe was replaced with a local meditation on what would later be called “special revelation,” the biblical history of salvation, and the sense of a single tradition formed by Scripture and the Fathers of the Church was replaced by a questioning of the revelatory specificity of the Scriptures. In early Scholasticism*, according to M. Grabmann, “Fathers and Scriptures make up a single *Scriptura Sacra*”; creation and revelation were thought of in the generalizing terms of a single economy. But Rupert of Deutz (1075–1129) already had to defend himself against the accusation of adopting those positions. And by the time of William of St. Thierry (c. 1085–1148), a clear distinction had been established: revelation due to creation is one thing, revelation due to the Word spoken in history is another.

It fell to Albert* the Great to produce the first modern synthesis of elements that had previously been dispersed. Albert distinguishes between Scripture, which is “believable,” and the church, which is its interpreter. He makes a further distinction between the early time* of revelation and the time of the church (a time directed “toward the exposition of the articles of faith”). In the Aristotelian framework that had become obligatory, Albert’s successors extended his work and sometimes proposed modifications and additions. The *Summa Halensis*, for example, made a vigorous attempt to organize a theology of revelation of Franciscan inspiration by integrating the history of salvation as much as possible into the new conceptual apparatus of theology. Bonaventure* explained the relationship between revelation and the sinful condition of human beings: “Because the world has become an unreadable book, the Incarnation* is, as revelation, the commentary that restores readability” (Seybold 1971). He also explained the relationship between objective and subjective factors: faith in revelation arises from the combined action of the external and the interior word, but mainly from inner hearing.

For Thomas* Aquinas, as for most of his contemporaries, the principal theoretical interest was aroused by the problem of prophetic inspiration (see his *De prophetia*), which he did not distinguish clearly from revelation. As with Bonaventure, an unquestionable biblicentrism was associated for Thomas with the analysis of interior facts, and the theology of revela-

tion was closely connected to and sometimes identified with the theology of faith. At the same time, a new notion destined to influence the entire later history of the concept of revelation made its appearance: the action of the savior God who provides human beings with all the truths that are needful and useful for the pursuit of their supernatural* goal. From this it followed that “whoever does not adhere, as to an infallible and divine rule, to the teaching of the church that proceeds from the first Truth* revealed in the Holy Scriptures does not have the ‘habitus’ of faith” (*ST* IIa IIae. q. 5. a. 3).

Duns* Scotus established just as close a link between Scripture and church and set Scripture even more distinctly at the center of everything: ... [I]n fact, our theology deals with nothing but what is contained in Scripture and what can be inferred (*elici*) from it” (*Op. Ox.* prol. q. 3, Wadding, VI/1, p. 102). Finally, the authoritarianism of William of Ockham led him to set forth with unprecedented bluntness the necessity for revelation, taken as an objective reality. Because his nominalism* could not maintain a necessary ontological structure in divine revelation, that revelation tended therefore to be atomized and restricted to positive information dealing with facts unrelated to one another. The extreme individualization of the events of revelation led to a theology that juxtaposed articles of faith, thus presenting the first distinctive characteristics of a positive* theology, with the earliest glimmerings of a “theory of the two sources” of revelation, Scripture and church tradition. The first signs of the replacement of revelation understood as an action by revelation understood as a “deposit,” in the sense something entrusted, also appeared at this time.

d) Reformation, Counterreformation, and Enlightenment. We are indebted to Luther* for the first really new theory of revelation produced since the New Testament, and the subsequent development of a truly systematic theology of revelation. A theologian of the hidden God who remains hidden even in his Incarnation (*Deus in carne absconditus*, WA 4. 7. 1. ff.), a theologian of a God who manifests himself “as his opposite” in the scandal of the cross, Luther attributes to the gospel the distinctive mark that belongs to Christ himself, the *absconditas sub contrario*. There can be no question of revelation through creation. God becomes manifest in the preached Word and only there. The center of interest shifts: the past facts of salvation meet the believer in the existential and dialogical event of the present of conversion and justification*. Only Scripture records those facts; but in the strict sense, it is a transmitter of revelation rather than being itself revelation. And faith cannot be defined as “knowledge

of history" (*notitia historiae*) unless it is simultaneously defined as "confidence in the mercy*" of God (*fiducia misericordiae*). The Word, however, again became "doctrine" in the later works of Luther's best student, Melancthon. Lutheran confessional texts confirm the absolute sufficiency of Scripture: *sola sacra scriptura iudex, norma et regula agnoscitur* ("Holy Scripture alone is recognized as judge, norm, and rule"; BSLK 769.7).

Calvin*'s theology shares traits with that of Luther, although it has its own particular emphases. On the one hand, the kenotic motifs omnipresent in Luther give way in Calvin to a more Johannine* contemplation. On the other hand, Calvin maintains a dual knowledge of God (*duplex cognitio*), through creation and through the Word. Of course, *non... ab elementis mundi hujus, sed ab evangelio faciendum est exordium* ("Our exordium comes not... from the elements of this world, but from the gospel"; CR 51. 10). However, the exordium does not claim to be the entirety of the discourse; the Confession of La Rochelle is completely faithful to Calvin on this point when it asserts that "this God shows himself thus to men, first by his works, by the creation and by the preservation and operation of those works. Secondly and more clearly, by his Word, which at the beginning revealed by oracle, was thereafter set down in writing in the books that we call Holy Scripture" (BSKORK 66).

Against the principle of the sufficiency of Scripture that unites all Reformation theologies, the work of the Council of Trent* focused on maintaining the rights of tradition, or more precisely (at a time when the apostolic origin of the Apostles' Creed was still accepted) of traditions transmitted from the beginning but not present in Scripture. These traditions, "which have come down to us, either because the apostles had received them from the mouth of Christ himself, or because the apostles have transmitted them to us as though directly, after receiving them from the voice of the Holy Spirit" (DS 1501) are to be received by the believer with the same piety and affection (*pari pietatis affectu*) as revelation contained in the Scriptures; they too play a revelatory role. The council was also careful not to give Scripture and the traditions the status of two parallel channels: proposed during the debates, the idea of a revelation contained "in part" (*partim*) in Scripture and "in part" in the traditions was rejected in favor of a more cautious formulation.

The 17th and 18th centuries saw both the development of systematic Protestant theologies worthy of the name "Scholastic" and, finally, the Catholicism's development of its own theology of revelation.

Among the Lutherans, J. A. Quenstedt adopted the classical formulations only to shift their meaning to-

ward a conception of revelation as the communication of truths: revelation defined as "a divine act turned toward the outside (*externus*) in which God reveals himself to humankind through his word for its salutary information" (*Theologia didacto-polemica*, I. 32). This indicates a process of doctrinalization of revelation as well as an identification of Scripture and Word, which can be seen even more clearly in Johannes Gerhard. Just as Catholic theology roots Scripture in the tradition of the church, so Protestant theology unilaterally roots the Word in Scripture.

Against Protestant illuminism (the most extreme form of which was presented by Zwingli*, the theoretician of an immediate revelation of God to consciousness), the first task of post-Tridentine Catholic theology was to maintain the sufficiency of a revelation mediated simultaneously by the two objective phenomena of church tradition and the Word. The subjective aspect would of course never be neglected (particularly since this period saw significant refinements in the "analysis of faith" [*analysis fidei*]). M. Cano (1509–60, *Loci*, 1563) firmly maintained the necessity of the "inner cause," that is, a "certain divine light inciting belief." D. Bañez (1528–1604) also focused on the illumination of the subject more than on the revelation of the object. Cajetan (1469–1534) and Suarez*, however, carry more weight in the history of the problem. For Cajetan, revelation is indeed the action of a "God speaking himself," but the emphasis is placed even more on the articles of faith that this God communicates. And Suarez proposes a concept that was to become central, the concept of divine witness. This would lead to the definition of revelation as "divine speech witnessing itself" (*locutio Dei attestans*). Suarez distinguishes two senses of revelation:

First, then, a veil is removed by the revelation of the object of faith, and it is "thus that it becomes in some way knowable by reason of divine witnessing. Also, the infusion of faith removes the ignorance that affected the intellect. And we may speak of revelation in both cases" (*De Fide*, disp. 3, sect. 3, no. 7). But revelation was viewed principally from the side of the object, as the offering of a revealed object to be believed out of regard for divine authority.

Late Scholasticism suffered from a major deficiency, neglecting the Christocentric nature of revelation in favor of a theory of veridical divine communication. For example, for J. de Lugo (1583–1660): "It is requisite for the object of faith that there be divine speech, for that speech is founded on divine veracity*; indeed there is no veracity but in the Word"; and the church is therefore defined as the location of a "mediated locution." There was also Ripalda (†1648), who emphasized "immediate and intellectual

revelation.” But, whether in Lugo, among the Carmelites of Salamanca, or elsewhere, the general tendency was clear: a doctrine of the event of the Word, which was unquestionably fruitful, pushed into the background and indeed rode roughshod over subjective factors and the historical economy of revelation. The principal themes of baroque Scholasticism became more pronounced during the Enlightenment, when apologetics adopted its classic organization (a sequence of treatises “On Religious Truth,” “On Christian Truth,” “On Catholic Truth,” derived from a schema of P. Charron) and when the treatise *De veritate christiana* (or *De Christo legato divino*) was fully established, with the aim of proving (primarily against deism*) the existence of a revealed religion, a Christianity that was not as old as the creation, and a revelation that said more than natural reason knew (V. Pichler [1670–1736], F. Neumayr [1697–1765], P. M. Gazzaniga [1722–99]). The voices of Enlightenment philosophy were no doubt more prominent than those of the theology contemporary with it. However, the century did have an atypical genius in J.G. Hamann (1730–88), who expressed a violent Christocentric protest barely heard in his time. There was more readiness to listen to the dilemma of G.E. Lessing (1729–81): could eternal beatitude* be based on contingent historical truths? Lessing also secured a willing audience for his thinking about revelation in terms of the education of the human race. J.G. Herder (1744–1803) offered an idea of revelation through nature and history (universal history, a concept containing elements designed to undermine the privileged position of biblical history). Despite all the efforts of apologetics, the *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) spoke posthumously and authoritatively through Fichte, who said that “only metaphysics, and not history, makes us blessed.”

e) *19th Century to Vatican II.* The two most characteristic ideas of 19th-century theories of revelation were those of a universal revelation and of a principle of tradition. They are found in the most organized way in the thinkers of the Catholic school of Tübingen*. For Drey, who certainly also owes to Schelling* the idea of a “scientific construction of revelation,” the aim of the theory is to go beyond the antinomy between rationalism* and suprarationalism on the one hand, and to establish a correspondence between the outwardness of historical facts and the inwardness of their religious appropriation on the other. Because human beings confront a God who was never not revealed, this appropriation is the most lasting of all possibilities. And because revelation has been an object of transmission from the beginning, the present at-

tainment of knowledge is always an entrance into the community which transmits revelation through time; clear affinities with traditionalism* here tend to ride roughshod over the gratuitous character of divine interventions. Similarly, the principle of “proto-revelation” led Möhler to maintain, against Bautain, the possibility of a natural knowledge of God. For Staudenmaier, too, the theology of the *imago Dei* led to the postulate of the existence of an immemorial relation of human beings to God, but one that could not find expression in the absence of external revelation. For Kuhn, finally, the for-us of revealed truths is indissociable from their in-themselves; a supernaturalist tendency in his work, holding to the letter of Scripture, is combined with a developmental theory that tends to present the process of revelation in terms analogous to that of the development of dogma*. Although no factual influence can be established, Newman*'s interest in history and his acceptance of the idea of a universal proto-revelation unquestionably make his thinking close to that of the Tübingen theologians.

Protestant theology was divided between the predominant influence of Schleiermacher* (for whom the inner event of illumination and revelation tends to absorb into itself any external fact) and the more classic perception of revelation best represented by the school of Erlangen, until liberal Protestantism diluted the idea of revelation in the idea of a supremely moral teaching. The history of Catholic theology is, on the one hand, one of innovative (although unbalanced) attempts and their censorship by the ecclesiastical magisterium, and, on the other, one of the restoration, by the theologians of the School of Rome, of a strictly doctrinal theory of revelation. For Hermes, revelation came to be considered within the strict confines of practical reason. His theory was a much softened version of what the young Fichte had said in his *Attempt at a Critique of All Revelation* of 1792—that God could reveal himself only as the communicator of a moral law, an argument also adopted by the young Hegel*. Conversely, for Günther, the concept of “ideal knowledge” swallowed up any difference between faith and knowledge, or between philosophy and theology, so that the idea of revelation lost any specific substance. The failure of a theological reception of newer philosophies was followed by a reestablishment of the concepts and arguments of the baroque Scholasticism. For J. Kleutgen (1811–83), revelation is a supernatural reality whose “immediate end” is “to increase in us the knowledge of divine things and consequently to enlighten our reason” (*Die Theologie der Vorzeit* [Münster, 1875], V. 143). J.B. Franzelin (1816–86) relied on Suarez and Lugo for the assertion that revelation is “a divine locution, made up of words stating a truth and

of facts proving that those words are a divine locution” (*Tractatus de divina Traditione et Revelatione* [Rome, 1896] 618). Another doctrinaire theory of revelation was presented by Scheeben*, who also established a hierarchy of revelations, rising from *revelatio naturae* to *revelatio gratiae*, and culminating eschatologically in *revelatio gloriae*.

Vatican* I was the first council in the history* of the church to take revelation as its theme and indeed to use the word (it was used once at Trent, but in an entirely different sense; see Eicher 1977) with reference to what it called a “divine deposit” (DS 3020). It should first of all be noted that revelation was not defined by the council, which was more concerned with determining its modes: natural knowledge of God, scriptural accounts of revelation, and the mediating role of church tradition. The weakness of the council’s theory lies in the fact that it placed any personal dimension in the background; revelation was understood as a “that,” as a body of *revelata*, rather than as a divine action. Modernism* unjustly caricatured an incomplete but authentically Christian theory: a modernist proposition condemned in *Lamentabili* says that the dogmas that the church treats as revealed are not truths that “fell from heaven,” but no official Catholic document spoke of “truths that fell from heaven” (*pace* S. Sykes, *EKL* 3rd ed., vol. 3).

It was left to Vatican* II to provide a corrective to the unilateralism of the declarations of Vatican I. The constitution *Dei Verbum*, which shows the dominant influence of H. de Lubac*, maintains the right to a natural knowledge of God (§6). In particular, it establishes as close a connection as possible between “words” and “acts” (*gesta*): “This economy of revelation comes about through events and words closely connected to one another” (§2). Further, it provides a first satisfying attempt at a resolution of the modern aporia of Scripture versus tradition: “springing from a single divine source” (§9). “The sacred tradition and Holy Scripture constitute a single sacred deposit of the word of God, entrusted to the Church” (§10). The *revelata* almost disappear in favor of the *revelatio*, itself thought of from the outset on the basis of Christ, “who is both the mediator and the fullness of all revelation” (§2). Vatican II did not of course provide any final word; for example, §10 of *DV* unfortunately juxtaposes “sacred tradition, Holy Scripture, and the magisterium* of the Church”—the awkwardness suggests there is matter for further reformulation.

f) Systematic Perspectives. A central reality of Christian experience, but a concept that was long marginal, revelation certainly appears as an organizing notion of contemporary theology. The organizations over which

it presides are many, and they cut across denominational lines. Major tendencies can be clearly identified (Dulles 1983).

A first tendency conceives of revelation as a doctrine and has been given the classic name of “propositional theory of revelation.” The Princeton theologian B. Warfield (1851–1921) is perhaps the most classic Protestant representative of the doctrine, although it was expressed quite directly by another American thinker, C. Pinnock: “Revelation is embedded in written accounts, and it is essentially propositional in nature” (1971). Neoscholastic theology uses similar language (R. Garrigou-Lagrange, C. Pesch, H. Dieckmann): “Divine revelation is formally a divine locution addressed to men in the mode of teaching” (Garrigou-Lagrange 1918). Moreover, because this theory is linked to a homologous theory of the development of Christian doctrines (most notably in Marin-Sola, *Le Développement homogène du dogme catholique* [Paris, 1924]), it leads to the conception of this development as an “infinite unfolding of conclusions out of their premises” (Lubac, *RSR* 35, 1948). The image of the “revealed given” is central (A. Gardeil), and as with Thomas Aquinas, the analysis of prophetic experience is also central.

A second tendency conceives of revelation as history. Its most extreme expression is provided by the theory of W. Pannenberg: God reveals himself indirectly by his actions, and by his actions situated in the fabric of universal history as so many events to which any historiography has the right of access, as so many facts that speak for themselves. More cautiously, the theory of O. Cullmann links the fact to its prophetic interpretation, so that the conjunction of the two constitutes the very process of revelation. Among the Anglicans, W. Temple (1881–1944) had used very similar terms: “The essential condition for an effective revelation is the coincidence of events subject to divine control and of minds divinely illuminated to read them correctly” (Baillie and Martin 1937).

A third tendency reduces revelation to an inner experience. French Protestantism of the 19th century had a typical representative of this tendency in A. Sabatier (1839–1901). Revelation “consists of the creation, the purification, and the growing clarity of the consciousness of God in the individual man and in humanity” (1897). German Protestantism had another in the person of W. Herrmann (1846–1922); however, Herrmann qualified the position by positing, on the one hand, that inner experience is revelatory only if it is based on communion* with Jesus, and on the other hand, by purging that experience of any mystical* element in order to see it primarily as a moral experience. But it was Catholic modernism that went the furthest and

most systematically down this path. G. Tyrrell (1861–1909), for example, believed that dogmatic formulations had no purpose other than to enable anyone to bring forth and appropriate a founding experience under the influence of the Holy Spirit: “revelation is not a statement, but an experience” (1907).

Against liberal Protestantism, on the one hand, and propositional theories, on the other, the dialectical theology derived from Barth* represents a fourth tendency, marked by a strict christological concentration and a close connection between revelation and salvation—Bultmann coined the word *Heilsoffenbarung*, “salvific revelation.” Revelation comes about in order to call into question the pseudo-sufficiency of sinful human beings in any time and place in which the word of salvation is proclaimed: “Each generation has the same primordial relationship to revelation” (Bultmann; see the concept of “contemporaneity” in Kierkegaard*). Bultmann’s followers refined the theory by thinking of revelation as an “event of language,” *Sprachereignis* (E. Fuchs) or as a “process of speech,” *Wortgeschehen* (G. Ebeling).

A fifth tendency entails reading the process of revelation as the opening of a new consciousness of the self and the world—as an access to the heart of things. The sacred in this instance tends to replace God, and the experience of the sacred to be the only revelation: “Only what approaches me with the quality of the unconditional is revelation for me” (Tillich* 1927). L. Gilkey radicalizes the idea: religious language “is not discourse about the heavens but discourse about the earth—in reference to its foundation and its ultimate sacred limits” (*Naming the Whirlwind*, Indianapolis, 1969).

A few conclusions can be drawn from a sinuous doctrinal history, marked in the 20th century by a veritable “inflation” of theories of revelation (E. Troeltsch). Against the aporia of propositional theory, the common virtue of various currents (dialectical theology as well as the theology of the Dominicans of the Saulchoir or the “new theology,” largely dependent on this point on the *Jésus* of L. de Grandmaison [1928]) was to compel acceptance of what *Dei Verbum* confirmed in 1965: that a concept of revelation must be Christocentric (and soteriological) or it is condemned to death. Against the same aporia, which consists of repressing the “Revealer” in favor of the revealed, and treating the revealed according to the categories of a reifying reason, we must also admit that dialogical reason and the categories of the interpersonal encounter are necessary for the opening of any truly passable road: the merit of R. Guardini (1940) is to have said as much in the most convincing manner. We can then understand that the very term of revelation has fallen into disuse among

thinkers more concerned with divine “self-communication.” Two tasks that are certainly not new, but which we see with great clarity, perhaps lie in wait for any future theology of revelation. The first is to preserve the perpetually threatened balance between subjective and objective factors. On this point the theory of subjective and objective evidence that makes up the first part of Balthasar*’s trilogy (1960) manages to provide the conditions for a possible balance. The second task is to not lose sight of the biblical link between revelation and the mystery of God. Despite Hegel, the revealed God is not an obvious God about whom human beings could know everything. God is known as unknown and revealed as incomprehensible. In this respect the theology of revelation cannot fail to lead back to a theology of the liturgy*, partly because the liturgy offers itself as the privileged location in which the Scripture becomes Word, and partly because it reminds us of the sacramental distance separating man from the invisible God, who joins him through ecclesial mediations in the “co-natural context in which the revealed unfolds itself in all its dimensions” (Breton 1979).

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See also **Fideism; History; Holy Scripture; Mystery; Rationalism; Tradition; Traditionalism; Vatican I; Vatican II; Word of God**

Revelations, Individual

1. Definition and Scope of the Phenomenon

a) Designation. The expression "special or individual revelations" adopted at the Council of Trent* (session VI, chap. 12) designates manifestations of divine origin that make known hidden truths related to a particular situation of the church*. Their relevance is limited to a precise context, whereas "general revelation*" is applicable to the Church in all times and places. Individual revelations were for a long time called "private revelations," but the expression is unfortunate, because every revelation is intended to be communicated sooner or later and none of them is of strictly private interest, aside from the revelation of personal salvation* (see Trent, can. 16 on justification*).

b) Scope of the Phenomenon. Individual revelations refer to a phenomenon that occurs in diverse modes (visions, apparitions, hearing voices, ecstasies, ravishings, messages, letters from heaven, secrets, dreams, clairvoyance, and prophecies*) and is often complex. A verbal message (or one that can be verbalized) is often accompanied by visual or olfactory percepts, and various epiphenomena (radiance, levitation, incorruption, stigmata, and the like). These make of individual revelations a kind of mystical experience* often transcending the purely cognitive realm, and even over-

shadowing it. Known in most religions, the phenomenon is well attested in Christianity.

The first martyrs were favored with visions (*Di-dache*, letters of Ignatius of Antioch, the *Shepherd* by Hermas, narratives of the martyrdom of Polycarp, and of Felicity and Perpetua) modeled on those recorded in the Old Testament (visions of Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Isaiah, Elijah, Daniel, etc.) or even more, those in the New Testament (apparitions of the risen Christ; visions of Stephen, Peter*, Paul, and others). Thereafter, individual revelations never ceased throughout the church's history. Examples can be cited from every period. In late antiquity there was Benedict of Nursia's vision of the cosmos* recapitulated in God* (Gregory* the Great, *Dialogues* II. 35). In the Middle Ages, particularly from the 12th through the 15th centuries, they became a means for exploring dogma* (notably of the last things, by means of "journeys to the beyond" [eschatology*]), and later for union with Christ* (Francis of Assisi, Mechtilde of Magdeburg, Julian of Norwich, Birgitta of Sweden, among others). Luther* did not reject all individual revelations but considered visionaries as *Schwärmer* and visions as an encouragement to the pursuit of sanctity by works*, contradicting the principle of *Scriptura Solo*. Calvin* reduced them to the capacity to read Scripture. Post-Tridentine Catholicism* saw a renewed flowering of individual revelations, in tandem with a defense of the

cult* of saints and their canonization processes. The visions of Teresa of Avila were in a sense ratified by Gregory XV in his bull of canonization in 1622, and her process was for a long time used as a model for the examination of individual revelations. On the other hand, the revelations of Marie of Agreda were bitterly disputed. Scarce in the 18th century, individual revelations again became numerous in the 19th century (apparitions of Lourdes, the rue du Bac, Pontmain, Fatima) and the 20th century up to the present (Garabandal, Medjugorje). In the last two centuries alone, more than 300 apparitions of Mary* have been counted around the world (B. Billet).

c) Individual Revelations and the Social Sciences. The numerous individual revelations encountered in beatification and canonization processes have always aroused reservations and suspicion among theologians. Analyzed within the framework of the history of mysticism*, apologetics, and hagiography, individual revelations have provoked little interest among theologians during the last half century, with the odd exception (e.g., Laurentin). On the other hand, they have been the subject of much analysis by psychologists (from Jung to Vergote). But at the present time it is historians of religious mentalities (Dinzelbacher, Frugoni) who are most involved in the study of the question, analyzing the circumstances of individual revelations, the identity of the recipients (women, adolescents, etc.), the role of liturgical and ascetic practices, and the influence of social and political factors (social crises and divisions, messianic expectations, tension between the ministerial priesthood and the prophetic function). In any event, the role of individual revelations in history* is significant, by reason of their repercussions in the church (establishment of sanctuaries and pilgrimages*, origin of devotional practices), in politics (the role of such revelations in the decisions of popes and secular rulers with regard to crusades, wars, alliances, and jubilees; and the foundation of religious orders and institutions, not to mention sects such as that of Swedenborg), and in culture (interaction with religious iconography, influence on the liturgical calendar, and the establishment of feasts).

2. The Church and Individual Revelations

Prompted by the proliferation of accounts of apparitions in the late Middle Ages, the church began to legislate on the subject at Lateran* V (1517), by asking that they not be divulged without prior examination and authorization by the local ordinary. Thereafter, it was his responsibility to prepare the file and give his approval before any examination by the Holy See (this division of labor was definitively confirmed by Urban

VIII in 1634). Fundamentally, the Latin theology* of individual revelations as derived from Augustine* (evidenced in the writings of David of Augsburg, Cardinal Bona, Eusebius, Amort, and Benedict XIV) concentrated its attention on three questions: 1) the origin and authenticity of individual revelations; 2) their finality (the relationship of individual revelations to general revelation); and 3) the type of adherence that an individual revelation deserves to receive from believers.

a) Origin of Individual Revelations. God and the saints are not the only ones to appear; demons* appear too, not to mention ghosts. The origin of marvelous phenomena may be natural, demonic, or divine, and it is the corresponding discernment that is the primary preoccupation of pastors. The critique of evidence is a task that is all the more necessary because individual revelations made to groups or crowds (Fatima) are very rare. Because he, or more often she, is most often alone, the visionary is exposed to illusion and hallucination. The appetite for visions (against which John* of the Cross warned) and the profusion of pseudo-revelations have brought about an increase in calls for caution, particularly with respect to individual revelations made to women and children. The formulation of negative criteria is easy: insincerity of the visionary, the wish to put oneself forward, challenge of legitimate authority*, a message contrary to faith* or the moral teaching of the church, and the like. The principal positive criteria of discernment enabling the uncovering of counterfeits and arguing in favor of the authenticity (i.e., the divine origin) of an individual revelation, following the nearly unanimous opinion of theologians (an opinion formulated by Cardinal Bona and adopted by Benedict XIV in his *De canonisatione* III. 52, which is still authoritative on the question), are extrinsic criteria, the humility of the recipient and, in general, the various signs in his life of the fruits of the Holy* Spirit (Gal 5:22: charity, joy, peace*, patience, kindness, goodness, gentleness, and so on). If the visionary is a monk or a nun, note should be taken of the reluctance or eagerness to speak of the individual revelations and it should be asked, for example, whether he or she has remained obedient. Other criteria can and should be invoked, in particular some intrinsic criteria such as the harmony of the object and form of individual revelations with Scripture, or extrinsic criteria such as the authority of the church and the opinion of competent people, the psychological health of the visionary, and so on.

b) Finality of Individual Revelations. General revelation having come to an end, individual revelations can provide neither additions nor modifications. On the

other hand it is agreed that they can provide an explanation for general revelation. Depending on the circumstances, their *raison d'être*, clearly set out by Thomas* Aquinas (IIa IIae. q. 174. a. 6: in every age, men have received divine signs to guide them), is to recall or to clarify, in an age tempted to forget it, a particular salutary truth*, even a general truth (e.g., the call to repentance transmitted by the apparitions at Lourdes and La Salette). This reminder can come about in a more or less didactic (“I am the Immaculate Conception”) or parenetic form, even if that involves commands bordering on threats (La Salette). Individual revelations are intended to foster sanctity, not as *gratiae gratum faciens*, but as *gratiae gratis datae* (Benedict XIV, III. 52. 2).

c) *What Credence Should Be Given to Individual Revelations?* Individual revelations are not part of the content of the faith that is to be believed from “divine faith” (theological notes*); but no one can hold them in contempt without being presumptuous. When they have been approved by the magisterium*, it is recommended to believe them from “human faith” (Benedict XIV, III. 53. 12–15). For, although it is true that “Christ is the fullness of Revelation” (Vatican* II, DV), individual revelations nonetheless remain a desirable gift (1 Cor 14:1–5) to the extent that they are an integral part of the gift of prophecy that the Holy* Spirit generously bestows on the Church of the apostles*. Indeed, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit cannot be confined to the early days of the church, nor to institutional forms of the church alone. The proof of this lies, historically, in the fact that many individual revelations helped to clarify the content of general revelation. Their influence on the life of the church, notably through the popes*, has been significant.

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See also **Experience; Miracle; Mysticism; Revelation**

Revolution

Until the end of the 18th century, the word *revolution*, which had entered the technical vocabulary of politics in the 17th century, essentially concerned constitutional problems: it referred to the reconstruction of the government, in form or in personnel, by the people or

its representatives. In England, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was aimed at effecting a change in the succession to the crown with minimal disruption to the rest. In this sense, although with more sweeping ambitions, the Constituent Assembly (1789–91) in France

conceived the task of reconstructing the French government based on rational ideals as revolutionary. Subsequent events, however, so impressed themselves upon the European imagination as to produce a new concept of revolution, in the light of which the American and French experiences came to be reinterpreted. It was no longer a matter merely of changing the system of government: "historical necessity" had to be obeyed; radical novelty had to be secured; and the whole of society*, and no longer just the government, had to exercise power. As Hannah Arendt put it, "Only where the pathos of novelty is present, and where novelty is concerned with the idea of freedom, are we entitled to speak of revolution" (Arendt 1963). Theology* made a decisive impression on the earlier of these two ideas of revolution; it received equally important impressions from the later of the two.

a) Constitutional Revolution. The idea of constitutional revolution developed in Europe from the Gregorian Reform (11th–12th centuries), according to which the preeminence of the spiritual power gave the pope* the right to depose errant monarchs and absolve subjects from their obedience. It therefore became possible for a subject to defy a prince who no longer had legitimate political authority*. This idea became associated with the classical theme of virtuous tyrannicide. For John of Salisbury (1120–80), the tyrant is absolutely hostile to the common good*, and guilty of a "more than public crime," for he attacks law*, which is superior even to emperors; to slay him, therefore, is equitable and right, since it is an action in the service of public order (*Polycraticus* III.11). Thomas* Aquinas, citing Aristotle, adds that the tyrant "seeks his own advantage from rule, not the good of the multitude subject to him" (*De regimine principum* I, 11). From a tyrant no law can be derived (*ST* Ia IIae, q. 95, a. 4), for law is part of the public order, which does not exist in such conditions. Hence, "the overthrow of such a regime does not have the character of sedition" (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 42, a. 2).

However, this idea of the tyrant as a political nullity was too abstract, and subsequent discussions recognized tyranny as a political system. It then became necessary to find a legitimate form for the struggle against it. According to Marsilius of Padua (1290–1342), a distinction can be made between person and office; the law emanating from the office can judge even the person who holds the office (*Defensor Pacis* 18). However, since the removal of a tyrant is no longer an action performed in a political vacuum, there must be criteria for its lawful performance. Here, the Holy Roman Empire provided a paradigm: since the emperor was appointed by the electors, some civil

lawyers argued, he could be deposed by the same electors (a right that the supporters of the empire refused to the pope: e.g., Ockham [c. 1285–1347], *Brev.* II, 9). In the 15th century, conciliarists located this principle within a general doctrine that government is illegitimate if it is not representative: "all legitimate authority arises from elective concordance" (Nicholas* of Cusa, *De conc. cath.* 3, 331). This does not imply a license for anarchy. Christian subjects ought in general to obey tyrannical authorities, since they must consent to political order in principle. Only in the service of a practicable strategy of revolution could defiance be contemplated (Wyclif, *Dom. civ.* I, 28).

Sixteenth-century thought developed from this position. Which law authorized the removal of a tyrant? Opinions varied on the subject. Calvinists preferred to rely on *constitutional law*, by analogy with the empire: certain officials (*ephors*, a term borrowed from Sparta) have the responsibility of correcting, restraining, and, if necessary, removing the supreme magistrate. For Calvin*, this was true merely *de facto* of certain constitutional arrangements. For his followers (Althusius [1557–1638] or Beza [1519–1605]), the ephorate was a feature of ideal constitutional principle, to which all actual constitutions implicitly aspired. Parliamentary estates were assigned this role. In English thought (Ponet [1516–56]), the authority of *natural law* was invoked; while it was in the name of *divine law* that John Knox (1505–72) summoned the various classes of society to expel the Guises from Scotland.

Constitution or nature: the problem constantly reappeared in the debates over ideas that surrounded the American and French revolutions. Advocates of constitutional revolution argued from ideal theory based upon the "rights of man." Conservatives (e.g., Burke [1729–97]) argued for the extraordinary and extraconstitutional character of revolution, justifiable only in emergency. No one appealed any longer to divine law; in its place stood the notion of "social contract," which held out to advocates of revolution the idea that society could dissolve itself into its elements and reconstitute itself anew if necessity demanded it.

b) Social and Economic Revolution. With Condorcet (1743–94), who wrote at the height of the French Revolution, the idea of revolution was inserted into the philosophy of history* as conceived by Voltaire (1604–1778) or Turgot (1727–81), and it became the premise for the achievement of the goal of history: liberty*. This implied a new vocabulary and new political principles. The word *révolutionnaire*, coined expressly for the French Revolution, could apply only to a revolution that sought liberty on the basis of complete equality of rights (Condorcet, *Oeuvres*, 18, 4 *Sq.*). This

unique moment called for revolutionary laws and measures, unjust at any other time, to repress counterrevolution (ibid., 16 *Sq.*). Nineteenth-century socialists (e.g., Proudhon [1809–65]) developed a broader vision of revolution: the French Revolution had been incomplete, since it had failed to liberate the workers (work*), or to emancipate society from private property*. The dynamic of revolution now came to characterize a whole phase of history.

It was Hegel* who made the revolutionary idea of history into a theodicy: the transformation of the “idea of liberty” into “the reality of the consciousness of liberty” is the justification of God*’s operations in history. The revolutionary dynamic that marks this transformation is an ideal dynamic, the dialectical unfolding of the idea, which expresses itself in concrete historical movements. Hegel interpreted history according to a Trinitarian pattern, derived from Joachim of Fiore (millenarianism*): an age of the Father*, an age of the Son, and an age of the Spirit. The constitutional liberal principles that marked the modern era were the expression of the age of the Spirit, which began with the assertion of subjectivity by the Reformation and developed, itself in a Trinitarian pattern, by way of the rational thought of the Enlightenment. Protestant lands had no need of the violent turmoil experienced in France, since they were already prepared for the constitutional changes required. During the 19th century, Hegel’s theological idealism gave rise within Protestantism to all the nuances of optimistic progressivism, embracing at one pole the pantheistic American Transcendentalists (e.g., Emerson [1803–82]) and at the other an orthodoxy clothed with a gradualist eschatology*. The disciples of Albert Ritschl (1822–89), such as Hermann or Forsyth, had a view of history centered on the doctrine of the kingdom* of God. Until the Reformation “ethicized” faith, Christian society had required nothing but conformity to authority and custom; rationalism* was nothing but an empty repudiation of this attitude, which Kant* overcame by establishing the validity of the Reformers’ insight into the authority of conscience*. This created the modern mind, which in turn transformed society according to the demands of liberty: “The control of the great and long social revolution must, more than ever before, lie in such a radical spiritual revolution, which God makes and not man” (Forsyth 1913).

With Marx* and Engels (1820–95), the theory of revolution achieved its most developed form. Rejecting the idealism of Hegel, they provide a dialectical interpretation of historical necessity, rendered in terms of various stages in the economic organization of society. The whole of history is to be explained by the

struggle between classes over the appropriation of the means of production. The role of a revolutionary movement is to be the self-conscious representative of the revolutionary class. However, a gulf opens up between the exigencies of the revolutionary struggle for power and the dissolution of the state in the achievement of liberty.

Despite the strongly antireligious strain in Marxism, some theologians have seen a correspondence between its revolutionary promise of an end to economic oppression and Jesus*’ preaching of the Good News to the poor (e.g., Lk 4:18, 7:22). Liberation* theology also assumed various elements of Marxian theory—class conflict, the dominant role of the economy, knowledge through praxis, and so on—but it has never approximated to a fully Marxian concept of revolution. Lacking a philosophy of history, its revolutionary commitment has not gone beyond struggles against local or regional oppressions. Its concept of liberty is neither liberal democratic nor socialist. At its most revolutionary, it has propounded a constitutionalist model of revolution; experience and disappointment have produced a waning enthusiasm even for this. Nevertheless, its ecclesiology*, fashioned by the idea of the revolutionary movement, has to some extent played a role in recovering a concept of the church* as a critical “countersociety” that functions according to its own laws. We are thus led back to where the idea of revolution began: to ecclesial society as an independent reality, capable of defying unevangelical power structures.

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See also Authority; Democracy; Liberation Theology; Liberty; Marx, Karl; Society; Violence

Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism

The mystical* movement known as Rhineland-Flemish mysticism is made up of two distinct factions, often sharing a similar inspiration but sometimes moving in opposite directions: a German tradition represented by the Beguine Mechtild of Magdeburg (1207/1210–1282/1294), author of *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, and the Dominicans Meister Eckhart of Hohenheim (1260–1328), Henry of Berg, also known as Heinrich Sús or Suso (†1365), and Johannes Tauler (†1361), all of whom wrote in Middle High German; and a Flemish tradition represented by the Beguine Hadewijch of Antwerp (c. 1240), author of *Visions* and *Stanzaic Poems*, the anonymous author of *Poems in Rhyming Couplets* known as Hadewijch II, the Cistercian nun Beatrice of Nazareth (1200–68), author of *The Seven Ways of Love*, Jan van Ruusbroec (1293–1381), and his disciple Jan van Leeuwen (†1378), who wrote in Middle Dutch. Although, despite the differences in language, there is a deep affinity between Mechtild, Hadewijch of Antwerp, and Beatrice, an affinity based on a similarity of culture, experience, social status, and literary expression (favoring poetry), the same cannot be said of Eckhart and Ruusbroec, whose common sources and apparent identity of concerns do more to separate these two than unite them. Further, the distinction between a mysticism that is called "feminine" or "emotional," and a mysticism that is called "masculine" or "speculative" theoretically sets up additional dissonances within each group.

1. Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism As a Cultural and Historical Entity

The "Rhineland mysticism" of Eckhart, Suso, and Tauler existed in a complex social and religious context that has been partially obscured by historiographical categories.

a) Nuptial Mysticism and Mysticism of Essence. It is necessary to reconsider the traditional distinction between the "bridal" mysticism of the women*, Beguines or nuns (*minne-Mystik*), and the "intellectual" mysticism of the men, monks or theologians. The most immediate question has to do with the biblical texts underlying the language of each of them. Two texts can be identified, around which works, practices, and even religious orders were organized: the Song of Songs and the Prologue to the Gospel according to Saint John. Before becoming "feminine," Rhineland-Flemish bridal mysticism was Cistercian, because it was nourished by the works of Bernard* of Clairvaux on the Song of Songs. This source in particular provided one of the central themes of Hadewijch and Beatrice, the "without why" (*sonder enich waeromme*)—a formula that is found from Eckhart to Angelus Silesius—extending Bernard's argument in Sermon 83. 3 on the Song of Songs that "love wishes for no cause and no result other than itself." Speculative mysticism occupied a different literary space, that of the birth of the Word*, as expressed in John 1:11 (*in propria venit*, "he came to his own"), and it was there

that was located the theology* of the indwelling of the essence or depths of the soul* (*Seelengrund, abditum mentis*) that played a decisive role for Eckhart and his followers.

b) Spiritual Movements and Heretical Tendencies. Rhineland mysticism derived largely from the encounter between professional theologians charged with the *cura animarum* and their female audiences, nuns and Beguines, often grouped around houses of mendicant friars who guaranteed their protection. Eckhart, for example, had spiritual responsibility for 75 convents of Dominican nuns of the Dominican tertiary order of Alsace and Switzerland and of some 85 Beguine houses of Strasbourg sheltering approximately one thousand women. In parallel to the Beguines*, the rise of Rhineland-Flemish mysticism gave rise to a male movement, the Beghards. In the time of Eckhart, Suso, and Tauler, the Beghards and some Beguines established a powerful movement that spread widely in Germany: the “sect” of the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit and Voluntary Poverty. The doctrines of the Free Spirit, which are known to us through the *Determinatio* of Albert* the Great on the heresy* of Ries (taking a position on a list of 97 heretical theses, which the leader of the German Dominican school traced back generally to Pelagianism* and Manicheanism*), also bring out very clearly the theme that was most widespread in Rhineland mysticism: the “deification” or “divinization” of man. The Free Spirit, however, understood deification as a process of *personal* realization, independent of the sacraments* and of the infused gifts of grace*. Although Eckhart himself was vigorously opposed to the doctrines of the sect, the supporters of the Free Spirit used his authority to spread their ideas. This involuntary sponsorship probably played a role in the Inquisition’s proceeding against Eckhart in 1326, which led in 1329 to his condemnation by the Avignon pope* John XXII (constitution *In Agro dominico*). Eckhart’s opposition to the Free Spirit cannot be put in doubt. The Free Spirit professed deification without grace (Council of Vienna* VI, 6), in distinguishing the *incipientes*, the *proficientes*, and the *perfecti*. It asserted that once the end had been reached, the perfect were deified and should be the object of a cult* of adoration. Moreover, it reserved deification for a few of the elect, whereas for Eckhart, in contrast, every man should become a son of God* and thus be “by grace” what the Son is “by nature.” Eckhart also criticized two other positions of the Beghards: the confusion between blind free will and freedom, and the assertion of the futility of works* (Council of Vienna VI, 2). For Eckhart, works led to eternal beatitude*, and the practice of virtue* was not characteristic of imper-

fect man (contrary to the claims of the Free Spirit). Suso, Tauler, and Ruusbroec repeated and amplified these criticisms.

2. Major Themes of Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism

The originality of Rhineland mysticism lay in its exploration of the theological links between Trinitarian indwelling, the transforming union of the soul with God in knowledge* and love*, and the beatific vision*. The difficulty of this mysticism is thus not that it calls on extraordinary “experiences”; rather, the difficulty is a genuinely theological one. To this is added the difficulty of language and style, the obscurity of certain formulations, and the false impression of homogeneity created by the reading of works that are often linked to one another.

a) Uncreated and Created Grace. The central intuition of Rhineland mysticism is nonetheless clear. It is articulated in a thesis that has become an adage: “God became man so that man might become God.” This is the unity of two graces, the grace of the Incarnation* and the grace of indwelling, considered as constitutive of the ontology of the Christian mystery*. This intuition extends the teaching of the Fathers* of the Church, who maintained with Irenaeus* of Lyons that the motive for the Incarnation was the deification of man: “This is the reason for which the Word became man, and the Son of God Son* of man, so that man, by joining himself to the Word and thereby receiving adoptive filiation, might become the son of God” (*Adv. Haer.* III. 19. 1). By “deification” or “justification*,” the Rhineland mystics understood the indwelling of the entire Trinity* in the “soul of the just”—what they also called the gift of “uncreated grace.” For them, the indwelling was not limited to the gift of “sanctifying” grace, since in the gift they had in mind, the Holy* Spirit, was considered as indwelling man: it was the divine Person* itself that was given to us and not only the gifts of that Person (i.e., “created grace”).

b) Meister Eckhart, Johannes Tauler, and Deification. Because it is centered on the two graces of the Incarnation and indwelling, Eckhart’s mysticism is essentially Christocentric. Expounded in the theme of the birth of the Word or Son in the soul (theogenesis), it is presented in the form of a “mysticism of Christmas.” A spirituality with both a practical and a contemplative orientation, it sees in Christ* the one who brings to preeminent realization all the virtues by which the corresponding deification of the Christian is accomplished: humility, poverty of spirit, inner nobility. Christ, the new Adam*, is the prototype of the Christian, of man restored in the plenitude of a nature

brought back to the time before sin*, a prototype of the man renewed by grace in humility, poverty, and nobility. Christ on the cross is thus not at the heart of Eckhart's mysticism. Eckhart's Christ is "beyond joy and sorrow," "detached," and "abandoned" in a genuine "freedom," the freedom of the "depths of the soul" (*Seelengrund*). What Eckhart proposes as a model to the Christian is less Christ's suffering than his "detachment" (*Abgeschiedenheit*) and his "abandonment" (*Gelâzenheit*) in the heart of all action and all passion. Eckhart's mysticism is thus expressed in a simple formula condensing a whole series of theological developments: the humble, poor, and noble man is a detached man abandoned in the "Unique One" (*Einic-ein*). It does not, however, reject any of the common practices or exercises or works supposed to "realize" the life of the Christian: prayer*, the Eucharist*, and the taking of the sacraments (Eckhart wrote an apology for frequent Communion). The same doctrine is found in the preaching of Johannes Tauler.

c) *Suso and the Mysticism of the Passion.* Although he defended the most speculative aspects of Eckhart's mysticism in his *Little Book of Truth*, Suso's later works effected a radical change. The heart of his mystical doctrine is given in a new definition of "true abandonment": "An abandoned (*gelassener*) man must be stripped of any form (*entbildet*) recalling created being, be conformed (*gebildet*) to Christ, and transformed (*überbildet*) into the deity*." The change that takes place between Eckhart and Suso has to do with the notion of "conformation." For Eckhart, abandonment, that is, the "transcendence of images," "unknowing knowledge," "poverty of spirit," is the only way to come into "conformity with Christ." For Suso, on the other hand, the way is the way of suffering taken as a sign of total abnegation of one's own will. The *Gelâzenheit* to which Eckhart and his follower Suso both refer thus does not have the same meaning: when Eckhart speaks of "conforming oneself to Christ," he is thinking of his divinity; when Suso speaks of it, he is thinking of his suffering humanity. The "transforming union" does not therefore crown the same kind of structure. According to Eckhart we must abandon ourselves by allowing the Word to be born in the depths of our soul, we must engender Christ in ourselves. For Suso it is necessary "to become an expressive image of the Crucified One." These are two models of mystical theology, one focused on *deification*, the other on the *Passion**.

d) *Ruusbroec and Common Life.* The watchword of Ruusbroec's mysticism is "common" life. By this expression, Ruusbroec understands the life of the "com-

mon man," the man who enters into the eternal communion* of the Trinity with all the saints and tastes there a "fructifying beatitude" in which there are "no distinctions." The common man who lives in the Son, his eternal image, "contemplates and savors the Trinitarian union" in an essential unity with God, which, contrary to some intuitions of Rhineland mysticism, does not point to the "transcendence of God in God." Ruusbroec's mysticism is not a mysticism of the One, but a Trinitarian mysticism: the communion of the Father*, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is the dwelling place of common life, its "reality." It is therefore not surprising, despite their superficial kinship, that Eckhart's and Ruusbroec's mysticism came into conflict. In fact, while Ruusbroec, like the Rhineland mystics, was a determined opponent of the Free Spirit (which he attacked in the person of "la Bloemardinne" and her followers), he showed at least an equal reserve toward Eckhart's doctrines. In the *Spiritual Weddings*, he attacked Eckhart's "emptiness" while denouncing the "natural repose" that a man may reach if he has "succeeded in stripping and abstracting himself from all images," "in detaching himself from all activity in relation to superior powers." In Ruusbroec's view, one reaches this repose "without the grace of God." His denunciation of the "leisure" that "Jews and pagans" may attain, "as well as all men, however bad they may be," clearly indicates his perspective: the "quest for God through desire" and the "encounter with God through the love of fruition," contrasted to a "natural repose" in which Ruusbroec thinks that the loving man neither can nor should stop, "because charity and the inner motion of divine grace are never appeased." It is because he believes that he sees a kind of quietism* or what might be termed today a *natural* mysticism in Eckhart, that Ruusbroec's follower, Jan van Leeuwen, also concentrated his attacks on what he called Eckhart's "false emptiness."

3. Posterity of Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism

Despite the condemnation of Eckhart in 1329, Rhineland and Rhineland-Flemish mysticism had a wide posterity. It influenced Luther* through the *Frankfurt Unknown* (or *Theologia germanica*). It also marked John* of the Cross, who knew the *Spiritual Institutions* of Pseudo-Tauler, translated into Latin by Surius (*Opera Tauleri* [Köln, 1548]) and published in Spanish in Coimbra in 1551. Thanks to the translation of Tauler's *Sermons* by Surius, dedicated to Philip II, which was in fact an anthology of northern mysticism, John became familiar with the theme of the "depths of the soul" (*fondo del alma*) and with most of the other themes of Eckhart and Tauler: the abandonment of powers ("so that the soul becomes absolutely empty,

naked, pure, and separate”); the idea that God is the agent and man the patient, and “that once the obstacles have been removed and the soul is in a state of expectation, God cannot fail to flow into it, placing himself as it were in its power.” In Germany the most notable continuation of Rhineland-Flemish mysticism was in the *Cherubic Pilgrim* of Johannes Silesius, in anticipation of the “rediscoveries” made by Schopenhauer in the 19th century and by Heidegger* in the 20th.

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See also **Beguines; Christ and Christology; Contemplation; Deity; Devotio moderna; Intellectualism; Mysticism; Vienna, Council of; Voluntarism**

Richard of Saint-Victor. See **Saint-Victor, School of**

Richer, Edmond. See **Gallicanism**

Ricoeur, Paul. See **Hermeneutics**

Rigorism. *See Alphonsus Liguori; Casuistry*

Rites, Chinese

The “rites argument” troubled the world of missionaries in China for a century, from 1643 to 1742. It was at the confluence of many theological and philosophical debates (up to Malebranche’s *Entretien d’un philosophe chrétien et d’un philosophe chinois* of 1708) in a Christian Europe that had been challenged by its encounter with an older culture, one whose self-sufficient wisdom demanded that it be approached with caution and respect. A break with missionary Europeanism had to be made.

In reality the rites argument was concerned with two principal questions: the name* of God* in Chinese and Confucian rites. Everything had begun in the Middle Kingdom with the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). After becoming an expert among learned men, he had slowly developed a method for the cultural adaptation of Christian discourse by relying on Confucian humanism. He thought he could detect in the Confucianism of Chinese antiquity a natural religion (deism*) still bearing the traces of the primitive Adamic revelation*; elsewhere, he acknowledged that Confucian rites had a purely civil character. His successors developed his method, which was characterized in particular by the choice of divine names taken from the Chinese classics and by authorization given to Christians to participate in certain familial and social rites.

Dominican missionaries began appearing in China in 1632, soon followed by Franciscans. Having access to less cultivated segments of society that were more inclined toward superstitious practices, they were soon accusing the Jesuits of tolerating participation by Christians in “Chinese rites” suspected of “idolatry*.” In 1643 the Dominican J.-B. Morales sparked the rites dispute by informing the Congregation De propaganda fide. The debate stirred intellectual Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. In Paris the Jesuit L. Le Comte defended the cause of “Chinese rites” against the objections of the Sorbonne. In 1700 he attempted to explain

that these rites had no purpose but to “render honor to the dead, to Confucius.” In them, according to Le Comte, there was “not a feeling of religion,” but a “spirit of gratitude.” Finally, on 11 July 1742, after many hesitations, with alternating prohibitions and concessions, Benedict XIV condemned Chinese rites in the bull *Ex quo singulari*, rescinded the earlier permissions, and manifested his express intention to demand obedience by requiring that missionaries take an oath that they would no longer tolerate such practices.

It was only two centuries later, in 1939, that the instruction *Plane compertum* of Pius XII recognized that the rites belonged to the “civil” realm, thereby nullifying the 1742 decision. The rites dispute witnessed the confrontation of different conceptions of salvation*, involving the conflict between nature* and grace* and between humanism and prophetism. In its concern to integrate with the Chinese ritual order, did the humanism of the Jesuits alter the dynamism of grace? Pascal* thought so, and in the fifth of his *Lettres provinciales* went so far as to accuse the Jesuits of “suppressing the scandal of the cross.” The Leibniz* of *Novissima Sinica*, for his part, defended the Jesuit cause. The rites dispute represents a typical, but not novel, case of the tension inherent in any attempt at inculturation*. If the proclamation of the gospel can make itself heard only by becoming a cultural fact, how far short of the limits of cultural embodiment must it be kept in order not to compromise the integrity of the Christian message?

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See also **Deism and Theism; Idolatry; Inculturation; Mission/Evangelization; Name; Natural Theology; Religions, Theology of**

Romanism. *See* **Ultramontanism**

Rome

a) Origins of the Roman Church. The first uncontested evidence of the presence of Christians in the capital of the Roman Empire is the letter addressed by Paul in 55–58 to the believers of the city (*urbs*).

The testimonies cited in order to locate in the 40s the first references to Christianity in Rome are more doubtful: thus, Suetonius (*V. Claudii* 25, 4) mentions the expulsion from the city—in 49, during the reign of Claudius (Orosius, *Hist.* VII, 6, 15)—“of the Jews who were fomenting trouble at the instigation of Chrestus.” Could this be seen as a way of alluding to Christian preaching*? This is a hypothesis that Acts 18:2–3 would seem to corroborate—provided at least Aquila and Priscilla had adhered to the new faith* prior to their encounter with Paul. It is a possibility. On the other hand, it does not seem acceptable to link Peter*’s liberation from the prison of Herod Agrippa I, some time between 41 and 44 (Acts 12:17), and his coming to Rome, on the basis of Jerome’s *Chronique* (GCS 47, Ed. R. Helm, §179), which places that arrival in 42.

The Epistle to the Romans does not allow us to determine with accuracy the characteristics of the first Roman community: initially, the first Christian implant must certainly have occurred within the large, active, and very mobile Jewish diaspora of the city. The themes of the letter (the relationship between Jews and Christians of the nations) and the onomastics of Paul’s

correspondents (at least if Romans 16, where he greets by name 26 “brothers and sisters,” is indeed part of that letter) testify to this, but there is no indication whatsoever as to the way this community is organized. In any case, when chronology is examined rigorously (*see* Ambrosiaster, *Ad Romanos*, CSEL LXXXI, p. 6, l. 13–16), it is clear that neither Paul nor probably Peter (who is not mentioned at all in Romans) were present at the origin of the Roman church*.

Paul arrived in Rome a few years after having written the Epistle to the Romans. He remained there confined to his house for a period of two years, during which he was able to instruct his visitors (Acts 28:30–31), and, according to a hypothesis suggested by a few exegetes, he composed a certain number of the “captivity epistles” (Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon?); and if so, perhaps together with the evangelist Luke (Col 4:14; Phlm 24; 2 Tm 4:11). This stay in Rome, followed perhaps by a resumption of traveling, either toward the Iberian peninsula or the East, started to inspire, in the second century and among Eastern Christian communities, hagiographic accounts that were quick to compensate for the silence of Luke’s account (Acts of Paul). Peter, also, was at the center of comparable narratives which showed him being challenged by Simon Magus on the banks of the River Tiber (Acts of Peter). It is not known when the apos-

tle* reached Rome. There he wrote—or rather, most probably inspired—his First Epistle, a letter addressed to the Christians of Asia Minor. In a tone that is, in some aspects, close to that of Romans, this Epistle devotes itself to defining clearly the foundations and the content of life in Christ*. Mark may have gathered at that moment, directly from Peter's mouth, some recollections that he used for the composition of his Gospel* (Papias *ap.* Eusebius, *HE* III, 39, 14–17). In any case, Peter, like Paul, suffered martyrdom* in Rome, most probably at some point between the major fire of the city in 64—which Nero blamed on the Christians—and Nero's death in 68.

If Peter's stay in Rome was an uncontested fact in ancient times (*see* Clement of Rome, *Ep. ad Cor.* 5, 3–7; Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Rom.* IV, 3; Dionysius of Corinth *ap.* Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE* II, XXV, 8), that was not to be the case in some Waldensian* circles. From the second third of the 13th century, under the umbrella of a vigorous criticism of the Constantinian church (J. Gonnet - A. Molnar, *Les vaudois au Moyen Age*, Turin, 1974), these circles started casting doubt on the truth of Peter's presence in Rome. Their skepticism found an echo with Marsilius of Padua, then later with some Reformed Christians, and even with a few historians of the first half of the 20th century. Today the debate is closed, having been decided in favor of the ancient accounts (Cullmann 1953).

As far as Roman memory is concerned, it is the martyrdom of the two apostles that signals the founding of the church in the city. There is evidence that in 258, on 29 June, there occurred for the first time a celebration marking in common the martyrdom of both Peter and Paul, who were thus associated, on the same day, in this supreme event.

b) Emergence of Self-Representation of the Roman Church (Second and Third Centuries). On the basis of the double apostolic martyrdom, a sort of very special self-consciousness was born and grew quickly in the Roman community, in a way that had no identifiable parallel in any other Christian community whatsoever, at least as far as available sources are concerned; the case of Jerusalem* is poorly documented. We are considering here a mere sketch in a developing process that would require a thousand subtle nuances for a proper description: indeed, an ecclesiological conviction can occur only when speeches and ecclesial practices come into play inseparably (internal evolution of each church, and first of all that of Rome; changes in relations between the various churches; and the relationships of churches to political, social, and cultural shifts). With the church of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul—from around 200, a first monumental-

ization of the “apostles’ trophies” (Gaius *ap.* Eusebius, *HE* II, XXV, 7) inscribed in the Roman topography the founding gesture—the community of the city believed itself to be entrusted with a particular sort of authority*, understood first, in its Latin meaning, as “the power to authenticate and to increase the scope of an account” (Pietri 1976), in this case that of the apostles. The Christian groups of the *urbs* were of a great diversity and vitality in the second century and at the beginning of the third: the fame of the Roman church (*see* Origen* *ap.* Eusebius, *HE* VI, 14, 10) and the prestige of the “imperial city” converged to attract to Rome peripatetic theologians and preachers, originating mainly from the Greek East (Valentinus, Cerdo, Marcion, Theodotus, Justin, Tatian, Hegesippus, Praxeas, Aberkios, etc.). And in this “great laboratory” (G. La Piana), the notions of apostolic tradition* and succession underwent a remarkable development. Out of this came the elaboration of a list of incumbents in the *episkopè*, a concomitant, or almost, of the establishment of the monoepiscopate around the middle of the second century (*see* Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* III, 3, 2–3). A sole president succeeded a collegial administration of the community in the city; the incumbent of that presidency could rightfully be called bishop*. From then on, the burgeoning Roman belief in the church of the city as the authorized trustee of the apostolic tradition and as its interpreter par excellence, found the pastor* of this community to be its most zealous spokesman. Reading *Ep. ad Cor.* by Clement of Rome, then a letter by Dionysius of Corinth to his Roman namesake (*ap.* Eusebius, *HE* II, XXV, 8 et IV, 23, 9–11), and finally the record of the conflict between Victor of Rome and Polycrates of Ephesus regarding the way of determining the date of Easter (Eusebius, *HE* V, 24) is useful in this respect: it allows us to measure the distance covered in one century by the assertiveness of the Roman church in its hold on the essential responsibility it was demanding: it wanted to be a privileged center of reference for the control of ecclesial unity*, and to that effect it made use of circumstances and solicitations of all sorts. Similarly, reading these documents allows us to be informed on the obvious resistance that was aroused among the Eastern Christian communities by the claims of the Roman church. That resistance resulted from the fact that the Eastern Christian communities could often boast equally well of their own apostolic foundation.

The third century played a fundamental role in the forming of the legacy of arguments, themes, and images meant to support the assertiveness of the Roman church. There was an increasingly frequent use of Matthew 16:18 f. in a number of churches, which was intended to legitimize episcopal authority (Tertullian*,

De pudicitia 21, 9–10; Cyprian*, *Ep.* 33, 1; 43, 5, 2; 75, 16, 1). As a probable consequence of this, Peter became the main source of the Roman apostolic succession, which meant that in the long run he came to be considered as the first bishop of the city. The debates from 250 to 257 regarding the matter of the *lapsi* who had left the church at the time of the persecutions and who were asking to be readmitted (Novatian crisis), and principally those debates pertaining to the validity of the baptism* of these schismatics, brought the Roman bishops into particular conflict with the African bishops, who were led by Cyprian of Carthage. This was a decisive moment. Stephen of Rome, pastor of a community that constituted by far the most important association in the city (Eusebius, *HE* VI, 43, 11; Cyprian, *Ep.* 55, 9, 1), defended the Roman position with increasing firmness. That position claimed that “the unity of faith and church finds diversity inappropriate and takes unity of discipline more or less for granted” (Pietri 1976). This position necessarily implied that the apostolic tradition should be closely tied to the Roman tradition, but that was not all: Stephen of Rome wanted to monopolize Matthew 16:18 f. to the sole profit of the Roman see. From then on, the concept of the Roman primacy (*primatus*) was launched (see Firmilian of Caesarea *ap.* Cyprian, *Ep.* 75; the two writings by Cyprian of *De unitate ecclesiae* 4–5).

c) *On the Way to the Triumph of Roma Christiana (from Constantine to Leo the Great).* The “new Constantinian context,” which manifested itself in the period after the persecutions by Diocletian and the battle of the Milvian Bridge (28 October 312), meant, for the Roman church, an exceptional contribution by the emperor and by his family toward the material establishment of Roman Christendom (Lateran Cathedral and Baptistry, basilicas at the tombs of Peter, Paul, Lawrence, Agnes, and Marcellinus and Peter). These new developments, followed by episcopal and private initiatives, allowed the bishop of the city to create, in a very pragmatic way, a pastoral system that, in the West, was increasingly taking on the appearance of a missionary model: this was based as much on the old division of the urban space into ecclesiastical regions as on the meticulous inventory of the martyrs’ holy bodies dispersed in the cemeteries *extra muros* (see the action of Damasus, bishop from 366 to 384). The appearance in Rome—one of the principal crucibles, from the third century, for the invention of a specifically Christian imagery—of a body of figurative representations showing the gesture of Peter, who was often assimilated to Moses, guide of the Hebrew people* during the Exodus) is a silent commentary on the progress accomplished by Christianization in the *urbs*.

With the unfolding of events, the Roman church adapted to the customs of the Christian empire, from the Roman arbitration at the time of the early signs of the Donatist exile in 313, through the first Imperial Council* of Arles in 314, and up to the exile, in 356, of Liberius, victim of Constantine II’s caesaropapism. Although invited to the Arles council, Pope Sylvester I took no part in it, except through his legates; he thus inaugurated the kind of attitude toward these gatherings that would continue to be that taken by the Roman bishops in the fourth and fifth centuries. The various episodes of the Arian crisis, in which Rome was closely involved from 338, as well as the highly varied demands of the churches and the imperial authorities, contributed to the outlining—not without twists and turns, should conflicts arise among persons with rival ambitions and sometimes rival ecclesiologies—of the features, both real and theoretical, of a Roman primacy that was variously exercised and perceived depending on the occasion and on the Christian communities concerned and their traditions. From the time of Damasus the primacy was assisted by the establishment of a pontifical chancery, by the development of a true “theology of law*” (Pietri), and by bringing together dossiers of *dicta probantia* regarding one or other question. The first decretals (*Ep. ad Gallos*; Innocent, *Ep. ad Decentium*), intended for the promotion of the discipline of the “Apostolic See”—this designation appeared under Liberius (352–66) and gradually became general—are one of the major illustrations of this.

The multifaceted and decisive rise enjoyed by the Roman church saw its climax during the episcopate of Leo the Great (440–61). The unprecedented success obtained by the dogmatic canons of Chalcedon* (451) was echoed by the transfiguration that Leo effected in the *urbs* with his sermons: the city was no longer the Babylon excoriated by 1 Peter 5:13; it was no longer the city born from fratricide; it had become the “holy nation, the Chosen People, the priestly and royal city*, the head of the universe, thanks to the Holy See of the blessed Peter (*Serm.* 82, 1). In this unifying rereading of the history of the *urbs*, , by reworking many of the themes mentioned above, Leo celebrated the wedding of the city and the church, the triumph of *Roma Christiana*.

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MICHEL-YVES PERRIN

See also **City; Jerusalem; Peter; Political Theology; Pope**

Roscelin of Compiègne. *See* **Anselm of Canterbury; Realism; Tritheism**

Rosmini-Serbati, Antonio. *See* **Ontologism**

Ruusbroec, Jan van. *See* **Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism**

S

Sabbath

1. Biblical Theology

The sabbath is a day that should be “sanctified” (*qdsh*), “kept” (*shmr*). Assimilated in the Torah with the seventh day (*yôm shevî’î*), the sabbath is a day of rest on which all work is prohibited; breaking the sabbath is punishable by death* (Ex 31:15; *see also* Nm 15:32–36). The prophets* and the Chronicler often associate the sabbath with the new moon (*chodesh*) and warn against its profanation (*chillel*). In the New Testament, the sabbath enters into competition with “the first day of the week” (Acts 20:7).

a) Philology. The etymology of the Hebrew term *shabbât* (feminine) is obscure. Genesis 2:2–3 seems to connect it to the verb *shâvat*, “to be idle, to stop working” (*see* Ex 31:17; Lv 23:32), but the derivation is philologically unexplainable, as is the derivation based on the figure seven (in Hebrew, *shèva’*). The Aramaic *shabbât* has been compared to the Acadian *shapattu*, designating the full moon; to the Aramaic *shb*, “revolve”; and to a verb *shbb* attested in Arabic with the meaning “to grow,” but no consensus has been reached on these possibilities. The late term *shabbâtôn* is sometimes associated with *shabbât* (Ex 31:15; Lv 23:3). In this form or alone, it also applies to certain days of rest associated with holy days—for example, Yom Kippur (Lv 16:31; *see also* Lv 23:24–39). *Sabbaton* in Greek is a transposition of the Hebrew. It also designates the week.

b) History. Since the Old Testament leaves us in ignorance as to the origin of the sabbath, various hypotheses are advanced. Attempts to explain it by a direct foreign influence (Babylonian, Canaanite, Kenite) have turned out to be unsatisfactory; the sabbath has no parallel in the ancient Orient. Though the weekly sabbath day of rest is cited in all the codes of law*, the institution is not necessarily very ancient. Today, two periods are generally distinguished; it is supposed that before the exile (sixth century B.C.), the sabbath designated the holiday of the full moon, matching the neomenia, or new moon, with which it frequently appears in texts from that period (Hos 2:13; Am 8:5). During the period of exile, according to this theory, the sabbath became the weekly day of rest. There may have been a day of rest for humanitarian reasons before the exile (Ex 23:12; Dt 5:14). If this is so, it would suggest a fusion of the two practices. Whatever the case may be, priestly elements were essential in the development of the sabbath as a central institution of Judaism* (Is 56:1–7; Neh 13:15–22). Sabbath observance was the subject of a casuistry* in first-century Judaism, which left traces in the New Testament and in Talmudic writings. The first Christians continued to practice the sabbath until Sunday* was imposed.

c) Meanings. The essential nature of the precept* of the sabbath is indicated by its central position in both

versions of the Ten Commandments (Ex 20:8–11; Dt 5:12–15), with different meanings in each version.

In Exodus 20:11, the interruption of work* is related to God*'s resting on the seventh day of creation* (Gn 2:2–3). The Creator stopped working and assumed a limitation, showing that his power is gentle by mastering his own mastery. And by withdrawing, he liberated a space for that which is other—the universe and especially mankind. In this sense, the sabbath is the day when man shows that he renounces his illusions of superpower and makes room for alterity and the possibility of justice in relations.

In Deuteronomy 5:15, the sabbath is a memorial of the liberation from bondage in Egypt. The seventh day is the day when the Israelite stops working to manifest the liberty* received from YHWH. But this day of rest is also valid for his dependents (Dt 5:14); on the sabbath, man puts his power in the service of the liberty of others, as YHWH used his power to favor the liberty of Israel*. To honor God is to limit one's action by refusing to make one's own house a house of servitude. The practice of sabbatical and jubilee years has a comparable meaning (Lv 25).

Consenting to limits of power and the profits and prestige it produces and recognizing the Other seem to be central elements of the sabbath symbolism. They are the two essential parameters of all covenants*. Thus, it is no surprise that the sabbath is presented as the sign of the covenant between Israel and YHWH. The fact that breaking the sabbath is punished by death emphasizes that the practice of the spirit of the sabbath is vital (Jer 17:19–27; Ez 20:12–13). Conversely, observance of the sabbath opens the door of the chosen people even to foreigners (Is 56:2–7, 58:13–14).

In the New Testament, while retaining the profound meaning of the sabbath as the day when man honors God by working for the dignity and the liberty of his brothers (Mk 1:21–28; Lk 13:10–17; Jn 5:17), Jesus* revitalizes the institution as such (Mk 2:27–28). Hebrews 4:1–11 does the same in offering an eschatological reading of sabbath rest in which it is a sign and prediction of a repose that God constantly offers to his own (commentary on Ps 95:11). The Christian Churches* gave preference to Sunday, the first day of the week, the day of Christ's resurrection*.

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See also Decalogue; Ecology; Jesus, Historical; Law; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Time; Work

2. History and Systematic Theology

The sabbath, a Jewish cultural institution from which the preaching* of Jesus* took away meaning rather than add to it—to say the least—does not figure in an obvious, necessary way among Christian theological objects. The Jewish origin of the first Christian communities, combined with an autocomprehension that the new "Way" had nothing to renounce in that origin, explains why these communities respected the sabbath. Nonetheless, Christian time* is a "dominical" time that borrows its meaning in that of the commemoration of death* and resurrection and that is organized weekly around Sunday*, which is both the "eighth day," the first day of the week, the day of the resurrection, and the day of Eucharistic *synaxis*. Christian liturgies* hardly kept any memory of the sabbath that is the last day of the Jewish week, and theologians pointedly criticized the vetero-testamentary institution of the sabbath. Referring to John 5:17 it is asserted that the God* of Jesus Christ worked without interruption. It was said that the sabbath was given to the Jews because they are hard-hearted; it was unknown to the patriarchs (*see, e.g., Justin, Dial.* 9, 6; 27, 3; 46, 2–3). The sabbath's essential cultural content is henceforth extended to the totality of Christian time (Tertullian*, *Adv. Jud.* 4, 1–5). Or, arguing from Colossians 2:16, the Jewish sabbath was described as but a "shadow" (or "type" or "image") of the eschatological sabbath (*e.g., Origen*, part. Hom. in Num.* 23, 4).

The Christian Church, outlawed or barely tolerated, had to wait until the Peace of the Church and the decision of Constantine in 321 to make Sunday a day of rest on the Jewish model. Although they could do nothing to change it, some in monastic circles, hostile to all laziness, were reticent about this development (Jerome, *Ep.* 108, 20, 3; Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 59, 2; Benedict, *Reg.* 48, 22). In fact, the sabbath turned from an "image" into a model for the Christian Sunday (Eusebius of Caesarea, *Comm. in Ps* 91 [92]; John Chrysostom, *In Gen. Hom.* 10, 7; Eusebius of Arles, *Sermo* 16, etc.). By the sixth century an equivalence

was established between the sabbath and Sunday (Césaire d'Arles, *Sermo* 10, 3, 5, 2nd Mâcon synod, can. 1, Narbonne synod of, can. 4).

Sunday was seen first as a day of rest, compulsory rest, inscribed in the laws of the Church and the empire as well. Of course the liturgical meanings and exigencies were never obscured. Because Sunday is the day when profane and laborious relations are suspended, it is the day when the Christian can and must "attend to God." The precept* itself remained rather thin: abstain from "servile works"* and participate in the eucharistic assembly (see *CEC* 2192–93). This rudimentary legislation explains why Christianity never developed a casuistry* of Sunday comparable to the Jewish casuistry of the sabbath. But it was not until recent theology* that the eucharistic meaning of Sunday predominated over its sabbatical meaning.

A remarkable case of sabbatization arose in English and Scottish Protestantism*. In 1595, N. Bound, in *The True Doctrine of the Sabbath*, strongly argued in favor of strict application of the vetero-testamentary precepts, or "sabbatarianism" (see Cox 1853). The argument was widely accepted in Puritan circles. Lengthy public controversies followed in the course of which the Puritan sabbath was imposed three times by the legislature (in 1644, 1650, and 1655), with regulations prohibiting all forms of entertainment on Sunday. The Puritan Sunday was attenuated by Charles II in the Restoration, practiced in extreme forms in Scotland, and did not really fade out until the end of the 19th century.

Finally, in the 20th century, two factors—liturgical renewal in Catholicism* and a new theological interest in the Jewish experience in all Christianity—led to a fine distinction of eucharistic meanings and sabbatical meanings, a rejuvenated theology of Sunday as the eucharistic day, and a first Christian reception* of the Jewish spirituality of the sabbath. Whereas medieval theology treated the sabbath only within the elaboration of criteria for defining elements of Jewish law that remain valid and those that are no longer binding on Christians (the solely "ceremonial" precepts), the contemporary rediscovery of Israel*, ratified and stimulated by the Second Vatican Council, is a discovery of the mystery* of Israel, and with regard to the sabbath, it is primarily a question of spirituality.

Under the powerful influence of Abraham Heschel, the sabbath no longer appeared as a tissue of legalistic constraints. Distinct from the pagan *otium* or *ataraxie*, a theological experience of the day of rest lends itself to development in such a way that Christianity can adopt it

as its own (Sales 1994). Some Christian communities, generally issuing from charismatic renewal, adopted a sabbath liturgy conceived as a vetero-testamentary preparation of the neotestamentary joy of Sunday (e.g., the community of the Beatitudes; see Doze 1993).

Though a Christian theology of time is commonly organized by the temporal horizons of the eucharistic celebration (memorial, anticipation, and sacramental presence of the eschaton), the thematic of the sabbath seems indispensable for the appearance of other temporal horizons—such as that of life created and blessed by God, which man can enjoy peacefully in praising the gift that gave him to himself (see J.-Y. Lacoste, *RMM* 100 [1995], 198–200; *CEC* 2169–72). Then the sabbath is not seen as a Jewish reality replaced by the Christian reality of Sunday or as a vetero-testamentary rough version of the Christian Sunday but as an ensemble of meaningful gestures that can be received by Christians with respect for its specific religious intention. Moreover, respect for the sabbath is inscribed in a decalogue* where theology classically sees the expression of a "natural law" that obliges all men as men. Therefore, the sabbath gives food for thought not only to liturgical theology and the liturgical pastoral but more broadly to the philosophy of religion* and the theology of religions.*

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See also **Cult; Sunday; Time; Work**

Sabbelianism. *See* Modalism

Sacrament

1. *The Semantic Field of Mustèrion and Sacramentum*

The Greek word *mustèrion*, translated in the Latin Bibles* by its Latin cognate *mysterium* or by *sacramentum* (e.g., Eph 5:32), is at the origin of our word *sacrament*. *Mustèrion* is relatively rare in the Old Testament (appearing approximately 15 times); it is found only in late works coming out of either apocalyptic* literature (nine times, e.g., in Daniel), in which it designates the revelation by God*, through dreams and visions, of his secret purpose for the definitive establishment of his kingdom, or from the tradition of wisdom* texts (three times in the Wisdom of Solomon), where we can detect a Hellenistic transposition of the term that comes from the language of the mystery cults to integrate itself into the language of the initiation into *sophia*. The 28 occurrences of the term in the New Testament depend principally on the Jewish apocalyptic usage: the disciples (Mt 13:11; Mk 4:11) or Paul (Eph 3:2–6) are the recipients of the revelation* of the “mystery*” of God in the world in the person of Jesus Christ, which authorizes Paul to assimilate “the mystery of Christ*” to the “mystery of God” (Col 2:2; Eph 5:32); furthermore, he can extend the term to the Church*, to the Church as spousally united to Christ (Eph 5:32) and as eschatologically gathering the peoples in him by the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile (Eph 3:5f.). As a result, although “mystery” still to some degree connotes a secret of God concerning his “benevolent purpose” for the world* (Eph 1:9), it is no longer intended, like the pagan mysteries, to be hidden. On the contrary, it is the subject of a public proclamation (Rom 16:25f.), and it is now made visible even among the Gentiles (because the mystery is “Christ among you”; Col 1:27); and the apostolic ministry* has precisely no other purpose but “to proclaim the mystery of the gospel” (Eph 6:19), in the ministers’ capacity as “stewards of the mystery of God” (1 Cor 4:1).

It is notable that “mystery” is never used in the New Testament in a cultic sense; the mystery is entered into by “the grace* of God” (Eph 3:2, 8) and not through the activity of a master mystagogue. Nevertheless, its essential link to the person* of Christ, as well as to the body of the Church, because of that entity’s dependence on Christ, or even (at least indirectly) to the apostolic ministry, left the door open to a broader usage, encompassing the mediations through which mystery is proclaimed by the Church*, principally Baptism* and the Eucharist*. Nevertheless, it was to the Scriptures*, as the fundamental mediation of the revelation of God in Christ, that the fathers* of the church first applied the vocabulary of mystery. Indeed, the Scriptures contain a multiplicity of *mustèria/sacramenta* relating to Christ, to the Church, to moral life, and to eschatological consummation, which patristic exegesis* endeavored to decipher down to the smallest details. “*Sacramentum*, that is, any saying of the sacred writings” (Augustine*, *Ep.* 55. 38); “every term contains a *sacramentum*; in each word there is a *mysterium*” (Jerome, *Tract. in Ps.*, ed. Morin, *Anal. Mar.* 3, p. 33). All the Fathers, Greek as well as Latin, whether from Antioch or Alexandria, could have adopted these formulations. All of them read the great moments of the divine story narrated by the Scriptures (creation*, flood, sacrifice* of Abraham, story of Joseph, Exodus, and so on) as so many “mysteries” or “sacraments.” And all of them did so following 1 Corinthians 6:11, which stood as the fundamental principle for a Christian hermeneutics: all those events were a “figure” of the realization that would come in Christ.

The application of the vocabulary of mystery to the ritual activities of the Church was slower in coming. It was initiated, with a good deal of caution, early in the third century (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* IV. 1; see *Protr.* 12. 20) and went through a much greater development in the following century. This caution can

probably be explained by the risks of confusion with pagan mysteries; there was at the time a tendency “to exclude words that in one way or another were related to contemporary pagan cults” (Mohrmann 1958), which were in any case easily accused of being nothing but diabolical counterfeits of Christian rites (Justin, *1 Ap.* 25–27; 68). In the fourth century, on the other hand, a period when Christians adopted many symbols and metaphors from a paganism* that had lost its social force (see Jourjon, *MD* 119, 1974), “mystery” or “sacrament” (often equivalent terms for the Latin Fathers, e.g., in Augustine; see C. Couturier, *Études augustinienes*, 1953) very commonly designated not only the Scriptures but also Christian cult*, whether a ceremony as a whole (baptism, Eucharist, ordination*) or one particular element in it (anointing with holy oil*, sign of the cross, rite of salt, and so on).

It was Tertullian* who gave the Latin *sacramentum* official Christian status as a translation of the Greek *mustèrion*. However, *sacramentum* added a new legal color to the Greek (the first sense was a surety deposited in the temple by each of the two parties to a trial and the oath accompanying this deposit). It could easily be applied to Christian rites, beginning with baptism, the sacrament of the swearing of faith (*sacramentum fidei*). On the other hand, it brought along with it legal connotations that risked gradually cutting it off from the semantic domain of the “Word*,” whereas the Greek *mustèrion* had sufficient semantic strength to keep alive its relation to the *mustèria* of the Scripture.

This danger of distortion, however, became obvious only at the end of a long process of development. For during the first millennium (and even beyond), the feeling of the relation between the ritual mysteries and the biblical mysteries was so vivid that there was a constant movement with no discontinuity from Scriptures to liturgy, with ritual, to a large extent, seen as the presentation of the *sacramenta* of the Scriptures. The sacraments were also included within the vast and dynamic economy of salvation* attested to by the Scriptures; through the Holy Spirit*, they actualized that economy in a salvific event.

In the Syriac Churches, the term *raza* (plural *razé*), frequent in the fourth and fifth centuries in Aphraate, Ephrem, Theodore of Mopsueste, and Narsai, went through a development rather similar to that of the Greek *mustèrion*, with perhaps a greater emphasis on the dimension of the “hidden” or the “enigmatic” on the one hand and the eschatological dimension on the other (Dalmais 1990).

2. The Controversies over Baptism and Ordination

There were no controversies during the patristic period over what would later be called the efficacy of the

sacraments. Whether we read the *Apologies* of Justin or the eucharistic writings of Irenaeus* in the second century, Tertullian’s treatise or Cyprian*’s letters in the third century, or the mystagogic catecheses* of the Greeks or Latins in the fourth century, it appears everywhere that baptism, “sealed” by the laying on of hands* and/or chrismal anointing by the bishop* and completed by participation in the eucharistic body of Christ, marked the passage from the kingdom of death* and sin* to the kingdom of life and grace. Controversies had to do with other points, with the two major ones concerning the ecclesial conditions of this salvific efficacy and the question of infant baptism.

The first debate took place in the time of Cyprian, in the middle of the third century. Cyprian, followed by all the bishops of Africa, considered baptisms or ordinations carried out by schismatic or heretical groups (Novatians, Montanists, and so on) that had set themselves up as separate communities to be invalid. His argument was not on moral but on ecclesiological grounds: there was no Holy Spirit but in the Church, and without the Holy Spirit, no salvation was possible; therefore, those who had cut themselves off from the Church (who had broken the *unitas* or the *pax ecclesiae*), not having the Holy Spirit, could not bestow it: they had removed themselves from the possibility of salvation (see particularly *Ep.* 69, 70, 73). Therefore, those who returned to the *Catholica* had to be rebaptized (or reordained). As firm as Cyprian was in this position, Stephen, the bishop of Rome*, took the opposite position. He criticized the Africans for adopting a position that was not traditional: “there should be no innovation except according to what has been transmitted.” For someone returning from heresy*, it was enough to lay on hands “for penance”—“that he might receive the Holy Spirit” was a clarification made by the Council* of Arles in 314 (can. 8), whereas the Council of Nicaea (325) assumed the rebaptism of those who had been baptized with an orthodox formula interpreted in a heterodox way (can. 19) (*DS* 123, 127–28).

The controversy resumed in the fourth century with the Donatists (Donatism*), who proclaimed, relying on Cyprian, the invalidity of baptisms and ordinations conferred outside their Church. The theological problem was resolved by Augustine* by means of a three-fold distinction: 1) between Christ, who alone has the *potestas* to save and the baptizer who exercises only a simple *ministerium*, so that Christ acts “even through a bad minister”; 2) between the *sacramentum* and its effect (its *virtus*), so that the sacrament can be true (*non vacuum, non inane*—“valid” in the late Middle Ages in a more legalistic perspective) even if not spiritually fruitful; and, finally, 3) between the Church as “sacra-

mental communion*” (*communio sacramentorum*) and the Church as “spiritual communion” (*societas sanctorum*, communion of saints). The Donatists belonged to the former, and their sacraments were therefore “true,” and Augustine could say to them, “You are our brothers.” But they did not belong to the latter, which alone was animated by the Holy Spirit, and their sacraments were therefore unfruitful, devoid of salvific effects (see Congar 1963). The problem of ordination was treated according to the same principles.

Augustine’s contribution was twofold. On the one hand, he made it clear that the gift of God in the *sacramenta* is supremely free because it does not depend on the subjective dispositions of the minister or the receiving subject and, on the other, that the reception of this gift as a gift (its fruitfulness) depends on the personal dispositions of the subject: “Each one receives according to his faith*,” he writes, in this case speaking about baptism. The clarity of this position nevertheless has another side: can personal dispositions be totally separated in this way from the “validity*” of the sacrament? (On the views of the Greek Fathers, see Villette 1959.)

3. Isidore of Seville (Seventh Century) and the Sacrament as Secret

Particularly noteworthy in the early Middle Ages was the connection of *sacramentum* to *sacrum secretum* in the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (VI. 19), whereas Augustine had associated it with *sacrum signum*. The fact is important because Isidore’s definition was to govern Latin theology* until early in the 12th century and because it drew attention not to the revelatory aspect of the Augustinian “sign” but to the aspect of a mystery hidden under the veil (*tegumentum*) of the sacrament.

It is precisely this sensitivity to the sacramental “veil” that explains the first controversy in history* on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. In the ninth century two monks of Corbie, Paschasius Radbert and Ratramnius, disputed this point. The problem arose because the latter began with a theory of knowledge according to which *veritas* is “the designation of an unveiled thing,” whereas *figura* designates the thing in a veiled way. Hence, the sacraments, defined as a “veil” hiding an *aliquid secretum*, are necessarily “figures”; and if Christ is indeed “truly” present in the Eucharist, it is *in figura* and not *in veritate*. This controversy would have had only limited consequences had it not been taken up again in the 11th century by Berengar of Tours, whose dialectical rationalism*, linked to certain theories of the grammarians of the period and in reaction against the then dominant “sensualist” or ultrarealist representations,

was no longer able to understand the “truly in figure” of Ratramnius except as meaning “not really.” It is clear in any event that the theory of the sacraments needed to be refined.

4. The Development of the Concept of Sacramentum in the 12th Century

The refinement was the work of the Scholasticism of the 12th and 13th centuries. At the time, *sacramentum* had become the generally prevalent term in ritual language. But in this field alone the theologians of the first half of the 12th century enumerated, variously and with no intention of establishing an exhaustive list, four (Lanfranc), five (Abelard*), 10 (Bernard* of Clairvaux), and 12 (Peter Damien) *sacramenta*. Thanks to the new technique of the *quaestio*, the new *scolares* implemented what was the entire program of the century: “faith developing into science” (M.-D. Chenu, *La Théologie au XII^e siècle*, 1956). The “symbolic mentality” (ibid.) of the Romanesque age was certainly still very much alive, but it was gradually controlled and organized. And under the impetus of this new cultural imperative, there arose the hitherto unknown need to explain the “specific difference” of the sacraments strictly speaking and, by the same token, to provide an exhaustive list of them.

Three major milestones can be identified in this complex operation: 1) The Augustinian definition of sacrament as *sign* recovered its primacy over Isidore’s definition of sacrament as *secret* (Alger of Liège, c. 1120). 2) A distinction was then made between “major” and “minor” sacraments (the latter beginning to be called “sacramentals” in the 1140s), depending on whether or not they were directly concerned with salvation (Abelard, Hugh of Saint Victor). 3) But because this criterion of finality with relation to salvation was insufficient—according to it, indeed, Jewish circumcision belonged to the major sacraments and marriage* to the minor—recourse was made to the criterion of causality, which was so important in the Aristotelian philosophy* that invaded the intellectual life of the West from the 1160s. There is nothing at all surprising in this because “the notion of cause is no doubt the most significant aspect” of the great project of the time for a theology* adopting a “scientific” apparatus (Chenu).

The criterion of causality was therefore decisive with respect to the “sacraments of the old law,” such as circumcision or the sacrifice* of the paschal lamb*. It came to be said that these *sacramenta* certainly justified our Jewish fathers, but they did so only *ex opere operantis* (through the work of the acting subject, i.e., through his subjective dispositions to faith). Thus, “they merely signified the grace of Christ but did not

cause it,” whereas the “sacraments of the new law*,” “effecting what they figure,” “contain it and confer it” (Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* IIIa q. 62 a. 6; and before him Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV. d. 1. 5, PL 192. 839). These sacraments do so *ex opere operato* (Trent*, *DS* 1608), through their innate virtue, which comes to them from Christ. This expression, of course, does not imply anything mechanical or magical; on the contrary, it means, negatively, that the gift of salvation remains totally free on the part of God with respect to any merit or lack of merit in the individual (minister or receiver) and, positively, that the sacramental act of the Church is an act of Christ himself. Shortly before 1160, Peter Lombard provided a list of the seven rites of the Church, which, as “signs” and “causes” of the grace of God (*Sent.* IV. d. 1. 2), “properly” deserve the name of sacrament (d. 2. 1). It is this list, mentioned at Lateran IV* in 1215, that was adopted dogmatically by Lyon II* in 1274 (*DS* 860), Florence* in 1439 (*DS* 1310), and finally Trent in 1547 (*DS* 1601).

The establishment of the seven sacraments (baptism, confirmation*, the Eucharist, penance*, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony) was, however, not simply or even firstly, the result of an intellectual operation. The practice of the Church was as decisive as theory. For example, penance and matrimony fit very badly with the new theory because a number of 12th-century theologians considered that God granted his forgiveness as soon as the sinner turned toward him in a movement of contrition and that marriage constituted more a “remedy for concupiscence” than a source of grace properly speaking. And although, despite these theoretical difficulties, the theologians of the time (with some notable exceptions) recognized them as belonging to the seven, this was because of the importance that the Church in fact attributed to them in its liturgical practice (an excellent example of the adage “*lex orandi, lex credendi*”). A rite that effectively proclaimed the forgiveness of God that was always offered to sinners could not be considered secondary. And as for marriage, recognized by Paul as a *sacramentum* (according to the Vulgate) of the faithful love* of Christ for the Church (Eph 5:32), it too could not fail to be accepted as a genuine sacrament, whatever the theoretical difficulties that that acceptance might otherwise entail. These theological themes would not, however, have been able to prevail if the dispensation of these two sacraments by the Church had not at the same time adopted a stronger framework (shift to private penance in the 12th century, with an emphasis on precise identification of serious sins to the priest*; increasing importance during the same period of the role of the priest as official witness of the Church in the ritual of matrimony) and if the Church

had not simultaneously invested in them its intention to exercise social control.

It does not appear that the symbolism of numbers played a role in the organization of the seven sacraments. It was only afterward that the Scholastics permitted themselves considerations of this kind that nevertheless did appeal to them: there were seven sacraments, just as there were seven deadly sins, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and seven principal virtues (three theological and four cardinal). But they did not make this into a principle of deduction; they saw it rather as an opportunity, according to a more or less natural inclination at the time, to provide allegorical interpretations for the seven sacraments that had already been accepted.

5. Some Specific Points

a) An Analogical Concept. It is appropriate to point out first that the concept of sacrament is analogical. On the one hand, this is not held to be equally true in respect to each of the seven sacraments. Following patristic tradition, two “principal” sacraments are recognized: baptism (which, early on, included a special rite associated with the Holy Spirit, this being later called “confirmation”) and the Eucharist. (This point is obviously not without ecumenical significance today because the churches that came out of the Reformation recognize these two sacraments.) Note particularly that it is the sacraments of Christian initiation*, those through which one becomes a full participant in the paschal mystery of Christ through the Holy Spirit, that constitute the fundamental sacraments. By the same token, it is in relation to them that the others must be understood, whether they are retrospective (penance, extreme unction) or whether they consecrate the path of life on which each person, according to his or her specific vocation, is called to assume those sacraments: a particular function in the Church (ordained ministries* of bishop, priest, or deacon*) or state of life (marriage and religious profession, the latter, of course, not one of the seven sacraments because it merely extends baptismal consecration into a more fully developed logic, but it should nevertheless be understood as a sacramental and can in any event be understood only in a sacramental framework).

On the other hand, the fact that the medieval concept of sacrament was produced through the manifestation of two specific differences, with the sacraments “of the old law*” on one side and the sacramentals on the other, requires that we not isolate the seven sacraments from the larger world of the sacramental. Analogy* makes it possible to understand the seven sacraments, themselves hierarchically differentiated

and “not equal among themselves” (Trent, can. 3, on the sacraments in general, *DS* 1603), within a larger gradation of the sacramental, either from the point of view of the unique biblical economy of salvation (the Scholastics, as we have seen, had no hesitation in speaking of New Testament *sacramenta*) or from the point of view of their relation to “sacramentals.” We must of course acknowledge that the somewhat anxious search for the specific difference or the relevant characteristic that defines the sacraments properly speaking has fostered a kind of fascination with the seven rites that, alone, “cause what they signify,” the seven then tending to eclipse the general sacramentality within which they find their meaning.

b) Sacramentals. The *Code of Canon Law* defines sacramentals as “sacred signs through which, in a certain way which imitates the sacraments, primarily spiritual effects are signified and obtained at the prayer* of the Church” (can. 1166; see Vatican II*, GS 50 §1).

Two characteristics are worth noting: sacramentals exist in a relation of analogy to the sacraments, of which they are, as “sacred signs,” a kind of “imitation.” And their efficacy is linked to “the prayer of the Church.” These then are signs that can be said to be instituted by the Church and not by Christ, and they do not act *ex opere operato* like the sacraments but *ex opere operantis Ecclesiae*, which means that their efficacy is not tied primarily to the personal dispositions of subjects but to the prayer of the Church itself. This shows itself perfectly clearly in the perspective of Thomas Aquinas, who “never speaks of sacramentals except on the occasion of the sacraments to which they are related,” as indicated by the term *sacramentalia*, which does not mean “little sacraments” or “imitations of sacraments,” but “things related to the sacraments” (Roguet 1951).

This is the perspective in which theologians have considered, in the case of baptism, prebaptismal unction, exorcisms*, or the blessing* of water, and in relation to the Eucharist, the consecration of an altar. Sacramentals “dispose us toward the sacraments,” wrote Thomas (*ST* IIIa q. 65. a. 1. ad 6; q. 66. a. 10).

More broadly, we can consider as belonging to the sacramentals, and even in their first rank, certain recognized rituals in which the Church reveals itself in its pure form, according to its function of intercession or praise*, for example, the taking of religious or monastic vows, the institution of a lay ministry, the communitarian celebration of reconciliation without absolution, the prayer of the divine office, and Christian funeral rites. These various celebrations, although not sacraments in the strict sense, are nevertheless weighted with the “sacramental,” and they may be of

great importance in the spiritual life of persons and even in the life of the Church as a whole. In a perspective of spiritual and ecclesiastical life, the degree of importance given to particular liturgical celebrations is not determined in relation to the boundary, however precious and indeed indispensable, between what is a sacrament in the strict sense and what is not. We are rather dealing with a kind of sacramental nebula, with a central kernel that is denser (the sacraments of initiation crowned by the Eucharist), and, orbiting around its gravitational mass, sacramentals of lesser density. The Eastern Churches, with a tradition and a sensibility not very inclined toward the precision of the Latins, fit rather well into this perspective. For example, the Orthodox Churches also recognize seven sacraments, but for them the theory hardly plays the role it does in the Latin Church. In any event, if we do not think of the sacraments primarily in the register of “things” (as the Greek Fathers tended to do when they focused attention on the sanctification [*théiopoïèse*] of matter and as Isidore of Seville later tended to do) but rather in the register of action (liturgical action); or, in the language of Thomas, if we do not rely primarily on the notion of efficacy but on the notion of “sign,” we are then invited to integrate into the world of the sacramental not only the seven sacraments but also sacramentals and to think of all these liturgical gestures, as the fathers of the church did, in the relationship of “fulfillment” that links them to the New Testament sacraments. We thus attain an “organic and systemic representation” (Roguet 1951) of the sacramental.

c) The Institution of the Sacraments by Jesus Christ. This question was not posed as such in the early Church. Reference was simply made, as to a practical norm, to the gestures and words of the Lord acting in the rites of his Church, as we can see in Irenaeus (baptism: *Dem. praed. ap.*, 3; the Eucharist, against the Gnostics: *Adv. Haer.* IV. 17. 5) or in Cyprian (the Eucharist, against the Aquarians: *Ep.* 63. 14). More profoundly, John Chrysostom* (*Cat. bapt.* 3. 17) and Augustine (*In Io. Ev.*, tract. 120) saw in “the water and the blood” that flowed from the side of Christ “asleep” on the cross the source of baptism and the Eucharist and hence of the Church.

It is precisely the conviction that Christ and therefore God is the life-giving source of every sacrament that constitutes the significance of the problem of their institution. What is in question here is not primarily the determination of the exact words (the “form”) and the materials to be used (the “matter”); it was not until the 16th century, in the context of the polemic with Reformation thinkers, that Catholic controversialists pursued this kind of demonstration. But in the Scholastic

period, to say that Christ was the *institutor* of the sacraments was to say that he was their *auctor*; a term to be understood in the strong sense of “author-actor.” According to Thomas’s formulation, this meant that, “because the virtue of the sacraments comes from God alone, it follows that God alone instituted the sacraments” (IIIa q. 64. a. 2), more precisely, Christ as God (ibid., ad 1). With this principle established, it was then possible to accept “easily an institution that was mediately divine” (Y. Congar, *Conc[F]* 31, 1968) in such a way that the precise determination of the matter and the form might have been left by Christ to the Church aided by the Holy Spirit (see, e.g., Bonaventure*, *Brevil.* VI. 4. 1). For the Scholastics, in any event, the institution of the sacraments by Christ was the subject of a theological conclusion, and the controversialists of the 16th century ran into a dead end by attempting to make it into the subject of a historical demonstration.

In 1907 the decree *Lamentabili* condemned the modernist proposition that asserted that “the sacraments owe their origin to the fact that the apostles* and their successors interpreted the thinking and intention of Christ stimulated by the pressure of circumstances and events” (no. 40). But the proposition was considered false principally because it presupposed that circumstances and events randomly imposed an “interpretation” and the appearance of an institution and that other circumstances would have imposed other interpretations that were just as legitimate (see Rondet 1972). In any event, this question has now been settled because it has been dealt with on its proper, theological grounds and in the framework of the general sense of the Church as sacramental (see K. Rahner* 1960).

d) Character. Heir to a doctrine that had become common in the Scholastic period, the Council of Trent affirmed that “the three sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and holy orders instill into the soul a character, that is, an indelible spiritual mark which makes it impossible to repeat them” (DS 1609). The fathers of the church had frequently applied to baptism and anointing the Pauline image of the spiritual “seal” (1 Cor 1:21f.), a seal authenticating an official document or a mark of belonging as indelible as a mark (*spragis, character, signaculum*) branded on an animal’s skin or a tattoo set by a pagan mystagogue on an initiate into the “mysteries” of a divinity or by a military leader on the bodies of his soldiers. The Scholastics, however, did not see in this indelible character merely a mark of definitive belonging to the “flock” or to the “army” of Christ. They distinguished it by the name *res et sacramentum* from sanctifying grace properly speaking (*res sacramenti*), which is the essential gift of the sacrament. Joined to an idea derived from Augustine (see 2

above), this distinction helped them differentiate the valid reception of a sacrament and its spiritual fruitfulness: it is possible to have received baptism or orders in full truth and therefore to be marked with the corresponding “character” even though these sacraments may not be subjectively fruitful. If the subject later returns to God through conversion*, he does not need to be baptized, confirmed, or ordained again: the sacrament recovers its normal efficacy that had earlier been prevented by the evil inclinations of the subject (question of the “revival” of a sacrament: Thomas, *In IV Sent.*, d. 4. q. 3. a. 2. q^a 3; *ST* IIIa q. 69. a. 10).

6. The Reformation of the 16th Century and the Council of Trent

The principal motive behind the reaction of Reformation thinkers was an excessive concentration by the Church on the sacraments at the expense 1) of a “word of God” that deserved precedence (the principle of “Scripture alone,” *Scriptura sola*) and 2) of the subjective commitment of believers. The restoration of the importance of the Scriptures as *norma normans* of the faith of the Church led them as a result to retain only two sacraments, baptism and Holy Communion, and to exclude as “human inventions” the other alleged five, the practice of which was not based on Scripture. (That said, Luther* hesitated over penance, and Melancthon explicitly acknowledged it as a “sacrament properly speaking” in 1531; and in 1562 Calvin* declared his readiness to acknowledge that the laying on of hands for ordination could “be called a sacrament when it was performed properly:” *Inst.* IV. 19. 31.) In other respects, Reformation writers saw the sacraments as events in the preaching* of the Word: the sacraments, according to Calvin, served to “sign, confirm, and certify [it] more strongly” (ibid., IV. 14. 3). As a result the emphasis was necessarily placed on the faith by which subjects responded to the word promising the remission of sins so that “it is not the sacrament but faith in the sacrament that justifies” (Luther, WA 57, 169). This was the point that provoked the principal reaction from the Council of Trent: to assert that God bestowed the grace of salvation not through the sacraments as such but “through faith alone” (can. 4), a faith that their sole purpose was to “foster” (can. 5), amounted to denying that they “contain the grace that they signify” and that they “bestow it on those who place no obstacles in the way” (can. 6) (DS 1604–6).

7. Contemporary Perspectives

a) Ecumenicism. As indicated by the numerous documents setting out agreements on the doctrine of the sacraments that have been signed by various Churches

over the course of the past 30 years, most points of discord have now been overcome. The difference of liturgical traditions between Orthodox and Catholic Churches in no way prevents theological unanimity on the essential question. Between the Churches that came out of the Reformation and the Roman Church, two questions remain particularly difficult: first, the question of ministries, and, second, the question of the Eucharist (although the theologies of the eucharistic presence have sometimes become extremely close, particularly among Catholics, Anglicans, and Lutherans). Besides, a document such as *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry* (known as the Lima document, 1982), worked out by the Ecumenical Council of Churches, shows very clearly the convergences of faith that exist among Churches on these questions without in any way concealing the real problems that remain, notably with respect to ministries (see the reactions to the *BEM* by representatives of various Churches in *MD* 163, 1985).

b) Rediscoveries. Catholic sacramental thinking substantially shifted in the course of the 20th century, first of all because of influences from within the Church. The revival of biblical and patristic studies in the Church, as well as of studies of the history of the liturgy and of ecclesiology*, played a significant role. While not in any way denying the medieval and early modern past of the Church, Vatican II presented to it the principal results of that movement. We may point to at least four: a return to liturgical action itself (celebration) as the first “locus* theologicus” of thinking about the sacraments; a recentering of the liturgy as a whole on the paschal mystery of Christ (death, resurrection*, and parousia*), of which the sacraments are the “memorial” (see particularly eucharistic anamnesis); a counterbalancing of the christological principle, predominant in Latin liturgy and sacraments, with a pneumatological principle that has always been a moving force in the East as well as in the Calvinist tradition (invocations of the Holy Spirit—epicleses*—for the sanctification of baptismal water and the bread and wine of the Eucharist or for the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons are significant in this respect); and an understanding of the sacraments within the general sacramental character of the Church (a point that sometimes raises difficulties for Protestant theologians, however, because they have a different understanding of the Church and its role in the mystery of faith).

c) Openings. There have also been important contributions from outside the Church, notably in the influence of the social sciences and the philosophy of language. The work of ethnologists and analysts of rituals has made it possible to discover that ritual activity

constitutes a specific form of expression, with its own ancient basis, following particular laws and producing vital symbolic effects in social, institutional, and psychological contexts and in the search for identity. Sociology has shown the importance of the legitimacy of roles, functions, procedures, and institutional mediations in the processes of identification and the attribution of various statuses. Psychoanalysis has made it possible to grasp ceremonial staging as a reactivation of the hidden order of desire. For its part, linguistics has led analysts of the sacraments to an awareness of the wide variety of speech acts in the liturgy. Although not professional members of these various disciplines, many theologians have become sufficiently familiar with them to derive from them conceptual tools suited to a renewal of liturgical and sacramental theology and pastoral care. This nevertheless requires on their part a particular epistemological vigilance in order to avoid methodologically inappropriate “recoveries” and to remain on their own ground: to propose a discourse whose subject is indeed God and the “salvation” that he brings through Jesus Christ and in the strength of the Holy Spirit through the sacraments.

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See also **Anointing of the Sick; Baptism; Eucharist; Initiation, Christian; Liturgy; Marriage; Mystery; Ordination/Order; Penance**

Sacramentals. *See* **Sacrament**

Sacred Heart. *See* **Heart of Christ**

Sacrifice

I. Old Testament

The foundation of every primitive society, as René Girard (1972) has demonstrated, sacrifice is at the heart of the religion of Israel*. It is rooted in the context of the covenant* of Sinai, both as gift and as demand. In the visions of Ezekiel 40–48, the temple* and its sacrificial cult* are at the center of the future Jerusalem*.

The importance of sacrifice is confirmed by the numerous occasions on which it is performed. It is offered to God* both by individuals and by communities, as an obligatory and habitual sacrifice or as a spontaneous one; and it is offered both in moments of distress as an ultimate recourse and in moments of joy. Sacrifice can therefore not be reduced to a rite of individual piety or interpreted in psychological terms.

Sacrifice is basically a theophanic rite. The consequence of a breakdown, it expresses the desire to restore communication with God (Gn: 20ff.). Its purpose is to provoke the coming of God with a view of obtaining his blessing* (Ex 20:24) and to responding to his presence in the midst of his people (Ex 29:38–46).

1. Three Kinds of Sacrifice

a) Offering of First Fruits (e.g., Dt 26:1–11) and *of the Firstborn* (e.g., Ex 13:11–16). These are dues paid to God as owner of the land and hence of its resources. Firstborn children, on the other hand, are redeemed by an animal* (e.g., Ex 13:13b; *see* Gn 22) or by a sum of money (Nm 18:15f.).

b) Burnt Offerings (Lv 1), Sacrifices of Communion (Lv 3), the Most Important of Which Are Sacrifices of Praise*, tôdâh (Lv 7:11–15), Vegetable Offerings (Lv 2), and Libations.* These sacrifices are made up exclusively of edible products and, more precisely, of products characteristic of stock raising (large and small cattle) and of agriculture (grain, olive oil, wine), put together in the form of a meal. The meal is entirely offered to God, a sign of particularly deferential hospitality (burnt offering, libation), or shared between God, the priest, and the person making the offering (sacrifice of communion), whom it unites by communal bonds (Marx 1992). The priestly code attributes a special place to the vegetable offering, which it associates with the priesthood* and which evokes early vegetarianism and its values (Gn 1:29f.). All these sacrifices are said to have a “pleasant odor” for God (Marx 1994).

c) Sacrifices for “Sins” (Lv 4:1–5:13) and Sacrifices of Reparation (Lv 5:14–26). These sacrifices are present only in the priestly code, in Ezekiel, and in the writings of the Chronicler. Arising from an acute consciousness of the sanctity of God and of the requirement of purity* that is consequent on the presence of God among his people, they are prescribed in a certain number of precisely defined circumstances. Sacrifice for “sins” is generally considered a ritual for the absolution of sins* and/or as a rite of purification. It is fundamentally a blood ritual performed in situations of passage. It serves to reintegrate into the community the man or woman who has sinned inadvertently or negligently (Lv 4:1–5:13) or who has become impure through illness (Lv 14; 15) or from giving birth (Lv 12). But it is also required in the context of rituals of consecration (Lv 8; Nm 8) and deconsecration (Nm 6) and at the principal turning points in the liturgical year (Nm 28–29) (Milgrom 1976b; Schenker 1994). As for the sacrifice of reparation, it is chiefly required of anyone who has been guilty of harming the property of God or his neighbor and is made up of a reparation given to God as the ultimate owner of all goods (Milgrom 1976a). These sacrifices play the role of *kappér*, expiation*, never directed toward God but toward the beneficiary of the rite.

In every case the immolation of the victim is only a preparatory ritual intended to liberate the sacrificial material and not the central rite, which contradicts all forms of the theory of vicarious satisfaction (including Girard’s theory).

2. Communion and Expiation

Sacrifice attests to the presence of God among his people, enabling Israel and each individual to establish

communication with God and enter into a companionate relation with him and authorizing, under certain conditions, the person who is condemned by sin or impurity* to reintegrate with the community. In these ways, existing as it does between the two poles of communion and expiation*, sacrifice gives Israel an indispensable feeling of confidence.

Like any form of cult, the sacrificial cult is threatened by the danger of formalism. Its critics do not seek its abolition but recall that sacrifice cannot dispense with the requirement of social justice (Is 1; Am 5:21–27; Mi 7), and they emphasize both the honor of God that the sacrificial cult ought to express (Mal 1) and the inner attitude (Ps 51:19). But the contrasting of sacrifice with the love* and knowledge* of God (Hos 6:6) with obedience (1 Sm 15:22), with the offering of the lips (Hos 14:3), and with praise (Ps 50:14) prepares the way for a spiritualization.

II. Qumran and New Testament

1. Essenes

This spiritualization occurred at Qumran. The Essenes, at odds with the official cult, formed a community there that understood itself as the true Torah (1QS VIII, 4–10), awaiting the restoration of a pure cult in Jerusalem. In the everyday life of this community-as-Torah, two rituals took on fundamental importance: purification baths, linked with the notion of forgiveness of sins (1QS III, 4–12) and thereby assuming the position of expiation, and the communal meal, made up of elements constituting the vegetable offering, prepared by a priest, offered by him to God, conceived as an anticipation of the eschatological feast (1QS VI, 4–5; 1 QSa II, 17–21), and thereby giving a privileged position to communion. Even though this may have been a substitute liturgy* in a situation that it was hoped was provisional, a turning point had been reached: sacraments* were replacing sacrifice.

2. New Testament

The same is true of the movement initiated by John the Baptist. The baptism* to which he called the crowds replaced the rites of the Torah. Indeed, it seemed to be a mediation making possible the granting of divine forgiveness.

Jesus*’ proclamation of the forgiveness of sins with no precondition or rite (Mk 2:1–12 and parallel passages; Lk 7:36–50) in a sense replaces John’s baptism. But if Jesus does not baptize (or no longer baptizes), this is because he feels authorized to proclaim the forgiveness of sins with no ritual support. In this perspective his companionship with sinners, which seems to be an anticipation of the Kingdom* and the eschato-

logical feast, assumes its full meaning. It allows, with no ritual preliminary, the institution of a communion, which marks the end point of the sacrificial cult. As a result, it is as though, in Jesus' preaching*, the Good News of the emergence of the kingdom of God replaces the Torah and its rites. As long as the Bridegroom is present with the wedding guests (Mk 2:19), there is a near immediacy in relations with God. There is no other mediation but the presence of Jesus alone, and all who meet him are invited to the feast. Later, mediations and rites will again be necessary (Mk 2:20), but at this point all distance between God and his envoy has been abolished.

The words of institution of Holy Communion (Mk 14:22–25 and parallel passages) (Eucharist*) can be interpreted in terms both of expiation (motifs of the body and the shedding of blood; the theme of "for you") and of communion (the perspective of eschatological companionship in the kingdom of God), and they call for an understanding of the gift made by Jesus of his own life as a recapitulation of the two poles of the sacrificial cult. Further, Jesus is establishing a rite that will be both a place of memory (of his life and his death for his people) and the place of hope* within the early Church*.

The death* of Jesus was in fact understood as recapitulating the entire sacrificial cult. The ancient confession of faith* of 1 Corinthians 15:3 already affirms that Jesus died "for our sins." Other traditions* that are just as old interpret his death in relation to the major Jewish festivals. They make him not only the paschal lamb* (1 Cor 5:7) but also the *hilastèrion*, the Ark of the Covenant, the location of both the mysterious divine presence and the annual sprinkling of blood carried out in the very heart of the Holy of Holies by the high priest on Yom Kippur (Rom 3:25). By thus recognizing that the eschatological Yom Kippur had taken place on Good Friday, at Golgotha, the early Christians were indeed confessing that the sacrificial cult had been recapitulated. But they also made the most of the fact that it was by that very act abrogated.

This line of interpretation of the death of Jesus was adopted and developed in the New Testament, principally by Hebrews. From the fundamental affirmation that Christ* is risen and has opened for all the path of communication to God, Hebrews derives the following consequence: the sacrificial cult has been abolished because what it was supposed to procure (namely, expia-

tion and communion) has been bestowed once and for all and in an entirely different manner, one that recapitulates the old order while simultaneously making it unnecessary. In Hebrews as in Paul, "the New Testament representation serves as a type to attest to the antitype, which itself transcends the type, and the proper meaning of which comes not from the type but from itself and is merely manifested by the type" (Merklein 1990).

In the perspective that emerges here, it seems that, at the level of ritual, baptism and communion specifically replaced sacrifice in the early Church and constituted the antitype of sacrifice in the way the death of Jesus did. The forgiveness of sins now finds its place in baptism, whereas Holy Communion, an anticipation of the eschatological rest, realizes the vegetarian utopia of the priestly code but through the detour of the tragedy of a life offered at the heart of the dynamics of the coming kingdom.

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ALFRED MARX (OT) AND CHRISTIAN GRAPPE (NT)

See also Animals; Eucharist; Expiation; Lamb of God/Paschal Lamb; Mass, Sacrifice of the; Passion; Passover; Priesthood; Purity/Impurity; Scapegoat; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Temple; Theophany

Saint Victor, School of

The period of fruitfulness and brilliance of the school of Saint Victor was essentially confined to the 12th century. The origin of the establishment can be traced to 1108, when William of Champeaux, archdeacon and head of the schools in Paris, left his position and retired with a few students a short distance from the city to an old *cella* (hermitage) that bore the name Saint Victor. But, encouraged by Hildebert of Lavardin, he continued to teach. In 1113 William became bishop* of Châlons, and Saint Victor was established as an abbey for regular canons, thereby taking its place in a movement of church* reform that had begun in the 11th century. It was from the outset a learned abbey that, in various aspects, was to play an important role in the 12th-century renaissance, some of whose principal characteristics it illustrated. Until close to the end of the century it included *magistri* of great quality: Hugh (†1141); Achard, abbot from 1155 to 1161, then bishop of Avranches; Prior Richard (†1173); and Andrew (†1175). We might also mention Walter, Godfrey, and Adam, names that will recur. From the point of view of Church organization, Saint Victor began by spreading its reform to a certain number of communities. But it was never the center of a network of monasteries, and its expansion did not go so far as actually founding any new ones; it seems that the order did not survive beyond the 13th century. The material conditions necessary for the life of an active and productive school had been assembled: proximity to Paris, with its intellectual resources and urban activity; the continuous exercise of teaching; and the creation and growth of a large library. From all this came a thoroughly individualized, though not entirely homogeneous, culture. It can therefore be described thematically rather than through the enumeration of names and works.

a) The Didactics of Saint Victor. The spirit of Saint Victor, a place of study and teaching, can be approached through the *Didascalicon* of Hugh, the first of the great teachers of the abbey. He proposes to teach “what to read, in what order, and how” in the area of “arts,” that is, secular disciplines (Part I, in three books). Gathering all the primary arts in “philosophy*,” Hugh fits together a certain number of didactic blocks inherited through various channels from antiquity. For example, the arts of the *quadrivium* (arith-

metic, music, geometry, astronomy) make up “mathematics,” included by Aristotle, along with theology* and physics, under the heading of “theoretical philosophy.” Similarly, at the other end of Hugh’s classification, argumentative methods, divided and subdivided, together constitute “the art of reasoning,” which, along with grammar, reconstitutes the *trivium* (grammar, dialectics, rhetoric), here called “logic.” Between these two major parts of philosophy (the theoretical and the logical) come “practical philosophy,” divided as in Aristotelianism (individual, private, public), and “mechanics,” a group of seven sciences concerned with “the work of the artisan,” the nomenclature of which owes a good deal to Isidore of Seville. That mechanics makes up one of the four major parts of philosophy is a fact that has often been noted, and it certainly evidences an interest in practical life and technique, even though these “sciences” are called “bastard” (by association of *moecha* with *mechanica*) and their description hardly reflects the material civilization of that time and place.

The second part of the *Didascalicon* treats of the “holy” or divine “Scriptures.” The “theology” of the first part was defined there as contemplation* of God*, of the spirit, and of spiritual creatures, and here there is reference to the “books of the pagans” where there are things that might be accepted—an attenuated but genuine reflection of the spirit of Abelard. The principal interest of the second part lies in books V and VI, which constitute a brief treatise on exegesis*: involving a threefold understanding of Scripture, according to history*, allegory, and *tropology* (senses* of Scripture); revival of the Augustinian doctrine of “things that signify” in sacred history; and recall of the rules of Tyconius, which had been adopted by Augustine* and Isidore. History has to do with events (person, action, time, place), and knowledge of it must precede knowledge of allegory, a veiled expression of divine mysteries* to which it is not possible to accede without a certain maturity; and tropology has to do with the “dignity of morals,” “natural justice” that is learned “by contemplating what God has done.” In the Latin tradition these distinctions between the senses of Scripture goes back to Jerome and Gregory the Great*, and it is one of the principles on which the theology of Saint Victor is based. Finally, it is worth noting that in sev-

eral places in the book, Hugh raises the subject of rules of life and of the virtues* associated with reading, both secular and religious, an aspect of the spirituality of an order that devoted itself to study at a time when there was new interest in the legacy of antiquity. A few decades after the *Didascalicon*, the *Fons philosophiae* by Godfrey of Saint Victor reiterated its didactic program in verse.

b) Aspects of the Theology of Saint Victor. The various forms of theology practiced in the 11th and 12th centuries were present in Saint Victor, as can be observed from the works of its leaders, beginning with the founder. We have a certain number of theological maxims by William of Champeaux in which he deals with various problems: trinitarian appropriations*, also found in Abelard*; the Son as the Wisdom* of God*; the Holy Spirit* as Love* (*caritas*); *translatio*, by which one attributes to God the human qualities of which he is the author, such as justice; a refutation of the eternity of the world (“against those who say that there were always created beings with the Creator,” “that the Creator never existed without some effect”); on providence* and contingency (with traces of the *Peri hermeneias* of Aristotle); on evil* and sin*; and on the “two natures” of the inner man (*anima, spiritus*). Other questions are of a philosophical order: form and matter (including those of men and of angels), nature, and substance. We know that William and Abelard had been opposed on the question of universals (nominalism*) and that William had in succession supported two forms of realism. In addition, we also know his commentaries on works of rhetoric: on Cicero’s *De inventione* and the *Rhetoric to Herennius*, also attributed to Cicero. His commentary on the *Topics* of Boethius* was also published, as well as a certain number of works on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, attributable either to him or to his school. All this does not come directly under theology but cannot be separated from it in the culture and actual practice of the 12th-century teachers.

We have seen that Hugh of Saint Victor did not consider access to allegory and tropology in the reading of the Bible* possible until after a precise understanding of the *historia*, of the text taken in its literal and hence “historical” sense, especially in the case of the Old Testament books. In his major treatise, “Of the sacred signs (*de sacramentis*) of natural and written law*,” he sets out a theology articulated according to the twofold development of “constitution,” *conditio*, and “restoration,” *restauratio*. The first moment, *opus conditionis*, runs from creation* to the Fall, to sin, to the law; the *opus restaurationis* begins with Christ, continues with the Church and its sacraments*, and concludes with

the last things. The content of Christian faith is thereby organized in a genuinely historical fashion, following a process of *exitus* and then *reditus* seen in the text of the Bible, according to “the succession of times*, the succession of generations, and the stipulation of precepts*.”

Like Hugh, Richard of Saint Victor insisted on the importance of the literal sense, and he adopted the schema of the two “works,” constitution and restoration. He was original, however, in his profound capacity for contemplation and speculative meditation, for which Dante* compared him to the angels* (*Riccardo/Che a considerar fu piu che viro*). He is the author of *De Trinitate*, which can be compared, at least for its spirit, to the *Monologion* of Anselm*. In it he emphasizes the necessity of always driving the “intelligence” of divine things further in order to find in them “ultimate sweetness, infinite delectation.” He thus seeks “necessary reasons” for the Trinity*. He first does this at the conclusion of a metaphysical combinatorial analysis by distinguishing what is eternal from what has begun, what is by itself from what is by another (aseity*): the Father* is eternally and by himself, the Son and the Holy Spirit are eternally and by another. Then he considers God as supreme love who communicates what he has: God must have, in order to love him, another who is supremely lovable, “a person equal (*condigna*) to the person,” and this is the Son, who is God. A third person shares this love and brings it to completion: the Holy Spirit, who receives the “wave of love” (*affluentia amoris*) emanating from the Father and received and diffused by the Son.

c) Spirituality of Saint Victor. The centrality of love in the structure of the Trinity is consonant with the spirituality of Richard, particularly as expressed in his *Four degrees of violent charity*, *Benjamin minor*, and *Benjamin major*. Among the many spiritual works of Hugh, we should mention his commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius*, which played a major role in the diffusion of the thought of Dionysius in the West. Rooted in this movement were the glosses and commentaries on Dionysius by Thomas Gallus (†1246), who was trained at Saint Victor and in the 13th century went to Italy, where he extended the period of Victorine fruitfulness. We must also include within the spirituality of the school the more obscure but daily practices of liturgical life, the measured austerity in sleeping and eating, and the availability for pastoral activity in the spirit of the rules for regular canons and the rule known as the Rule of Saint Augustine. We should also note that the members of Saint Victor produced many sermons, not only Hugh and Richard but also Garnier, Achard, Gautier, and God-

frey. Hugh, Richard, and anonymous others also developed a doctrine of sin that locates its constitutive moment in an inner movement of the sinner, which represents another encounter with Abelard.

d) Exegesis. We have already noted a principal characteristic of the exegesis of Saint Victor: an insistence on the *littera* (the literal sense of Scripture). We must add that William of Champeaux had been associated with the biblical scholarship undertaken in Laon by Anselm and his school. The systematic collection of glosses on Scripture was also a characteristic of the theological work of the 11th and 12th centuries. But in the school of Saint Victor the principal figure in the area of exegesis was Andrew, whose work covers a large part of the Old Testament. He carries the principle established by Hugh to its final consequences by seeking particularly for the original meaning of the text, the *hebraica veritas*, beyond the Latin translations. He certainly did not know enough Hebrew to determine this meaning, but he found many elements of it in various sources of the Latin tradition. And it is also very probable that he had contact with Jewish scholars, at the risk of ignoring christological interpretations—he was at least criticized by Richard for doing so. Many traces of his exegesis can be found in writers of the second half of the 12th century. Also with reference to exegesis, mention should be made of the *Gregorianum* of Garnier of Saint Victor, a compilation of allegorical interpretations gleaned from the works of Gregory* the Great.

e) Metaphysics, Poetry, Reaction. We must finally mention two members of the school whose works, or some of them, lie outside the areas mentioned thus far. First is Achard, abbot in 1155 and bishop of Avranches in 1162. In addition to his sermons and a brief work, “On the soul, the *spiritus*, and the *mens*,” he wrote a treatise, *On the unity of God and the plurality of created beings*, in which his editor, E. Martineau, has pointed out an entirely singular metaphysical theology. The multiplicity of created beings has as a principle, even beyond ideas, an original divine plurality, also distinct from that of the persons and essentially linked to unity. Then there was Adam of Saint Victor, who died toward the middle of the century. He was the author of liturgical poems, a “very excellent versifier” who might have been “the greatest poet of the Middle Ages” had he not lacked “a little of the elevation of mysticism” (R. de Gourmont). There was thus poetry and Platonism*, which, with the aspects previously de-

scribed, make of Saint Victor an image faithful in almost every way to the spirit and energy of the 12th century and its doctrinal innovations. But toward the end of the century there appeared in Saint Victor a “narrow traditionalism*” (J. Châtillon) represented by Gautier, who, around 1177, in his *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae*, attacked several innovative theologians of the time: Peter Abelard, Peter Lombard, Peter of Poitiers, and his disciple, Gilbert de la Porrée.

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See also Chartres, School of; God; Scholasticism; Scripture, Senses of; Spiritual Theology

Salvation

A. Biblical Theology

I. Generalities

1. Terminology

The Bible* expresses the idea of salvation by many different terms in Hebrew and in Greek. The basic substantives are formed from verbs. The main Hebrew etymologies are the following:

The verb *yâsha'*, form *hiphil*: *hoshî'a* "tear away, liberate, save," gives the meanings of "salvation," *yésha'* or *yéshoûa'*. *Pâdâh*, "redeem, liberate," gives the abstract *pedoût*, "liberation," and the concrete *pe-doûyim* (or *pideyôn*), "ransom price." *Gâ'al*, "claim, redeem, enfranchise," namely in the present participle *go'él*, expresses the personal notation of "savior"; it can also refer to the substantives derived from *yâsha'*. The synonyms of these verbs are also found in the form *yâça'* (*hiphil*), "extract, lead outside, send out," and *'âçal*, "take out from, separate," of *'éçèl*, "flank, sides." In the Septuagint, the abstract *sôtèria* (fem.) "salvation, conservation, security," and the concrete *sôtèr* (masc.) "savior, protector, liberator," are derived from *sôzein*, "save, preserve, care for." In New Testament Greek, in addition to terms proper to the Septuagint, other terms restricted to the social register acquired theological value, such as *lutron*, "liberate against ransom, enfranchise," from which come the substantives (*anti*)*lutron*, "ransom (price)" and *apolutrôsis*, "redemption, untying (of bonds)." Similarly (*ex*)*agorazein*, "acquit, redeem," and especially *eleutheroun*, "liberate," give the abstract *eleutheria* (fem.), "liberty*," and the personal adjective (*ap*)*eleutheros*, "free."

2. Negative Situations

The evils from which the beneficiaries of salvation escape can be seen on two levels: material or moral. 1) Negative material situations include slavery (Ex 20:2: "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery"; Mi 6:4); persecution or oppression, either by enemies (2 Sm 22:18; Ps 106:10, etc.) or the impious (Ps 71:4, 140:2, etc.); illness (Mk 5:28: "If I touch even his garments, I will be made well") or death* itself (2 Cor 1:10: "He delivered us from such a deadly peril, and he will deliver us"); and, in general, the present worldly condition (2 Tm 4:18: "The Lord will

rescue me from every evil deed and bring me safely into his heavenly kingdom"). 2) On the moral and spiritual level, the condition that calls for redemption is evil* in general (Mt 6:13: "Deliver us from evil"); but here the Greek term can also mean "wickedness" and especially sin* (but here salvation is usually expressed by other verbs: "forgive, expiate, forget, cover over, efface, wash away"; however, see Romans 8, 2: 9 ("The law of the Spirit of life has set you free in Christ Jesus from the law of sin and death"). Salvation liberates us from the law* that sin used against us (Rom 7:7–13; 1 Cor 15:56; see Gal 3:13: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law"). Further, it is escape from eschatological condemnation (Lk 13:23: "Lord, will those who are saved be few?"; Rom 5:9: "Much more shall we be saved by him from the wrath of God*"; 1 Thes 1:10: "Jesus who delivers us from the wrath to come").

3. Salvation and History

A fundamental observation ought to be made here: the biblical concept of salvation should be clearly distinguished from all forms of Gnosticism. Man's salvation is not understood simply as his becoming aware of himself and his own original divine identity (should it be restored by a revelator come from on high for this purpose). Salvation is the intervention of God in history*, to establish a new dialogical relationship with man; and in this relationship, man remains fully himself in the face of a God who is distinct from him (see the exodus from Egypt and the death of Jesus on the cross, respectively).

II. Old Testament, Intertestament

The Bible does not envisage an autonomous salvation of man (autosoteriology); whether salvation comes directly from God or God gives judgment through the intermediary of human agents, salvation always presupposes the intervention of an alterity.

1. God as Savior

Numerous texts attribute to God alone the possibility of an effective intervention in favor of human beings, whether they are faced with illness (2 Kgs 5:7: "Am I

god, to kill and make alive?"; Ps 146:7ss: "The Lord sets the prisoners free...opens the eyes of the blind...lifts up," etc.) or are trapped in the eschatological ordeal (Is 35, 4: "Behold, your God...He will come and save you"; see the theme of the *Day of the Lord*). God is the sole and unique "savior," *môshia'* (Is 43:11: "Besides me there is no savior"; 45:15, 45:21, 63:8), or "redeemer," *go'el* (Jb 19:25; Ps 19:15; Is 41:14, 43:14, 44:6, 44:24, 47:4, 48:17, 49:7, 54:5 [59:20; derived from the right of the levirate: see Dt 25:5–10]). He bears exclusive responsibility for ensuring the conduct of Israel*, as affirmed in Isaiah 63:8–9: "And he became their Savior...The angel of his presence saved them"; see Deuteronomy 26:8 and the Passover* Haggadah (see also Ex 15; Ps 77–78). The theocentrism of the history of salvation is thus clearly safeguarded, to the point of directly invoking God himself: "Oh that you would rend the heavens and come down!" (Is 64:1).

2. Mediators

However, other citations can be found which contradict the foregoing assertions: "He will send them a savior and defender, and deliver them" (Is 19:20). A series of envoys figure in the Old Testament, acting in varied ways in favor of the people. Abraham intercedes for the inhabitants of Sodom (Gn 18:16–33); through his intercession, Israel and the whole of mankind are blessed by God (Gn 12:1ff., 15:1–6). And, above all, Moses, "chosen among all the living" (Sir 45:4), who acts as mediator between God and Israel, as leader and liberator from Egyptian oppression (Ex 3:9–20; Nm 11:10–15), as spokesman of God at Sinai and legislator (Ex 19:7f.; 33:11; 34; Neh 9:14; Sir 45:5). He is declared "faithful in all my house" (Nm 12, 7) and the greatest prophet* of Israel (Dt 34:10). The judges are also cited as saviors (Jgs 3:9; see 2:16, 3:15–31, 8:22, 9:17, 13:5). Another prominent figure is David (2 Sm 3:18): "By the hand of my servant David I will save my people Israel"; his dynasty is chosen to defend and protect the people (Ps 72:4): "May he defend the cause of the poor of the people." The figure of the king gradually becomes the symbol of the privileged envoy of God; he will fill his role to perfection in the last days when, as "messiah*" (*oint*), he will punish the wicked and exalt the chosen (Is 11:4ff.). A particular picture of the savior is drawn by Deutero-Isaiah (Is 42:1–7; 49:1–6; 50:4–11; 52:13–53, 12): a mysterious "servant of the Lord," a prophet and especially a man of suffering, is invested by God with the very special role of carrying justice to the nations (Is 42, 1), "to bring Jacob back to him" (Is 49:5), "to sustain with a word him who is weary" (Is 50:4), and on whom "the Lord has laid...the iniquity

of us all," so that "his soul makes an offering for sin," and he will "make many to be accounted righteous" (Is 53:4, 53:10–11; see v. 5: "With his stripes we are healed*"). The divine Wisdom* itself is personified for a mission of assistance and guidance for the people (Sir 24:18–21; Sg 10–19; Bar 3:37–4, 1).

In intertestamentary (intertestament*) literature, a whole series of eschatological mediators appears: the Son of man (1 Hen 48, 4: "He will be a staff for the holy and the just...and will be the lamp of peoples and the hope for those who suffer in their souls"), a sacerdotal messiah (Test. Lev. 18, 10: "He will open the door of Paradise, and the sword held over Adam will be thrust aside"), and even *Melchizedek*—the freedom promised to prisoners in Isaiah 61:1 is attributed to this personage, who is charged with proclaiming to them "who are freed from the debt which they have incurred through their iniquity" (11*qmelk* 6).

3. Conclusion

The idea of a purely interior, moral, or spiritual salvation does not exist in Israel; salvation always includes a material if not a directly national dimension, implying peace* and prosperity on earth (Dt 33:29: "Israel...a people saved by the Lord"). Possession and usufruct of the land are an integral part of this promise (1 Kgs 4:25: "And Judah and Israel lived in safety, every man under his vine and under his fig tree"). However, the spiritual component of a salvation that rests on God's unfailing love* (Is 49:13ff., 54:1–10) is not forgotten. This explains these words attributed to God: "I, I am he who blots out your transgressions for my own sake" (Is 43:25) and the pressing calls for conversion* as return to the Lord (Jer 2:1–4, 4; Hos 2). These two components are found together in the eschatological perspective of salvation: on the one hand, the horizon of a new heaven and a new earth (Is 65:17) manages to integrate the corporeal resurrection* of the dead (Dn 12:1ff.; Is 26:19), and, on the other, eschatological salvation purifies all impurities*, giving man a new heart and a new spirit (Ez 36:25ff.; Jer 31:31) to the point that "whoever calls on the name* of the Lord will be saved" (Jl 3:5).

III. New Testament

1. Act of Grace

Christianity, from its very beginnings, has been aware of living qualitatively at the end of times (Lk 16:16; Acts 2:16f.; 1 Cor 10:11; 1 Pt 4:7; 1 Jn 2:18). Indeed, "The time is fulfilled" (Mk 1:15); "the fullness of time" has come (Gal 4:4; Heb 9:26; 1 Pt 1:20). This is why not only are humans "being guarded through faith for a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time"

(1 Pt 1:5), but already, “by grace you have been saved,” (Eph 2:5–8; the Greek *sesōsmenoi*, meaning “perfect,” can also mean “the accomplished”). The fact is that God’s approval of the plan of salvation took shape in the present time” (Rom 3:26) by way of a precise historical modality consisting in the death of Christ on the cross and in the faith* in him which is its consequence: “It pleased God through the folly of what we preach to save those who believe” (1 Cor 1:21; *see* Eph 1:5, 1:9); in this way, human beings are both object and recipient of his ultimate *eudokia* (benevolence) (Lk 2:14).

a) Jesus the Savior. There is only one historical savior in the New Testament, and that is Jesus of Nazareth, not so much because of the literal meaning of his name (*Yehoshōaʿ* or *Yéshōaʿ*, “YHWH saves”) but because the entire process of salvation is connected to him as indisputable protagonist: “There is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved” (Acts 4:12). The title that so fundamentally belongs to God (*see* Lk 1:47: “God my Savior”) is now prevalently attributed to Jesus (16 times; *see* 1 Jn 4:14: “The Father has sent his Son to be the Savior of the world”).

b) Jewish Roots. The affirmation in John 4:22 that “salvation is from the Jews” (Is 2:3) attests the basic connection of Christianity to Judaism*. The former depends on the latter, both from a historical viewpoint and from the point of view of ideas: the Christian discourse on salvation would not employ a language or a concept if it did not perpetuate the tradition of Israel (Rom 9:1–5).

c) Nature of the Action of Salvation. The central event of salvation presupposes the thaumaturgical activity of the earthly Jesus. (*see* Mt 9:22: “And instantly the woman was made well”). It is related to the integral gift of self realized by Jesus himself: it qualifies the act he desired (Lk 19:10: “to save the lost”) and is effectively accomplished in his death on the cross (Rom 3:25; Eph 1:7: “in him we have redemption through his blood”) and crowned by his resurrection* (*see* 1 Cor 15:17: “And if Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins”). It is necessary here to rectify a long-standing legalistic interpretation of redemption, whereby God, by way of a penal substitution, is given satisfaction for outrages endured, as if in Jesus God had wanted to chastise all sinners. The idea of a chastisement of the *Servant* for the sins of others does exist in Isaiah 53:5. However, the case of Jesus goes far beyond this. He “he died for (*hyper* does not mean “in the place of” but “in favor of” or “be-

cause of” or “in relation to”) our sins” (1 Cor 15:3; *see* Gal 1:4; 1 Cor 6:20: “You were bought with a price”; 1 Tm 2, 6: “Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all”; 1 Pt 1:18f.). That is, Jesus’ death was essentially a personal act of love on the part of Jesus himself (Gal 2:20: “the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me”; Eph 5:2; Jn 13:1) or of God (Rom 8:31: “If God is for us, who can be against us?”). The basic schema for understanding the saving event of the Passion* is analogous to the exodus: God acts sovereignly and freely as he did then “with a strong hand and long arm” for the love of his people (*see* Is 15:13: “Guide with your favor this people whom you have redeemed”; Dt 7:7: “The Lord set his love on you and chose you... because the Lord loves you”; Is 63:9: “In his love and in his pity, he redeemed them”). It is in the same way that God has intervened, in the immolated Christ as the new paschal lamb* (1 Cor 5:7) “because of the great love with which he loved us” (Eph 2:4; 2 Cor 5:19).

d) Efficacy of the Gospel Proclamation. Inextricably linked to the objective event is its announcement, the proclamation—that is, the gospel: “The word of the cross... to us who are being saved... is the power of God” (1 Cor 1:18); “The Gospel... is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes” (Rom 1:16); “the Gospel... which you received, in which you stand, and by which you are being saved, if you hold fast to the word I preached to you” (1 Cor 15:1f.). It could be said, in particular for Paul, that the gospel proclamation, if it is received in the faith*, contains the very power of the salvation proper to the cross and the blood of Christ. Conversely, the proclamation is taken as scandal and folly by those who reject it (1 Cor 1:18–31).

e) Effects of the Action of Salvation. The explicit vocabulary of salvation is rarely used to express the anthropological impact of the cross and its announcement: “For with the heart one believes and is justified, and with the mouth one confesses and is saved” (Rom 10:10; *see* Eph 2:5, 2:8). Ordinarily another vocabulary is used, at least by Paul, bringing together various metaphors: “redeem” (Gal 4:5), “deliver” (Ti 2:14), “free” (Rom 6:18), “reconcile” (2 Cor 5:18ff.), “make peace” (Col 1:20), “expiate” (Heb 2:17), and especially “justify” (Rom 5:1; *see* 8:1) and even “re-create” (2 Cor 5:17: “Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation”; *see* Eph 4:24). Notions of life, joy, and peace* also have their rightful place in this semantic constellation. The variety of the vocabulary reflects the inexhaustible wealth of the fact. Here it should be emphasized that the notion of salvation presupposes the

notion of “sin.” And, according to the New Testament, this concerns not only actual personal sins but also a basic situation implicating all human beings, even before they consciously believe. This appears in Romans 1:18–3, 20, and especially 5:12–21 (in opposition to Adam), in the context of the theme of the gratuitous intervention (“justice”) of God in the redemptive death of Christ.

2. Eschatological Salvation

The specific vocabulary of salvation is essentially used to designate eschatological novelty. This is clear in Paul: “justified by his blood, much more shall we be saved by him from the wrath of God” (Rom 5:9; *see* 13:11). Jesus will be revealed as the sole savior in the eschatological future (Phlm 3:20f.; *see also* Heb 9:28: “So Christ, having been offered once to bear the sins of many, will appear a second time, not to deal with sin but to save those who are eagerly waiting for him”; *see also* Rev 7:10, 12:10). For, according to the New Testament and the Bible in general, there is no complete salvation without the total reintegration of man in all his created identity, which is made not only of a soul but also and no less of a body and therefore of relation to the world. So the notion of resurrection* is an integral part of the notion of salvation from both a Jewish and a Christian perspective.

3. Hope

This results in a paradox of salvation in the Christian sense: it is already a given fact, and yet it must be completed. This antinomy can be expressed by the motto, “already and not yet” (or, conversely, “not yet, but already now”). Romans 8:24 (Greek *tè gar elpidi esôthèmen*) can be translated several different ways, literally, “In hope (or, so that we may hope) we were saved,” but, more exactly, “Our salvation is object of hope” (*BJ*) or, even better, “because we were saved, but it is in hope” (*TOB*). Thus, hope comes to the foreground. It rests henceforth on the redemption wrought by Christ, giving us the certainty of a new eschatological identity. Hope itself, which projects human beings toward a later fulfillment, is not canceled by it: it “does not put us to shame” (Rom 5:5) because it originates less in subjective uncertainty than in the objective fact that founds assurance for the future: “waiting for our blessed hope” (Ti 2:13; *see* Col 1:5: “because of the hope laid up for you in heaven”). The attitude that characterizes it in the history of our day is patience (Greek *hupomonè*), resistance, and perseverance in the ineluctable trials that are more particularly the lot of believers (*see* Lk 21:19; Rom 5:3; Rev 1:9).

IV. The Dimensions of Salvation

1. Antinomy between Gratuity and Commitment

If salvation is fundamentally a gratuitous gift from God (Eph 2:8–9: “For by grace you have been saved through faith. And this is not your own doing; it is the gift of God”), it nonetheless implies a responsible activity on man’s part: “Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling” (Phlm 2:12). The act of receiving the gift of God goes with a constant effort to lead a life worthy of the gift that is given (Rom 14:19; 1 Cor 9:24–27; Phlm 1:27; 1 Tm 6:12). The same antinomy is already inscribed in the Old Testament decalogue*: gratuitous liberation from Egypt (Is 20:2) founds and demands observance of God’s will (Is 20:3–17). And the question asked of Jesus on the number of the saved (Lk 13:23) receives this apparently evasive answer: “Strive to enter through the narrow door” and so on (Lk 13:24).

2. Individual and Community

Moreover, salvation not only concerns the individual, who nevertheless remains the immediate beneficiary (Rom 7:24–25a; Gal 2:20), but often includes a communitarian dimension. This is already true for the people of Israel, who benefit completely from God’s saving intervention (Ex 3:7f.) and who, as a single whole, will enjoy eschatological salvation (Rom 11:26, and in the *Mishnah Sanh.* 10, 1: “All Israel will be saved,” notwithstanding all the exceptions listed). Analogously, the Christian community, qualified by Paul in its totality as “the body of Christ” (1 Cor 12:27; *see* Rom 12:5; Gal 3:28), owes its existence to the blood of the cross (Acts 20:28; Eph 2:14–18: “that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two [Jews and Gentiles], making peace, and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross”) and is completely turned toward eschatological consummation (symbol of the bride in Rev 19:7f., 21:2).

3. Universal and Cosmic Dimension

Further, salvation has a universalist dimension, in a double sense: 1) inasmuch as it is the destiny of all people and that all people are at least called (*see* 1 Tm 2:4; Rev 7:9: “Behold, a great multitude . . . from every nation, from all tribes and peoples and languages”) and 2) in that it is turned not only toward the human race but also toward a renewal of the entire created world (Rom 8:21: “The creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay”; 2 Pt 3:13: “We are waiting for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells”). Because no man is an island and every individual is connected to the cosmic context, salvation must be the negation of all individualism and spiritual-

ist escape; it must bring full communion* not only with God but also with human beings and the world.

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See also Cosmos; Creation; Death; Expiation; Gospels; Healing; History; Hope; Justification; Law; Liberty; Passion; Sacrifice; Sin

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

Because human distress has many faces, biblical texts, as we have seen, use many different images to evoke salvation (liberation, redemption, reconciliation, resurrection*, new creation*, etc.). Over the centuries, theology* too has developed very different notions on the subject. However, beyond all divergence, Christian thought has always lived by the central profession of faith*: salvation comes through Christ*. Theology has not been content with simply adopting the New Testament formula; it has also struggled to understand why God* did not operate the salvation of human beings directly from the heavens, by his power and mercy*. The answer to the question "why is a mediator needed?" has remained essentially the same through countless cultural changes, as attested by the following citations from three authors who, at intervals of nearly 1,000 years, were all deeply marked by the Christian doctrine of redemption.

Against a background of Greek thought and with regard to the way in which the devil can be vanquished, Irenaeus* taught, "Because if it were not a man who had vanquished the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been vanquished in full justice*. Further, if it were not God who had bestowed salvation on us, we would not have received it in a stable way. And if man had not been united with God, he could not have received incorruptibility in participation. For it was necessary that the mediator between God and men, by his

relationship with each of the two parties, should lead one and the other to friendship and concord in such a way that, at one and the same time, God received man and man offered himself to God" (SC 211, 365–66).

Anselm* of Canterbury, questioning himself in the Germanic context on the way in which man could give satisfaction to God for his sins*, concluded, "If then it is necessary . . . that the city* above be led to perfection with men, and if that is not possible unless the above mentioned satisfaction is made, that none can make but God, and none owes but man, it must be done by a God-man" (Corbin, ed., 3, 409).

Finally, in the modern framework of a dramatic understanding of history* and its conflicts, Balthasar* reflects, "In this place an entirely different pathos must intervene in the dramatic story, the pathos of God. He does not come on stage sneering at his broken adversary but, in an act unforeseeable for man, places himself by the side of his adversary and helps him from within to reach justice and liberty*. . . . As long as the world lasts, the question *Cur Deus homo* remains always current" (*Theodramatik*, III, 186).

Because it is human beings who brought perdition into the world* by their sinfulness and weakness, it is up to them to vanquish evil*; but they cannot do it. God saves them and preserves their dignity by giving them a mediator who is both human and divine to help them accomplish what they cannot accomplish by their

own might. In the mediator the divine efficacy from on high encounters the human action from below, and together they lead human beings to a salvation that in the last instance should be understood as participation in the life of the Trinity*.

In the course of history Christian thought variously put the emphasis on one or the other of these two axes while essentially maintaining the balance between them. Theologians of the first millennium emphasized the divine efficacy by understanding salvation first from the incarnation* and including by way of analogy*—against a Platonist background—the whole of humankind in the humanity of Christ. During the second millennium the action of human nature rising up to God was foregrounded (through the proclamation of the royalty of Christ and, in the first place, his offering on the cross). But these two perspectives cannot be separated because the transcendent God does not act as a worldly cause. Nowhere better than in the figure of Christ can it be more clearly seen how God operates by decreeing man to act turned toward him. All statements on the saving action of God through his mediator Jesus Christ should be understood in this double sense.

Despite the interest in Christ as sole mediator, the history of Christian theology and dogma* includes highly diverse representations of salvation arising from varied cultural presuppositions and divergent notions of the human condition. Balthasar (1961) notes that in Maximus* the Confessor's doctrine of salvation in Christ, his "anthropology* of original sin*" is developed "with almost geometrical rigor." In fact the same could be said of all the great authors. B. Catão (1965) wrote of Thomas* Aquinas, "His vision of salvation is inseparable, on the one hand, from the sin from which we need to be delivered and, on the other hand, from the mission of the Son of God come to the world expressly to accomplish that work."

1. Economy of Salvation and History of Salvation

The church* fathers* often evoked in a very vivid way how Adam*, created in the image of the eternal Logos, fell into disobedience and how the human beings who came after him sank into a history of sin and idolatry* (see Athanasius*, SC 18 bis, 53–149). They contrasted this picture with the vision of a global economy of salvation in which God, through a long history, by way of his covenant* with Abraham and Moses and through the prophets*, prepared humankind for the coming of his Son. According to Irenaeus of Lyon, who was the first to develop this idea, Christ is above all "the sole truthful teacher" (SC 294, 289; SC 211, 363) who wants to use "counsel" and not "force" to bring human beings back to the straight path (SC 153, 19–20) and

who, by his obedience, positively "recapitulates" the whole history of disobedience (SC 211, 371 and 445). He offers a luminous moral example for the human race to imitate. As the true teacher and model, he is at the same time the "light" of the eternal Father* for human beings: "In the flesh of our Lord burst forth the light of the Father, then, shining out from his flesh it came into us, and thus man acceded to incorruptibility, enveloped as he was by the light of the Father" (SC 100, 631).

In this way, Irenaeus and most of the Greek Fathers were able to attach the biblical image of Christ as the true teacher (Mt 11:27, 23:10; Mk 1:22) and the light of the world (Lk 2:32; Jn 1:4f., 9:5, 12:46; Acts 13:47; Eph 5:14) to the notion of *paideia* (education), central to Greek philosophy and culture.

Because divine *paideia* could not, in a world delivered up to tribulation, bring the salvation announced by the Old Testament messianic promises, most second-century theologians awaited the advent of a millennial reign of Christ on earth. This expectation was soon spiritualized (Origen*, Augustine*) and related to the Church. In the Middle Ages, Joachim of Fiore (1130–1202) expounded a new vision of the history of salvation, which he understood as being composed of three ages: the age of the Father up to the coming of Christ, the age of Christ corresponding to the hierarchical Church, and the age of the Holy Spirit* which will see the establishment of a purely spiritual Church. In a secularized form this dynamic vision of history exerted a determining influence on the modern belief in progress and revolutionary ideas (see Lubac* 1979).

The German *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) adopted the theme of education, in interpreting the Judeo-Christian revelation* as a divine intervention destined to educate the human race in a superior morality. G. E. Lessing (1729–81) begins *The education of the human race* with these words: "what education is for individuals, revelation is for the whole of mankind." Kant*, despite his doctrine of radical evil, interpreted the New Testament announcement of the kingdom* of God in an analogous sense. Under his influence, liberal 19th-century Protestant theology saw Jesus Christ especially as the teacher of a new morality. The descending perspective of divine action is no longer articulated around the incarnation but is reduced to the general level of providence*.

In an entirely different context, over the past few decades political* theology and the theology of liberation* have shown renewed interest in the saving action of God in history. However, they see Jesus* not as teacher but as the prophet of new social structures. His saving action is essentially manifest in his proclamation of the imminent reign of God and his solidarity

with the poor, the dispossessed, and the persecuted, something that makes Jesus himself the victim of the powerful in his turn.

But the cross, the resurrection, and participation in divine life cannot find full expression in a theology of education or social transformation, and Church doctrine has never contented itself with this approach. The conviction that evil is a power that cannot be overcome by education alone has been perpetuated down through the tradition*.

2. Christ Triumphant Who Liberates from the Powers of Evil

In the New Testament the ultimate power of evil is the devil or Satan (Mk 1:13, 4:15; Lk 10:18; Jn 8:44, 13:2; Acts 5:3; Rom 16:20; 2 Cor 2:11, 11:14; Rev 12:9, 20:2, 20:7), reduced to impotence by Christ through his death* (Heb 2:14). The idea of Christ's struggle against Satan was important in the patristic period (see Aulén 1930). Irenaeus was already speaking of the just victory over the Enemy (SC 211, 365 and 447; 153, 261–79); after Origen there was added the idea that the devil had a right over human beings because they had voluntarily delivered themselves to him. In this approach the soul of Christ was the “*prix*” (1 Cor 6:20, 7:23; Col 2:14) or the “*rançon*” (Mt 20:28; Mk 10:45; 1 Tm 2:6) paid to the devil. But the Enemy was duped because he could not conserve this “*prix*,” and yet he lost those he had held in his power (GCS 40, 498–99). Although Gregory* of Nazianzus was vigorously opposed to such notions (PG 36, 653), the idea of the devil's rights found an echo in the writings of several Fathers (Basil* [PG 29, 437]; Gregory of Nyssa; John Chrysostom [PG 59, 372–73; 60, 514]; Ambrose* [PL 16, 1115]; Leo the Great [PL 54, 196 and 353]; Gregory* the Great [PL 76, 680]).

Gregory of Nyssa went so far as to systematically develop the idea of the devil's rights in order to justify the incarnation of the Logos and the necessity of the cross. Like Irenaeus he started from the idea that the devil was to be vanquished not by divine power but in full justice. He had no problem admitting that the victory is that of one kind of cheating (Christ's) over another kind (the devil's). Just as the devil used the good* as bait to catch people on the hook of evil, Christ hid the hook of his divinity under the deceiving bait of his humanity. Seeing this man's prodigious exploits the devil accepted to take him as ransom for all men. But in swallowing this “*prix*,” he got caught on the hidden hook of the divinity (PG 45, 47–63). Similar ideas are found in Augustine (CChr.SL 50 A, 399–408; 46, 76).

The theory of the devil's rights and his guileful eviction includes a subtle but decisive error of reasoning:

from the fact that human beings, because of their sins, legitimately fell under the power of Satan, it does not follow that Satan has any rights over them. In fact, since Anselm of Canterbury criticized the theory at the beginning of *Cur Deus homo* (I, 7), it has disappeared from rationalist theology, even if the devil continues to play a role.

Not all the Fathers drew on the theory of the devil to resolve the question of the “*price*” paid by the blood of Christ. Among divergent ideas on this subject, that of Athanasius is noteworthy. He argues that the evil from which human beings must be delivered is the “sentence” and the curse of the law because sin has given death a “right” and a “legal power” over humankind. God did not have the power to lift this sentence pronounced against Adam (Gn 2:16f.) because this would have been a failure of truth*. In order that human beings could be saved but that the sentence should nonetheless be executed, the incarnation of the eternal Word was necessary. He could endure the sentence of death in his body and in our place and yet by virtue of his immortality triumph over death by his resurrection and offer us eternal* life (SC 199, 283–97). John Chrysostom (PG 61, 652–53) and Maximus the Confessor pursued similar lines of thought. However, the latter held, more clearly than Athanasius, that the right to death is not an indeterminate right but, as a consequence of sin, has been directly engraved in human nature as “suffering” and “punishment.”

3. Reconciliation with God in Christ

By the intervention of the one mediator, human beings are given to participate in the life of the divine Trinity. The most fundamental obstacle that stands in the way of salvation thus defined is the separation caused by sin. In this context the saving action of Christ is first understood as a reconciliation by which he carries out a penance*, an expiation*, and a satisfaction for sin; brings justification* to human beings; and offers God a perfect sacrifice*. The terms “penance,” “expiation,” and “satisfaction” are closely related and often used interchangeably. They derive from representations widespread in traditional societies* where the evildoer had to “do penance.” The suffering that he had provoked called for a suffering in return (expiation) and the harm done had to be erased by a reverse harm or a compensation (a satisfaction) (see Verdier 1980).

a) *Expiation.* In the Old Testament, men cannot escape the judgment* incurred for grave shortcomings except by a system of expiation established by God himself (sacrifices rituals, scapegoat*, day of Atonement) (Lv 16–17). Since blood was central to this system, the New Testament could in some cases adopt the

term expiation in the metaphorical sense to describe the death of Christ (*hilastèrion* [Rom 3:25]; *hilaskesthai* [Heb 2:17]; *hilasmos* [1 Jn 2:2; 4:10]) without developing a clear and coherent doctrine of expiation.

The same linguistic usage prevailed in the patristic period. The idea of a social mechanism often remained attached to the word “expiation” when the Fathers used it to designate the blood of Christ without clearly indicating the metaphorical level at which they were speaking.

In the Old Testament the prayer of intercession was already an important element of expiation (see Nm 14:13–19; Dt 9:25–29). Of the Servant who gave his life in expiatory sacrifice (Is 53:10), it is also said that he “makes intercession for the transgressors”; Is 53:12). In the same way, the Epistle to the Hebrews underscores that Christ learned obedience in prayer* and tears, and thus he became “the source of eternal salvation” (Heb 5:5–10). Eternal high priest, he brought “perfect freedom,” with his blood he appeared “in the presence of God on our behalf” (Heb 9:11–28) and acted in our defense (see 1 Jn 2:1) (see Lyonnet 1959). The church fathers extended these perspectives and saw in the Eucharist* primarily a participation in Jesus’ great prayer of intercession, by which reconciliation is offered to sinners. Cyril* of Alexandria saw in the Jewish rite of the two goats on the Day of Atonement a prefiguration of Christ, who both brought a sacrifice for our sins and brought our sins before God to intercede on our behalf in heaven (PG 69, 588–89).

b) Satisfaction. This is a secular concept introduced into theology through the penitential system of the Church. Anselm made of it the key to his doctrine of redemption (*Cur Deus homo*). Working from principles of Germanic law, he argued that all harm done calls for a punishment or a satisfaction. This should correspond to the importance of the loss or even surpass it, to compensate the suffering of the wronged person. Sin, which wrongs an infinite God, is an infinite evil, which therefore calls for a satisfaction of infinite value. No human being can offer this because all are finite and guilty. This is why the act of Christ was necessary: his sacrifice on the cross presented an infinite value because he was God and at the same time man. Anselm’s reasoning deeply influenced subsequent theology and spirituality. The doctrine of infinite satisfaction became a central theme of Christian theology, though Anselm’s step-by-step transformation of Germanic notions was lost from sight.

Confronted by the testimony of God’s infinite mercy in Holy Scripture*, Anselm took on the task of conceiving of a mercy that fully integrates justice and

thus shows itself—beyond all human projections—truly divine. He begins by explaining that God, being infinitely good, cannot in himself be offended. The demand for satisfaction is founded only in the exterior glory of God or in the order of creatures, which coincides in the last instance with the dignity and liberty of human beings. This implies that they act by themselves and thus vanquish by their own forces the evil within them. But in their most intimate being they are turned toward this God beyond whom nothing greater can be conceived and who is truly glorified as God, rather than being secretly transformed into an idol, only by loving him for himself—which is exactly what human beings, entirely corrupted by sin, can no longer do. But Christ, in whom God sends them unlimited love*, offered himself by pure love to the heavenly Father in the place of sinners, thus instituting a form of offering (a satisfaction) that all can assimilate in the Eucharist. In this way they become able to love God by themselves and for himself. So the satisfaction was not necessary in order to bring God an infinite compensation of a purely material order, foreign to the sinner. The decisive fact is that the act of Christ brought human liberty in its deepest root to the God who gives himself (see Corbin, ed., 3, 11–163).

The subsequent tradition did not understand how much the Anselm himself had transformed and “converted” the language of his times. Thomas* Aquinas, who did not develop a systematic doctrine of the redemption, again made satisfaction a sort of assistance supplied externally to human beings on the path of merit. However, he explained that the efficacy proper to the passion* of Christ lay in his love which, as the love of a God-man, has superabundant value (see Catão 1965). With the Council of Trent* the concept of satisfaction was officially adopted in the dogmatic language of the Catholic Church without giving rise to new clarifications. On the subject of the “meritorious cause” of justification, the council echoed Thomas Aquinas, speaking of the “meritorious cause, the beloved only Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who, “while we were enemies” (Rom 5:10), because of the extreme love with which he loved us (see Eph 2:4), merited our justification by his most holy passion on the wood of the cross and made satisfaction for us to God the Father” (COD 673, 21–24).

This formula allowed theologians to present a simplified version of Anselm’s doctrine of expiation as the Catholic doctrine par excellence. In the view of J. Rivièrè, the dogma clearly teaches that Christ, by his passion and death, rendered satisfaction for the sins of humanity and especially for the crucial sin of Adam. But Rivièrè also acknowledges that “Catholic theology was never so narrow and superficial as to stop at this

sole consideration. If Christ had not suffered, he would nonetheless have redeemed us by the perfection of his love, which offered God the perfect homage he deserves and the only kind that can please him" (Rivière 1931).

Others interpret the death of Christ more brutally, following the criminological principle that every offense demands reparation: "The criminal, indebted first to the one he offended, is subject also to the executioner who inflicts the punishment. Here it is God who is offended, and the executioner is the devil, to whom God allowed man to deliver himself by sin in separating from his true master. . . . To whom should be paid the price of redemption? Obviously to the one who is the master of the slave and who was offended. . . . If there was a ransom to pay, it was to God alone, not to Satan. And so we say that Jesus Christ offered his blood as the price of our redemption not to the devil but to God his Father" (Hugon 1922).

Such notions could also be associated with the cult of the heart* of Christ. This form of devotion insists on the human love of Jesus Christ but at the same time cultivates—most often without explanation—the theme of the expiation and the image of the blood that was shed. The suggestion is that God could accept the reconciliation only at this price; this idea has provoked a negative reaction in modern thought (see Leites 1982). The misunderstanding arises from the fact that human representations have been uncritically transposed in speaking of the accomplishment of the redemption so that the metaphorical nature of certain central biblical statements has been lost sight of. The transcendent God does not speak or act directly like a person within the world; he operates through his intermediary creatures, such that his words are always also human words adapted to the realities of this world and its sins. Consequently, as shown by the progress from the Old Testament to the New, they must undergo a profound "conversion" in order to be a true expression of God and his works. If this is ignored and the words that evoke the redemption are understood in immediate human terms, this will necessarily lead to misunderstanding or even a real "deconversion" (Sesboüé 1988). The danger is particularly great when only the action of Christ and the heavenly Father is retained in the dramatic event of the cross, neglecting the role of the "third partner," sinful murderous humanity. This occultation necessarily leads to a profound perversion, "which consists then in making the violence pass from one pole to the other and presenting as a good what is first of all the deed of evil, sinful human beings, the bloody execution of Christ on the cross. [One] simply forgets that there is nothing salutary about the murder as such, that death as death cannot be the object of

God's plan" (Sesboüé 1988). We will see that the danger of such a "deconversion" is no less where the wrath* of God is concerned.

c) *The Wrath of God and the Justification by Christ.* Luther* broke with the whole previous tradition and developed a new notion of the passion of Christ. The crucified, he argued, not only suffered in the inferior powers of his soul, as acknowledged by the great tradition (see Thomas Aquinas, *ST* IIIa, q. 46, a. 8), but was also stricken to the very depths of his being by the divine wrath. Christ on the cross could no longer offer himself to the Father in an act of love because he felt he was being cast into hell*. That salvation is accomplished precisely in this reprobation we are told only by the word* of the gospel on which faith is founded. The cross reveals the strange conjunction of saving wrath and love from which the divine act proceeds. God completely conceals his bounty behind the judgment, which leads the believer too to understand himself as simultaneously just and a sinner. Luther speaks of a "marvelous exchange." Our sin passes entirely onto Christ, and his righteousness is granted to us in the faith as a foreign gift. Luther certainly acknowledges a second righteousness, coming from a person's own works* (sanctification). But he rigorously distinguishes this from the justice of Christ, which alone renders us righteous in the eyes of God and which, even if it becomes ours in the faith, we can never discover in ourselves. Because faith in the justificatory work of Christ is decisive, confidence in salvation is not put into question by possible future sins (there is "certainty of salvation").

This notion of justification discloses a new notion of evil. Luther particularly struggled with God and often felt his wrath. He denied that a person had free choice with regard to salvation, and he broke with Augustine in not granting any theological significance to freedom, not even Adam's freedom, and in defending a more rigorous doctrine of predestination* than that held by the bishop of Hippo. Thus, he was led to distinguish in God the *deus absconditus* (predestinating God) and the *deus revelatus* (preached God). The first is an absolutely ungraspable and terrifying being and can be wicked for human beings; we have to flee from him and put ourselves entirely in the hands of the God revealed on the cross. Therefore, the dialectic of the cross, that of justice and wrath, not only results from the tension between human sin and the sanctity of God but operates in God himself. Fortunately, the reformer did not systematize this backdrop of his theology (see Schwager 1986).

Currents vigorously emphasizing human liberty and the moral life soon developed in Protestant theology in

reaction against Luther. The whole history of the Protestant doctrine of redemption in the Germanic region was in fact determined by the problematic of a subject who finds “in the recourse to the self-aware ego the ultimate foundation of a theory of the truth*” (Wenz 1984). For the new current of thought, fascinated by the autonomy of the subject (liberty, morality, self-awareness), the idea of a justification by way of an intermediary was unacceptable (Socinianism, Kant*). This vision even attracted defenders of the traditional doctrine, as shown, for example, by the theory of the expiatory suffering of Christ (*satisfactio passiva*). According to this line of thought, Christ, by his death, did indeed endure in our place punishment for our sins and delivered us from them, but in his active obedience he could be only a model for us because on this level the idea of vicarious substitution is incompatible with the autonomy of virtue (J.G. Töllner, 1724–74; G.C. Storr, 1746–1805).

This theological tradition, directly or indirectly dominated by the idea of an autonomous subject, must have caused a sharp reaction in Barth; resolutely rejecting any notion of man’s recourse to his subjectivity, he brutally confronted the sinner enclosed in himself with the word that God sent from outside. However, Barth did not call for a return to authoritarian objectivism; he attempted to think God as subjectivity and communication of self, by which alone an authentic human subjectivity can be constituted. To preclude any self-affirmation by sinful man, Barth took as the starting point of his theology the eternal choice of the grace* of God (predestination*) as manifest in the cross and the resurrection of Christ and even placed it ahead of the doctrine of creation and providence. In a “primitive founding act” (*KD* II/2, 25 and 82), God makes a decision with regard to himself because in “choosing man, he not only disposes of him but also originarily of himself” (*KD* II/2, 1; see 89 and 96; IV/2, 92). Barth discovers at the cross that the eternal election has a double content. God vows himself to suffering and reprobation for the sake of humanity. Since God in Christ takes entirely on himself the wrath and the “no” of condemnation that weighs on all human beings, each and every person and not just a certain number of the chosen is called to salvation (“predestined”). In this approach, Christ’s humanity risks becoming a passive grandeur, and one might ask where the wrath comes from if the cross precedes (logically) the creation and the fall of man by the will of God. This is where Barth introduces his difficult doctrine of the “void” (*das Nichtige*), which constitutes a third mode of being aside from created being as such and nothingness, a mode of being that of course finds its concrete form in human sinfulness but represents

much more than that. The void appears—as what one might call an indirect consequence—in God himself in the eternal election: “It is precisely because the act of God is founded on election that it is always an act of zeal, wrath, judgment. God is always holy, but that also means that his being and his act are always produced in a determined opposition, that they always include real negation, defense, aggression. The Other from which God is separated, with regard to which he affirms himself and imposes his positive will, is the vain” (*KD* III/3, 405).

Balthasar* adopted essential elements of Barth’s thought and no less resolutely than Barth rejected all theological subjectivism. Starting from Christology*, he makes the distinction between person and spiritual nature (“subject-spirit”) and understands man, insofar as he is a creature, as a simple “subject-spirit” who awaits in the very depths of himself a supplementary determination. This comes from Christ, whose mission is identified with his personal being and includes in itself all humankind. Countering the whole Enlightenment tradition, for which the profound being of the moral subject cannot be the object of any delegation, Balthasar founds the vicarious act of Christ on his mission (i.e., his person), which also raises all other human individuals to the dignity of persons. This substitution culminates for Balthasar—as for Luther and Barth—in the event of the cross, which sees Christ stricken in our place by the divine wrath and, like the damned, abandoned by God, so that he can infiltrate universal sin to its fullest extent. As opposed to Barth, however, Balthasar clearly relates moral evil to the wayward liberty of creatures. He acknowledges a hope* of universal salvation but at the same time insists on the ultimate mystery* inherent in the encounter of divine grace and human liberty.

d) Sacrifice. The liturgy* often speaks of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, making this idea particularly important for Catholic theology. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992) interprets the life and death of Christ almost exclusively by means of this concept. But sacrifices also play a central role in the domain of religions, giving rise to widely divergent interpretations. Many animal sacrifices figure in the Old Testament also, and one of the essential duties of the priests was to immolate the victims.

In the New Testament, despite numerous figurative allusions, the idea of sacrifice is rarely applied to the death of Christ. Only the Epistle to the Hebrews develops a theology of the sacerdotal service and the “the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God” (Heb 9:14). Nevertheless, everything that separates this from the Old

Testament order is emphasized in Hebrews. The decisive originality, which gives the concept of sacrifice an entirely new sense, lies in the fact that in cultural sacrifice those who kill are sacrificers, whereas in the crucifixion of Christ, they are murderers. This reversal led the first Christian authors to use the term with several different meanings. With regard to the offering of the gifts in the Eucharist*, they speak—drawing on Malachi 1:11—of a pure sacrifice of nourishment, offered in all places (Daly 1978). The concept of sacrifice when related to the act of Christ was, on the other hand, highly spiritualized. Augustine writes, “Then true sacrifice is all good works that contribute to uniting us with God in a holy society, meaning all work related to that most supreme grace in which we can truly be happy (*City of God*, X, 6).

This is the definition used by Thomas when he speaks of the passion as a sacrifice (*ST* IIIa, q. 48, a. 3). However, in this ethical acception, we are not given to understand why the sacrifice of Christ had to involve his brutal bloody death and could not be limited to his love for God. Augustine and the church fathers sought to remedy this defect by completing their doctrine of sacrifice with the theme of victory over the devil; Scholastic theologians put the doctrine of expiation to the same purpose. These artificial complements show that an important factor had been neglected: the role of the subconscious in sacrificial representations, as expressed in the materiality of the rite.

Because the idea of sacrifice, despite its spiritualization, inevitably evokes blood and the blood of Christ did flow on the cross, there was a temptation from the patristic era to recognize in the “sacrifice of Christ” an act of putting to death or annihilation. Consequently, the murderers of Jesus could be made the instruments of the eternal Logos (Eusebius, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa) or the Heavenly Father (Barth). This entailed the risk of considering the sacrificed Christ as the indirect author of his own death or the victim immolated by the Heavenly Father. Gregory of Nyssa explained that Christ was not dead according to the laws of nature; the Logos, by his plenary power, had separated the soul and the body of his humanity (killing himself directly) to offer the sacrifice (Jaeger II, 132, 7–14; III/1, 152, 30–154, 14; IX, 286, 23–288, 8).

Athanasius added a notion of exchange to the idea that the Logos sacrificed his humanity: “The Word himself took upon himself that which is ours, brought the sacrifice of it, and thus destroyed it in order to clothe us in that which is his” (PG 26, 1061).

Such ideas inevitably led to the “deconversion” of concepts referred to above. The specific role of the murderers was obscured, and the notion of sacrifice repeatedly fell into archaic representations. This is the

starting point of the contemporary critique by R. Girard, whose interpretation of ritual bloody cults, which makes a clear distinction between sacrificial representations (myths*) and the sacrificial act (rite), may be useful to theology. Although Girard acknowledges that sacrificial representations developed and were spiritualized throughout the history of religions, he consistently interprets bloody sacrifice in its ritual materiality as a collective aggression directed against a “victim.” From this perspective he resolutely refuses to see the death of Christ as a sacrifice. That which in the history of religions was a bloody sacrificial act is revealed in the Gospels* as a sin, the collective act of murderous human. There the figure of the “victim” takes on an entirely different meaning because the offering to the divinity, as expressed in sacrificial representations, is made by the victim himself and not by those who kill or sacrifice.

Moreover, the narrative* of the Fall shows that as soon as human beings become guilty of transgression, they rush to project blame for their act on others: Adam accuses Eve, and Eve accuses the serpent (Gn 3:12f.; see Gn 4:9). Cain, devoured by jealousy, tries to find solace by killing his brother, and he too starts by projecting the blame (Gn 4:3–9). Furthermore, in the narratives of the lives of the prophets and in the psalms of lamentation, we see how criminals constantly join forces to calumniate and persecute people of prayer and justice (Jer 26:7–9; Mi 4:11; Za 12:3; Ps 2:2f., 22:13–17, 31:14, 38:13, 38:20, 41:8, 69:5, 118:10–13). And so we understand how many different groups in Israel*, both Jewish and Gentile, combined against Jesus (see Acts 4:27f.).

Anselm of Canterbury reasoned that a mercy that draws a veil over evil without restoring the captive liberty from within is unworthy of God as of man. This reasoning is important but in itself insufficient. If transgression implies that the blame is cast on others, turning them into victims, then evil is not fully vanquished until the victims are rescued. In fact, as God’s revelation progresses from the Old Testament to the New Testament, he appears ever more clearly as the one who takes the side of the victim. We understand then how Jesus accepted by obedience to become such a victim. Because, like the good shepherd, he was always looking for sinners, he discovered that as soon as he came near them, they placed their blame on him. They made him their “scapegoat,” not in the ritual sense as some theologians (Estius, Cornelius a Lapide; H. Lesêtre; E.B. Allo; see Sabourin 1961) have believed—on the grounds that God or the Logos, like the high priest in the rite of the scapegoat, deliberately transferred the sin to humankind—but in the sense of the Psalms*, which, moreover, correspond to the ap-

proach of modern social psychology. Blinded by sin, people instinctively projected their transgressions on the innocent man, making him the carrier of their sins (1 Pt 2:24) or the scapegoat. God did not directly wish for the death of his Son, but he wanted the Son's total devotion to hardened human beings who would, in the name of the law, identify him with sin (2 Cor 5:21) and a curse (Gal 3:13). As victim of sin, Christ did not answer violence and lies with violence but bore the evil in a nonviolent love; this is the meaning of the "lamb of God" image. By a "mysterious alchemy" (Sesboüé 1988), he was able to transform evil into good. Having simultaneously identified with all the victims (*see* 2 Cor 5:15), he could implore God in their name from this world of perdition and call on the saving power of the resurrection through the coming of the Spirit (*see* Schwager 1990). Here modern theology emphasizes that sending the Spirit must be understood as an autonomous act by which God communicates salvation and not a simple appropriation (*see* Mühlen 1963; Congar 1979–80; Coffey 1979).

e) Transcendental Reconciliation. The central theme of reconciliation was reformulated by Rahner*. The point of departure of his theology is the universal will to salvation in God; he understands revelation as an act of divine self-communication that has repercussions right down through history (transcendental revelation). But Rahner also sees Christ as the absolute savior because it is in him that this divine act, which takes place everywhere in an invisible way ("existential supernatural," "anonymous Christians"), has become historically incomprehensible. Rahner contemplates the question of death from the point of view of liberty and decision. However, the violent death of Jesus does not play any particular role in his reasoning. That is why the theme of evil and sin remains vague in the doctrine of transcendental reconciliation (*see* Rahner 1976).

4. From the Resurrection of Jesus to the New Creation in Christ

According to the narrative in Genesis, God judged after each act of the creation that his work was good and, finally, very good (Gn 1:4, 1:10, 1:18, 1:21, 1:25, 1:31). But on the eve of the deluge, "Now the earth was corrupt in God's sight, and the earth was filled with violence" (Gn 6:11). God's first observation, when the waters recede, is that "the intention of man's heart is evil from his youth" (Gn 8:21); similar grievances are repeated throughout the Old Testament. All the moral admonishments and prophecies* shattered on "that execrable stubbornness" (Jer 3:17, 9:13, 11:8, 13:10, 16:12, 18:12, 23:17). Jesus' proclamation met with the same resistance. That is why, according to

Paul, the "old man" must die with Christ, to share in his resurrection and become a "new man": and a "new creation" (Rom 6:1–11, 8:1–17; 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15). The death of Christ is salutary only because it leads to the resurrection and the new creation (*see* Durrwell 1950).

The theme of the resurrection and the new creation was treated in various ways by the church fathers. They saw in the Eucharist a "remedy for immortality" (Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Churches of Ephesus* 20:2). But the idea of man's deification is what allowed them to explain that the sinner must be renewed in his very nature*. Athanasius argued that man, by the Fall, called down on himself a double misfortune: he is condemned for his transgression and falls into the state of perdition of a creature separated from God (SC 199, 275–79). Having escaped from participation in the Word* and no longer being "such as he had begun to be," he loses the gift of the promised incorruptibility and is brought down to the simple condition of a creature drawn out of nothingness*. He finds himself subject to a power of natural destruction that is rigorously exercised against him since the transgression and must face the death with which he was threatened. It is to eliminate this double misfortune and vanquish the extreme inconstancy of human liberty that man must be naturally bound to God by the incarnation of the Logos: "For he made himself man so that we would be made God" (*ibid.*, 459). We are liberated from sin and deified. The cross manifests the humiliation of the Logos, the resurrection shows the glorification and the new creation of humanity. This notion of an exchange between God and humanity was very important in theology (*see* Thomas Aquinas, opusc. 57, in *Festo Corp. Chr.* 1) as in the liturgy.

Certain Fathers (Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor) replaced the idea of the double misfortune with the doctrine of the double creation. After Philo of Alexandria, they distinguished between a creation prior to the Fall and a creation after the Fall. The first included impassibility, an angelic condition, and an eternal existence; the second includes suffering, death, and procreation with concupiscence (Gregory of Nyssa, SC 6, 151–72; Maximus, CChr.SG 10, 138–39). Man, destined by God to an ideal angelic condition, sinned from the first instant of his existence: he was no sooner created than he was miserable. Sin is inscribed, with all its consequences, in the concrete reality of the creation itself, and it can be vanquished only by a radical transformation, by death and resurrection.

The doctrine of the double creation was not adopted by the Western Church, which taught, with Athanasius, that the creation as such was extremely precarious and

that only Adam's preternatural gifts had allowed him to exist briefly in an ideal condition. No doubt man could have avoided sinning (Augustine); however, his "ability to sin" carried the threat of fatality. In both these approaches the moral evil has its condition of possibility and therefore to a certain extent its deep roots in the creation itself, beyond all act of an ethical or political order. Salvation demands a transformation of the "old" creation. That is why the whole tradition insisted on the corporeal nature of the resurrection and presented it as a new creation in view of eternal life and not a return to the precarious existence before the Fall. Only in the second-century Gnosis (see Orbe 1976) and in modern theology did converse movements develop. Whereas Gnosis often subjected the material world to an inferior God and conceived salvation as an elevation out of this world, certain currents of modern theology tend to reduce the resurrection to a process of conversion within believers themselves (Bultmann*, W. Marxen). In both cases there is a risk of losing sight of the important theme of the new creation.

In an attempt to make the idea of precarious creation accessible to a modern sensibility, P. Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955) made an interpretation based on the theory of evolution*. In some texts he describes "original sin" as a phenomenon coextensive with the whole of evolution: "Original sin is the essential reaction of the finite to the creative act" (*Œuvres*, v.X, 53). He counts on a transformation of the creation that looks beyond man to the Omega point, the full revelation of Christ. He was taken to task for neglecting the question of moral transgression in his notion of original sin. Even if the specific role of human liberty remains to be clearly defined, today it seems fully justifiable to attempt, as does Teilhard, to place in an evolutionist context the precariousness of the creation, already taught by the Fathers. This leads into the idea that the resurrection of Christ is not only a sign of hope for all people but also the indication of a future transformation of the whole extrahuman creation.

5. Conclusion

The Old Testament messianic texts expressed the hope of an earthly plenitude of salvation (Is 11:1–16, 65:16–25; Am 9:11–15; Mi 4:1–5). Jesus also proclaimed the kingdom of God as a reality already partially accomplished. But the approach of the new world inevitably multiplied the resistance of the old forces. This is why Jesus' fidelity to the kingdom of God led him, beyond his violent death and his resurrection, toward the world of the new creation and authentic salvation. Remembering the distance covered with the help of the Holy Spirit and in its efforts to im-

itate Christ, the Church proclaims the beginning of salvation in this world though knowing that the time of misfortune, suffering, and persecutions is not over. This is why the Church understands itself to be the sign and instrument of a profound metamorphosis of human beings, who are destined for union with God and with each other (LG 1). Since the Church itself is not exempt from sin, iniquity, and suffering, the unambiguous signs of the awaited salvation are found only in the symbolic structure of its sacramental life. Whereas secular societies need to distinguish themselves from foreigners and enemies and can establish their own unity only at the expense of some scapegoat, it is quite a different sort of community that sketches itself in the eucharistic celebration. It is rooted in the conversion* of all the participants and confesses that God made the one who was excluded and rejected by men the "source of eternal salvation" (Heb 5:9), the "cornerstone" of a new community (Acts 4:11), the "food that endures to eternal life" (Jn 6:27). The eucharistic celebration on earth thus becomes the sign of the fullness of the salvation hoped for in eternal life with the divine Trinity.

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RAYMUND SCHWAGER

See also **Beatitude; Eschatology; Jerusalem; Messianism/Messiah; Millenarianism; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Son of Man; Temptation; Vision, Beatific**

Satan. *See* Demons

Savior. *See* Christ/Christology; Salvation

Scandal/Skandalon

In modern English and French usage, "scandal" (Fr. *scandale*) in the most general sense means an offense to moral sensibility. In a more precise sense, the word refers to the occasion of moral lapse provided by such behavior. In moral theology*, the term translated by *scandale* in French signifies a word, deed, or omission that, because it is wrong or appears wrong, could be an occasion for sin*.

The origin of the notion lies in the Bible. In the lit-

eral sense, a scandal is a trap or stumbling block (*skandalon*; the spring that sets it off is *skandalithon*) or an offense or stumbling (*proskomma*). In the religious or ethical sense, it is anything that is the occasion or cause of temptation* or falling. For example, Israel* is warned against consorting with the people remaining in the promised land lest the latter become "a snare and a trap" to them (Jos 23:13). In the New Testament, the term refers primarily to the ways, utterly different from

human expectations, in which God* saves the world*. Jesus* himself is an “offense to” a sinful and self-righteous world (Mk 6:3; *see* Lk 2:34). He is “a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offense” (Rom 9:33; 1 Pt 2:8). By reason of his association with sinners, his freedom from traditions, and his attitude to the Sabbath*, Jesus offends the Pharisees (Mt 12:14), and his death is “a stumbling block to Jews and folly to Gentiles” (1 Cor 1:23). He is the focus of the decision for belief or unbelief. Thus, *skandàlon* is a matter not primarily of ethics* but of faith*. On the other hand, Jesus is recorded as condemning offense in the strongest terms: “Woe to the one through whom they [temptations to sin] come!” (Lk 17:1; *see* Mt 18:6f.).

The Christian must not soften the offensive, or scandalous, aspect of faith. However, as Paul says with regard to food sacrificed to idols, truth* should not be made an occasion of moral lapse for a brother (1 Cor 8:4–13; Rom 14:13–21). Paul refers here to actions that are not evil but that could cause others to sin in certain cases.

Jesus’ statement that “Temptations to sin are sure to come” (Lk 17:1) led to questions concerning the sense in which offense is necessary. Does this mean that, if the gospel is preached in its fullness, it is inevitable that some will be scandalized? What is the significance of Jesus’ challenge to Peter*: “Get behind me, Satan, you are a hindrance to me” (Mt 16:23)? According to Thomas Aquinas*, *skandàlon* in this case means “obstacle” and not “offense” (*STh* IIa IIae, q. 43, a. 5, ad 1).

Aquinas defines “scandal” (*STh* IIa IIae, q. 43) as “the less right *minus rectum* in word or action giving the occasion of a fall” (a. 1). An act is *minus rectum* when it is wrong or when it has the appearance of sin (example from 1 Cor 8:9ff., loc. cit. a. 1, ad 2). A scandal is an occasion, not a cause, of sin since nothing can be sufficient cause of sin except one’s own will.

Scandal may be *per se* or *per accidens*. It is *per se* when a person has an intention* to lead another into sin or when the deed or word is such as to induce another to sin. It is *per accidens* when a person’s deed or word, without the deed or the intention being evil, is the occasion of sin for someone who is already disposed toward it. Scandal may be “active” (from the perspective of the one who occasions it) or “passive” (from the perspective of the person who is scandalized; ad 4). Careful discernment is required when the deed is good and legitimate but may occasion a fall by those who are weak. Spiritual goods must sometimes be abandoned in order to avoid scandal. It is obviously forbidden to sin mortally in order to save another. However, there are some spiritual goods that are not necessary for salvation*. In such cases, it is necessary to distinguish between those who are scandalized out

of malice and those who are scandalized because they lack understanding. The former wish to prevent the good effects of what they reject, such as the Pharisees who were scandalized by Christ* (Mt 15:12). It is necessary to take the weakness or ignorance of the latter into account and to take the time to explain what is at stake; if they persevere, this arises from malice and should be ignored.

These ideas were adopted by the manuals of moral theology and repeated, with some variations, for centuries. The work of Alphonsus* Liguori is representative of the manualist tradition (*Moral Theology* 1, 2, 3, 5). Causing an active scandal is always prohibited. As for other types of scandal, the authors engaged in detailed discussions of the circumstances in which one may or may not do something that could be an occasion of sin. It was taken for granted that one may never perform an intrinsically evil act or intend to lead another into sin, but there were cases in which passive scandal could be permitted for a proportionate reason. While this tradition has been accused of legalism, these older authors were intensely aware of the paradoxical allure of the forbidden and the intricate web of relationships between persons.

The manualists formulated what is today the official Catholic position: direct scandal is always wrong, but indirect scandal, caused by an action good in itself, can be justified in certain circumstances on the basis of the principle of double effect (intention*). Direct scandal is equated with seduction, which is the deliberate effort, overt or disguised, to lead another into sin. Seduction is not only a matter of individual acts, nor is it solely to do with sexuality: there can also be cultural, social, political, or economic seduction (e.g., propaganda). The seducer may directly corrupt the moral character or faith of the victim: here the adjective “diabolical” is appropriately used. The seducer may also be need personal satisfaction, or companionship in evil*. Seduction is therefore a radical perversion of friendship.

The theological analysis of scandal sees it as having an objective element, the nature of the scandalous words or deeds, and a subjective element, the culpability of the individuals occasioning or taking scandal. In moral theology, scandal is closely linked to seduction and to complicity in evil. The common context is the relational structure of the moral life. A moral act is to be both an expression of personal authenticity and a witness of the moral life to others, especially in view of the fact that one does not always act alone. Traditional moral theology explored in detail the complexities of what was called “cooperation in evil.” The importance of the relational structure of the moral life was expressed in requiring that the entirety of the moral life be

informed by the love* of charity. Scandal, seduction, and complicity are profound violations of love as well as of specific virtues*, such as justice*. They contradict the responsibility that we have for the salvation of others (Häring 1978), hence the necessity to make reparation if one has become guilty of scandal.

While the manuals did not ignore political, cultural, and economic realities, they were intended principally for the use of confessors and had a largely individualistic notion of sin. To correct this bias, contemporary theology appeals to the notion of “structural sin.”

Supporters of proportionalism* have challenged the theory of scandal, in particular, the idea that there are acts that are intrinsically wrong, the distinction between direct scandal and indirect scandal, and even the validity of the principle of double effect. For many proportionalists, only those acts that in their very meaning include the intending of moral evil, such as deliberately inducing others to violate their consciences* or do what they judge to be immoral, are intrinsically evil (Schüller 1979).

The application of the principle of double effect becomes especially problematic when it comes to choosing between two evil acts. Traditionally, committing an evil act, even if it is the lesser available evil, was never permitted. Today, by contrast, it seems obvious to some that one should *choose* the lesser of two evils. The problem is that, in counseling the lesser evil, one is still persuading someone to do a bad act. A contemporary instance of this problem is the debate over condoms: should one counsel persons who are incapable of abstinence to use condoms so as to avoid AIDS? Would that not be a cause of scandal? Alphonsus Liguori, who is far from being alone in this, thought that when the other is already determined to sin, one may counsel him to perform a lesser sin.

Earlier, Augustine* had argued that divorcing an adulterous wife in order to marry another would be less sinful than killing her for the same purpose since one sin is better than two (*De coniugiis adulterinis* 2, 15). This gave rise to a certain number of quibbles in the manuals that have seemed implausible to contemporary critics who see them as one more confirmation of the inadequacy of the theory of double effect.

Critics of this type of moral theology charge it with

narrowing the biblical notion of scandal and its primary reference to faith. The possibility that the Church itself might be an occasion of scandal is not addressed, although the manualists were well aware of the scandalous behavior of some members of the clergy. What Paul says about scandalizing the weak should not be made into an absolute principle: the need to avoid scandal and protect the “weak” has sometimes been invoked to resist necessary changes in the Church and in society*. Avoiding scandal has sometimes also been a means of protecting the reputation of the Church’s institutions and personnel.

Finally—and this is an entirely different aspect of the matter—some contemporary theologians speak of the scandal of creation*, arguing that much of contemporary atheism arises from the scandal of the suffering of the innocent. How, then, are we to understand the “necessity” of scandal?

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BRIAN JOHNSTONE

See also Casuistry; Intention; Temptation

Scapegoat

The scapegoat is an animal* that plays a particular role in the ritual of the Day of Expiations* or Day of Atonement. This ritual, drawn from Jewish liturgy,* is described in Leviticus 16, though the name of the holiday is not given there. However, in Leviticus 23:27f., it appears in a liturgical calendar that makes this a day of fasting and rest. The holiday is celebrated on the 10th day of the seventh month, the month of Tishri (September–October) of the Babylonian calendar.

Centered on the idea of purification, the celebration includes two distinct rituals that were combined, no doubt at a late period: a sacrificial ritual composed of sacrifices* for sin*, holocausts, and a nonsacrificial ritual. Aaron the priest (sacerdoce) receives from the community of Israelites two goats, takes them, and places them before YHWH at the entry of the sanctuary. A goat is chosen by drawing lots and designated “for YHWH,” the other “for Azazel.” The first serves as a sacrifice for the sin of the people. The second, placed alive before YHWH, will be sent into the desert (Lv 16:5, 16:7–10). Aaron places his hands on the head of the living goat, charging it with all the transgressions of the Israelites, and then sends the goat into the desert led by a man who stands ready for this mission (Lv 16:20ff.).

The second goat did not bear the name of “scapegoat”; this was given after the Vulgate translation*, *capro emissario*, which refers to the fact that the animal was sent out, and is meant to be a translation of Azazel. In the Septuagint translation it is no longer the “goat for Azazel” but a goat “casting away” (*apopompaios*) sins. The name of Azazel must have created a problem for the translators. It is of course maintained in the rabbinical tradition* but interpreted as the name of a place (*Midrash Yoma* VI, 18). Rashi (commentary on *Leviticus*) saw it as the name of a steep mountain. Azazel, named four times in Leviticus 16 and nowhere else in the Old Testament, is the name* of a divine being, more exactly a demon* who lives in the desert like the goats or satyrs in Isaiah 13:21 and 34:14. The name Azazel was the subject of numerous discussions, but it can be explained as ‘z’zl from a root ‘zz, evoking force, by a conscious metathesis of ‘z’zl (Azazel) with the intent of eliminating the theophoric element ‘el.

The rite of the scapegoat shows that it is not an of-

fering to a divinity, even an inferior one, and even less a sacrifice because there is no immolation and use of the blood. The animal is sent alive into the desert. The sole function of the goat is to represent symbolically the spatial removal of the transgressions of Israel*. In itself, the goat is neither innocent nor guilty; it serves as a symbolic vehicle.

Illustration-in-act of the purification of the community, the rite of the scapegoat is integrated into a whole that is meant to signify the return to full communion* with God*. In Leviticus 16 the rite is yahwized, but it is ancient or even archaic, and similar rites have been found. The most suggestive, despite the differences, is the rite of purification of the *cella* of the god Nabu in Esagil, the temple* of the god Marduk in Babylon. This rite took place on the fifth day of the Babylonian New Year. A ram was decapitated, and a priest used its body in a ritual destined to purify the sanctuary and its immediate surroundings. The animal’s body was then thrown into the river along with the head; the priest and the person who had killed the animal retired to the country until the end of the holiday (D. Wright). The comparison is all the more interesting in that the Babylonian rite is connected with the New Year festival, while the Day of Expiations, before it was set in the seventh month, was celebrated in the first month of a calendar on which the year began in the autumn.

In the New Testament, the goat sent into the desert on the Day of Expiations is never mentioned in relation with the death* of Christ*. Hebrews 13:12, where Jesus* is presented as having “suffered outside the gate,” might have contained a reference to the rite of Expiations, but the precision “outside the camp” in Leviticus 16:27 concerns the combustion of animals offered in sacrifice. Similarly, when the texts evoke “Christ having been offered once to bear the sins of many” (Heb 9:28; 1 Pt 2:24), the expression refers rather to Isaiah 53:12 than to Leviticus 16. So it must be recognized that the Christian typology of the scapegoat was not developed before the *Epistle of Barnabas* (7, 1–10), a second-century A.D. writing.

When the expression “scapegoat” is used in everyday language (R. Girard), it has no direct relation with the ritual in Leviticus.

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JACQUES BRIEND

See also **Exorcism; Expiation; Laying On of Hands; Purity/Impurity; Sacrifice; Salvation; Sin; Wrath of God**

Scheeben, Matthias Joseph

1835–88

Scheeben was born in Meckenheim, near Bonn, and died in Köln; he studied theology* and philosophy* in the *Collegium Romanum* from 1852 to 1859. His teachers included in particular Carlo Passaglia, Clemens Schrader, and Johann Baptist Franzelin, who were then seeking to renew Catholic theology through contact with the Fathers* of the Church (“the Roman School”). In the *Collegium Germanicum*, where Joseph Kleutgen taught rhetoric, Scheeben also entered into contact with that eminent representative of the budding Neoscholastic movement. Scheeben was ordained priest* in Rome* in 1858. On his return to Germany he was first rector and catechist for the Ursulines in Münsterfeld; from 1860 he taught in the diocesan seminary in Köln, first as tutor and then as professor of dogmatics* and moral theology.

Scheeben’s first important publication dealt with Marian piety (*Marienblüten aus dem Garten der heiligen Väter und christlichen Dichter*; Schaffhouse, 1860). In the area of dogmatics he dealt with the question of the relation between nature* and grace*, one of the fundamental problems of 19th-century theology, and did so in terms both of the theory of knowledge and of ontology. While dissociating the order of nature from the order of grace, Scheeben argued for a subordination of the former to the latter (*Natur und Gnade*, Mainz, 1861). This work was set in the framework of internal theological discussion, but Scheeben also undertook a popularization of his thought in a reworked translation of a work of piety by the Jesuit Eusebius Nieremberg, *Del aprecio y estima de la divina gracia* (Madrid, 1638). This book went through several editions during his lifetime (*The Wonders of Divine Grace* [*Die Herrlichkeiten der göttlichen Gnade*, Freiburg,

1862; final edition revised by the author, 1885]) and allowed Scheeben to widen his audience. In *The Mysteries of Christianity* (*Die Mysterien des Christentums*, Freiburg, 1865), Scheeben started out from the mystery* of the divine Trinity* in order to set forth a general vision of Christian faith* and was intent on bringing out the internal coherence of and the connection between the different mysteries. His *Dogmatics* remained unfinished (*Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik*, 3 vols., Freiburg, 1873–87; vol. IV, 1–3, is by Leonhard Atzberger [1889–1903]). Scheeben founded the journals *Pastoralblatt* (which first appeared in 1867 and is still published today) and *Das ökumenische religiösen Konzil vom Jahre 1869* (3 vols., 1870–72; the publication continued from 1873 to 1882 under the title *Periodische Blätter zur wissenschaftlichen Besprechung der großen religiösen Fragen der Gegenwart*).

Scheeben aligned himself with the movement of renewal of Catholic theology brought about by the rediscovery of the treasures of the tradition*, and his work is probably the most original expression of the movement. His principal merit lies in an organic vision of the mysteries of faith, which he interprets on the basis of the central mystery of the Trinity and the Incarnation* as pronouncements bearing on the participation of man in divine life. He follows his teachers Passaglia and Schrader in not interpreting the dwelling of the Holy Spirit in the believer in terms of trinitarian appropriation*. The central place he attributes to Mary* is evidence of the spiritual perspective in which his theology is rooted. Although Scheeben had no direct disciples, he exercised a lasting influence on Catholic theology, an influence that only increased with the publication of

his complete works. This in turn gave rise to many critical works. His ideas in certain areas (the doctrine of the Trinity, pneumatology, the doctrine of grace, Mariology) were taken up in the manuals of theology.

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PETER WALTER

See also **Newman, John; Thomism; Tübingen, Schools of**

Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von

1775–1854

Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling was born in Leonberg, Germany, the son of a pastor*. He initially intended pursuing an ecclesiastical career and studied in the seminary of Tübingen along with Hegel (1770–1831) and Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843). By 1794 his calling as a philosopher had been awakened under the influence of J.G. Fichte (1762–1814). On the recommendation of J.G. Goethe (1749–1832), he was a professor at the University of Jena from 1798 to 1803 and then at Würzburg from 1803 to 1806. From 1807 to 1820 he was general secretary of the Academy

of Fine Arts in Munich. He resumed teaching in Erlangen in 1821 and was then called to the new University of Munich in 1827. He served with distinction there until 1841, when the Prussian government invited him to succeed Hegel in Berlin. He subsequently resigned in 1846 and died in Ragaz, Switzerland, in 1854. His work may be divided into four periods: 1794–1800—Schelling gradually breaks with Fichte and develops a philosophy* of nature; 1800–1808—the philosophy of identity; 1809–27—the search for efficacy in God*, sometimes called the philosophy of liberty*; and

1827–54—the late philosophy. The study of the theological aspects of his work follows this classic division without adhering to it in every detail.

1. *Under the Sign of Exegesis*

The very first writing by Schelling, *De prima malorum humanorum origine* (1792; this was his master's dissertation), is a commentary on Genesis 3. Three aspects of this work, which has been little studied (note, however, Jacobs 1993) should be emphasized here: 1) The choice of this passage of the Bible*, fraught as it is with all the theological interpretations of original* sin, is significant in itself; by advocating exegesis* in the tradition of the Enlightenment as well as of the Reformation, Schelling is in fact criticizing a certain practice of theology*. Evil*, according to Schelling—who was able to take historical arguments from J. G. Eichhorn (*Urgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1779)—is not primarily or essentially moral evil but above all physical evil. Schelling thus plays off history against dogma* and can lay claim to the legacy of Kant (*Mutmaßlicher Anfang der Menschengeschichte*). No more than Kant does Schelling wish to destroy what he criticizes but rather to understand it thoroughly, with presuppositions in reading that have to be made explicit. 2) Indeed, Genesis 3 cannot be understood as the narrative of an event but rather as a myth* and must therefore be compared with the many myths of the golden age, particularly that of Pandora. Schelling's interest in myths was to persist. Mythic representations are not irrational but the signs of a still fledgling reason*; and precisely on that account they can with complete legitimacy be translated into a conceptual language. Genesis 3 thus contains a *doctrine* of human nature. The emphasis on the tree of knowledge allows Schelling to assert that it is the awakening of human wisdom*, the first knowledge of the difference between good* and evil, that is the cause of the unhappiness but also of the progress of man. Again with reference to Kant, the dissonance present in man must in fact be resolved at the end of history*. 3) The comparison of Genesis with other narratives dealing with origins is possible only on the supposition of the unity of reason, which thereby imposes certain limits on the understanding of the plurality of its manifestations. Thus, according to an idea that recurs in Schelling's late philosophy, Judaism* cannot be fundamentally distinguished from other religions, and moreover there is no privilege for the Jewish people in the perception of monotheism*. And Schelling insists, through the analysis of the two divine names*, the plural Elohim and the singular YHWH, on a gradual movement from polytheism to monotheism, which holds as true for the Jews as for others.

This first work is thus noteworthy for the intent to criticize the founding texts of religion, that is, to evaluate them by bringing out the truth* they conceal, first in the light of a reason inherited from the *Aufklärung*, then in the light of a philosophy more specific to Schelling himself.

2. *Christianity according to the Philosophy of Identity*

The ambition of this philosophy is to establish itself in the absolute, for which the identity $A = A$ (a formulation inherited from Fichte, who applied it to the Ego) is the privileged expression. It also has the aim of understanding through the absolute the world* as a whole, which is nothing other than the composition, at various levels, of the two poles of the ideal and the real. All productions of the mind, all human activities, and nature as well must be understood in the light of the absolute, that is, with the help of philosophy. Religions are thus expressions of the absolute; but from this point of view, they are not necessarily privileged over art or, specifically, over philosophy.

In particular, Schelling on two occasions focused on the meaning of Christianity (*Philosophy of Art*, SW V, 355–736; *Lectures on the Method of Academic Study*, SW V, 207–352). Christianity can be understood only in relation to Greek polytheism, and it is important to recognize in both different expressions of the absolute. Through the Greek gods is manifested the union of the infinite* and the finite in the finite: “The universe is intuited as nature” (SW V, 430). Christianity, for its part, wishes to abolish the finite for the benefit of the infinite, an abolition that can occur only through history understood as providence*. Since the infinite can be proclaimed only by the finite, the finite has no other reality but that of being an attempt at identification with the infinite; but such an attempt can occur only sequentially, hence historically. The philosophy of identity is obviously not concerned with understanding the absolute itself in a historical manner; it is eternally already itself, and it cannot be thought of in terms of any kind of becoming. “Each particular moment of time* is a revelation* of a particular aspect of God*, who remains absolute through each one of them; what Greek religion possessed simultaneously, Christianity possesses sequentially” (SW V, 288). The absolute thus manifests itself first in the preponderance of the real in nature, then through the preponderance of the ideal pole in history.

Schelling then defends a “speculative” conception of theology that understands the principal dogmas* of Christianity in the light of philosophical knowledge of the absolute. This is not an avatar of the rational religion of Kant, who, contrary to what Schelling intends

to do, eliminates the positive or historical aspect from Christianity. The concept of theology developed in the ninth of the *Lectures* is, however, primarily critical. Schelling rejects theology as it practiced in his own time. The excess of exegetical (exegesis*) and hence philological concerns—should this be seen as a distancing from his dissertation?—but also of psychological interpretations of the sacred books*, the tendency to retain from Christianity only a morality close to domestic economy, all, according to Schelling, made it particularly urgent to distinguish within theology between what was simply empirical and touched on the letter of Scripture on the one hand and, on the other, “knowledge in and for itself,” that is, the philosophical consideration of theology, obviously for that very reason having little likely future among theologians. The Schelling of 1802 was thus harsh toward Protestantism*, which he considered to be at the origin of these exegetical and empirical tendencies; it was accused of having replaced living authority with the authority of dead books, a “much more restrictive” authority, a “much more abject slavery” (SW V, 301). It was, however, not until the *Philosophy of Revelation*, and a very different conception of the absolute, that Schelling interpreted “speculatively” the principal dogmas.

3. *From the Absolute to God*

It is customary to say that in 1809, the year in which *Studies on the Essence of Human Freedom* (SW VII, 333–416) was published, Schelling decisively distanced himself from the philosophy of identity. It is true that this work, along with the three versions of the *Ages of the World* (1811, 1813, 1815), shows us a Schelling in search of a “living God” (SW VII, 346) who would make it possible to understand not only what, in the finite, had until then been left in the shadows as illusory because detached from an infinite that alone was real but also how efficacy and life came to being in God himself, now another name for the absolute. It is also worth noting that this change of direction seems to have coincided with Schelling’s discovery of Jacob Böhme (1575–1624) and, through or along with him, of Germanic theosophy*.

However, although it is undeniable that the work of 1809 no longer fits into the philosophy of identity, it does not represent a break but is rather the result (although partial and unsatisfactory on many points) of questions on the status of the finite already present in the philosophy of identity. A work of 1804, *Philosophy and Religion* (SW VI, 12–70), had already attempted to provide an answer to these questions by calling on the idea of a fall of the finite out of the infinite and, following on from that, on the idea of human freedom. As

for the influence of theosophy—principally, but not exclusively, of Böhme and Oetinger—it has been shown (Marquet 1973, appendix) that it had perhaps been present in the earliest works, certainly in the philosophy of identity, particularly in the philosophy of nature (see also Tillich* 1959).

It is, however, quite certain that theosophical speculations attempting to think about a life in God came into their own when Schelling resolved to take into account the finite in all its efficacy (perhaps not deducible) while not falling into any kind of dualism, which he constantly rejected. The *Studies* thus attempted to think of the origin and development of evil on the basis of what, in God, is not God—what Schelling calls the foundation (*Grund*), without which, however, evil could not exist—and on the other hand on the basis of human freedom, defined at the outset as a power “of good and of evil” (SW VII, 352). There is, to be sure, a tendency toward evil in the underpinning, noticeable in certain phenomena of nature, but what is to be shown is that its implementation depends on man and man alone. Heidegger* (*Schellings Abhandlung über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit*, Tübingen, 1971) emphasizes the originality of this theodicy, which gives to evil, through the *Grund*, a nonethical origin. We have traveled far from the dissertation, which can be accused of having reduced evil to the level of a necessary means for a good end.

In 1810, in the *Stuttgart Lectures* (SW VII, 421–84) and in *Clara* (SW IX, 3–110), Schelling’s philosophy still relies on a distinction in principle between ideal (or spiritual) pole and real (or natural) pole. Affected by the death* of his wife, Schelling also meditated on the world of spirits, on its relations of “sympathy” with the world of the living, and finally on the possible history that would lead it to the last judgment* and then to the apocatastasis*.

The *Ages of the World* leads directly to the late philosophy. It attempts to think of a beginning in God and then to think of the position of a world outside God while preserving his sovereign freedom. Schelling’s three successive attempts and his final dissatisfaction are explained by the ambition of the project; in fact, he had to go beyond the idea, strongly affirmed in 1813, according to which necessity is present in God in the form of nature and to develop a philosophy of creation* that preserved divine freedom.

4. *Positive Philosophy*

a) *Principle of Positive Philosophy and the Two “Aspects” of Philosophy.* Explicitly articulated for the first time in Munich in 1827, positive philosophy is based on the inductibility by reason of certain facts

that it is obliged to recognize. Although, notably in the *Introduction to Philosophy* of 1830, Schelling characterizes this philosophy as empiricism (37–38), this must be in a very special sense because the founding fact is nothing other than the divine decision to create and hence to reveal himself. Schelling always maintained that there were two directions, then two aspects, in a philosophy that remained single for all that. On the one hand, philosophy can always begin with itself and with a desire for the positive latent in each of us, and it then becomes difficult to distinguish the aspiration to positive philosophy from the aspiration to religion (*Exposition of Purely Rational Philosophy*, SW XI, 564 and 566). On the other hand, a tendency that is at first “regressive” and then, with an undeniable change in meaning, “rational” cannot fail also to assert itself. Reason is always tempted to find its own foundation in itself—this is nothing but a repetition of the initial turning in of man on himself by means of which he willed himself to resemble God. In this way rational philosophy is the inevitable and “negative” consequence of error. Schelling’s critique of the ontological argument (proofs* of the existence of God) is especially meaningful in this context. Indeed, it is not enough to wish to prove God to place oneself in positive philosophy; on the contrary, if God *were* by virtue of his nature, he would succumb to the greatest necessity, and it would no longer be possible to think of the existence in him of will, freedom, and creation. Hence, the only way of providing a “continued proof of the existence of God” is through that philosophy that shows that the necessary existent, as it imposes itself on reason from the outset rather than being deduced by reason, is God (*Philosophy of Revelation*, SW XIII, 160–65).

Although Schelling refused to call positive philosophy a “Christian philosophy” (SW XIII, 133ff.), it is nevertheless true that it constitutes a philosophy of Christianity since mythology itself can be understood only as a preparation for revelation. Schelling’s ambition, however, was always philosophical since his concern was never to justify an orthodox interpretation of dogmas (SW XIV 80, 233) but rather to show that they can be understood on the basis of the principles of his philosophy.

b) Schelling’s Treatment of Mythology and Christianity: A Free and Creator God through the Interplay of Powers. Subject, object, subject-object; in-itself, for-itself, balance of the one and the other: these are the two possible expressions of the powers that constitute inseparable moments of the divine being, the origin of which must be sought in the philosophy of nature. Through these expressions Schelling is able to think of a progression immanent in the divine being that is not,

however, the becoming of a nature that the *Ages of the World* had had so much difficulty in ruling out. It is necessary to find in God the foundation or the possibility of creation, that is, the position outside the self of the being-other, without, however, denying God’s freedom. Schelling emphasizes throughout the late philosophy an idea already embryonically present in the *Erlangen Lectures* (Ix, 225): divine freedom is free only if it can posit that which denies it and run the risk of allowing there to be an efficacy for which the return to God remains the act of another freedom.

Mythology is the consequence, foreseeable but not necessary, of a monotheism that is not reduced to an absolute and uniform singleness but posits the unified totality of the three Persons. The Trinity* properly understood, according to Schelling, cannot be very far removed from tritheism* (on Schelling’s documentation with reference to these theological controversies, see Tilliette 1969). As for polytheism, it is evidently caused by the error of man who forgets that he can be *like* God only on condition of dwelling in him (SW XIV, 349–50). In believing himself master of the powers, man can thus break the bond patiently woven between them only through the creation of the world. He then arouses again the primary power, divine wrath*, the jealous and destructive God; and it is then necessary that there begin again, but now within the human spirit, a process of appeasement of creation that is the always conciliatory work of the second power (for which Dionysus is the mythological figure). Mythological representations are thus only representations, without reality outside the mind, but they constitute the only reality for man. He is possessed by this slow process of division and healing of his consciousness; his life, through rituals—and particularly those rituals that have an element of cruelty—is only the manifestation of that process. This interpretation aims at explaining mythology through itself, and it rejects assimilation to a poetic or euhemerist treatment of myths; it is a representation of the formation of consciousness. Yet mythology acquires its independence only against a background of dependence and must be subordinated to divine revelation, which culminates in Christianity; according to Ernst Cassirer (1953), this reflects Schelling’s inadequacy, whereas the attempt to affirm the independence of consciousness (conscience?) constitutes his glory.

Christ: From the Second Power to the Second Person. Schelling’s Christ* “is not the master, . . . He is not the founder, but the *content* of Christianity” (SW XIV, 35). Schelling examines the principal dogmas in order to understand how they reveal the action of overcoming and reconciliation characteristic of the second power. In Christ this second power becomes a divine person; that is, it acquires such independence from

the Father* that it could institute an autonomous and rival reign. Christ is, however, the one who freely chooses to obey the Father and to return to his hands the restored creation. The New Testament is therefore intelligible as a whole only if we accept the status of the Son during the mythological period (and especially at the end of that period), that is, his possible independence from the Father, designated by the form of God that Christ chooses to abandon (SW XIV, 39–41; detailed commentary on Phil 2:6–8). The “divine form” that he is able to reassume is nothing other than the expression of his reign over human consciousness, and this reign is possible only because of the mythological overcoming—ultimately, because of man’s sin. It is in this sense that Christ may be called “Son* of man.”

This interpretation of the Incarnation* (and the pre-existence of the Logos that it presupposes) clearly shows the limits of an orthodoxy with which Schelling was certainly little concerned but with which he generally conformed, with this important exception. Arguing against W. Kasper, X. Tilliette (1969) notes that we can characterize this intermediate status only as that of a demigod. There is, however, a theologically more fruitful consequence of this abandonment of the *morphè theou*: the Incarnation is inevitably kenosis*, divestment, alienation. In relation to traditional theory, this represents an innovation on Schelling’s part, although he cannot be classed among the theologians of the “kenotic” movement (see Tilliette 1969). We might also note, among other things, Schelling’s interpretation of Satan’s role, as the contradictor, the one who throughout history forces man to choose, to break out of indecision, to manifest his freedom (SW XIV, 241–78). Without ever really contradicting Scripture, Schelling returns here to the broad outlines of the understanding of evil present in the *Studies*.

The Three Churches. The three powers are also at work in the history of Christianity. The Church* of Peter*, that of the founder, the Roman Church, is the reign of the “substantial” principle, and it was its role to be the first to assert its authority* and its rootedness in time (Schelling read the passage traditionally invoked in favor of the primacy accorded to the successors of Peter, Mt 16:18f., as attributing priority, not definitive and exclusive superiority, to Peter [SW XIV, 301]). The Church of Paul is its successor. This is none other than Protestantism*, the calling into question of all authority. However, it is itself only a moment in the totality of historical development; and it is the Church of John, the ultimate but still historical form of the Church to come, that will usher in the reign of the Holy Spirit*, the reign of the universal and scientific knowledge of Christianity. This notion of the Johannine Church, the “Church of the Holy Spirit,” was already

common among his fellows in Tübingen. And Schelling, who knew Joachim of Flora, was pleased to find in him a confirmation of his theory (Tilliette 1969; Lubac* 1979). We should make it clear that the three powers are at work in all stages of the process of creation and redemption. But each one predominates in succession in the history of revelation.

5. Influences and Similarities

Schelling’s contribution to theology is summed up in the *Philosophy of Revelation*. Its point in common with the interpretation of Christianity proposed in the philosophy of identity lies in the fact that both are undeniably christological. But the difference in context is no less remarkable. In the late works, indeed, Christ and the history in which he manifests himself are no longer deduced of necessity from a philosophical construction; revelation, taken in the broad sense as beginning with creation, is not deducible. It is positive. It can be conceptualized only because it has taken place. Schelling was obviously not unaware of the christological and critical orientations of his time, but it seems that only the *Glaubenslehre* of Schleiermacher* was definitely one of his sources.

As for the posterity of Schelling’s theological thought, if we are to believe W. Kasper (1965), we should speak of similarities and affinities rather than influences. Comparisons are possible with Kierkegaard* (absolute paradox, divine irony), Barth* (predestinarianism), the school of Tübingen (Drey on protorevelation; see Th. Wolf *PhJ* 98 [1991], 145–60), Rahner*, Bultmann*, Tillich*, and Cullmann (Tilliette 1969). But it is probably necessary to conclude with the particularity of Schelling’s thought. Within a philosophical framework elaborated in the course of a long philosophical journey, he rediscovered dogmas and theological discussions bequeathed by the tradition*, and he was even able to anticipate certain speculations of contemporary theologians.

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MARIE-CHRISTINE GILLET-CHALLIOL

See also Evil; Existence of God, Proofs of; Hegel, Georg William Frederick; Kierkegaard, Soren Aabaye; Philosophy; Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst; Theosophy; Tillich, Paul; Tübingen, Schools of

Schism

Today, in Catholic canonical law*, schism refers to a refusal to submit to the pope* or to join the community of Church* members grouped together under his authority* (*CIC* 751). Schismatics are punished by excommunication (*CIC* 1364). Conceptually speaking, schism can be differentiated from heresy* or apostasy since in principle it does not entail any dogmatic error or any willful break with the faith*. But, in practice, hardly any trace of difference between schism and heresy can be found since in the Catholic Church the pope's primacy is considered a dogmatic principle.

Despite this problem, the canonic distinction between heresy and schism can prove fruitful as far as theology and ecumenicalism are concerned—for instance, when it is stated that such and such a sister Church is schismatic but not heretical or that the 14th-century Schism of the West (the Great Schism) did not destroy the Church's doctrinal unity*.

In the New Testament, schism refers to divisions, or scissions (Jn 7:43, 9:16, 10:19; 1 Cor 1:10, 11:18, 12:25). The “schisms” mentioned in 1 Corinthians do not seem for the most part to be dogmatic divisions but are simply related to the faithful regrouping around different masters. The distinction made in 1 Corinthians 11:18–19 between heresy and schism, even if it is not among Pauline theology's main traits, was to play an important role in any case in these concepts' later history. Particularly in the Apostolic Fathers*, one can read that love* knows no schism (*1 Clement* 49:5) and that believers should avoid schism (*Didache* 4:3). In

the ancient Church, before Constantine, a clear distinction between schism and heresy is rarely found.

The phenomenon of the schism as an external division existed from the earliest Christian times. Primitive Christianity also had to keep its distance from Judaicizing tendencies and gnosis*. Starting in the fourth century, Donatism* and Arianism* were condemned as schismatic and heretical movements. Since 1054 the separation between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church has often been called the Schism of the East, while the Schism of the West covers the period from 1378 to 1417 or 1449, during which time two or even three popes battled for power.

According to Yves Congar (1972), two main periods are distinguishable in the Catholic theology of schism. Until the end of the 11th century, the bishop* of the regional Church* was the guardian of unity. It was through communion* with the bishop that the faithful were linked to the whole Church, and they took communion everywhere at the same altar. The schismatics, on the contrary, “set altar against altar” and thus broke their ties with the regional bishop. From the 12th century on, schism was understood primarily as an attack on the whole Church's unity, and it was the link with the pope as the *episcopus universalis* that became the deciding factor.

For a long time, the Russian Orthodox Church was divided by the schism of the Old Believers, excluded by excommunication in 1666. The Council of Moscow's lifting of the condemnation in 1971 repre-

sents an important precedent in the efforts of modern Churches to eliminate schisms. The annulment of reciprocal sentences of excommunication by Pope Paul VI and the patriarch of Constantinople, Athenagoras, in December 1965 was a step in the same direction.

Despite numerous actual schisms, Protestantism only rarely mentions schism, and modern Protestant dogmatics is no more inclined to approach this issue. E. Schlink (1983, 680–81) distinguishes between necessary divisions and unnecessary divisions to conclude that the innumerable schisms between the Christian Churches are often based on reasons other than theological ones. It is impossible to single out a fixed criterion in the divergences about which the Churches have separated during the course of history*. The only justified motive, in Schlink's eyes, would be that a part of the Church had turned away from Christ*.

While following Schlink, Wolfhart Pannenberg (1993, 451) thinks that excommunication cannot be motivated by particular deviations related to the dogmatic norm, only by manifest apostasies or, in certain cases, by disguised ones—that is, by an abandonment of the whole faith. In addition, Pannenberg deems that when heterodox Christians are disposed to maintain

ecclesial communion, the Church for its part should also show greater indulgence toward them.

In the ecumenical movement, it is above all the different confessions' "separating" characteristics that provide the subject of theological discussions. When sufficient agreement has been reached and confirmed by ecclesial reception*, the Churches are in a position to state that the historical doctrinal excommunications and condemnations no longer trouble the contemporary partner. Doctrinal dialogues can thus serve to eliminate the theological causes of interconfessional divisions.

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RISTO SAARINEN

See also Ecclesiastical Discipline; Heresy; Jurisdiction

Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst

1768–1834

a) Life. Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher was born in Breslau on 21 November 1768 into a family that had been devoted to the service of the Church for several generations. His parents, supporters of pietism*, sent him to be educated at the Moravian institutions of Niesky (1783–85) and of Barby (1785–87). His heart was opened to pietist ardor, but in his mind he harbored doubts about Christ*'s vicarious satisfaction and his divinity. His personal questioning led him to leave Barby, but he did not renounce his intention of becoming a pastor*: He went to Halle to study theology* and was influenced by J. S. Semler, J. A. Eberhard, and F. A. Wolf. After his ordination* he became a vicar in Landsberg (1794–96); then in Berlin, where he was chaplain in a hospital, he became involved with representatives of the first German

Romantic movement and with the intellectual elite. In 1799 he published his *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers* and in 1801 a first volume of *Sermons*. His involvement with the Romantic circle and the "pantheist" thrust of his *Speeches* aroused mistrust among some strict Protestants. In 1803 Schleiermacher published *Grundlinien einer Kritik der bisherigen Sittenlehre* and in 1804 the first part of his major translation of Plato. Appointed professor at the university of Halle, he taught philosophical ethics*, the theological encyclopedia, dogmatic* theology, Christian morality, and New Testament interpretation. On his return to Berlin (1807) he helped create the university (1810), where he was appointed professor of theology and taught almost all theological disciplines. However, he published only two works, a textbook

(*Brief Outline of the Study of Theology*, 1811) and a vast dogmatics* (*The Christian Faith*, 1821–22). Moreover, his philosophical interests extended to almost all fields (except philosophy* of nature), and he played a pioneering role in certain domains (philosophy of religion* and hermeneutics*). He died on 12 February 1834 (Dilthey 1870).

b) On Religion. Schleiermacher never renounced his *Speeches* (Seifert 1960). Rather, he was content to reedit the new editions published in 1806, 1824, and 1831. After having proposed to defend religion as he understood it (first speech), he defined pure and living religion by separating it from metaphysics and morality (second speech). The essence of religion, he believed, was neither thought nor action but rather feeling and intuition directed toward the world, that is, toward the physical world and the human world in terms of its being and future. For Schleiermacher, feelings of respect, humility, love*, and so on, which we often attribute to morality, belong in fact to religion. In the third speech, Schleiermacher stresses that religious feelings spring from the depths of the soul: since they stem from spiritual growth, one is unable to create them in a violent or mechanical way. In the fourth speech, Schleiermacher deals with the relationship between religion and the community and proposes an image of the Church that is strongly influenced by romanticism and pietism. Seeing religious society* as an organ of mutual communication, Schleiermacher opposes the small, fervent communities to the great Church. But for all that, he does not want this Church to disappear since it continues to be the link between those who live faith* and those who seek it. The last speech considers the plurality of religions as a necessary thing: within religion, there is a principle that forces it to become independent. Schleiermacher argues against natural religion, to which he prefers positive religions: they are the specific forms under which infinite religion manifests itself in the finite. Schleiermacher therefore grasps the central intuition of Christianity in the inseparable connection between corruption and redemption; everything that is finite needs multiple mediations—including Christ*’s—in order to be linked to divinity. The *Speeches* so strongly emphasizes the Christian future and its “palingenesis” that the Holy Spirit* appears detached from Christ. Later, however, Schleiermacher would have reservations about Joachimism (millenarianism*) (Lubac 1979).

c) Religiosity and Philosophy. Schleiermacher’s important letter to philosopher F. Jacobi (3 March 1818) clarifies the relationship between philosophy and piety.

Jacobi considered himself “a total pagan in terms of understanding, but, at heart, a Christian.” Against this, Schleiermacher answered, “The pagan and the Christian oppose each other on the same ground, that is, on religious grounds” (Cordes 1971). Religion is the interpretation of religious feeling through understanding; if the feeling is Christian, the understanding cannot “be Pagan in interpretation” (Flückiger 1947).

In Schleiermacher the difference between piety and understanding—indeed between dogmatic theology and philosophy—is understood as a contrast: it is in the oscillation between Christian piety and understanding that the life of the spirit is formed. Therefore, Schleiermacher can state that his philosophy and his dogmatic theology, far from contradicting each other, become closer and closer (Scholtz 1984). Both share faults and strengths: religious feeling is indeed realized, but it is not pure; in contrast, the philosophical intuition of God* is never realized but is free from all foreign elements. Schleiermacher therefore excludes the idea that religion goes beyond philosophy or that religion is subordinate to philosophy. Nevertheless, these two fields are not heterogeneous: philosophy includes religion as one of the forms of the spirit’s victories amid nature; moreover, religion immediately understands the unity between the ideal and the real that makes philosophy possible (Simon 1974).

d) Hermeneutics. It is especially Schleiermacher’s hermeneutics* that has drawn the attention of scholars in our time. He distinguishes between two complementary aspects in the hermeneutic task: “grammatical” interpretation, which strives to understand discourse based on the totality of language, and “technical” interpretation, which considers the same discourse as an individual act of thought production (*Hermeneutik*, Ed. Kimmerle). This main division includes a second contrast: the “comparative” process, which progressively clarifies the obscurities of text in the light of what is already known (in particular, the meaning of words), is opposed to the “divinatory” process, which intuitively understands the meaning and coherence of the text. Without this comparison, divination remains uncertain; without divination, the comparison lacks unity (Simon 1987). According to Schleiermacher, hermeneutics as a general science applies to all discourse (Ricoeur 1986): it would therefore be out of the question to reserve a particular interpretation for the Holy Scriptures*.

e) Conception of Theology. In his *Brief Outline of the Study of Theology*, Schleiermacher defines theology as a “positive science.” Its unity stems from its task, which is that of directing (in the general sense) the

Church. The specificity of the totality of theological disciplines thus lies in its link to the mission of the Church. As a science, however, theology is subjugated to the laws and the ideal of knowledge that are proper to all the sciences. According to Schleiermacher, theology can be divided into three parts: philosophical, historical, and practical. Philosophical theology brings together elements of philosophical ethics and the philosophy of religion that seem important for the theological task. Historical theology is the main body of the theological study and has three sections: exegetic theology, Church history*, and historical knowledge of the present state of Christianity. The last part is divided into dogmatic theology (dogmatic theology, strictly speaking, and moral theology) and “statistics” (i.e., the knowledge of the internal constitution and the external relationships of the ecclesial society). Although all theological disciplines aim to direct the Church, the latter constitutes the favored theme of practical theology.

f) Doctrine of Faith. According to the famous introduction to the *Doctrine de la Foi*, the basis of all ecclesial societies is piety, which is “neither a Knowing, nor a Doing, but a modification of Feeling or of immediate self-consciousness” (*Der Christliche Glaube* [GL]; Offermann 1969). Feeling does not signify something vague or ineffectual; it is the immediate presence of all existence, both perceptible and spiritual.

The notion of absolute dependence constitutes the essential part of the concept of religion developed in this introduction: “The common element in all howsoever diverse expressions of piety, by which these are conjointly distinguished from all other feelings, or, in other words, the self-identical essence of piety, is this: the consciousness of being absolutely dependent, or, which is the same thing, of being in relation with God” (GL).

Our consciousness of not having an absolute liberty* is, in and of itself, a consciousness of absolute dependence (*schlechthinniges Abhängigkeitsgefühl*). And the representation carried by the word “God” expresses the most immediate reflection on the feeling of dependence (GL I). Schleiermacher goes beyond evoking the individual essence of religious societies and considers the various degrees (fetishism, polytheism, monotheism*) of the historical development of religion (GL). Christianity is, according to him, the purest expression of teleological piety (GL I). Such piety also characterizes Judaism* but to a lesser degree; in contrast, Islam, although monotheistic, belongs to the esthetic type (GL I).

Schleiermacher intends to lead to the complete understanding of the tenets of faith and attempts to deter-

mine the reasons for their differentiation. He moreover divides each part of *The Christian Faith* into three parts. It is a question first of all of the states of man, then of the modifications of the world in their relationship with the feeling of absolute dependence, and finally of divine attributes in their relationship with man and the world (GL). Thus, the first part of *The Christian Faith* first analyzes pious self-consciousness as such, then certain divine attributes (eternity*, omnipresence*, omnipotence*, omniscience), and finally the original perfection of the world. The first aspect of the second part first presents sin* as a state of man, then the condition of the world in relationship to sin, and finally the divine attributes that relate to consciousness of sin. The second aspect of the second part first deals with the state of the Christian, then the condition of the world with regard to redemption, and finally the divine attributes (love, wisdom*) as they relate to salvation*. For Schleiermacher the anthropological perspective is the *Grundform* without which, on the one hand, the cosmological approach deviates toward natural sciences and, on the other, the doctrine of God runs the risk of being confused with metaphysics.

Schleiermacher initiates both christocentric theology and the ecclesiological concentration of pneumatology in the 19th century. He stresses that Christ is different from all men “through the constant vigor of his divine consciousness, which was an authentic being of God in him” (GL; Tilliette 1986). But in order to exercise his lordship over the receptivity and the activity of the Church, Christ, according to Schleiermacher, had in a certain way to disappear into the “common spirit” of the Church (GL; Brandt 1968). Schleiermacher is right to consider divine mystery* on the basis of the temporal missions of the Son and the Spirit; but in his return to Sabellian modalism* he is doomed to understand God only as an undifferentiated unity (GL II; Brito 1994). Moreover, in his *Dogmatics*, the final word is not about the self-manifestation of the Trinity* but about the “divine attributes,” whose content is limited to the modification of piety (GL; Beisser 1970).

g) Theology of Culture. Schleiermacher interprets the development of culture as an ethical process that, through the human domination of the earth, fulfills the union between reason* and nature (*Ethik*, Ed. Birkner; Jorgensen 1959). His *Christian Ethics* stresses that each structure essential to human nature must become the organ of the divine Spirit. This implies a vast theology of culture. Such a theology does not signify a pure identification of Christianity and culture, but Schleiermacher rather underlines that human culture can survive only on condition of its remaining open to the Spirit of Christ (Birkner 1964).

h) Posterity. Schleiermacher's influence is not limited to the school of the "theology of mediation" that explicitly draws on him (C. I. Nitzsch, A. Twisten, J. Müller). He also influenced R. A. Lipsius's concept of religion, the dogmatic method of A. Schweizer, and the ethical thought of R. Rothe as well as influencing Hegelian authors (E. Zeller). In our time, despite the warnings of dialectical theology (Barth*), some theologians, including leading ones (G. Wobbermin, R. Otto, Tillich*), retained a positive relationship with Schleiermacher. In the immediate aftermath of World War II, Protestant theology tended to draw again from Schleiermacher, and, a little later, Catholic theology began to discover him anew (Stalder 1969).

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See also Calvinism; Experience; Hegel, Georg William Frederick; Hegelianism; Kant, Immanuel; Kierkegaard, Soren Aabye; Lutheranism; Marx, Karl; Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm; Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von

Scholasticism

Scholastic theology is not simply medieval theology (by contrast with patristic theology) but the theology of the "school," that is, the theology of the university, an original institution that appeared in the Latin West in the early 13th century (Verger 1996). It is thus to be distinguished both from monastic theology (Leclercq 1957; Anselm* of Canterbury, Bernard* of Clairvaux) and from other forms of the search for an "understanding of the faith*" (*intellectus fidei*), powerfully orches-

trated by dialectics and developed in the urban theological schools* of the 12th century.

Scholastic theology is scholastic not only in its institutional location but in its methods, its objects, and its program itself, which is inseparable from the Aristotelian idea of science (Christian Aristotelianism*). It is in fact characterized by its desire to be a science, not simply an art, and especially not a mere defensive apologia for religion, as is the case, for example, with

the *kalâm* in Islam. This choice of science was linked to the rediscovery of the Aristotelian corpus, accompanied by Arabic philosophical and scientific texts, all of which supplied concepts, tools, and new procedures. But it was also tied to progress accomplished in the Latin world itself, in the area of the arts of language in general as well as in the area of logic in particular. Scholastic theology was the offspring of the *logica modernorum*, of semantics, and of the philosophy* of language that had developed since Abelard*. It was also linked to the expansion of methods of discussion specific to the pedagogical world of the university, with its parade of *disputationes*, *quaestiones*, and *sophismata*. Scholastic theology was thus not a monolith. It went through breaks and changes in scientific paradigms comparable to those experienced generally by the university age.

How can it be characterized? One possible angle of approach is the relationship between theology and philosophy or indeed between the faculties of theology and philosophy as revealed in university statutes, academic censures, and condemnations (McLaughlin 1977). And from this point of view the various measures taken against the teaching of Aristotelian natural philosophy—the “high point” being the Parisian condemnations in 1277 (Hissette 1977)—form an integral part of the history of Scholastic theology by outlining the stages of a journey that led from the proscription to the prescription of Aristotle (Bianchi 1990). Given the link between logic and theology, we can also base ourselves on the development of logic and that of scientific modes of thought resulting from or caused by that development to distinguish between theological periods. In this context the appearance of the *subtilitates anglicanae* (Murdoch 1978) would be in the foreground, with the hegemony of those “English” techniques and problematics that were to come under attack from Luther* (in his *Disputatio contra theologiam scolasticam*) and from the Italian humanists (in their invectives against the “Breton barbarians”). These two periods of Scholastic theology, the “Aristotelian” age and the “English” age, were not sequential: they were at the heart of the opposition between the *Via antiqua* and the *Via moderna*. They can thus be found in various forms, depending on the nature of the problems under consideration: the conflict between realists and nominalists, which ran through the entire 15th century, was one of those forms (Kaluza 1988; nominalism*). Whatever interpretive grid is imposed on the history of Scholastic theology, one observation is certainly necessary: historians no longer consider valid the discredit formerly accorded to the 14th century, considered as a period of disintegration of the “Scholastic synthesis” reached in the 13th century, the

golden age of the *Summas* of theology. And the automatic association of the late Middle Ages with the notions of “criticism” and “skepticism” is no longer regarded as incontestable.

I. Nature and Specificity of Scholastic Theology

Scholastic theology was not a Christian philosophy. The Scholastic theologian was trained in philosophy (which was part of his formation program during the 10 years he spent in the faculty of arts). He might broach the questions of philosophy (the converse being forbidden by university statutes). He was endowed with a certain scientific culture and frequently relied on the tools of philosophy. But he nevertheless did not adopt the philosopher’s point of view. Theology had its own questions, its own universe, that of “intentional providence*,” not that of “natural providence.” It is nevertheless tempting to rely on what the relation between philosophy and theology was in the late Middle Ages to provide a view of the history of theology and to draw from this the principle of a periodization that would make it possible to explain the break that occurred between the 13th and 14th centuries.

1. The Relation between Philosophy and Theology according to Étienne Gilson: Problems of Periodization

The central element in Gilson’s argument is the importance that he attributes to the Parisian condemnation of 1277, conceived as a condemnation of Averroism (naturalism*). According to him, it was this condemnation—which P. Duhem, for his part, saw as the birth certificate of modern science—that separated the two paradigmatic theological figures of the late 13th century, Thomas* Aquinas and Duns* Scotus, thereby opening the way to later developments. The condemnation of 219 philosophical theses by the bishop* of Paris, Étienne Tempier, meant, according to Gilson, that after that date theologians no longer had confidence in philosophy. The sign of this change was provided by the way in which Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus related to their philosophical sources. Gilson says that Thomas Aquinas broke with Averroes “as a philosopher and in the area of philosophy,” whereas Duns Scotus “broke with Avicenna as a theologian, by reproaching him for having unduly adorned metaphysics with the plumage of theology” and “by reducing to the minimum the limits of validity of natural* theology.” In this way, Thomas Aquinas “did not despair of philosophy because he transformed it; his work is a victory of theology *in* philosophy”; but Duns Scotus despaired of pure philosophy “because he took

cognizance of it as of a fact”: his work could only be a “victory of theology *over* philosophy.” The philosophical disenchantment of Duns Scotus thus ended a phase of history; and the “revolution of the fourteenth century,” in Ockham and his disciples, had as a consequence an intensification of “the separation between philosophy and theology.” Ockhamism, moreover, made it possible to go beyond the purely negative aspect of this antiphilosophical reaction of theologians temporarily disarmed by Thomism*: attacking philosophy by philosophy, it in fact proposed strong and coherent philosophical reasons for not submitting the divine essence to the speculative analyses of natural reason*. The 14th century was thus dominated either by Ockhamism, a *theological separatism*, or by Averroism, a *philosophical separatism* that had come unscathed out of the condemnations of 1277 (Gilson 1944).

2. New Historical Paradigms

Two readings have made it necessary to modify Gilson’s picture of Scholastic theology:

- 1) The first reading takes into account the interaction between theological development and the progress of the sciences, particularly of logic. It brings to the fore the powerful renewal in methods, objects, and problems contributed by English theology of the late Middle Ages while at the same time emphasizing the remarkable interaction that existed between disciplines. Indeed, theology provoked a rapid development of logic by confronting Aristotelianism with nonstandard situations and entities, and it benefited in return from the innovations carried out in the area of the logic of variation (in regard to the theological question of the precise moment of transubstantiation and that of the local movement of angels*), in deontological logic (in regard to the theory of imperatives contrary to duty), and in epistemological logic (in regard to reflection on the contents of belief). From this point of view the 14th century no longer appears as an age of “disintegration,” and the ideal of “synthesis” illustrated by the *Summas* of the 13th century is no longer seen as a unique or indeed absolute model.
- 2) Another perspective, which does not exclude the first, consists in reevaluating the plurality of schools and traditions (Courtenay 1987; Trapp 1956), the study of institutional and intellectual contexts in which utterances were shaped and circulated, and the study of the reproduction of texts and the creation of other tools of knowledge. The history of Scholastic theology then be-

comes the history of the faculties of theology and of the research centers (*studia*), of the statutes organizing community life, of censures, and of relations with political and religious authorities.

II. Scholastic Method

Since the pioneering work of M. Grabmann, *Histoire de la méthode scolastique* (1904–11), several pictures have been proposed to describe the emergence of theology as a science. M.-D. Chenu has isolated some of the factors that made it possible for the Latins, from around 1150, to move from the assimilation of the philosophical and theological givens of late antiquity to the production of new languages, methods, and problems (Chenu 1969): in the area of pedagogical techniques, the shift from *lectio* to *quaestio*; with reference to literary genres, the shift from the anthology and the gloss to the *summa*; and in epistemological practice, the shift from the *deffloratio* of authentic data (*authentica*) to the determination of authoritative solutions (*magistralia*). This early development, however, accounts for only some aspects of 13th-century Scholastic theology, and it leaves almost entirely unexplained the Scholastic theology of the 14th and 15th centuries.

1. Birth of Scholastic Theology

The first decisive element for the emergence and later development of Scholastic theology was the use of dialectics in theological knowledge, begun in the 11th century by Anselm* of Canterbury (Cantin 1996) and vigorously pursued in the 12th by Abelard* (Jolivet 1996).

a) Introduction of Dialectics into Theology. The submission of theology to logical discussion, as it was carried out by Abelard, was specific to the Latin West; the timid efforts of John Italus around 1055 and of Eustratus of Nicaea around 1100, in Byzantium, were short lived. It was the challenges posed to sacred texts by the tools of logic, practiced on a grand scale from the 1220s on in Western universities, that ensured the expansion of Scholastic theology and of its academic ritual, with its hierarchy of vigorously argued demonstrations (the ordinary *disputationes*, the quodlibetic questions), engendering new ways of thinking.

b) Development of Manuals: The Sentences of Peter Lombard. If Abelard provided the first formulation of the method of Scholastic theology, it was another 12th-century thinker, Peter Lombard (†22 July 1160), who provided the opportunity to exercise it by composing the manual that served as the basis for the

teaching of theology throughout the late Middle Ages: the *Sentences*. Divided into four books, the *Sentences* break down the knowledge accumulated in patristic theology following a thematic order and in the form of questions. The plan of the work, which presents in sequence the mystery* of the Trinity* (book I), the problem of creation* (book II), the Incarnation* and the action of the Holy Spirit* (book III), and the sacraments* (book IV), served as a kernel for the theological *Summas*. Its role was not limited to that; by the 13th century the principal work of the university theologian was to comment on the *Sentences*.

c) *Formation of Axioms and Scientific Method.* The *Regulae caelestis iuris*, by a third 12th-century writer, Alain of Lille, opened the way for this Aristotelian definition of a scientific status for theology that marked the first period of Scholastic theology. The central argument of the *Regulae* is that “every science uses rules and principles as foundations that are specific to it” and by means of which it arrives at conclusions. But this argument establishes not only the possibility of theological science expounded in the *Summas*; it also provides a foundation for the theology of conclusions, *conclusiones*, which took hold of the literature of maxims in the 14th century and made the preparation of “syntheses” unnecessary. Alain of Lille’s axiomatics thus marked the division of the two ages of Scholastic theology. And it also inspired Eckhart’s project of an *Opus propositionum* gathering together the thousand theses necessary to present theological knowledge in axiomatic form.

2. Literary Genres

The model introduced by the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard gave rise to two forms of theological scholarship: the first, which endured, was the commentary on the *Sentences*; the second, limited to the 13th century, was the theological summa.

a) *The Genre of Commentary on the Sentences.* As early as 1922, Heidegger* (*Phenomenological Interpretations of Aristotle*; Mauvezin 1992) tied any possibility of “understanding the scientific structure of medieval theology, its exegesis, and its propensity toward commentary” to the study of a hitherto neglected genre, the commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Considered unrealizable at the time, this project has received heightened attention from medievalists (Vignaux 1976). It is far from having borne all its fruit. The *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi* established by F. Stegmüller in 1947 contains more than 1,400 entries, and almost all the documents remain to be published. The importance of the genre of

commentaries on the *Sentences* is not only statistical; it also expresses a veritable theological way of thinking. One of the characteristic traits of Scholastic theology was, in fact, to have gradually substituted commentaries on the work of Lombard for explication of the Bible*, a paradigm that Roger Bacon was almost alone in the 13th century in denouncing as one of the “seven sins*” of theological studies in the University of Paris. The importance of the genre was also methodological: the formal development of commentaries, from the 13th to the late 15th century, was the most reliable indicator of changes occurring in theology.

b) *Theological Summa.* Another derivative of the *Sentences*, the theological summas articulated in their very structure the demand for a disciplinary ordering (*ordo disciplinae*) that presided over the formulation of a science conceived in the mode of a questioning of texts: books, *quaestiones*, and articles integrated the oral moment of the argument into the framework provided by Lombard (Biffi 1995). This quasi-architectural form was for a long time the one that was most studied. All the great Scholastics of the 13th century contributed to it: Alexander of Halès, Albert* the Great, and Thomas Aquinas. The *Summa aurea* (III. 3. 1. 1) of William of Auxerre (†1231) deserves special mention, for in it was formulated for the first time the principle of a theological science in accordance with the Aristotelian criteria for scientific status: articles of faith are to theology what self-evident principles are to demonstrative science. The general method of theology flows from this principle; it consists of reasoning about the invisible on the basis of the self-evident (the article of faith, which derives its *evidence* from God* himself, sole *cause* of our assent). With William, faith is no longer only in search of understanding, as for Anselm; it tends by its very *nature* to develop into an argument by following an axiomatic method (*probatio credendorum per rationes*), for it is less a matter of proving the object of a belief (the article of faith) by means of reasoning than of proving the entire object of theology (the *credenda*) on the basis of that object of belief.

III. Contents of Scholastic Theology

It is not possible to enumerate here all the patristic problems or topics developed by the Scholastic method. We will limit ourselves to noting those that are especially tied to the method by which it works out its arguments.

1. The Subject of Theology

The delimitation of the subject of theology is a classic question of Scholastic theology (Biffi 1992). Its point

of departure is the doctrine of Peter Lombard, with a dual distinction (inherited from Augustine): on one hand, between “things” and “signs,” on the other, between the “things that one enjoys” (the Father*, the Son, the Holy Spirit) and those “that one uses” (the world and what is created in it). From that starting point, various opinions confront one another. According to the first, the subject of theology is everything with which it deals, in other words, “things and signs”; or, in another formulation, the “Head and the limbs,” that is, the “total Christ*” (*Christus integer*), “the incarnate Word* and his body, which is the Church*” (Ruello 1987). According to the second, the subject is what is “principally sought for in theological science”: God. According to a third, it is the “believable” (*credibile*), and theology is distinct from other sciences in that it presupposes “the inspiration of faith” (Bonaventure*). According to others, it is the works of restoration of salvation (and “the works of the first creation” provide the subjects for the other sciences). According to yet others (Thomas Aquinas), it is “the divine being knowable through inspiration.”

In the 14th century this problematics of the subject—in the sense of “matter” (*materia subiecta*)—was rethought in epistemological terms, in a “propositional approach” characteristic of nominalism, by using Ockham’s distinction between the object (*obiectum*) of a science, understood as any of the propositions demonstrated in it (“the object of science is the proposition alone insofar as it is true”), and the subject (*subiectum*) of science, that is, the subject of each one of those propositions. Articulated by Ockham (*I Sent.* Prol., q. 9), the principle according to which “however many subjects for conclusions, there are so many subjects for a science” accompanied the “formal” revolution carried out in the system of *conclusiones* at the leading edge of the theology of the late Middle Ages. This is what explains why the theory of the *significabile complexe* (Gregory of Rimini and Ugolino of Orvieto, a theory that saw the object of science in the “complexly significant,” i.e., the proper and adequate signified of a proposition) was worked out primarily in a theological context. It may be thought that this epistemological advance risked dissolving the material unity of the subject of Scholastic theology. It was in any event parallel to the development occurring at the same time in the problematics of the subject of metaphysics.

2. Status of Theology

If the idea of theology as a science constitutes the defining perspective of Scholastic theology, the scientific status of theology itself was redefined as the idea of science moved from a model of Aristotelian logic to a formally more powerful model, directly derived from

the semantic and epistemological work of theologians. This development was accompanied by other questions on the very purpose of the knowledge that had thus been achieved. Was theology a theoretical science, directed toward the *speculatio* or the *contemplatio veritatis*, or a practical science, directed toward the *operatio recta*? Or, more radically, *must* theology be a science? Thomas’s answer consisted of making theology a practical and theoretical science (*I Sent.*, prol., q. 1, a. 3), ultimately oriented toward “theory” to the extent that it has the same purpose as human existence, the beatific* vision, itself understood as intellectual contemplation*. This thesis seemed to destroy the idea of a primacy of emotion and of love* in the present condition of man, to compromise the universal character of the gospel message by isolating the theologian from the rest of a community composed principally of *illiterati*, or simply to leave out of account human actions* in favor of a study of *res divinae* alone, and other answers could not fail to make their appearance (voluntarism*). Some, particularly among the Franciscans, supported the idea of Bonaventure: theology is a *wisdom**, and in this respect it is neither purely theoretical nor purely practical. Others attacked more directly the very idea of science, for example, William de la Mare, for whom theology was in the strict sense a law* (i.e., a body of prescriptions) and not a science (i.e., a body of verifiable or falsifiable statements). Others, such as Giles of Rome, saw in theology an “affective” science with charity as its object. Still others, such as William de Ware, saw it as a “contemplative” science directed toward “the love of God” (Putallaz 1996). Finally, others, such as Albert the Great and Meister Eckhart, made mystical* knowledge the end point of the theological faith proper to man on his pilgrimage. And thereby overcoming the opposition between the love of God *in via* and the knowledge* of God *in patria*, they also overcame the opposition between practical science and theoretical science (Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism*).

3. New Objects

Scholastic theology brought to a point of near theoretical perfection several sets of problems that had been considered earlier. This is true for Pseudo-Dionysius*’s consideration of divine Names, the treatment of which it worked out by using the semantics of reference (*suppositio*) and of meaning, in the framework of terminist logic and speculative grammar. This was also true for a related question, the interpretation of the Name* of “Being*” revealed to Moses (Ex 3:14). Scholastic theology also gave great theoretical prominence to the question of transubstantiation and made the theology of the Eucharist* a major area of innovation, both for

the philosophy of language (with the discovery of the realm of the “performative”) and for logic and physics. By scrutinizing the problem of the body of Christ* during the paschal *triduum*, it made possible a blossoming of reflection on the empty referent that transformed the framework of philosophical semantics. It will perhaps be objected that these contributions have more to do with philosophy than with theology. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Scholastic development of trinitarian theology, of a theology of “divine missions,” of grace*, and of gifts; the Scholastic formulation of various models of absolute and ordered divine omnipotence (Oakley 1984; Randy 1987); Scholastic views on freedom (Putallaz 1995) and on poverty (Burr 1989); and so on, was all work that made possible authentic *theological* breakthroughs. The originality of Scholastic theology is precisely that of offering both a set of assets both philosophical and theological, of having contributed to rationalism* in general by contributing to religious rationality in particular. For lack of the possibility of presenting in detail each of its contributions to Christian theology, it is this indirect effect that should be emphasized since it firmly establishes Scholastic theology in a history of the conditions of reason. This strong version of theology was attacked, as early as Petrarch, by the supporters of a “weaker” theology. By choosing “the good pious old woman” against the professional thinker, Petrarch articulated a redistribution of roles that in fact corresponded to a hidden tendency of theology beginning in the middle of the 14th century: the critique of privileges granted to the “scientific” (Bianchi-Randi 1993). This confrontation of the *vetula* and the theologian was to be sanctioned in the 15th century by the rejection of the *theologus logicus*.

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See also Intellectualism; Mysticism; Philosophy; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism; Theology; Voluntarism

Science of Christ. *See* Christ’s Consciousness

Sciences of Nature

Science attempts to give a complete rational interpretation of all natural phenomena. Its relationship to theology* varies, depending on whether the two are considered as complementary or as contradictory (Torrance 1969) and based on the conception of the relationship between hypothesis, observation, theory, and interpretation.

a) Origins. The Middle Ages underwent the influence of a Christian Platonism*, which saw the material world as secondary, and a Christian Aristotelianism*, which recognized the importance of perceptible experience but in practice favored deduction at the expense of all observation. Nonetheless, there appeared in the work of writers such as Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253), Roger Bacon (c. 1210–92), Nicholas Oresme (c. 1310–82), and, later, Nicholas* of Cusa the type of empirical, mathematical, and speculative thought that was to bear fruit in the work of Copernicus (1473–1543), Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), and Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727). It has often been suggested (Hooykaas 1972; Jaki 1978) that Christian thought made possible the development of modern science in that the opposition between God*'s liberty* and deductive logic led to a study of the world with the aim of seeing how it really behaved, and a belief in God's rationality and constancy led to the expectation that nature would conform to regular laws.

b) Newtonian Synthesis. From the scientific standpoint, the modern period can be held to begin with Copernicus's defense of heliocentrism (*De Revolutionibus*, 1543). Fifty years later, Galileo, who championed Copernicus's ideas, had the genius to draw the correct conclusions from the existing data but was so rash as to defend his views undiplomatically in publications, thus alienating him from the Church*, though the Church had initially been receptive to his ideas (Robert Bellarmine*; see Gingerich 1993). This recklessness had tragic consequences for both theology and science.

In his *Principia*, Newton offered a vision of the world unprecedented in its mathematical harmony, which he saw as reinforcing rather than undermining the idea that the universe was the work of a supremely

rational divine power. But neither Newton nor his successors accepted dogmas such as that of the Trinity*, and their concept of God was based on a natural theology* close to Stoic ideas and not on revelation—a fact that was to play a key role in deism*.

The link between atheism* and science dates from the 18th century, at which time David Hume (1711–76), Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–83), Paul Henri Dietrich d'Holbach (1723–89), and the other philosophes all used science as an argument against theology: since Newton and his successors had explained the world so completely, God had no role to play in the universe—a view epitomized by the famous comment of Pierre Simon de Laplace (1749–1827): “I do not need this hypothesis.” Kant*'s rejection of rational proofs* of the existence of God further widened the gulf between theology and science.

The 18th century looked to physics and philosophy* for a way to dispense with God; with Charles Darwin (1809–82) and evolution*, the debate shifted toward biology. Since Copernicus, man had no longer been at the center of the universe. With Darwin, it was biology's turn to justify the idea that the universe had not been made for man alone (Emerton, in Rae et al. 1994). Throughout the 19th century, determinism denied liberty, while the random nature of genetic mutations and natural selection made humanity appear a product of chance. Deterministic physics rendered God impotent; statistical biology made him superfluous (Monod 1972; Peacocke 1986).

c) Modern Science. At the end of the 19th century, the electromagnetism of James Clark Maxwell (1831–79) was already implicitly moving away from mechanism, and there was a belief that all scientific problems were about to be solved. However, in 1895, the discovery of X-rays by Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen (1845–1923) was the first in a series of events that were to transform physics and with it our whole understanding of the universe. With the theory of relativity, at first limited (1905), then general (1915), Albert Einstein (1879–1955) changed our conception of space and time*. For Newton, space had been absolute, three-dimensional, and Euclidean; it had been the “sensorium” of God in which the stars moved without depending on it. After Einstein, it was impossible to

separate the movement of non-Euclidean geometry from a four-dimensional space-time, and the universe had to be conceived as both finite and limitless.

The general theory of relativity gave rise to models of the past, present, and future of the universe. They include the big bang theory, which locates the origin of the universe in a singularity (Drees 1990); the concept of an expanding universe and the idea of heavy bodies known as black holes, whose gravitational field is so great as to prevent even light from escaping them (Hawking 1988); and the theory that the universe will either suffer a thermodynamic death* or collapse under its own gravity (Barrow and Tipler 1986). Cosmology has often challenged theism* explicitly, notably regarding the Creation*, providence*, and eschatology*.

In 1900, Max Karl Ernst Ludwig Planck (1858–1947) solved a problem inexplicable in terms of classical physics by proposing the idea that energy might exist only in the form of “packets” or precise quantities—*quanta*. In so doing, he laid the foundations of the quantum mechanics developed by Niels Bohr (1885–1962) and Werner Karl Heisenberg (1901–76). Quantum theory has a remarkable capacity to explain physical phenomena but raises difficult philosophical questions that contradict all our evidence concerning reality, causality, and the relationship of the observer to the observed.

In 1953 the discovery of the double-helical structure of DNA by Francis Harry Compton Crick and James Watson ushered in a period of unprecedented progress for biological research that has enabled an understanding of, among other things, the structure of the human genome and the causes of hereditary diseases and has led to speculation as to the possibility of creating artificial species by genetic manipulation. The workings of the brain, the mystery of consciousness, and artificial intelligence will surely be the major questions of the 21st century and will give rise to new theological problems concerning human nature, the soul, and immortality (Puddefoot 1996).

d) Epistemology and Philosophy of Science. The way in which theologians reacted to Newtonian physics and the ideas of Darwin upheld the frequent criticism that they use God to explain what cannot be explained (*God of the Gaps*), so that when science advances, theology must of necessity retreat. However, the changes in our understanding of space and time, causality, the relationship of the observer to the observed, and the nature of life and of human intelligence have actually enriched theology by providing it with new conceptual tools.

The most interesting area in the debate between science and theology undoubtedly concerns the problems

of epistemology (Popper 1959). All the nonintuitive consequences of relativity and quantum theory, the unexpected developments (Prigogine 1979) of nonlinear classical mechanics and thermodynamics (chaos theory), the complexity of perception and language, and the effects of environment and culture on our conception of truth* (Kuhn 1962) gave a new lease on life to problems that were assumed to have disappeared. Theorizing about God and theorizing about the world are activities of a similar order. Both involve responding to fundamental questions about truth, knowledge, and being*. Reasons, explanations, and even the facts themselves are what they are only by virtue of the interpretation a culture gives them according to its values and the way in which it conceives the world. We are unable to stand outside our own minds and enjoy a God-like view of things, free of all the distortions and decisions that stem from our personal viewpoint. There exist complex relationships between data, hypotheses, theories, facts, beliefs, and values, which form the linguistic, social, and cultural background to knowledge. The mind is inevitably implicated in the interpretation of facts and the construction of theories (Polanyi 1958).

Some scientists, however, continue to interpret the scientific explanations of the universe in a way that echoes the agnosticism* and atheism of the 18th century (Monod, Atkins). But such stances are outside the province of science, and there is nothing insurmountable in the conflict between science and faith* (Peacocke 1990). Even Darwin, as much in *The Origin of Species* (1859) as in *The Descent of Man* (1871), considered that natural selection was not incompatible with the idea of a divine plan.

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See also Creation; Evolution; Fundamentalism; Rationalism; Reason; Truth

Scripture, Fulfillment of

The concept of the fulfillment of the Holy Scriptures originates in the Old Testament. Human beings, fulfilling the Scriptures*, means executing a will (precepts* of Law*). For God*, it means keeping a promise* or realizing an oracle (Prophets*) and also the carrying through of a plan that the biblical narrative draws from Creation*. The words of Jesus*, "Do not think that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets; I have not come to abolish them but to fulfill them" (Mt 5:17), apply to these three aspects.

1. Old Testament

a) The Reports of Fulfillment. The fulfillment of the prophecy is not expressed by a specific word. God "will do," "does," but more frequently "has done" according to what he had said. He keeps his word* (literally, he "lets it rise": *héqim*), or he "fulfills" it (1 Kgs 2:27, 8:15, 8:24; Jer 29:10; Dn 9:2; see Tb 14:4). He "brings it about," it "occurs," it "does not fail to occur," what he had said "is." These expressions are useful to the Deuteronomy historian for interpreting the successive stages of his narrative: entrance into the promised land (Dt 9:5; Jos 21:43, 23:14); eviction from the sacerdotal line of Shiloh (1 Kgs 2:27; see 1 Sm 2:30–36); construction of the temple* (1 Kgs 8:15, 8:20, 8:24), which is, for this particular school, more important than the royal dynasty; division of the two kingdoms (1 Kgs 12:15; see 1 Kgs 11:29–39); successive exterminations of the ephemeral lineages of Northern kings (1 Kgs 15:29, 16:12, etc.); fall of their kingdom (2 Kgs 17:23); and then fall of the Southern kingdom, with the exile (2 Kgs 22:16, 24:2) and the re-

turn from exile (2 Chr 26:22; Ezr 1:1). In short, everything occurs in fulfillment of the divine word.

Reporting an occurrence generally follows the formula "according to (one or several words)." The event has occurred "in order that" the word might be verified (Dt 9:5; 1 Kgs 2:4, 2:27, 9:2; Ezr 1:1). Thus, an inexplicable human hardening* is first announced, then delivered by God (1 Kgs 12:15; see the case of Pharaoh in Ex 7:3). There is a quite systematic emphasis on prophecies of doom (2 Kgs 22:16; Jer 28:8f.). After the pronouncement of an oracle, some limited fulfillments usually occur as a sort of guarantee regarding the final result (1 Kgs 13:26, 13:32, 14:15, 14:18). The impact is cumulative, which explains the use of formulas of recapitulation such as "my (his) servants the prophets" (2 Kgs 21:10, 24:2; see 2 Kgs 17:23: "all"); or [I had said] "every day," "without growing weary": Jeremiah 7:25 ("all"), 25:4 ("all"), 29:19, and 35:15 and 2 Chronicles 36:15. The destruction of the temple is such a terrible calamity that it is said to have been foretold "since ancient days" (Jer 28:8; Lam 2:17).

b) The Eschatological Horizon. In its final form the book of Jeremiah represents a turning point: the proclamation of doom is confirmed but is followed by proclamations of salvation*, the main one being of the return from exile (Jer 25:11f., 29:10); the theme of the restoration of the temple comes from a later writing still (Jer 33:14–26). A threshold is being crossed when the prophetic word, which has been uttered "since the beginning of time," is understood as forming a unity with that which created the world. This is the moment of the "Deutero-Isaiah" (Is 40–55). If the category of

fulfillment, with the distinction of “first things” and of “new things” (Is 42:9, 48:3, 48:6f.), looks promising as a hermeneutical key for understanding all the words of God, it can be said to have originated with this author. From now on, fulfillment stands out on the horizon of eschatology*. The book of Daniel’s rereading of the Jeremiah prophecy (Dn 9:2) is another turning point: the 70-year wait it was heralding becomes a wait of 70 weeks (of years) before “vision and prophecy are sealed together” (Dn 9:24). The fulfillment is accompanied here by a revealed interpretation (revelation*) that carries the letter of the Scriptures to the level of the extreme.

2. The New Testament

The New Testament writers place the coming of the Messiah* within the framework of their sole Bible*, the Jewish Scriptures; and the Gospels* trace this way of reading the Scriptures back to Jesus himself. In this way these writers testify of his founding values in their own faith. The imposing body of biblical quotations in the New Testament is therefore only the visible part of a consciousness of fulfillment and should not make us forget other evocations. They are more diffuse, like the innumerable similarities of language between the two testaments; they are more concealed when the experience* of the novelty of Christ* revisits the great narrative moments of the Old Testament: the story of the Fathers, Easter, the gift of manna, the cycles of Elijah and Elisha (compare, e.g., Jn 6:8–14 and 2 Kgs 4:42–44), and so on. That anamnesis gives first place to the Pentateuch; it is an occasion for an inchoative theory of the “meaning of the Scriptures.” More radically still than at the time of the exile, the present turns toward the past, only to deliver it from its archaism.

a) The First Testimonies of Faith. The rooting of the New Testament in the Old is reflected in the testimony of faith* formulated by Paul after a catechesis* that he had first received himself: “I believe that Christ died for our sins* in accordance with the Scriptures; that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the Scriptures” (1 Cor 15:3f.). For the New Testament narrators the Christ event occurs, as in the Old Testament, “in order that” the Scriptures (almost always prophetic) can be fulfilled (Mt: nine times; Jn: nine times). Without this anteriority of the word of God with regard to the moment of Jesus, he would not be perceived in his full dimension. A formula of the type “in order that the Scriptures be fulfilled” puts the emphasis mainly on the Passion* and is invested with several modalities: the Scriptures are quoted in detail by Matthew (11 times) and more generally by Luke and Acts (“all”: Lk 18:31; Acts 3:18;

13:27; the whole Scriptures: Mt 26:54; Lk 21:22, 24:44; *see* Mk 14:49; Jn 19:28, 19:30; Acts 13:29). John places his emphasis on the Passion, when Christ departs into solitude: “Though he had done so many signs before them, they still did not believe in him,” fulfilling a prophecy of Isaiah (Jn 12:337–38). There is only one occurrence in Mark (14:49), but it comes at the decisive moment when Jesus gives himself into the soldiers’ hands. At several crucial moments (Mt 13:14; Lk 4:21) and above all at the last moment (Lk 22:37; Jn 13:18, 15:25, 17:12, 19:28), the announcement of a fulfillment of Scripture is placed in Jesus’ own mouth. By this he acknowledges that he has witnessed the fulfillment of the Scriptures and that all is as he has desired (Mt 5:17, 26:54; Mk 14:49; Lk 8:31).

b) Jesus as Agent of the Fulfillment. Facing death, Jesus shows “obedience” (Rom 5:19; Phil 2:8; Heb 5:8): he fulfills the “will” of his Father*. His Father reveals it to him, but Jesus also belongs to the history of humankind, and he knows the will of God because he learned how to find it in the Book*. The Scriptures justify more than once the “it must be so” or “it had to be so” of the Passion (Mt 26:54; Mk 8:31; Lk 22:37, 24:26, 24:44; Jn 3:14). That “it must be so” belongs to the formula of the apocalypses (Dn 2:28 LXX; *see* Rev: six times). Hence, does the necessity of the fulfillment by the cross have to be understood as the fate to which God’s “plan” subjects his Son (filiation*)? The inescapable doom of such a terrible event is certainly emphasized rather than blurred or obscured. But if Jesus “teaches” (Mk 8:31) the correspondence between his tragic death and the Scriptures, this means that he finds there is “light” in it (Mt 16:21: he “shows”). There is indeed the inescapable necessity of the impact of sin. But what is new in this instance is that God does not interrupt the process. He refrains from doing so precisely “in order” to overcome it finally instead, and consequently forever, but away from “mankind’s” sight (Jn 14:22). Jesus’ participation in the act of fulfillment takes the form of his lived, ongoing consent to his Father’s plan.

c) The Two Aspects of Fulfillment. In New Testament Greek, the root *plēr-* implies a happy outcome, but the root *tél-* implies the outcome aimed at or the cut that separates the outcome from the process. This lexical distinction functions in the various formulations of fulfillment because Jesus Christ suffered “in order that” fulfillment may occur. Full realization is plenitude. It is nuptials (Mk 2:19 par.; Rev 21:2, 21:9, 22:17). It is a kept promise since the risen body of Christ is the first stone of the new temple that is being built. The Resurrection (Resurrection* of Christ) fulfills the Scriptures

(Lk 18:31, 24:26, 24:46; Jn 2:22, 20:9; Acts 2:31, 26:22f.; 1 Cor 15:54f.); along with the Passion, it had been taught in advance (Mk 8:31, 9:31 par). Certain texts describe the social and religious divisions that existed at the time of Christ (Eph 2:11–17, 3:6). Implied is the obligatory reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles, something that was expected in the early Church*. In contrast with that plenitude, Creation wails (Rom 8:22f). In the face of Israel's resistance, Paul is torn (9:2); in him, the Passion remains unfinished (Col 1:24). The unheard-of nature of the blessing that Jesus Christ brought to the world, as well as the extension of that blessing (the entire and unreserved admission of all nations into the people of God), made it indispensable to redefine the status and the rules of this people. They were gradually obliged to choose between circumcision and Baptism*, between the temple of Jerusalem* and the body of Christ, between separation and sharing in a communal life, according to whether the Mosaic law was observed. The most beautiful expression of fulfillment is surely present in the following words of the prophet Malachi (beginning of the second temple era), found in both testaments: the prophet predicted to come "will bring back the fathers' hearts towards their sons and the sons' hearts towards their fathers" (Mal 3:24; see Lk 1:16f.). For us today, this prophecy shows also the extent of what has remained unfulfilled.

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Bible; Canon of Scriptures; Holy Scripture; Eschatology; Exegesis; Hermeneutics; Jesus, Historical; Mystery; Promise; Prophet/Prophecy; Scripture, Senses of

Scripture, Senses of

The Scriptures* have more than one sense. This notion of many senses is never very far from the thoughts of theologians. In the Fourth Gospel*, Jesus*, in speaking of Moses, says, "If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote of me" (Jn 5:46; see also Jn 8:56 regarding Abraham). "We have found him of whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph" (Jn 1:45): such a global certainty, reaffirmed in other forms throughout the New Testament, implied or inevitably led to a revolution in the reading of the "Old Testament," which at the time were the sole "Scriptures." A sense unnoticed

until then was discovered therein. Of course, it had to be based on ancient sources: it could not simply contradict the previously recognized sense, nor could it be completely detached from it. For the new sense could not leave out genealogy: Jesus could not be revealed as the Son without referring to the traces the Father* had left in history*. It is for this reason that the hermeneutics* of the Old Testament are inseparable from the first steps of Christian theology*.

The procedure of applying to a text a key that was unknown to the text's author was already current outside Israel*. It was used in interpreting Greek philoso-

phers, such poets as Homer and Virgil (who were thought to receive their inspiration from a higher source), and “all those who have dealt with divinity, the Barbarians, and the Greeks” (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, V, 4, 21, 4). The specificity of the Christian interpretation of the Bible* is not in allegory but in the fact that allegory is entirely determined by the experience* of a moment in history held to be unique and is therefore subordinate to the message that announces it (*kerugma*). This is why the doctrine of a plurality of senses in Scripture was applied first to a Christian reading of the Old Testament for which the New Testament provided the model. It is above all the Old Testament that has a multiplicity of senses.

I. Principal Concepts

The terms used to designate the “senses” of Scripture have frequently changed their acceptance, going so far as to take on an opposite content. They are still evolving, but it remains possible to unravel the main sources of convergence or divergence in standard contemporary theological usage.

1. Literal Sense

a) There exists a traditional, negative acceptance, attributed to Paul: “The letter kills” (applied above all to the commandments of the law); it is linked to the limitative or deprecatory usage of “flesh*.”

b) “Literal” also designates what is taken as the received sense in the context of daily communication: the immediate or “obvious” sense (*prokheiron*). From another point of view, to interpret something “by the letter” is to adopt the material sense: the “literal sense” is thus the opposite of the “metaphorical sense” and is used above all when referring to a word or a brief syntagma. To interpret a metaphor literally would be a misinterpretation (a “missed sense”).

c) On the basis of the technical use of the modern exegesis*, the literal sense is that in which communication occurs or should have occurred between one who destines a message and those to whom *he himself* destined it. It belongs to a “contract of communication,” delimited by convention and the possibilities of the era when the message was formulated. This refers above all to a *text* rather than to a word or a formula.

2. Allegory

Today, *allegory* (from the Greek, *alla-egorein*: “to say something else”) has a more limited sense than it did in early exegesis. Allegorical language is coded: in a series, each *concept* is replaced by an *image*. Concepts

come in succession, but images can be discontinuous (in Zec 5:7–8 a woman is seated in a basket covered with a leaden weight). Incoherence can even forewarn the recipient of the nature of the message. When intended by the author, the allegorical sense is considered to be the “literal sense,” in present-day parlance (see above, 1 c). Even in ancient times this was occasionally understood so.

3. Typical or Figurative Sense

Tupos is a rich term that designates a mark solid enough for its impression to be long lasting—a matrix. It is less the copy or reproduction of a model (celestial or otherwise) than a model of that which remains to be produced (“antitype”) and which will be even greater in dignity (Goppelt). In addition to relationship, it suggests a difference, like that between “hollow” and “full,” “mold” and “statue.” It can be replaced in Greek by *schema* and is translated in Latin by *figura*. One speaks of a “typical,” “figurative,” or “representational” sense. The narrative thread of the Bible (narrative*) weaves through types or figures that look to the future: one might say they are drawn by that future. And if the future has a resolution determined by Christ*, it might be said that when the future comes, it leads to the fulfillment of types and figures. Since attraction is a form of participation, thought can examine the relation between accomplishment and principles and origins: there will therefore be an interaction between the typological exegesis and speculative theology. On another level, the principle of typology can easily be recognized by semiotics and narrative analysis, which are attentive to the recurrence of schemas.

4. Spiritual Sense

Provided it is taken strictly as a technical term of theological exegesis and on the basis of its Pauline origin, the adjective *spiritual* designates the new sense revealed by the action of the Spirit. Spiritual interpretation is a novelty in action and in preaching*, the vehicle for so much patristic commentary. The Bible teaches that spiritual understanding comes with the defeat experienced by hardened hearts when they attempt to rely on their own righteousness. The characteristic of the “spiritual sense” interpreted in this way is its radical nature. With the same words, everything is changed in the text, everything is changed in the world. This type of reading acknowledges that the Spirit it is imbued with comes from Christ and, as such, maintains its allegiance to history but grants little importance to its phases.

The ancients often gave other names to the “spiritual sense,” including *allegorical*, *mystical* (from *mystery**), and even *typical* when dealing with the truths of faith*. *Mystical* could also be applied to the journey

of the soul. *Tropological* (synonym of *moral*) is directed toward an action and *anagogical* toward the ultimate goals (see III, 5).

5. Plenary Sense

The expression *plenary sense* spread among Catholics, particularly in the years following *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), where it was not even used. It acceded to the very ancient principle that the Bible is explained through the Bible as a whole. The plenary sense follows the expansion of the meaning of words. Thus, “life” has always been promised, but tradition overburdened the meaning of the word when the hope of eternity (eternal* life) arose, long before the New Testament. The plenary sense nevertheless did not go so far as to question the specific originality of the New Testament.

II. The Plurality of Senses in the Bible

The origins of biblical typology are biblical, present even in the Old Testament. The process was already a dialectical one. Similarity could be refuted only once it had been stated.

For Deutero-Isaiah, the new act of God reveals him as being present from the beginning. Calling his people* back from exile, God gave them a new memory; the return from exile reproduced the Exodus and caused it to be forgotten (Is 43:18f.). According to Jeremiah 16:14–15, “it shall no longer be said” that the Lord “brought up the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt,” but it shall be said that he brought them up “out of the north country [after exile] and out of all the countries where he had driven them.” The founding stories (the family structure of the patriarchs, Passover, and the wandering in the desert) have the status of archetypes, interpretive keys of the new developments of which the exile would be the most important. Thus, the fulfilled Sarah represents Jerusalem* repopulated (Is 51:2f. and 54:1). The experience is portrayed as a revelation*: “To this day the Lord has not given you a mind to understand or eyes to see, or ears to hear” (Dt 29:2f.). Psalm 78:2 sees ancient history as “dark sayings from of old” (applied to Jesus’ parables* by Mt 13:35). The Wisdom of Solomon 19 transforms the cosmic miracles* of Exodus into a message of a final salvation* of the departed just.

The New Testament, a fortiori, gives new sense to the Old Testament. Romans 4:17 rereads Genesis 15 by placing the emphasis on continuity: the impulse through which Christians believe in resurrection* had already inhabited Abraham, and Paul is not concerned with what Abraham knew about it. 1 Corinthians 10 sees Christ as already present (but hidden) in a reality

experienced by Israel before the Incarnation*. This is a model of typology. Another process, declared “allegorical,” underlies Galatians 4:24. Its artificial side acquired a following. For the evangelists, even the details of the life of Jesus (places where he stayed or passed through) represented the fulfillment of prophecy. But the elements drawn from the Old Testament are most revealing when the evangelists do not identify them and simply describe the acts of Jesus by superimposing them over the acts of Moses, Elijah, and Jeremiah without saying so. The narrative is characterized by the certainty that divine intention is leading all of history and that it left traces that can be deciphered only through a resolution in the gospel. The fourth gospel is the only one that makes this strategy explicit: Jesus is the bronze serpent, the manna, the vine of Israel, the temple* not built by human hands. Since, in this perspective, the characters of the story are personally directed toward the individuality of the incarnate Word*, the typology remains historical at its core.

1 Corinthians 10 outlines the hermeneutics. The reach of the ancient narrative is dogmatic, parenetic, eschatological; it is already a subdivision of the spiritual sense. 2 Corinthians 3 introduces the theme of a veil over the hearts of the sons of Israel “whenever Moses is read” (v. 15). We should note that, on the one hand, the obscurity does not spring from the text being read, nor, on the other hand, does the lack of light necessarily signify darkness. The Letter to the Hebrews compares the new covenant* with the old one using the categories of *tupos* (type), *hupodeigma* (leading schema, framework), *homoioies* (similitude), *eikon* (image), and *skia* (shadow). Everything is directed toward the *ephapax*, the “once and for all” that brings an end to repetition.

III. Tradition

During the first two centuries of the Christian era, Christian exegesis was carried by a rich and continuous flow (e.g., Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Justin, Tertullian*, and Irenaeus*). We will limit our examination to a few examples of originality and faithfulness brought by several participants in this movement.

1. Origen

Origen (c. 185–c. 251, Alexandria, then Caesarea) has been compared with another great son of Alexandria, Philo (c. 25 B.C.–c. A.D. 40), since allegorization was a source of prolific invention for both men, though more so for Origen. There was few codification in his interpretation. At its core was the current and radical transformation of the carnal world* through the incarnate

Word. Through its action and through the gift of the Spirit, the stages of the history of the world have become contemporaneous within the soul. Theology and the reading of the Bible are completely coextensive in this case and are addressed to an audience for the sake of its own progression. This form of exegesis begins with the sustained endeavor to find the true text, which was the aim of Origen's *Hexapla* (see Translations* of the Bible), and in this respect it deserves to be called literal. Origen is sufficiently critical to say that the law could not have been carved in stone in its entirety and to allow that the evangelists might have "added to Scripture, in the form of a sensible thing, the spiritual notion that their spirit had conceived" (*In Jo* 10:5). But this form of criticism is not a major concern for Origen; he does not seek the truth* in verisimilitude, even if he is a firm believer in history. His adversaries are those who refuse to allow the mystery revealed by the New Testament to inhabit any text: "For us, both of the Testaments are new" (*Hom Num.*, IX, 4). Taken literally, even the life of Jesus does not reveal its entire sense.

Allegorical exegesis frequently makes use of definitions. For example, for the preparation of offerings, Leviticus (7:9) prescribes an oven, pan, or griddle, and this calls for a spiritual interpretation: but it must first specify a particular property for each tool. As a result, it is usual to find an apt attention to all sorts of reality in this form of exegesis.

Origen's list of the senses of Scripture—which does not necessarily cover all his work—is expressed in triadic form: either *historical*, *moral* (the milk), *mystical* (meat); or *historical*, *mystical*, *spiritual* (in reverse order to 1 Thes 5:23's "spirit and soul and body"; see also the *trissos* [tripling] in the Septuagint translation of Prv 22:20). The mystical sense is that which deals with the revelation of the mystery of faith, which concerns both the husband and the wife, Christ and the Church*, and their relation in the history of salvation. This sense is the objective condition of the "spiritual" sense, which specifically concerns the soul of the reader. The "moral" sense also leaves room for truths or virtues*, which are more than supernatural.

The allegorical exegesis practiced by Origen and many others was supported by their perception of biblical discourse, whose logic usually seemed deficient to them, lacking *akolouthia*, or continuity. This was for two reasons: the biblical mode of composition was poorly understood, and people failed to take into account that many works had been written in several stages, whence a tendency to justify these shortcomings by resorting to a sense that, until that point, had remained hidden. By making allegory into a global principle, it was no longer necessary to set it apart

from typology, or the "typical" sense. It is impossible for contemporary readers to take Origen's exegesis simply as it is; for him, every physical sign could be transposed. The rule he applied, of taking any incongruity as a sign of hidden meaning, is untenable, even if it does not belong to Origen alone. What may seem excessive or even mechanical (and that may, in any case, be put down to the fact that he was preaching every day in Caesarea) can be distracting, but the richness of his vision of the renewed world is enlightening. Origen himself did not seek an adhesion to science or even, continuously, to dogma*. That which he gives can be received, which it was through the tradition handed down to Origen himself, but we do absolutely have need of that which he does not give us. He sees the witnesses of Israel in the mystery of the Church (Lubac*, *Histoire et Esprit*), but does not bring them close enough to their people. Even though he set great store by them, he had not only insufficient means but also insufficient interest to reconstitute the spiritual path of Israel.

2. The Exegetes of Antioch

The exegesis practiced in Antioch*, in contrast to that of Alexandria* and a century after Origen, represents another pole. Diodorus, the bishop* of Tarsus in 378, was the teacher of Theodore of Mopsuestia. John Chrysostom* belonged to this school. Antioch sought a "systematic quarrel" (Jay 1985) with Alexandria. Hellenism was kept at a distance, and the emphasis was placed on realism and history. Thus, Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428) is said to have refused to apply any other sense than a literal one to the Song of Solomon. However, insofar as the spiritual sense of the Old Testament is founded in the affirmations and practice of the New Testament, it was received in Antioch along with what were already its traditional applications. But there were no attempts to add more: there was some mention of Christ in the Old Testament but only intermittently. Origen, on the contrary, said with common sense that if there were "a few cases," it was in order that they might spread to others (*in Hom. Ex.* 5, 1).

John Chrysostomos clearly defined the "type": "Prophecy through the mode of types is a prophecy* of facts (*pragmaton*)" (*De Poenitentia*, hom. VI, 4; PG 49, 320). But for the school, the relation between the two testaments was based first of all on the prophets since prophecy was understood as a prediction or an anticipated vision of a miraculous nature. The vision might be presented on several levels: the same text, in particular in the case of the "prophet" David (see Acts 2:30), was applied to the event announced in Israel and its future realization in Christ, the prophet having had

this double vision before writing it down. Hyperbole was seen as a sign that the event had come about, for it was the realization that made the hyperbole truthful: this was a position shared by all schools of thought, but in this particular case it was more methodical. Those texts that served as proof had privileged place: the tendency was to seek assurance by confirming a *theoria*, that is, an anticipated vision of future events.

3. Augustine

What was new about Augustine's approach was that he conceived of a plurality of senses, either on the basis of a philosophical reflection on signs or on the basis of revelation or by bringing both of these elements together. "The letter kills, the spirit gives life": these words, handed down through Ambrose*, are the starting point of his hermeneutic journey. His classifications of senses are variable; this is the world of a *grammaticus*. Thus, signs are "unknown," "suspect," "literal," or "figurative" (*De Doctrina christiana*, II, III), and it is necessary to distinguish between various metaphors (*verba translata*). The classifications of senses can be understood on two levels (*De utilitate credendi*, III, 5): the "historical" and "etiological" sense (what is the cause of a *dictum* or a *factum*?), "analogical" ("the two Testaments are not opposed"), and "allegorical" (certain texts are meant to be taken not literally but figuratively). The etiology in this case depends, according to circumstances, on reason* or faith, on explanation or interpretation. The "cause" being sought might be literary, logical, or mystical. Augustine demonstrates great freedom, in part because he is not a philologist, but there were even better reasons for this. First, exegesis is a quest that is both regulated and urgent, and it resolutely renders all meanings of texts subordinate to a truth that surpasses not only the author of the text (be it Moses himself) but even the text and its interpreter. That truth is God's truth. It is also the truth of things, whence the necessity of knowing "the properties and nature of those which are used as a basis for comparison." *De Doctrina christiana* outlines this program. Meaning also implies openness: the Bible does not close one in but is itself to be found in a territory without limits. This truth will finally be Augustine's truth, insofar as he never tires of questioning it with confidence. Second, the spiritual sense is, as such, the harmony of several meanings—it causes humanity, Israel, Christ, his Church, and each reader to speak in unison: "Who is speaking? . . . It depends upon you to be the one whom you seek" (*In Psalmos*, 42 [41hb], PL 36, 464). But the reader is with Christ: "Do not venture to say anything without him any more than he will say anything without you" (*ibid.*, 86 [85hb], PL 37, 1 082). It is also

"the entire city* which is speaking, since the time of the blood of Abel" (*ibid.*, Ps 62 [61hb], PL 36, 731). Third, all of Scripture proceeds from charity and leads to it. Charity takes our weakness into account, and it unites the author with the readers and the readers to each other. There are two sorts of disagreement, one relating to the truth of things the other to the intention of those who express those things. As for the second point, "I cannot distinguish it as well" (*Confessions* LXII, chaps. XXIII–XXIV), but, "if I had been Moses, I would have liked to write in such a way" that all opinions that diverged but were not false could be understood in the text, for all that is true "unites in charity," and that is something that Moses obtained (*ibid.*, chaps. XXVI, XXX–XXXI). Rarely has the "figure of the reader" (A.-M. Pelletier 1989) been so highly honored.

4. Jerome

The craftsman of the Latin Vulgate fought for the rule of the *hebraica veritas*. His originality is not in his respect for the literal sense but in his aptitude for seeking it out, both in Origen's *Hexapla* and in the erudition of the Jews of his time, whose scrolls he was shown. He was an indefatigable student of *historia* and *realia* (geography, natural sciences). A prolific and enthusiastic author as well as a master rhetorician, Jerome was also a reader who was sensitive to the workings and quality of a text. His concept of the sense of Scripture was initially taken from Paul: the "letter" kills if it is received *carnaliter*, but the basic principle is that the spiritual edifice rests on the *fundamentum historiae*. The "type" and the "figure" are synonymous for Jerome. Occasionally the figure might be a figure of rhetoric, a trope—the boundary between oblique meaning (metaphors, *translatio*) and spiritual sense is not self-evident. Relying heavily on Origen, Jerome was better able than him to distinguish between the "types" of allegory, about which he had some reservations. He was well aware of the ambiguity of the term *allegoroumena* in Galatians 4:24 (Jay). The spiritual interpretation (*spiritalis*) was to be found on the level of the mystery; it had to follow the "coherence (*ordinem*) of history" and not interpret each word in isolation as allegory did. On many occasions Jerome would follow the common practice of suggesting a spiritual sense where coherence was lacking: "That does not make any sense at all. Therefore, one must resort to the mystical interpretation" (*In Ps*, 95 [hb96], PL 26, 1 112). The incongruity of Hosea 1–3 obliges one to classify it as allegorical. In Jerome's work there can be found tropology, often with a psychological and ascetic coloring, and *anagogè*, which he uses either as an equivalent to the "spiritual sense" or in the sense of an

elevation of the soul to a higher level or more rarely in the sense of an application to “future realities,” a sense that was later to become dominant.

5. The Distich of the Four Senses and Thomas Aquinas

Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria/moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia: “The letter teaches that which took place; allegory, that which you must believe; the moral (tropological) sense, that which you must do; and the anagogical sense, that which you must strive for.” Augustine of Dacia, a Dominican, is said to have composed (c. 1260, with the variant *quid speres* for *anagogia*) this famous distich (where the triple use of “you” should be noted) to sum up the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas*. In keeping with tradition (*Summa Theologica* Ia, q. 1, a. 10 resp.), Aquinas recalled that “the literal or historical sense” was the foundation of the spiritual sense, which was divided into three: “allegorical, moral, and anagogical.” While *littera* only designated words, “the literal sense” was used to refer to what the author meant to say (*quem auctor intendit* or *quod loquens per verba vult significare*): it might deviate from the immediate meaning of the words. The meaning intended by the (divine) author could go beyond what the (human) author meant to say (*ibid.*, ad 1). Another case: Psalm 29 (hb 28), verse 2, was metaphorical for David but literal for Jesus, for Jesus alone was released from the sojourn among the dead (*In Psalmos Expositio*). This objective fulfillment was not necessarily that of a prophecy. Sometimes it was; the ancients believed “A Virgin shall conceive” and we believe “A Virgin has conceived”—same meaning and same faith (Ia Iae, q. 103, a. 4). One could sense an imminent enrichment of the literal sense. If it was the foundation of the spiritual sense, was this not already on the condition that it was a *sense*? The biblical “mode” was called *narrativus signorum* (*Sent.* I, prol. q. 1, a. 5). Ia, q. 1, a. 10 returned to the classical doctrine of typology: an earlier *res* was, by divine disposition, the “type” of a later *res*, in a movement tending toward the ultimate. But was the *res* separable from the words that expressed it? The gap between the signifier and the signified rested on a paradoxical “agreement”: Ia, q. 1, a. 9 relied on the Pseudo-Dionysius* in order to state that the most sensible or the lowest was also the most apt to signify that which was most spiritual and least accessible. Alexander of Hales (*Summa Theologica Prolog.* c. IV, a. 1) already called this sensible thing the “form of the unformed” and the “figure of that which has no figure.” Although this warranted the legitimating of theology as a science by authorizing it on the basis of the Bible, the widespread acceptance of the literal sense

had been sufficiently affirmed for the task of exploring it to have conquered its autonomy.

IV. The Renaissance and the Reformation

When Lefèvre d’Étaples (c. 1460–1536) found a spiritual sense in the entire Psalter (*Quincuplex psalterium*, 1509, 1st ed.) (psalms*) and decided to call this the “literal sense” because it represented the intention of the prophet David, it became apparent that a coming together of the two dimensions was already being felt. This simplification did not yet lead to significant innovation. The shock came with Luther* when he offered a similar sort of maxim: the literal sense is the Christic sense, “to transfer onto Christ the literal interpretation.” His theory contained several elements. Here we will concentrate on the dimension of the word*: the priority he granted to the word was unprecedented. The cross of Jesus would have served no purpose if it had not been made an object of belief through the verbal message. Celestial things could only be *annuntiari verbo*. If John, Romans, and Galatians precede the rest of the New Testament (preface to his 1522 translation), it was because they were conveyors of a message rather than of a story. “He who has words through faith has everything, albeit in a hidden manner” (WA 4; 376, 15 *Sq*) We have nothing but words and promises*” (WA 4; 272, 16 *Sq*). This “word” however, which has two senses (*sensus in dorso, sensus in facie*), has its own consistence through which that which would be the weakness of a fusion between the literal sense and the spiritual sense is conjured. The word is interposed between the two meanings in the manner of a wall that cannot be seen as convex unless it is also seen as concave, depending on where the viewer stands. Critical science ought not to have to dictate this choice, but ought to clearly trace the line. It separates death and life.

What will become then of the “shadows” of figures? That is the problem of this hermeneutic. Luther often makes one think that the shadow “is night” (Ebeling, *Lutherstudien*) but not always. First of all, he discovered that the letter that kills goes to that extent so that the movement will turn into a promise: the reader must find the way for himself. Later, in reexamining the positions that his advances might seem to have left behind, Luther conceded the legitimacy of a transitional category: the Old Testament also spoke of “the letter and the spirit together”; the just prayed so that “*veniat Christus et transeat Moses*” (“let Christ come and let Moses pass away”; WA 4; 310, 38f.). This *transeat* was valid for the Church, situated without stability *inter veterem et novam legem* (“between the old and the new law”; *ibid.*). Thomas Aquinas shared this opinion. Ac-

cording to Ebeling (op. cit., 51), Luther managed to weave together the opposition “letter of death” and “spirit of life” with a more homogeneous arrangement of the four senses but within a “deafening whirlpool” (*einem verwirrenden Strudel*). To those who reiterated that the Incarnation and the Cross were historical facts, Luther replied that yes, but a fact is only that which is known to be a fact: *quod cognoscitur esse factum* (3; 435, 37–39). Ebeling remarked, “Christ is now the text.” We understand this to mean he has the status of a text. Henceforth, it was the word itself that brought about a crisis of representation, a crisis that was both cognitive and ethical*.

V. From the Renaissance to Modern Times

It has been noted on more than one occasion that Luther’s interpretation abolished the distance of time*. Commenting later on the obedience of Abraham, Kierkegaard* eliminated any intermediary stage: the substance of the relation with the Father seems indeed to be the same before, during, and after Christ, whether one is dealing with Abraham or a Christian. What matters is the “contemporaneity” of the Christic act, declared absolute after the Incarnation, whereas the period that preceded it had no definite status. Bultmann*, later still, would reveal the way in which the law/gospel pairing, while remaining independent of the relation between the two testaments, was perpetually current. As for the words of the Old Testament, he conceded *in extremis* and certainly without sharing Luther’s ardor that faith could legitimately “take hold of the Old Testament, and in its power and within its rights, dare to direct towards us words which were not uttered for us” (*GuV*, 1933, 373), given the “invulnerable” condition that these words had been properly understood *and* that the difference between the two situations had been grasped.

Luther’s era opened the way to a reconstruction of the letter (to the work of those whom Richard Simon would praise as “grammarians”), but it would be with Galileo, after Luther, that the reconstruction of history would expand, on the border where physics (natural sciences*) and human history overlapped. Calvin* felt that Scripture “carried its credence within” (*Inst.* I, VII, 5), a trait from which he excepted no miracles (*ibid.*, I, VIII). Pascal* was the last significant witness who could apply his genius to reviving the classic division of senses in the Bible without questioning and without even being unduly concerned with the veracity* of the text. The workings of language interested him in the same way it interested the residents of Port-Royal. He knew that charity and cupidity were to be found in the same word (nothing “so similar,” nothing

“so contrary”: *Pensées*, Brunschvicg 629). The testaments showed “everything doubled, and the same words remaining” (*ibid.*, 862): he did not go any further than the enigma of sense and not only under the aspect of faith. But exegesis would not return to this topic until the long and ineluctable detour imposed on it by the question of historicity had been completed. Pascal, more than others, also offered for consideration the ethical and metaethical dimensions of interpretation: the veil that obscures the meaning of the gospel parables or of the Old Testament is a product of our refusal rather than of our ignorance.

In the centuries that followed, the classical question of the “senses of Scripture,” that is, of the relation between the two testaments, would lose the predominant position that it had hitherto occupied in discussion of the Bible. The dominant trend is to study the two testaments separately: the scope and the potential of biblical theology* are thereby diminished.

It was in part due to the progress of history and comparative studies that there emerged the category of literary genre*, which would have such an impact in the 20th century. Gunkel, at the turn of the century, without any theoretical contributions but with talent, would bring about a renewal of the old question—one that opened the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas—of the relation between poetry and truth. E. Auerbach (*Mimesis*, 1946) emphasized the singularity of a literature that, while never ceasing to be literature, “demands to be believed and “requires to be interpreted.” There is no longer the belief in Europe that myths* are childishness. Attention is being focused not so much on content as on the relation between biblical form and mythical form.

Where Catholics are concerned, the issue of the sense of Scripture was reformulated in 1943 in an encyclical of Pius XII, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. The encyclical outlined the primary task of biblical exegesis as being that of searching for the “so-called literal, and above all, theological sense” since that was the intention of its inspired author. The encyclical gave priority to the interpretations that had the clear support of science and in which science discerned potential for future development. The “theological sense” is discovered not by taking the shortest path but, as has been said repeatedly, by studying “the manner, form, and art of reasoning, telling, and writing” used by the authors of the Bible. The “spiritual sense” (understood as the typical or figurative sense of the Old Testament) is adopted in the form of a concession, not out of any concern to provide a warning (it had never been so little honored), but with the undoubted intention of obliging one to be rigorous about taking the investigation into the literal theological sense as far as it would go: “Certainly, spiritual sense

cannot be altogether excluded from Holy Scripture” (*EB* §552). The magisterium* could not deny, and immediately recognized, that the Old Testament “signified in advance, in a spiritual way, that which should come about under the new covenant of grace*” (*ibid.*). It is easier to see in retrospect that the aim was not only to “adapt biblical studies to the needs of the era” but also to find common ground with Protestant exegesis. And there was also a realization that the path of historical spiritual sense was the one where the Bible of Israel would be revealed to Christians on the basis of its own merit. More explicitly ecumenical, Vatican II* opened a wider door to typology and thus came more fully in line with contemporary research. This research maintains in particular that there is a way to support the typology of the Old Testament through a better knowledge of the means of expression but also, on a more basic level, through a better knowledge of what speech can mean. Exegesis might thus join the leading edge of an anthropology* of a humankind created in the image of God.

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See also Alexandria, School of; Augustine of Hippo; Biblical Theology; Exegesis; Fathers of the Church; Hermeneutics; History; Intertestament; Language, Theological; Luther, Martin; Myth; Narrative; Origen; Saint-Victor, School of; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Tradition

Secularization

a) Definition. The term *secularization* is derived from the Latin *saeculum*, a word used in the Vulgate to translate the Greek *aiōn* (see Rom 12:2; 1 Cor 1:20; etc.), the age or world* that Pauline* theology identifies with the domain of sin*. The word denotes in the first place the process of laicization undergone by a monk who leaves his order and returns to the *world*. It also describes the dispossession of Church* property, most commonly to the benefit of the state, or the passing of activities and institutions (e.g., schools and hospitals) from the Church's sphere of influence into other domains that exclude religious references or values. More broadly still, the concept of secularization denotes the process, which has only recently been clearly observable, by which activities hitherto totally or in part dependent on religion have become desacralized. Art, politics, technology, ethical* behavior and standards, and even the various disciplines of science are accordingly understood as being either explicitly opposed to any religion whatever (this is termed secularism) or indifferent to religious norms.

Secularization thus denotes the complete autonomy of a world that is to be understood intrinsically on its own terms. Defined in this way, it calls for interpretation. Inasmuch as the growing autonomy of the world with respect to religion is seen by some as totally unjustifiable (in that it leads to atheism*) and by others as a task that should be worked at in order to complete mankind's emancipation from superstition and/or religion, it is important to grasp the link between secularization and faith*. Ought faith to be concerned at the world's growing self-assurance? Is secularization nothing more than a movement of escape from faith? How is it made possible by faith itself? Is it possible to conceive of a theology of secularization?

b) Historical and Sociological Interpretation. Although it has only recently become clearly perceptible, the movement toward the autonomy of the world has identifiable historical roots, some of which are worth emphasizing at this point. From an interpretation of the Greek roots of modern culture, it might be concluded that secularization is the product of an understanding of the world based not on myth* but on rational discourse; and in fact this understanding of the world, originating with the Presocratics and given new impe-

tus by the Socratic approach, did lead indirectly to a desacralization of knowledge and—especially through the gradual development of the idea of natural law*—to a tendency to free community life from theological standards. But how is one to explain how this emancipation remained latent, becoming established as a principle only more than 15 centuries later? Here a second factor comes into play: the end of the Renaissance corresponded in the West to a redefinition of the idea of nature. Seen from the viewpoint of scientific knowledge, nature appeared divested of the magical powers, forces, and sentient qualities that some medieval philosophers had ascribed to it. By homogenizing nature through the identification of matter with extent and by developing the principles of a geometrical approach to reality, Descartes* then made possible an understanding of the world dependent only on the methodical order adopted by the conscious subject. Science was no longer the *theōria* of the Greeks but the production of knowledge by the thinking subject and must develop its potential while leaving aside final causes, the knowledge of which was God's alone.

In parallel with this development there emerged political philosophies, descended from the nominalism* of William of Ockham (c. 1290–1350), according to which the legitimacy of state power was based on a contract freeing the sovereign people from any external authority. It was thus, on the basis of the newly established separation of nature and finality, that Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) established a conception of the state that forcefully emancipated it from any theological foundation and placed the free individual at its center (Strauss 1953). Finally, Protestantism*, in particular its Puritan wing, developed a remarkable justification of work* and economic activity. In his search for the “spirit of capitalism,” M. Weber (1864–1920) suggested in this connection that the distinction between faith and works* on the one hand and the Calvinist theory of predestination* on the other had given rise to such anxiety as to the certainty of salvation* that some preachers were led to present work* and the success of human enterprise as *signs* of divine election. Thanks to this justification, earthly activities were liberated from the religious references that had made them possible and helped bring about a secularized world given over to the pure interplay of eco-

conomic conflicts and interests and to be understood according to its own legality. According to Weber, this movement (for which, it may be admitted, even Calvin*'s theology was not responsible) concluded the process of the world's "disenchantment" (*Entzuberung*) and brought to completion the gradual "elimination of magic as a means to salvation."

c) *Theological Interpretations of Secularization.* A theological interpretation of secularization has first to go beyond a categorical condemnation of the process by which the world has become emancipated from the Church in particular and from Christianity in general. A condemnation of this sort, whose echoes can even be felt in the First Vatican Council*'s constitution *Dei Filius*, was developed by the French traditionalist* thinkers L. de Bonald (1754–1840) and J. de Maistre (1753–1821). It attributed Western society*'s gradual estrangement from Christianity to the development of rationalism* and to a characteristically Protestant manner of envisaging mankind's relationship with God*. In Protestantism the refusal of authority and the magisterium was balanced by an appeal to the subjective conscience* of the individual, leading to a loss of the Church's influence in the world. To assess the value of these condemnations, one must first consider the clear-cut distinction they make between faith and secularization and their inability to see that secularization is a phenomenon made possible by faith itself.

Emphasizing the world's desacralization, the concept of secularization in effect harks back to the condemnation of idolatry*, endlessly repeated by the prophets* of Israel*. By adoring the work of his own hands, man fills the world with a multiplicity of deities and turns away from God, who alone is holy. Judaism*, however, by asserting the existence of both a single God and a relationship of creation* between the world and God—a relationship that distinguishes them from one another while linking them to one another—provided itself with a novel means of understanding the world both on its own terms and in its relation to its Creator. The world is not God, but nevertheless it is not a force hostile to God, for the world speaks of him who made it and proclaims his glory* (see Ps 19:1). Idolatry thus consists of shutting the world in on itself and not apprehending its autonomy as a created autonomy.

Turning to Christian theology, the Incarnation* leads to a confirmation both of the dignity of the world and of its difference from God. In this light, secularization may be seen as the temporal continuation of a dedivinization of the world by God" (Geffr  1976) situated at the heart of Judaism and as a gradual disclosure of the distance that exists between the world and God. This world is itself delivered into mankind's charge. It

must, therefore, be understood in terms of objective causes, organized politically through the intermediary of the state, exploited by means of technology, and so on. Because they recognize man's responsibility toward the world, Judaism and Christianity constitute a "religion of the escape from religion" (Gauchet 1985).

From this perspective, two theological modes of thought stand as emblematic of an understanding of secularization as the result of a logic intrinsic to faith. Dietrich Bonhoeffer*'s approach involves taking account of modern nihilism: men are no longer even idolaters. On the other hand, the nihilist tendency to think of everything *etsi deus non daretur* shows that mankind has become adult and freed itself from its tutors (*Widerstand und Ergebung*). However, this independence, newly acquired and only lately made clear, is not in contradiction of faith: "By becoming adult, we are brought to a true recognition of our situation before God. God makes known to us that we must live as men who succeed in living without God. . . . Before God and with God, we live without God" (ibid.). The true name of God, from this standpoint, is revealed by the suffering servant*: his kenosis* reveals his divinity. To take on God's suffering in the world—in other words, the independence of the world—is the Christian's vocation: to be human and to be so to the fullest degree. In this way secularization frees the Christian from a "false image of God. . . to lead him to the God of the Bible*, who gains his power and his place in the world through his impotence" (ibid.).

F. Gogarten (one of Barth*'s colleagues in the early years of dialectical theology) also recognizes that secularization is "a situation brought about by the Christian faith" (*Verhngnis und Hoffnung der Neuzeit*); its point of departure is to be found in faith, and it appears as a duty of the human individual. The theological basis of Gogarten's position resides in the distinction, *drawn by faith itself*, between faith and the works of the law*. Since salvation comes from faith and from faith alone, the world and earthly matters are entirely in the hands of mankind. Nonetheless, the world is not self-sufficient. Through the intermediary of man, it must enter into the dual relationship of creation and filiation* that links man to God. Sin, therefore, consists in turning the world back on itself and in inverting the relationship of Creator to creature that underpins everything that is. This theory has two notable consequences. 1) By virtue of the distinction between faith and works, mankind enjoys a dual liberty* (ibid.): faith frees man from works and releases him from the law. Thus, "All things are lawful" (1 Cor 10:23). Within faith, however, man must answer before God for his works and thus for the world, for "not all things are useful" (ibid.). Faith is thus indebted to secularization

inasmuch as it has the effect of maintaining its purity and making man responsible for himself. 2) As a result, faith has nothing to fear from secularization but much rather from secularism—in other words, the desire to Christianize the world by proposing, for example, a Christian morality (ibid.). To take up a distinction of Barth's, faith turns into religion and undertakes prescriptions that are alien to it.

d) Secularization as a Problem. It remains for these interpretations of secularization to be countered by at least three difficulties that have been well defined by C. Geffré. They are as follows.

- 1) Any theory of secularization must begin by avoiding the stumbling block of the ideological discourse, which justifies in an indirect and veiled manner the impotence or even the obliteration of faith and the Church: "Without even being aware of it the theorists of secularization 'produce' the ideology that the Church needs in order to justify its future—that is to say, its growing marginalization" (Geffré 1976). So the theologies of secularization congratulate themselves on the fact that, bombarded by the criticisms of modern atheism, the Christian is forced to enter into the adulthood of faith—in other words, a world without God. Religion, though, does not seem to have disappeared from this allegedly atheistic modern world, which remains haunted by magical forces and, sometimes unwittingly, revives customs that are purely pagan.
- 2) By separating faith completely from religion, these theologies cut faith off from its anthropological roots and from an "original sacred" that is at work in every human being. Without religion, faith runs the risk of becoming a mere abstraction and neglecting that part of humanity that genuinely turns to God in a "religious" attitude. Without faith, secularization, understood as the movement by which the world becomes more worldly, runs the risk of obliterating the created dimension of the world itself and merging into paganism. There is thus a dialectic linking faith and secularization. As it unfolds, and by dint of its critical force, secularization questions and reveals that which in faith might be considered pure abstraction or a negation of the world. Conversely, faith, even in its "religious" dimension, can play a critical role toward secularization. It can denounce the world's idolatrous turning in on itself, question a secularization that leads only to the negation of God, and finally purify and raise toward God a desire that, without it, is in danger of becoming blind or simply merging with emotion.
- 3) By giving the world back to itself, the theologies

of secularization confine faith within the sphere of private life and thereby make it impossible for the Church to comment pertinently on the world. The very fact of secularization, however, refers the Church back to itself and the mission that is specific to it: "Confronted with a society*, which the Church has left to itself in its secular and pluralist condition, the Church—precisely because it cannot manipulate the concrete decisions of that society in a fundamentalist, doctrinaire and juridical way—has an entirely new task, which one might term prophetic" (Rahner* 1967). The Church should not lament the passing of a former historical situation, nor should it immediately impose a set of definitive truths*, which, in any case, it does not have in its possession but which it develops over time. What is important is for it to find the means to respond to the human anticipation of God.

In this respect Vatican II*'s judgment regarding the phenomenon of secularization seems to steer a middle course. While recognizing a "proper autonomy of terrestrial realities" (LG, §36), the council emphasizes that "created things and societies themselves have their own laws and values, which man must little by little learn to know" (LG, §36.1). This autonomy, however, does not mean that the creature is independent of the Creator. It is up to the Christian conscience "to engrave the divine law in the earthly city*" (LG §43.2).

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See also Barth, Karl; Bonhoeffer, Dietrich; Creation; Ethics, Autonomy of; Modernism; Political Theology; Traditionalism

Sensus Fidei

a) *Definition.* By “sensus fidei” is meant a capacity given by the Holy Spirit* to the believer to perceive the truth* of faith* and to discern what is contrary to it. More broadly, it is a gift to all the members of the Church* that enables them to recognize the object of faith, to confess it, and to live from it in truth. This *subjective sense* derives from an older objective sense: *what the Church holds to be true*. But because the *ecclesia* is a living subject, the objectivity of faith cannot go without the inwardness of the believer for whom communion* with the Church guarantees an inner sense of what he believes. Without confusing them, *sensus fidei* can be related to similar expressions developed in the 16th-century works of doctrinal criteriology by Cano, Bellarmine*, and Suarez* (*instinctus fidei*, *consensus fidelium*, *sensus fidelium*) that designate the external and objective content of the faith confessed by believers, that is, the *sensus fidei* as it is made general by the entire *ecclesia*. We may also speak of *phronèma ekklesiastikon* (sense of the Church). The Council* of Trent* (DS 1367) speaks of a “consensus of the faithful,” or a “universal sense of the Church,” manifested in the assent given to a truth of faith. After Vatican II* (LG 1 12), finally, *sensus fidei* is characterized as a supernatural* “feeling” brought forth by the Holy Spirit, from which the whole people* of God profit in order to receive the word* of God, to adhere to it unfailingly, to deepen it, and to put it into practice.

b) *Justification.* *Sensus fidei* finds its strongest scriptural support in the conception of a *priestly people* (1 Pt 2:9), who has the *mind of Christ** (1 Cor 2:16), the *eyes of the heart* (Eph 1:18), the *spirit of truth* (Jn 14:17; 16:3), and *spiritual understanding* (Col 1:9). And the ancient formulation of it that is most often quoted is found in the canon of Vincent of Lérins on “what was believed everywhere, always, and by everyone” (*Comm. can.* 23). Its theological elaboration goes back to the analyses of the subjective act of belief provided by 13th-century Scholasticism*, Guillaume d’Auxerre, Albert* the Great, and Thomas* Aquinas. The latter writes, for example, that “*per lumen fidei vident esse credenda*” (“Through the light of faith they see what must be believed”; *ST* IIa IIae. q. 1. a. 5. ad 1). In this context, *sensus fidei* deeply guarantees the coherence of a Christian existence capable of a certain “co-naturality” (see *ST* IIa IIae q. 45. a. 2).

The argumentation was developed by M. Cano in the context of a discussion about tradition* and the authority* of the Church (see *De logis theologicis* 3.3; 4.4), and *sensus fidei* appears there principally as a source of theological knowledge. In 1848, J. Balmes referred to an *instinct of faith*. John Henry Newman* (1870) speaks of a “sense of inference,” or “illative sense” (see *Grammar of Assent*, chaps. 9 and 10), which makes possible real assent in matters of faith and conscience*. And drawing the conclusions from his work on Arianism*, in which he had observed that ordinary Christians had shown a faithfulness of which the hierarchy* had not been capable, he also proposed a theory of the *consensus of the faithful* (*On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine*, pt. 3). J. A. Möller and M. J. Scheeben* also integrate *sensus fidei* into their conception of faith.

In the 20th century, two problems have fostered a deepening of the notion: on the one hand, the problem of a justification for Marian dogmas and, on the other, the problem of the role of the laity* in the Church. In his presentation of a theology* of the laity*, Y. Congar, for example, points to the link between *sensus fidei* and the prophetic function in which everyone who has been baptized participates (see also John Paul II, *Christifideles Laici*, 30 December 1988, no. 14). A similar intent to explain the role of the baptized is present in the documents of Vatican II, which refer to the idea of *sensus fidei* and related notions, *Catholic sense*, *Christian sense of the faithful*, *Christian sense*, *religious sense*, *sense of God*, *sense of Christ** and *the Church*, *instinct* (LG 12; PO 9; AA 30; GS 52; AG 19). The idea is also implicit in DV 8, with reference to the development of dogma*.

c) *Theological Value.* The interpretation of *sensus fidei* has been the subject of a clarification by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, which begins by quoting LG 12 and goes on to define the *supernatural sense of faith*: “The totality of the faithful, having the unction that comes from the Holy Spirit (1 Jn 2:20, 27), cannot be in error in its faith; and this particular gift that it possesses it shows through the *supernatural sense of faith*, which is that of the whole people when, from the bishops* to the most humble lay believer (see Augustine*, *De Praed. Sanct.* 14. 27), it expresses its unanimous consent in the realm of faith and morals”

(Declaration *Mysterium Ecclesiae* no. 2, AAS 63 [1973], DC 1973, 644–70). The Council of Trent spoke of a *universus ecclesiae sensus* (DS 1367) enabling the believer to distinguish the true faith from heresy*. And if all those who are baptized take part in the prophetic function of Christ, they may therefore, in certain conditions, offer an expression of faith free from error. As an experience* of faith and its truth gone through by all the faithful living from the Holy Spirit, *sensus fidei* provides a criterion for theological knowledge. As for the magisterial function fulfilled by the ecclesiastical hierarchy, it is in the service of *sensus fidei* while also carrying out its educational mission. Three conditions have to be satisfied in order to claim infallibility in *sensus fidei*: it must really be the expression of universal consent, it must bear on the content of Christian revelation*, and it must be recognized by the magisterium* (see DV 8, 10; LG 12, 25). In this situation, the role of the magisterium is not limited to sanctioning an already expressed consent, for it may prepare for and request that consent. And because it is inseparable from the *sentire cum Ecclesia*, *sensus fidei* cannot possibly create tension between the mag-

isterium and the Christian people. Clearly understood, the notion of *sensus fidei* is a tool at the service of a balanced ecclesiology* (see International Theological Commission, DC 73 [1976], 662–65). We should no doubt go on to say that a theology of *reception** can be viable only if it is based on the reality of *sensus fidei*.

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See also Faith; Loci theologici; Magisterium; Notes, Theological

Septuagint. *See Translations of the Bible, Ancient*

Servant of YHWH

1. Old Testament

According to literary and sociological contexts, the term ‘*ēbēd*’ means either a slave or a servant, whose function varies according to his position and his master. When the term is applied to man’s relations with God*, his “Lord (‘*adôn*),” it does indeed entail complete humbleness and availability but also a possible worthiness to receive the Master’s confidences, even to share in divine deliberations. This respected role is attributed in particular to Moses (Nm 12:7; Dt 34:5), to

Joshua (Jos 24:29), to David (2 Sm 7, 8–11), to the prophets* (2 Kgs 9:36, 14:25), and so on. It describes very aptly the character presented in the four Songs of the Servant, which from the time of B. Duhm (1892), exegesis* has detached from the whole text of Isaiah 40–55. When linked together, this series of four pieces (Is 42:1–9, 49:1–9, 50:4–10, 52:13–53:12) form a little book in which are described a mysterious servant’s itinerary and fate. Jesus* and the primitive Church* would refer to it.

a) Problematics. The interpretation of the Songs of the Servant presents one of the most disputed points in exegesis. Questions are raised about their exact number of these poems, their precise boundaries, their literary form, and the history of their creation. More radical critics even deny the existence of a distinct sequence. The theological problems are no less thorny. They bear particularly on the servant's identity. Does he represent an individual or a group? Which group—the people as a whole (which is the meaning in the other passages in Is 40–55), or Israel* the faithful, or Israel the ideal, or the righteous remnant (Is 10:22; Zep 3:12–13)? Which individual—a character from the past (such as Ezekiel or Josiah), a contemporary (Cyrus or a master of wisdom*) or a Messiah* to come? In what form should he be conceived—as prophet, king, or a new Moses? How can his precise role toward Israel and the pagans be determined? In what way does he represent a covenant* with the people (Is 42:6)? Does his death* correspond to an expiation?

b) A Conjecture. Since everyone has to take a stance in this wide-open debate, we shall try, by means of a genetic approach, to go beyond the aporias and particularly beyond the antinomy of the “individual or group.” In their present context, the four songs can mean nothing but the community of Israel; it is Israel that the other passages from Isaiah 40–55 describe as a “servant.” But this reading clashes with certain facts: the servant boasts of a mission* with regard to Israel (Is 42:1–4), he suffers for “the multitudes” (Is 53:11–12), and he bears the sins* of those who contemplate him (Is 53:4–5). More than in the rest of the book*, the character's traits are specifically individualized. Above all, these poems form a unit insofar as they recount in a sequential and logical way the enigmatic servant's personal itinerary. This little book could be the work of one of the second Isaiah's disciples who, starting with his master's autobiographical fragments (Is 49:1–6, 50:4–5) and reusing the oracles attributed to Cyrus (Is 42:5–9; see Dion 1970), together with materials invented by himself (Is 42:1–4, 52:13–53:12), might have traced an ideal servant's spiritual journey, a servant whose model might be the second Isaiah himself. This little group of poems might have been disassembled, then distributed over chapters 40 to 55 by their editor, who might have given the servant a general, collective connotation.

c) Messianic Figure? It would be at the level of the autonomous little book containing the four poems that the possibility of a messianic orientation might emerge. Basing himself on the experience* and testi-

mony of the second Isaiah himself, this disciple might have proclaimed thus his hope* for a humbled servant, crushed but in the end triumphant beyond death. It will be noted that in Isaiah 53, the verbs that envisage the far side of death are in the future tense. In the first song (Is 42:1–9), YHWH in person introduces *his* servant, entrusted by the mind of God with a universal mission of salvation* and liberation, which is meant to reach the ends of the earth. In his turn (second song: Is 49:1–9), the servant evokes his intimacy with YHWH, his call from when he was in his mother's womb, and specifies his mission. That mission is identified with his person. Will he not be “the people's covenant” (Is 49:8) or “that of the multitude of nations” (Is 42:6)? From the outset, this work of salvation encounters hostility. The first song depicts the servant as “a bruised reed” that “will not break” and “a dimly burning wick” that “will not quench” (Is 42:3; see Renaud 1990, 102–3). He remains determined to bring his mission to a good end. The second song affords glimpses of an inner crisis (Is 49:4), but the servant is suddenly relaunched on a new stage (Is 49:5–6). Soon persecution (Is 50:4–10) will lead him to the most humiliating death (Is 53:1–9). But, amazing paradox, these sufferings and this death assume the value of a expiatory sacrifice, or *'āshām* (Is 53:10; see also 53:4–5). They are the source of justification* and of salvation of “many” (Is 53:11–12), and they win this servant high exaltation (Is 52:13) and satisfaction in his work (Is 53:11).

d) History of Influence. The text had a history* after to its final editing, a “history of its influence” (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), which was exerted particularly on the late Old Testament writings. Although its interpretation in a collective sense had monopolized both Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism's exegetic efforts (see Septuagint), in the Old Testament a few traces still linger of its being understood in an individual sense. This is the case of the mysterious man “whom they have pierced” in Zechariah 12:10–13:1 (Beauchamp 1989). Likewise, the discreet allusions to Isaiah 52:14 and 53:2 in Daniel 1:4; to Isaiah 52:13 in Daniel 11:33, 12:3, and 12:10; and to Isaiah 53:11 in Daniel 12:3–4 prepared the way for the New Testament identification of the Son* of man and of the suffering servant in the person of Jesus.

2. New Testament

a) Jesus' Declarations. Describing Jesus as a “servant” cannot be considered a “title” on the same level of that of Son of Man or of Son of God, not even in Acts 3:13–26 and 4:27–30 and Matthew 12:18. It is

not even certain that these descriptions always refer to the poems in Isaiah. In Acts 3:26, for example, the title might identify Jesus as the new Moses. All the same, there is an impressive number of quotations from the poems and allusions to them. First of all, Jesus himself read into them a sort of sketch of his own destiny (Mt 15:24 reflects Is 53:6, Mk 14:24 and Mt 8:17 refer to Is 53:12, and Mk 10:33–34 evokes Is 50:6). These reminiscences from Isaiah, associated with the logions concerning the Son of man, cast the latter figure in quite a new light—that of the humbled and suffering servant. Thus, beyond the collective sense adopted by Judaism, the Gospels* revived the individual connotation. The early Church was to extend its perception of its Lord to the group of four songs. According to Luke 24:25–27 and 24:44–45, the appearances of the risen Christ* were “the first source of Christian hermeneutics” (P. Grelot), by giving a new meaning to Isaiah 53.

b) Isaiah 53 and Jesus’ Passion and Resurrection. Thus, Isaiah 53 represents the starting point of Christian rereading. Confirmations of this are found in the oldest texts of the New Testament—in the narrative* about the Last Supper, evoking the blood “poured out for many” (Mk 14:24; Mt 26:28; *see also* 1 Cor 11:23–25); in the predictions of the passion* (Mk 10:34); and in the ancient professions of faith* (1 Cor 15:3–4; Rom 4:24–25). Similarly, the discourses from Acts 3:12–26 and 4:24–30 make the three lines about royal messianism, the prophetic ministry*, and the suffering servant converge (*see* 1 Pt 2:21). The use of this fourth song made it possible to cast light on the theological sense of Jesus’ death. Standing firm with his people, the servant Jesus gave his life for the many. Therefore, it is not surprising that Paul took up these allusions to Isaiah 53 in his soteriological phrases (Gal 2:20; 2 Cor 5:16–6:2; Romans 5:1–9; *see also* 1 Pt 3:18). The lyrical commentary from Isaiah 53 in 1 Peter 2:21–25 superimposes the images of the royal Messiah and of the servant from Isaiah 53.

c) The Group of Four Songs and Jesus’ Mission. From that moment on, the Christian community would extend the scope of the four songs to Christ’s earthly mission. The quotation from Isaiah 42:1–6 in Matthew 12:17–21, quite strange in its present context, aimed to encompass evocatively Jesus’ ministerial activities—less to prove that Jesus was authentically the servant than to reveal and determine his function. In a more precise way, Matthew 8:17 based itself on Isaiah 53:4: Jesus bore human physical sufferings not only in order to undergo them but also to heal us. From this fact, Matthew bound Jesus’ thaumaturgic function tightly to his person’s influence. John 1:29 made a similar trans-

position by introducing “the Lamb* of God who *takes away*” and no longer *bears* “the sin of the world!” The ambiguity of the Hebrew verb made this reinterpretation possible. In Luke 2:30–32, Simeon summed up Christ’s whole mission in the light of Isaiah 42:6 and 49:6, which proclaimed the servant “a light to the nations” (*see also* Is 42:1–4).

d) The Poems and the Disciples’ Ministry. In John 12:38–39, the declaration from Isaiah 53:1, associated with Isaiah 6:9–10, focused on the foretelling of the cross and its proclamation by the disciples, identified with the “we” of the poem and who ran up against the chosen people’s incredulity. This group of disciples thus found itself involved in this mystery* of cross and glory. Therefore, the group came quite naturally to apply the servant’s experience to the witnesses of the gospel. On several occasions (*see* Gal 1:15; Acts 26:16–17), Paul referred to Isaiah 49:1, completed by Jeremiah 1:5–10, and to Isaiah 42:1–7 to clarify his own vocation. His call, anterior to the revelation on the road to Damascus, led him to realize the program of Isaiah 42:1–7 (Acts 26:16–17). Not that Paul identified himself with the servant. Jesus was the one who remained, without any possible confusion, the servant, the “light to the nations” (Acts 26:22–23; *see* Is 42:6). But Christ in glory performed his ministry through the apostolic activities of Paul, who, like his master, had to face the same mystery of incredulity (Rom 10:16, which cites Is 53:1; *see also* Jn 12:38). On the base of Isaiah 52:15, Paul thus confirmed his certainty of being heard by the pagans to whom he was sent (Rom 15:21).

3. Writings of the Fathers

In the first centuries of Christianity, the christological interpretation of the Songs of the Servant would become a topic of debate between the “synagogue” and the “Church.” In their dialogue with the Jews, the Fathers clashed with the rabbinical interpretation, in which the servant represented a collective and which rejected any allusion to the Messiah’s suffering and passion (e.g., Justin in his *Dialogue with Trypho* and Origen in his *Contra Celsus*). The debate would, therefore, bear above all on the meaning of the fourth poem. The Jews would apply it to the just and to Israel suffering in exile—only a single text imagined that the Messiah might have taken on himself our griefs and our sorrows (*TB Sanh* 98 b). The Christians would read unanimously into these songs, particularly into the fourth one (Isaiah 53), a christological and soteriological testimony.

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BERNARD RENAUD

See also **Christ; Expiation; Israel; Jesus, Historical; Messianism; Passion; Prophet; Sacrifice; Salvation; Scripture, Fulfilment of**

Severius of Antioch. *See* Monophysitism

Sheol

Peculiar to Hebrew and of uncertain origin (*sh'l*, "to investigate," or *sh'h + l*, "place of devastation and noise"), the word "sheol" (Hebrew *she'ol*), without an article and generally feminine, denotes the abode of the dead, 66 times in the Massoretic text of the Bible, especially in a poetic context. Both the Septuagint and the New Testament translate the term as Hades ("invisible"—popular etymology). By contrast with heaven, Sheol is located in the subterranean depths (Is 7:11), to which all the dead descend (*yârad*), both the just (Gn 37:35) and the ungodly (Nm 16:33).

A dark place (Jb 17:13) of dust (17:16) and silence (Ps 115:17), Sheol is sometimes characterized by destructive waters (Jon 2:3–6). It has gates and guards (Jb 38:17; Is 38:10). Forgotten by all (Ps 88:13), the dead lead a spectral existence there: "or work, or thought, or knowledge, or wisdom*" (Eccl 9:10). Nobody returns from there (Jb 7:9), nobody praises the Lord there (Ps 6:6), and nobody there trusts in him (Is 38, 18). Job wished to shelter there alive while waiting for God*'s wrath* to pass (Jb 14, 13), but in vain, since "Sheol is naked before God" (Jb 26:6; *see* Prv 15:11). God can command it (Is 7, 11); anyone who forces an entry there will be removed (Am 9:2). Moreover, it is God who sends people down there and brings them up again (1 Sm 2:6).

While Sheol is open to the wicked (Prv 5:5; Ps 31:18; Jb 24:19), God prevents the just man from languishing there (Ps 18:6, 86:13; Jon 2:7); the believer is thus spared from death* and the tomb. Sheol is sometimes personified and identified with the personification of Death (Ps 18:6; Hos 13:14; Heb 2:5) or with the grave (Ps 16:10; Is 38:18; Ez 31:16; Jon 2:7). *Abaddon*, Perdition, perhaps an ancient deity of the underworld, also personifies Sheol (Jb 26:6; Ps 88:12; Prv 27:20).

The fate of the just in Sheol preoccupied ancient Israel*, however. Psalms 49:15—"God will ransom my soul from the power of Sheol, for he will receive me"—offers a glimpse of a different fate for the just man. 1 Enoch 22:2 ff., followed by 4 Ezra 4:35 and 4:41 and perhaps Jb 23:30 b f., divides Sheol into compartments: the ungodly are located in one, in which they will be punished forever, while the just reside temporarily in another "where the spring of light arises" (1 Hen 22:9) while awaiting the Resurrection* and the Last Judgment*, which will seal the fate of both groups—Gehenna or Paradise (4 Ezr 7:35f). The parable* of Lazarus the poor man (Lk 16:19–31) presumes such an explanation.

Christ*'s descent into hell* attests to the reality of his death and the universal nature of the salvation* that

he brings (*see* Eph 4:9; 1 Pt 3:19, 4:6—disputed interpretation).

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See also **Death; Eschatology; Hell; Limbo; Soul-Heart-Body**

Siger of Brabant. *See* **Naturalism; Truth**

Sign. *See* **Miracle**

Simon, Richard. *See* **Biblical Theology**

Simplicity, Divine

1. Attribute of Divine Simplicity

a) Simplicity defines the divine essence as opposed to divine persons. Bernard* of Clairvaux discussed it in his *On Consideration* (*De consideratione* 5:16). In his *Proslogion* (23), Anselm* said that divine simplicity “did not multiply in the three divine persons.”

b) “Simplicity”—that is, “the lack of a compound nature”—described the divine *esse* (essence) in its absoluteness and its transcendence. On this account, for

Thomas* Aquinas, *simplicitas* was God’s prime attribute* (*Summa Theologica* Ia, q. 3; *see also* q. 11, a 4, and q. 30, a 3, on unity and simplicity). In God there was no compound nature either of matter or of form (a. 2), as was the case with man, nor of essence or existence (a. 3), as was the case with the angels*. In God, essence was *idem essentia et esse*, the same thing as existence (a. 4); the divine *esse* was absolutely single. Therefore, God is defined not by saying what he is (*quid est*) but by saying “in what ways he is not” (*quomodo not sit*)—in other words, “by taking away from

him what could not be proper to him.” Divine simplicity was, therefore, examined according to the negative* method or the negative theology.

c) For Meister Eckhart, simplicity described God, “infinite* in his simplicity and simple in his infinity” (*Sermo* 4:2), but it also described the soul, which was without divisions or partitions (*einfaltig*, *Pred.* 85 and 86). The soul owed its simplicity to its essence, or to the “nakedness” of its being; and its beatitude* derived from that simplicity and that “nakedness” (*Pred.* 39).

The soul’s simplicity was also its trait of direct and undivided intention, according to the biblical sense of the Hebrew word *tam* and according to the evangelic logion about the eye in Matthew 6:22–23 and Luke 11:34–36. The 14th-century writers John Tauler and Jan van Ruysbroeck would accept the Judeo-Christian meaning. For them, simplicity was primarily the attribute of the intention, and it was that idea of purity or of simplicity of intention that would be found in the 16th- and 17th-century spiritual writers John* of the Cross in Spain (*Spiritual Canticle* A 18, v. 4) and Francis de Sales in France (*Entretien*, 12).

2. Problem of Divine Simplicity

a) How can divine simplicity and the plurality of form of the divine attributes be reconciled? This question had already drawn Thomas Aquinas’s attention. He dealt with the multiplicity of the attributes of the divine essence’s simplicity in his *Summa Theologica* (Ia, q. 3, a. 3): “If one says that deity, or life, or that anything similar at all is in God, the diversity of the terms thus singled out should be related only to our mind and its way of conceiving, not to any actual diversity.” And (q. 13, a. 2–4), “in the same way that a unique single Principle corresponds to the creatures’ diverse perfections...so, something absolutely one and simple, grasped imperfectly by means of its diverse conceptions, corresponds to our minds’ multiple and diverse conceptions.” In this way Thomas refuted simultaneously Maimonides’ agnostic solution and Gilbert de la Porrée’s excessive realism (condemned at the Council of Rheims in 1148). Nonetheless, it was not until the 14th and 15th centuries that the problem would figure at the center of theological debates (Guichardin 1933).

b) For the Greek and Latin world the difference between the essence and the divine attributes presented itself differently. Thomas Aquinas distinguished between a real distinction and a rational* distinction, the latter being capable either of having a real base—which made it a virtual distinction—or of not possessing one—which made it a purely rational distinction, and that second distinction was the one that should be

made between the divine attributes so as not to harm divine simplicity. John Duns Scotus* also distinguished between the real distinction and the rational distinction, the real distinction being itself, or else entitative (strictly real), or else formal (*ex parte rei*). It was the latter distinction, therefore, that preceded any intellectual act, that existed between divine attributes. However, Scotus (see *Ordinatio*, 1, I, dist. 8 §209) preferred to speak of “a formal non-identity rather than of “a formal distinction” (Grajewski 1944).

c) For Greek theology*, the distinction (*diaphora*) was either “through the thing” (*tô pragmati*), a distinction perceptible to the senses, or “through the thought” (*kat’epinoian*), a distinction perceptible to the intellect. It was the latter distinction, *kat’epinoian*, that corresponded to the rational distinction of the Latin world in 14th-century Byzantium. For Gregory* Palamas, the problem of the simplicity of essence and the plurality of attributes became the problem of the divine essence and the divine energies. In his *Hagioritic Tome* (1339–40), Palamas proclaimed that “the divinity which was threefold in persons has a single, non-compound, uncreated, invisible, incomprehensible nature” (1228B). In his *Against Akindynos* (1343–47), he stated that a distinction existed between divine workings and divine essence but that this distinction did not harm God’s simplicity. The divine essence was the source of the workings and superior to the workings, and it remained imparticipable, while divine workings, although uncreated, were nonetheless participable. Uncreated energies, Palamas added in his *Homilies on the Transfiguration* (1355–59), were nothing but the light that enveloped Christ* on Mount Tabor. And if objections were raised that the distinction between the essence and the energies seemed to create a division in God, Palamitism replied that it was not so, for this distinction was only an effect of the human intellect. In Latin theology, the “light of glory” was created and had its abode in the human intellect; in Palamitism, on the contrary, the light of Tabor was uncreated and had its abode in God.

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See also Attributes, Divine; Eternity of God; Immutability/Impassibility; Justice, Divine; Knowledge, Divine; Omnipotence, Divine; Omnipresence, Divine

Sin

a) Old Testament. In the Old Testament, sin (*châtâ*) is conceived primarily as failure to keep the commandments of God* or to honor God in our actions. Sin may be a conscious or an unconscious failure (Lv 4, 5), but even in the case of an “unwitting” sin, sacrifice* is required as reparation. The emphasis is on the objective character of an act or a failure to act; there is no interest in motivation, and the idea of “guilt” (*’âsham*) is not psychological but rather the definition of a state into which an agent enters purely in virtue of what has happened. The word *’âshem* should be translated as “under obligation to offer reparation” (to God, by sacrifice), not as “guilty.” Despite this, there is an increasing emphasis in the texts on the individual character of the liability incurred by the sinner: according to Deuteronomic tradition* (e.g., Dt 24:16), echoed in Ezekiel (e.g., Ez 18:1–29), it is clear that this liability is not inherited. Only the individual agent is to be punished for his or her sin. This is not the case in an older and harsher tradition (e.g., Jos 7), according to which the contagion of sin affects a whole kinship group, who are all liable to punishment. Something of this survives in the story of the murder of Uriah (2 Sm 12). David repents his crime and is forgiven by God (his liability is removed), but his child dies, as if to remind the reader that the consequences of sin are more than individual and cannot be wholly annulled.

In addition, however, there are texts (above all Ps 51 [50]; see also Hos 4:7, 10:9) in which sin is more like a moral atmosphere. As such, it can surround a person from his or her earliest days or characterize the entire history of a nation. It becomes less the *effect* than the *cause* of all wrongdoing. Some of the Dead Sea scrolls show evidence of this perspective, particularly the *Hodayôth* (see especially 1QH4), where the language of Psalm* 51 is repeated. Whatever the levels of individual liability, all human beings live in a general climate of moral impotence. We may not inherit a true liability from our ancestors, but we certainly inherit such a great burden of failure that we can only aspire to the divine intervention that will free us from it. This is why one also sees in these texts the introduction of the idea of the intercession of the righteous on sinners’ behalf.

b) New Testament. The strongest sense of the impotence resulting from sin and of universal human in-

volvement in sin is found in Paul. Sin is almost personified, particularly in the Epistle to the Romans, which contains an unparalleled number of uses of the word “sin” in the singular (*hamartia*) and as the subject of active verbs. Sin is above all a form of enslavement: we are bound by sin, our options are foreclosed by sin, sin “dwells” in us, sin repays our compliance with death*. We are in a different atmosphere here from the analysis of sin as activity that pollutes (but is capable of being purged) or even as culpable failure or error: for Paul, sin is not deliberate weakness of will or failure in perception but that which disables both will and judgment. If sin leads to death, it is not because we are being held responsible by a hostile or unjust God for actions* that we never chose to perform but because the consequence of our condition is the destruction of our capacity to live with God.

This appears at first sight to be rather at odds with the perspective of the Gospels*, and it is true that Paul’s perspective is more deeply and consciously tragic. In fact, however, if one looks more closely, the preaching* of Jesus* in the synoptic Gospels shows signs of the same somber climate. Those listening to Jesus have neither the opportunity nor the capacity to satisfy what is required to purge their guilt or their impurity. Because there is only a short time before the intervention of God to restore his rule, Jesus offers such “sinners” the possibility of forgiveness through their acceptance of his fellowship. All that is needed is the recognition of how serious one’s condition is—as in the case of the tax collector in the famous parable* in Luke 18:9–14 or indeed of Peter* when he is confronted with Jesus’ miraculous authority* (Lk 5:8). The love* that becomes manifest in the sinner’s friendship with Jesus is the mark of forgiveness and perhaps also the ground or opportunity for forgiveness (Lk 7:47f.). Thus, in the Gospels, especially Luke, sin is overcome not by reparatory sacrifice or even by personal repentance but by entry into the community of those who are welcomed by Jesus. This is not far from Paul’s scheme. Paul goes further, however, when he identifies Jesus’ death as a reparatory sacrifice offered on everyone’s behalf. There are hints of this in the synoptic tradition (Mk 10:45 par.), but it is Paul for whom it becomes central. The roots of such an understanding may lie in the saying attributed to Jesus at the time of

the institution of the Eucharist*, when he speaks of the shedding of his blood as establishing a new covenant*, that is, as sealing the coherence and identity before God of the new community.

c) *Early Church.* Although other New Testament writers share something of the Pauline* vision (e.g., Jn 8:34), the first Christian theologians generally exhibit a more atomized and prosaic view. Sins are acts of disobedience to God, and salvation is made visible in the power of Christians to keep the commandments. In much second-century literature, there is concern about sins committed after baptism*: can they be remitted, or is it necessary to hold fast to the ideal of baptism as delivering believers from sin once and for all? Debates on this subject became especially acute in the Church of Rome*. The *Shepherd of Hermas*, written early in the second century, envisages the legitimacy of post-baptismal penance* but on only a single occasion. Even this earned the scorn of rigorists such as Tertullian*. Adultery, apostasy, and murder were widely regarded as being beyond absolution by the Church*, although God might pardon them in the world to come. In the first half of the third century, Origen still maintained the position that sin after baptism is a repudiation of Christ* as serious as that of the Jews who cried out for Christ's crucifixion (*Contra Celsium* IV, 32) and appears to identify postbaptismal sin with the sin against the Holy Spirit* mentioned in Mark 3:29 and parallels (*De principiis*, I, 3, 2 and 7). However, other passages in Origen suggest that he modified his views on this or at least restricted his reference to postbaptismal apostasy. Athanasius (*Ad Serapionem* IV, 9–10) records Origen's views on sin against the Holy Spirit, assuming that he did identify this with *any* postbaptismal sin; by this time, such a position had become eccentric, and Athanasius set out to refute it. The various crises provoked by Christians lapsing under persecution eventually led to a twofold outcome. On the one hand, the Church came under pressure to relax its discipline in pastoral emergencies. On the other, rigorist schisms* occurred, maintaining the older severity (no absolution for apostasy or at least no full rehabilitation) for the sake of defending the purity of the Church.

The theme of sin as pollution thus becomes very powerful once again in early Christianity, especially in separatist groups such as the Novatianists and Donatists. The pollution is not of a single agent but of an entire community, echoing such Old Testament texts as Joshua 7. Although not all grave sins are sexual, the metaphors used are often strongly sexually charged: postbaptismal sin compromises the virginal innocence of the community. In these discussions, we can also

see the emergence of differentiation among sins, which would later give rise to the distinction between “mortal” sin and “venial” sin. The notion of “mortal sin,” that is, sin that destroys the moral substance of the agent, looks back to 1 John 5:16f. Origen distinguishes between sins that represent the death of the soul and sins that are a weakness in the soul, implying that there are sinful acts that do not proceed from deliberate rebellion against God and so are not fatal perversions of the will. The distinction was developed in the Latin tradition from Augustine* on. Augustine maintains that human life cannot be lived without certain minor sins, arising from our congenital weakness of will, not from deliberate willing of evil*; the unavoidability of these “venial” sins is itself a consequence of original sin*.

d) *From Augustine to the Reformation.* It was Augustine who restored to Christian theology something of Paul's tragic sense, returning to an analysis of sin as an existential state or a bondage. Although his opposition to Manicheism* ruled out any idea of absolutely inevitable sin, sin in which free will plays no role, he was increasingly convinced that we cannot understand sin in purely individual terms: our liberty* is neither full nor complete, and our minds, in our fallen condition, are incapable of perceiving the true good*. Evil will is always the ultimate cause of sin, as Augustine argues in his early work *De libero arbitrio*, but the evil will consists of wanting what is not good for us, and this radical error about good is not itself something that anyone chooses. It is the effect of original sin (see *De agone christiano* XI). This is the theme that he elaborates with ever greater pessimism in his treatises against Pelagius and his followers, for whom sin can be reduced (as was done in the second-century literature) to specific acts of rebellion that good habits can overcome.

Although 16th-century Protestant theology often accused late medieval Catholic theology of Pelagian tendencies (Pelagianism*), the Latin tradition was always formally faithful to Augustine, maintaining that sin has to be voluntary to be culpable, that the condition of sin can be objectively present without any specific individual act of disobedience to God, and that one can only be delivered from sin by grace* (on all these points, see Thomas Aquinas*, *STh* Ia IIae, q. 71–89).

In places where the Reformation prevailed, the structures of the penitential system were largely dismantled, but many groups restored strong ecclesial discipline* based on primitive models. For some, the radicalness of the Lutheran version of Augustinian pessimism rendered moot any attempt to establish a “diagnostic” of sins. There were even debates in certain Protestant cir-

cles as to whether all sins were equally grave in God's eyes, which caused great disquiet among those who sought to identify the unforgivable sin against the Holy Spirit. However, Calvinism* and Anglicanism* developed increasingly sophisticated moral and pastoral theology in which the "diagnostic" found a crucial role (see, e.g., the writings of the Anglican Jeremy Taylor [1613–67], especially *Unum Necessarium* [1655] and *Ductor Dubitantium* [1660]).

The list of seven deadly sins (pride, lust, anger, gluttony, avarice, envy, and sloth) was essentially although not exclusively Catholic and seems to be nonexistent in the Eastern Christian tradition except where Latin influence can be discerned. The origins of the list, however, lie in the diagnostic developed in Greek monasticism* for the identification of the major sources of sinful behavior (asceticism* 2[b]). John Cassian, in the fifth century, writes in his *Monastic Institutes* of eight "vices," and a brief digest of his teaching on these circulated widely in Eastern monastic houses, finding its way eventually into the classic anthology published in the 18th century, the *Philokalia* (prayer*). Cassian's list included gluttony, fornication, avarice, anger, dejection, accidie (spiritual weariness), vainglory, and pride. Its purpose was not to provide a structure for self-examination before confession, as was generally the case in the Western tradition, but to offer a method of spiritually combating each vice.

e) Modern Times. Modern discussion of sin has frequently returned to Paul's sense of the priority not of individual choice for evil but of a controlling atmosphere in which choices are always already corrupted. Something of this can already be discerned in Schleiermacher*, but this perspective comes into its own in 20th-century theologies influenced in one way or another by existentialism. For Sartre or Camus, we are imprisoned in a condition that lacks "authenticity" and sets us at odds with ourselves by failing to enable choices that are really our own; for Heidegger* and his school, our habitual state is "estrangement" from being*. Thus, Paul Tillich* and, in a slightly different framework, Rudolf Bultmann* treat sin as essentially the self-alienated condition of human beings who have not yet heard the liberating word* of God. Tillich, in the second volume of his *Systematic Theology*, attempts to clarify this by defining "sins," chosen acts of "turning away from that to which one belongs," as the expression of "sin," the state of estrangement from God, self, and others. For Karl Rahner*, for whom again Heidegger is in the background, sin is the state in which we cannot realize what we are because we are cut off from the self-communication of God. In this perspective, sin is a fundamental frustration before it is a deliberate rejection of God.

Other modern theologians of our era, however, such as Karl Barth* and Hans Urs von Balthasar*, disagree with this view. Our problem is not that we are victims before we are offenders. Certainly, there is a tragic dimension to our condition, but at its heart lies a refusal of meaning or of love*. To say that we are not what we could be might suggest that salvation* is ultimately a matter of returning to our true being, and for Barth in particular this is unthinkable. We acknowledge ourselves as sinners only in the light of our having been conquered by grace, in knowing ourselves to be both sinners and redeemed sinners. Discourse about sin is thus always soteriological and christological: the self that recognizes itself as sinful and capable of forgiveness or self-transcendence is a self *already* re-created by hearing the Word. For both Barth and Balthasar, sin remains a mystery*, an impulse of self-destruction corroding our moral identity rather than simply holding it back.

Political theology* in Europe and the various schools of the theology of liberation*, including feminist theology, appeal to the concept of "structural" sin. This type of sin stands somewhere between individual acts of evildoing and the general condition of humanity: we are morally and spiritually imprisoned by specific kinds of injustice built into the way in which power and economic liberty are distributed in society*, and the work of salvation involves a challenge to this situation and a summons to transform it. This may mean revising language: some theologians have pointed out, for example, that the definition of pride as the greatest of the mortal sins has often worked against the development of proper authority and self-esteem. The primary sin for an oppressed person is not pride but the lack of self-love and self-trust.

It is clear that the awareness of sin as a pervasive condition remains a theological priority: sin damages the structure of our moral and spiritual (and therefore *social*) being and is not simply an act that leads to a "debt" to be paid. Absolution is part of active healing*, the restoration of relation with God and God's people*, rather than the cancellation of a payment due. However, this does not rule out the need for a "diagnostic" of sin, such as is represented by Cassian's analysis. There is still a task to be performed of identifying those patterns of behavior that, whatever the degree of consciousness with which they are chosen, render a person incapable of a vivifying relation with the truth*, that is, with God.

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See also Adam; Anthropology; Conscience; Conversion; Demons; Expiation; Good; Hesychasm; Justice; Justification; Law; Mercy; Passions; Penance; Scandal; Temptation; Wrath of God

Sin, Original

The expression "original sin*" was coined by Augustine* (PL 40, 106) to designate the sin that "came into the world" (Rom 5:12) by the transgression of Adam* and that affects all human beings by the very fact of their birth (PL 40, 245). Later this would be called "originated" original sin as opposed to the "originating" original sin of Adam himself. The theological analysis of original sin is always connected to reflection on free will, grace*, and concupiscence (or covetousness).

1. Elaboration of the Notion

a) Scripture. The narration* in Genesis 2–3 reinterpreted in Song of Songs 2:23 and Sirach 40:1 refers more to the unfortunate consequences of Adam's sin than the transmission of this sin. Several texts stress that human beings are sinful from birth (Ps 51:7; Jb 14:4, 15:14ff.) and that sin is universal (Ps 14:2f.).

Jesus* underscores the illusion of those who flatter themselves by saying they are just (e.g., Jn 8:39; Lk 18:9–14); he affirms that all need to be saved (Mk 16:15f. par.). And he says that it is from the heart that comes all that makes a person impure (Mt 15:19). But the true scriptural foundation of the doctrine of original sin is found in the parallel established by Paul between Adam and Christ* in Romans 5 (Paulinian* theology). Jesus, source of life and righteousness, is opposed to Adam, who thrust humanity into sin and death*.

b) Church Fathers. During the first four centuries after Christ, the church fathers* unquestionably accepted

the historicity of the narrative in Genesis and the connection between Adam's fall and the condition of the human race. Although they were in agreement on our condition as beings fallen from grace, they diverged in their analyses of that fall. Irenaeus* saw it as disobedience (*Adv. Haer.* V, 16, 3), but others identified it with the weakness and ignorance of the mortal condition and did not envisage a real participation in the sin of Adam. Gregory* of Nazianzus considered that an unbaptized person who had done no wrong could deserve neither glory nor punishment (SC 358, 248), and John* Chrysostom claimed that Romans 5 means not that human beings are sinful but that they are condemned to suffering and death (PG 60, 477).

In 397, 15 years before the anti-Pelagian controversy, Augustine's doctrine was already fully developed (*Ad Simplicianum*, PL 40, 101–48). Because of Adam's transgression, all human beings are marked by original sin. This is the true sin, which brought down on us temporal punishment (death and desire) but also eternal punishment (separation from God*). Original sin is propagated by carnal generation and the desire that goes with it.

Because of his confidence in free will, Pelagius minimized the difference between the primitive state of humanity and its present state. On the one hand he affirmed that the first man was created mortal, while on the other he rejected the idea of a weakening of free will subsequent to Adam's sin. To combat this doctrine, Augustine invoked the practice of infant baptism*. Since the purpose of baptism is the remission of sins, children must bear in themselves a sin that they did not commit but was transmitted, precisely original

sin. Against Pelagius, the Council* of Carthage (418) affirmed that Adam's death was the consequence of his sin (*DS* 222) and that the original sin of infants is true sin (*DS* 223). The Council of Orange (529) specified that Adam transmitted to his descendants a true sin and a spiritual slavery (*DS* 371–72). Augustine's influence on these councils and on the subsequent official teaching of the Catholic Church* is undeniable. However, the definitions of that Church should be distinguished from the numerous elements of Augustinian doctrine that were the subject of free debate in Catholic theology*: the fate of children who died without baptism, the problem of limbo*, the way original sin is transmitted, the relationship between original sin and sexuality, the measure of the disorder introduced by original sin, the eventual immortality of the first man if he had not sinned, and so on.

c) Middle Ages. Considered as a whole, Scholastic* thought on original sin was an effort to interpret and add nuance to Augustine's doctrine.

In defining original sin as loss of original righteousness (*Œuvre* 4, 197), Anselm* explained how it is propagated: if Adam had retained righteousness, he would have transmitted it to his descendants, but he could not transmit that which he had lost. Peter Lombard (c. 1100–60) took up a traditional exegesis* of *Lk* 19, 30 to mark the difference between the gratuitous gifts that had been stripped away from man and the nature* that had been wounded. Alexander of Hales (c. 1186–1245) introduced a distinction that would become classical: in its formal aspect, original sin is the loss of justice, and as such it is a true sin; in its material aspect it is covetousness, which is not a sin but the punishment for sin. This analysis was adopted by Thomas* Aquinas as by Bonaventure* and their respective schools*. Thomas reasoned that man has a participation in the divine light that cannot be destroyed by original sin. This idea of the natural light of reason* leads to a less pessimistic perception of mankind's fall from grace, even if human nature is corrupted by sin, and man without grace cannot resist covetousness permanently (though he can resist for a certain length of time; *ST* Ia IIae, q. 109, a. 8). It should be noted that on this point, Duns* Scotus agreed with Thomas (*Op. Oxoniense* II, d 29, a. 1).

2. Divergent Interpretations

a) Reformation. For Luther*, theology is not a form of abstract speculation on man's relations with God. It rests on an experience: the word* of God transmitted in Scripture comes to liberate human beings enslaved to covetousness. Rejecting by this the “sub-

tleties” of the Scholastics, Luther made of original sin a “total loss of all the uprightness and all the power of all the forces of the body as of the soul of man altogether, inner and outer” (*WA* 56, 312). In opposition to the humanism of a thinker such as Erasmus (c. 1469–1536), he affirmed the radical corruption of fallen man and the impotence of the free will to do good. Calvin* also denied that sinful human beings had the power to do good of their own free will. The Augsburg Confession (a. 2) affirms that original sin is a true sin but does not distinguish the loss of righteousness from covetousness. As a consequence, Melancthon (1497–1560) reduced the grace of baptism to the nonimputation of original sin. (*Apologie*, §36); this was unacceptable to Catholic theology (Dubarle 1983).

b) Council of Trent. Trent* took up the teachings of former councils and reaffirmed, in opposition to the Reformers, the distinction between covetousness and sin strictly speaking; only the loss of justice is an authentic sin that is effaced by baptism (*DS* 1520).

From that time on, the debate on the question of original sin was connected, in the Catholic Church, with the problem of what we mean by “human nature.” Baius rejected the Thomist notion of grace added on to nature* and saw in original sin a radical corruption of human nature; in the name of a return to Augustinianism*, he concurred with Luther's understanding of original sin. In order to oppose this pessimistic conception of fallen nature, the great majority of Catholic theologians radicalized the Thomist doctrine of created grace and defended the idea that, without grace, human nature is preserved in its essential principles and in particular in its free will. Here we can see the development of the hypothesis of a pure nature endowed with a natural telicity distinct from the beatific* vision. The advocates of this argument thought in general that man was raised to the supernatural* order at the time of his creation* and that sin had the double consequence of making him fall from grace and leading to a disorder in his sensibility. This hypothesis, which facilitated the understanding of the doctrine of Trent, was adopted by the majority of Catholic theologians after the condemnation of Baius (1567) and Jansenius (1653). However, it was not unanimously accepted. Some Augustinians, such as H. Noris (1631–1704), rejected it without nonetheless being condemned. H. de Lubac* (1946) demonstrated that it is not in harmony with the Thomist doctrine of the natural desire to see God.

c) Eastern Theology. The Eastern Church was not touched by the Pelagian crisis; it remained true to the earlier understanding of human nature oriented toward

divinity. Consequently, Eastern theology thought of Adam's sin not as the loss of created grace (Lossky 1944) but as the perversion of nature. All human beings are united with Adam and come into the world with this fallen nature.

d) Philosophical Approaches. The way in which the doctrine of original sin sheds light on the human condition found an echo with a number of philosophers. Pascal* leads his reader to a radical questioning of man become incomprehensible to himself. The Christian mystery* recapitulated in Adam and Jesus Christ (*Br* 523) answers this questioning. J.-J. Rousseau made property* rights responsible for the corruption of a humanity assumed to be naturally good. Kant* saw in the propensity to evil* that man discovers in himself a "radical evil" over which he must triumph by deciding to make his life conform to moral law*. Hegel* stressed that man, in discovering himself to be evil, also discovers himself to be responsible (Pottier 1990). For Kierkegaard*, whose *The Concept of Anxiety* was meant to be a "clarification... of the problem of original sin," this dogma* presupposes that human beings in the state of innocence can choose between good* and evil without knowing what they are. This is where individuals experience the anguish of nothingness*: to choose one is to not choose the other. Through anguish, each of us is awakened to his own liberty*.

3. Contemporary Thought

P. Ricoeur (1969) vigorously expressed the grounds on which Augustinian teaching on original sin can provoke rejection: "Pseudo-rational speculation on the almost biological transmission of an almost legal guilt for the transgression of another man going back to the beginning of time, somewhere between *Pithecanthropus* and Neanderthal man."

Even if one finds this judgment excessive, one cannot deny the reality of the discomfort it conveys. It is clear that this discomfort has stimulated contemporary theology in its search for a renewed formulation of original sin.

a) Exegesis. To read Genesis 2–3 correctly, it is necessary to take the story's literary genre into consideration. It is an *etiological* legend (Dubarle 1958). By way of an imagistic representation of our origins, the author seeks to describe the psychology of sinful man and to show that moral evil is prior to human misfortune. Further, the theme of solidarity* in sin is, as shown by Ligier (1959), a perspective familiar to authors of the Bible*. As for the meaning of the word *eph'ô* in Romans 5:12, which has been widely discussed, it seems that it means "due to the fact that"

"death spread to all men because all sinned" (*see* Lyonnet 1966).

b) Patristics. In studying the church fathers we can rediscover forgotten perspectives. Irenaeus, for example, stresses that man was not created perfect from the beginning (*Adv. Haer.* V, 38, 1). Several of the Fathers, including Augustine, did not hesitate to see in Adam, beyond the individual, the human community as a whole, dislocated through sin (Lubac, *Catholicisme*, 1938). From this viewpoint we have a better understanding of the transmission of original sin: man comes into the world born into a community torn apart from its origin, and so he necessarily participates in this rupture.

c) Systematic Theology. Beyond confessional differences, contemporary theologians can be divided schematically into three groups. There are those, such as Villalmonete (1978), who believe that an inherited sin is a contradiction, every sin being necessarily personal. Others strive to think original sin in terms of the sin of the world, as brought to light by Ligier. The sin is not only the act of the one who turns away from God but also the influence exerted by that act on another liberty. Here Schoonenberg (1967) speaks of situation and specifies that this situation may concern a human being before he is engaged in his existence. He suggests we speak in this case of an "existential" situation (by opposition to the "existentiel" situation in the face of which my liberty can react). Original sin is such an existential situation that comes to weigh on every child born in a world marked by sin. And the CCC (408), for example, considers that the loss of original justice should be carefully distinguished from the sin of the world, which is the consequence of original sin and of all personal sins. It is with respect to this position that some have defended a strict monogenism*. Rahner* (1967), however, showed that the Catholic dogma* of original sin does not require monogenism but demands the affirmation of a real unity of humanity as its source. Others, such as Fessard (1966), think that the sin of the origins refers to a supernatural historicity that should be clearly distinguished from natural historicity. Bold opinions in the same direction have been proposed by Léonard (1987), who places Adam and Eve in "a preternatural world that is real but does not coincide with the actual universe."

Original sin is not the most profound element of Christian faith*, which is hope* in God rather than despair over transgression. But if all human beings are united in sin, that means two things: a unity of humanity more ancient and more fundamental than all its divisions and the extension of salvation to all those who

want it: "For God has consigned all to disobedience, that he may have mercy* on all" (Rom 11:32).

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See also Adam; Augustinianism; Banezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Jansenism; Justification; Pelagianism

Situation Ethics

Situation ethics* designates an ethics for which moral qualification cannot be attributed to human actions without a hermeneutics of the situation in which the agent finds or found himself: good* and evil* are good in this situation and evil in that situation. Standard philosophical treatments of the concept of situation can be found in philosophies of existence (Heidegger, Jaspers) and in philosophies of dialogue (Buber, Levinas).

Catholic theology* has given a place to the concept of situation in a way that has provoked extreme reservations on the part of the Roman magisterium* (See Pius XII, speeches of 23 March and 18 April 1952, and the directive of the Holy Office of 2 February 1956, *DS* 3918–21). Situation ethics is not among the theories condemned in the encyclical *Splendor Veritatis* of John Paul II (1993). The taking into account of situa-

tions is, moreover, in common doctrine, an indispensable element in the evaluation of moral actions. Catholic doctrine is expressed, for example, in the *CEC* §1757: “The object, the intention, and the circumstances constitute the three ‘sources’ of the morality of human actions.” The existence of intrinsically wrong actions is also the subject of long-lasting Catholic

teaching (e.g., *Splendor Veritatis* §80). The debate over situation ethics seems to be closed.

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Skepticism, Christian

The New Testament does not mention the philosophical current known as skepticism. However, Pilate, who expects no answer after asking Jesus* “What is truth?” (Jn 18:38), might appear as the archetype of the skeptic. Principally characterized by the suspension of judgment (*epokhè tès dianoias*) on opinions or dogmas* (hence the terminological equivalence of skeptics, epechists, and pyrrhonists [from Pyrrhon, 365–275 B.C., the originator of skepticism], which also include the Academics, because of the New Academy, a school founded by the skeptic Carneades, 214–129 B.C.), skepticism has an ambivalent theological status. Insofar as it rejects any dogmatic affirmation, it may appear as the enemy of faith*. But to the extent that it recognizes that human reason* is the norm for no truth (the different assertion according to which no truth can be attained by the strength of human reason alone would be fideism*), it may have a role as a preparation for faith. This ambivalence marks the attitude of Augustine* toward skepticism, then reappears in the modern period, before decaying into fideism.

a) Ancient Skepticism. It does not seem that ancient skepticism ever denied the existence of the gods or any particular god: “Taking life as a guide, we assert without dogmatism that the gods exist, that we venerate them and pay them homage” (Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* III. 2). An enemy of philosophies* (this is why it has no equal when it comes to destroying that wisdom*, which, according to 1 Cor 1, is madness before God), it is presented as a mortal opponent of religion, notably in Cicero, only by adherents of a religion founded on rational proof, such as that of the Stoics, whereas it is a weapon in the service of tradi-

tional religion (*De natura deorum*). Before the diversity of beliefs and cults* (see 10th mode of suspension of judgment of Ænesidemus [80–130 B.C.], *Pyrrhonian Discourses* I. 37) and the inability of philosophers to decide questions on the nature of God, the existence of providence*, and the conflict between divine omnipotence* and divine goodness or between evil* and liberty*, the ancient skeptics practiced suspension of judgment.

Augustine criticized this position in book III of *Contra academicos* and again in book XIX of *De civitate Dei*, considering it dangerous for wisdom as much as for faith. It was by highlighting the “intentional character of the mind”—that is, by acceding to a formal truth anterior to any material truth—that he avoided suspension of judgment (*Contra academicos* III. 5. 1), thereby anticipating the transcendental status of truth (*De libero arbitrio* II 9. 26 and 12. 34). Augustine’s quarrel with skepticism had two aspects, philosophical and theological: 1) It was in order to answer arguments of the skeptics that Augustine first set forth what would be called after Descartes* the *cogito* and thus made immaterial the very possibility of error or deception (*Soliloquies* II. 1. 1; *De libero arbitrio* II. 3. 7; *De civitate Dei* XI. 26; *De Trinitate* X. 10. 14); but by the same token he recognized the initial experience of doubt, from which he begins in order to attain the certainty of his own being* and then that of the existence of God. 2) Augustine confessed that he had gone through a skeptical phase—“the Academics long held my rudder in the midst of the waves struggling against all the winds” (*De beata vita* 1. 4)—even at the time when he was a catechumen. “I kept my heart from giving any assent, and in that state of suspended judgment

I was suffering a worse death” (*Confessions* VI. iv [6]), for “I wanted to be as certain about things I could not see as I am certain that seven and three are ten.” Academic probabilism (which in no way called into question the existence of God and providence, only his substance and the means of access to him, VI. v [7–8]) led him to this status of provisional catechumen, “until some clear light should come by which I could direct my course” (V. xiv [25]). Faith was thus conquered in the tension between the need to believe and the fear of believing in error (VI. v [7]). The fact remains that skepticism presented two essential advantages: 1) it made it possible to escape from Manicheism* (III. vi [10–11]; V. xiv [25]), which claimed to impose nothing without rational justification (Augustine would use skeptical arguments against the Manichees [*Contra Faustum*]), and 2) it showed that, incapable of finding truth by ourselves by means of clear reasoning (Vi. v [8]), it makes us rely on the authority of holy Scripture and tradition*. The latter argument, which shows both the preparatory function of skepticism and its usefulness against heresies*, established what we may call skeptic apologetics, which was not the least paradoxical form of Augustinianism* in the modern period.

b) Skeptic Apologetics. Arguing against the *Theologia naturalis sive liber creaturarum* of Sebond (posth. Ed. 1487; French trans. by Montaigne 1581), Montaigne’s project in the “Apologia of Raymond Sebond” is to propose a risky apologetics for philosophers, that is, relying on the lack of arguments, which determined an essential aspect of Pascal’s projected *Apologia* (many of Pascal’s reflections have their source in Montaigne: “Pyrrhonism is the truth,” “Pyrrhonism serves religion,” “It is by lacking proofs that they [the Christians] do not lack sense”). Since Montaigne considers “man deprived of any revelation*” (Pascal), his skepticism “presents man naked and empty, recognizing his natural weakness, fitting to receive from above some external power, devoid of human knowledge, and all the more likely to house the divine within himself, abolishing his judgment to make more room for faith” (*Essays* II, 12). This radical apologetics is based on recognition of the omnipotence of God, which can in no way be conditioned by any finite rationality. But it also has an ecclesiological aspect because it allows Montaigne to take a position against the Lutherans. The same passage goes on: “neither unbelieving nor establishing any dogma against common observances [i.e., the tradition*], sworn enemy of heresy*, and consequently escaping from the vain and irreligious opinions introduced by false sects. This is a blank slate prepared to take from the finger of God whatever forms it may please him to engrave on it.” It is because

human reason cannot be the norm for divine doctrine that Montaigne also opposes translations of the Bible* into vernacular languages (“Of Prayers” I, 56, an argument repeated by Francis de Sales) and the Protestant use of logic that makes us see a contradiction in the real presence (II, 12).

Contemporary with the *Essays* and like them very dependent on the *De disciplinis* of Juan-Luis Vivès (1492–1540), the *Quod nihil scitur* (1581) of Francesco de Sanchez (†1623) used nominalist arguments for skeptical purposes and constituted a powerful weapon against the Aristotelian *organon*. A disciple of Montaigne in *La sagesse* (1601), Pierre Charron reconciled apophaticism and skepticism in *Les trois vérités* (1593) and the *Discours de la Divinité* (1604). To a great extent the relationship between what has been called “erudite libertinage” (Gassendi, Naudé, Diodati, La Mothe Le Vayer) and Christianity was established in the wake of the *Essays* and evidences the objective alliance between one form of nominalism* and skepticism. The idea of “preparation” for faith, for example, can rely on the skeptical apologetics of La Mothe Le Vayer (1588–1672), who, in his dialogue *De la Divinité* (1632), also used the works of Pseudo-Dionysius to make skepticism the exemplification of Paul’s expression *Noli altum sapere* (Rom 11:20; a large number of scriptural references, relying particularly on 1 and 2 Cor, is aimed at demonstrating that Paul was a skeptic) and a “perfect introduction to Christianity”: “Skepticism does not have any drawbacks for our holy Theology*, but even . . . properly understood, its *epochè* may serve as a useful preparation for the gospel.” Jean-Pierre Camus (1584–1652), a close friend of Francis de Sales and bishop of Belley, published an *Essai sceptique* in 1610 and then went on to invent the pious novel (writing more than 50 of them, including *Élise ou l’innocence coupable*, 1621; *Palombe*, 1625; *Callitrope*, 1628).

c) From Critique to Fideism. With the appearance, in the midst of the Reformation crisis, of a Christian skepticism aimed at avoiding the fratricidal quarrels of religious sects by taking refuge in tradition, skeptical arguments led to an alternative. Either, as in the libertine current, they destroyed religious belief for the elite, with religion remaining necessary for the people at large only in order to maintain social order, or, as for Bayle, they demonstrated the innate weakness of reason and fostered the impulse to take refuge in the bosom of Scripture and to “take every thought captive to obey Christ” (2 Cor 10:5). Skepticism in Catholic circles gave rise to an emphasis on the respect due to tradition, on the grounds that human reason is too weak to resolve dogmatic conflicts (Huet [1630–1721],

bishop of Avranches). In Protestant circles it led to pre-fideist positions (Bayle [1647–1706]), to the defense of an art of ignorance as well as of knowledge, of doubt and suspension of judgment as well as of belief (Castellion [1515–63]), and thereby prepared the way for defenses of the “errant conscience*” of good faith (Grotius [1583–1645], Bayle), which played a decisive role in thinking about religious tolerance in the age of classicism.

Hume gave skepticism a critical function with respect to knowledge and used it in particular to examine beliefs that he considered the least justified, namely, those based on witnesses and especially miracles* (*An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, 1748). But the opposition of the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (1779) to any form of religion, especially natural religion, makes it impossible to include Hume among the Christian skeptics. Kant* opens the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* with the opposition between dogmatism and skepticism, an old impasse from which only critique provides an exit, but he recognizes that skepticism had set forth the *bounds* of reason, whereas critique determines its *limits* (*Kritik der reinen Vernunft* A 761/B 789). In the broad sense of critical function (*skepsis*) or limitation of rationality, Kantianism constitutes perhaps the final avatar of Christian skepticism—the late 19th and early 20th centuries saw it as a form of fideism. In condemning fideism, tolerationism, and indifference, the Church did not mention skepticism.

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VINCENT CARRAUD

See also Augustine of Hippo; Augustinianism; Deism and Theism; Existence of God, Proofs of; Fideism; Humanism, Christian; Natural Theology; Pascal, Blaise; Stoicism, Christian; Truth

Slavery. *See Liberty*

Society

From the theological point of view, human society is a community of persons who share lasting and organized relationships; society is oriented toward a common good* and unified by bonds of interdependence, love*, authority*, and law*. While the concepts of authority and law are of doubtful applicability to the divine society of the Trinity*, the Trinity remains the archetype of all human society, being the source and end of love, communion*, and the very personhood of human beings.

Important theoretical issues regarding society have arisen historically within ecclesiology* and political theology* whenever it has been necessary to define the ways in which the Church* and the political community are societies. The contemporary problematic in this arena can be understood only in this context.

a) Ecclesiological Issues. These have focused on the nature and operation of authority and law in binding believers together into one society. Authority and law in the Church are christological and eschatological in nature but are embodied in juridical and disciplinary structures. The primary issue is whether jurisdictional authority and positive law truly express the Church's spiritual essence of faith*, liberty*, and love. The medieval Church presented the most complete integration of spiritual and legal-political society, its members being incorporated into the mystical body of Christ* through a legally articulated structure of sacraments*, institutions, practices, and precepts*. The doctrine that the pope*, as the Church's supreme lawgiver and judge, was the earthly embodiment of Christ's spiritual headship undergirded the seamless transposition of divine authority, law, and judgment* onto ecclesial structures*. This conception of a supernatural* juridical-spiritual corporation gave impetus to a conception of civil society as at once a community of fellowship and virtue and a political and legal structure.

By contrast, Luther* saw the Church as a purely spiritual community, whose purely divine and charismatic internal essence had nothing to do with legal or social forms. This view inspired the anarchist and antinomian experiments of the more extreme Protestant sects (Anabaptists*) and more generally encouraged a proclivity for apolitical theories of ecclesial society, especially among German philosophers and theolo-

gians, from Friedrich Schleiermacher* to Paul Tillich*, Karl Barth*, and Jürgen Moltmann. (Unlike Luther, Calvin* never divorced the spiritual community of the Word* from the visible polity of "constitutions" and "offices.") Today, it is not Hegel*'s synthesis of spiritual freedom and political structure but rather the Marxist rejection of the bourgeois state that attracts the sympathy of the Lutheran Moltmann and his Catholic contemporary Johann Baptist Metz, leading them to identify political power with oppression and positive law with systems of idolatrous self-justification. For Moltmann, the Church, which participates in the "messianic mission, the representative self-giving, and the liberating lordship of Christ" (1975), is a charismatic community of brotherly love, fellowship, and service, free from jurisdictional structure, whether of monarchical episcopate (bishop*), clerical aristocracy, or democracy* (*ibid.*). While he recognizes "gifts of rule" as among the charismata, these are powers of fraternal leadership exercised within the community, not powers of authority over it (*ibid.*).

In response to these spiritualizing Protestant ecclesiologies, modern Catholic theology* has come back to a long-standing issue that concerns the divinely appointed structure (rather than the authenticity) of jurisdictional authority. Since Vatican II*, charismatic and sacramental images of the Church have drawn inspiration from the rehabilitation of conciliarism* (*see* Paul de Vooght or Hans Kung). The 15th-century conciliarists sought to relativize the model that made Peter* the summit of jurisdictional authority; for them, it was rather the entire Church, as a mystical corporation, that held the authority of its head, Jesus Christ. They presented the spiritual communion of Christ's body as a latent political society possessing a divinely given (for some, naturally given) right to self-government, exercised through the structure of clerical offices but supremely through the agency of the universal council*. By anchoring the Church's external political unity* in a communal spiritual totality, they contributed decisively to the emergence of theories of the state that derive it from and subordinate it to a prior social totality.

To summarize, there are thus at least three historically influential models of Church society: as a seam-

less spiritual and legal hierarchy; as a nonjurisdictional spiritual communion, christologically and eschatologically defined; and as a divine/human spiritual totality articulated in corporate political structures.

b) Issues in Political Theology. If there are, as Augustine* says, two incompatible cities*, the *civitate dei* (city of God) and the *civitas terrena* (earthly city) (*Civ. Dei*, XIX), one may question the sense in which relations belonging to the *saeculum*, the passing order of the world*, could comprise a true society. In Augustine's view, in any case, the secular *res publica* is not a true community, knit together by charity and consensus about the good*, for that can exist only where faith in Christ and obedience to his law of love bind persons together. It is rather a fragile and shifting union that targets limited categories of earthly goods in the midst of a sea of moral disorder and personal and collective hatreds (*Civ. Dei* XIX, 5–7, 14, 17, 21).

Subsequent thinkers, concurring with Augustine's pessimism, proposed various solutions to this situation. Gregory VII and his medieval successors located the sole means of salvation of the temporal order from its disintegrating impulses in its thorough subordination to the ecclesiastical order, particularly in the subordination of royal government to priestly government and of civil law to canon law. By contrast, between the 14th and the 17th centuries—the period of the emergence of centralized states—imperialist, royalist, and republican thinkers located the resolution of social conflicts in an authoritarian political order. Power and law, in their view, were to be erected either on the divine right of a royal will (absolute monarchy) or on the natural right of popular will (popular sovereignty) and/or on the foundational contract of individual wills, with their respective rights (contractualism). Skepticism about the capacity of “natural” or “sinful” wills to remain unified on the one hand and growing confidence in the resources of the human mind on the other—these two factors led to the antinaturalist political systems of such theorists as Jean Bodin (c. 1529–96), Hobbes (1588–1679), Spinoza (1632–77), and Pufendorf (1632–94).

In reaction to political formalism, 18th- and 19th-century liberals wanted to define nonpolitical principles of social unity while conceding the individualism of each member of society. Thus arose a plethora of “social theodicies.” Political economists, such as Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), Adam Smith (1723–90), and Frédéric Bastiat (1801–50), conjured economic and social equilibrium out of the self-interested choices of individuals by means of mechanistic market forces. Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) and the English utilitarians (utilitarianism*) derived social harmony

from the pursuit of private desires by sufficiently socialized individuals. Marx* saw social integration in the classless society arising from the cooperation of autonomous individuals working to maximize their expressive and productive freedoms. During the 20th century, the depoliticizing of social theory has been carried forward by liberal sociologists (largely in the tradition of Max Weber [1864–1920]) who invoke impersonal social mechanisms such as universal bureaucratization or instrumental rationality to explain the harmonization of interests, values, and passions*. Ironically, sociological marginalizing of the properly political order has gone hand in hand with a diffuse politicizing of the social whole, as theories claim that everything is political.

For some contemporary theologians, the sociological conception of society has exacerbated the Augustinian problem of whether a community is possible in the *saeculum*. The social system is by definition a structure of external determination, which thus denies individual liberty; it is also a means of domination insofar as its mechanisms can be manipulated. Thus, both Lutheran and Catholic liberation theologians regard salvation* as preeminently emancipation from social necessity in a movement of theological negation (i.e., Moltmann's *theologica crucis* [“theology of the cross”] or Metz's *memoria passionis* [“memory of the passion”]), which opens up a sphere of personal spontaneity and authentic communication (eschatological life in the Spirit*). However, when negation of any particular systematic oppression, injustice, or dehumanization is also negation of society itself (as predictable, institutional regularity), it is difficult to restore community, that is, to give stable practical, moral, or social content to the “new man in Christ.” The frequent Hegelian-Marxist response of liberationists to this impasse is to appeal to the historical dialectic of freedom and to the progressive realization of self-conscious reflection and action by the masses. This, however, is essentially an appeal to the contemporary status quo, to the philosophy and public discourse of liberal, democratic, pluralistic, and technological polities. In fact, aspirations to maximize freedom of choice, equality of opportunity and participation, and, above all, the realization of subjective rights lead to the politicization of the social fabric, which is then subjected to increasingly restrictive organization.

The alternative theological answers in the West to the Augustinian problematic are the Thomist rejection of it and the Calvinist transformation of it. Both answers share an attachment to the “spiritual-legal” model of society, which retains the juridical character of social unity.

Under the influence of Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas* exchanged the Augustinian conception of a conflictual secular society for a more organic conception of the social order. Certain institutions were traditionally regarded as having already existed before the Fall (original sin*), such as marriage* and the family*, while others, such as private property* and political authority, were thought to have come after it. Aquinas minimized the spiritual distance between them, and this enabled him to have a more unified view of social life. He viewed sinful society as retaining the harmony of a hierarchy of natural ends and functions, each part having its place within the teleological whole. With no internal division, especially as between political and nonpolitical communities, the whole constitutes a real social totality whose common will is directed toward the common good. For Aquinas, the hierarchical harmony and functional integration of society does not make government useless; rather, through legislating, governments creatively define the order of public and private benefits constituting the common good and organize society to pursue them.

Modern Catholic social thought has drawn on non-Thomistic sources, such as Otto von Guericke (1841–1921) and the German historical school, the dialectics of Hegel and Marx, or the antirevolutionary social mysticism of Joseph de Maistre and Louis de Bonald (traditionalism*). However, the Church's official social teaching since Leo XIII has been a concerted attempt to adapt Thomistic social theory to industrialized, technologically advanced, and pluralistic societies. Two concepts have been important: solidarity* and subsidiarity. Originally, “solidarity” referred to the common interests uniting members of the working class but has come to refer to the binding of people together, whether by intimate relationships or by the fact of belonging to the human species (see John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*; Paul VI, *Populorum progressio*; John Paul II, *Laborem exercens* and *Sollicitudo rei socialis*). As for subsidiarity, this principle allows for a balance within any one society between the unity of the whole and the diversity and freedom of the parts. It originated in Leo XIII's declaration (*Rerum Novarum* 28) that the state must not interfere with individuals' and families' pursuit of their own interests, unless protection of the common good requires juridical action. Today, the principle has the more general twofold meaning that 1) societies should not usurp functions performed competently by individuals and 2) societies of a higher order should not usurp functions performed adequately by those of a lower one (see Pius XI, *Quadragesimo anno* 78–80; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 54–55, 117, 151–52; *Pacem in Terris* 138–40). For the past century, both official and un-

official Catholic thought has articulated the two principles in terms of the natural and legal rights of individuals and collectivities.

After the Reformation, Catholic social theory placed the universal, spiritual society of the Church above civil society. The earlier “Gelasian” dualism (from Pope Gelasius I, fifth century), which conceived a single Christian society with two governments, was replaced by the conception of two self-sufficient societies, ordered to higher and lower, supernatural and natural ends (see, e.g., Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*, *Libertas praestantissimum*, *Rerum Novarum*; Pius XI, *Divini illius magistri*, *Quadragesimo anno*). Since World War II, neo-Thomistic social thinkers, influenced by Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), have attenuated this dualism by making civil society superior to the state from the moral, cultural, and religious point of view. Because the body politic lacks cultural, religious, and social unity, it can be integrated only through the purely “civic or secular faith” that is “the democratic charter,” which articulates the rights and duties of the political society and its members (Maritain 1951). The Church does not exercise the claims of a *societas perfecta* (“perfect society”) over the secular polity: rather, its claims are mediated through the consciences* of Catholics, its rights being the natural political rights of Catholics as citizens. Conversely, as a social institution, the Church is an integral part of the body politic, enjoying the same public (juridical) recognition as other associations and corporations that contribute to the common welfare.

Unlike Aquinas, Calvin responded to the Augustinian problematic with a reorientation rather than a displacement. For Calvin, the disorder of sinful social relations could not be mitigated by an appeal to natural social teleology but required a different conception of social order as a more exclusively political/juridical order. Such an order was directly based on God's providential rule and conceptualized with ideas (largely borrowed from the Old Testament) of covenant*, divine commandment, and divinely established offices. The unity of civil as well as ecclesiastical society depend on their institutional structuring by God's commandments, which define the rights and duties of every “office” as a vehicle of his revealed law. The common core of Calvinist social thought, in both its English and its American strands, has been an awareness of the diversity, independence, and equality of all social institutions and offices as vehicles of God's law as well as of the covenantal basis of all communities.

In America, however, the covenantalist-pluralist tradition has passed over into increasing political formalism and individualistic voluntarism*. Under the influence of “scientific” political theory (e.g., James

Harrington [1611–77], Montesquieu [1689–1755], and David Hume [1711–76]), American constitutionalism (see *The Federalist*) replaced the Puritan structure of offices with a contrived balance of powers and interests regulated by largely procedural laws, with the result that procedural consensus has come to be considered the key to the political integration of radically diverse social material. In addition, a virulent political contractualism has encouraged the growth of an economic or commercial model of political order wherein rights-bearing consumers contract with elected officials to provide specific services (see Robert Nozick's work). By contrast, in Europe, Protestant social theory favors a corporatist Christian pluralism. Against the background of Calvinist Germanic federalism (Althusius, 1557–1638), Dutch “antirevolutionary” neo-Calvinism (G. Groen van Prinsterer [1801–76], Abraham Kuyper [1837–1920], and Herman Dooyeweerd [1894–1977]) has proposed a non-hierarchical, antinaturalist, and evangelical theory of society; the ideas of “sovereignty” and of the functional interdependence of the different social spheres created by God rely on faith in God's sovereignty through Christ. As with the more conservative Catholic statements of social pluralism, the regulative rights of institutions and communities are deemed as important as those of individuals for creating harmony in political society.

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JOAN LOCKWOOD O'DONOVAN

See also **Augustinianism; Authority; Church and State; Kingdom of God; People**

Socinianism. See **Unitarianism**

Solidarity

The term *solidarity* belonged to legal and philosophical vocabulary before it entered more recently the language of theology.* In the 19th century, social solidarity was no longer viewed as a deed but as a virtue, as the object of a duty (A. Comte, P. Leroux), and as the secular substitute for Christian charity, then as the foundation of morality (L. Bourgeois's *solidarism*; see Debarge 1994).

a) In its kinship with charity, the term *solidarity* has formed part of the Church*'s social teaching since Pius XII (*Summi Pontificatus*); John XXIII (*Mater et Magistra*); Vatican II*, which made it an important theme in the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World; *Gaudium et Spes* (see 31:2, 32, 46, 57, and 85:1); and Paul VI (*Populorum Progressio*). Vatican II stressed that through his whole way of life, Christ had chosen to join in the interplay of human solidarities (*Gaudium et Spes* 32:2 and 32:5). Solidarity among men is founded on the unity and equality of their creation*, on their vocation, and on the redemption achieved in Jesus Christ, which makes all men members of his mystic body. In our time, "the duty of solidarity" should be practiced to benefit the undernourished (John XXIII), to favor humanity's development as a group in solidarity with each other (Paul VI), and by choosing to favor the poor (John Paul II). This duty should be performed at all levels of society*, given the globalization of communications (Coste 1990). The Christian call to solidarity was heard vigorously in the theology of the Liberation and in the Polish Solidarnosc Movement.

b) In Christian dogma*, the principle of solidarity is illustrated by the doctrine of original sin* (the negative solidarity of all men in Adam*) and by that of the redemption (the affirmative solidarity of all men in Christ*). The traditional theological term that most closely corresponds to solidarity is the communion* of saints, for "the achievement of liberty* involves a co-

hesive order of liberties" (Kasper 1974). Individuals act on each other, not only in the material sphere but also through the influence of their spiritual decisions.

In the realm of soteriology (salvation*), the theology of solidarity has increasingly replaced that of substitution. Both ideas are meant in the biblical idea of representation (a single person represents all by assuming their fate), which can in fact develop to become either substitution (a single person acts in the place of all) or solidarity (a single person acts in the name of those with whom he has assumed by free choice a solidarity of fate). "The faith*'s future will depend to a great extent on the way in which we succeed in reconciling the biblical idea of representation with the modern idea of solidarity" (Kasper). The admirable exchange between Christ and us of justice* and sin* (Gal 3:13; Phil 2:6–9; 2 Cor 5:14, 5:21), of divinity and humanity (fathers* of the church), is founded on the perfect solidarity of the Word* incarnate with God* on the one hand and with men on the other. It is for this reason that Christ is the mediator.

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BERNARD SESBOÜÉ

See also Justice; Love; Market Economics, Mercy; Moral; Scapegoat; Society; Virtues

Solovyov, Vladimir

1853–1900

An eminent figure in Russian religious philosophy* and ecclesiologist, moralist, and poet, Solovyov was born in Moscow and died in Uzkoe, near Moscow. The son of a famous historian and the grandson of a priest, he first completed his higher education in the natural sciences and then obtained his doctorate in philosophy. For political reasons his university career lasted only a few years (1876–82). His work can be divided into three periods, each characterized by their main emphases: from 1870, sophiological interests (“Sophia” is seen as a person and constitutes the foremost referent of Wisdom*, of the Virgin, and the Church*; there is also a sophia of the world*); from 1880, preoccupation with ecumenism* and theocracy (harmony of Church and state*); and from 1890, investigations into ethics*, aesthetics, and eschatology*. Intellectual heir to the Slavophiles, Solovyov wanted first to found a twofold philosophical critique—a critique of both positivism and idealism—on the basis of the revealed unity between the material world and the spiritual world (or between the created and uncreated), which he called *unitotality*. In order to define this concept he referred both to hermetic writings and to Plotinus (see *Ist.*, 1992). The sophiology developed by Solovyov was not just theoretical; it was also practical, or “incarnate.” It rested on religious experience* (essentially of Christ) and on the use of the notion of “divino-humanity” as the key to interpreting the real. Solovyov was reproached for having greatly borrowed from Gnosticism during this period.

Although Solovyov’s early Christology* was distinguished by Sophian thought and influenced by Schelling*, it became more classical after *Lectures on Divine Humanity* (1877–81) and the *The Gospel as the Foundation of Life. Dogmatic Development of the Church* (1886), the first part of *The History and Future of Theocracy*, subsequently expressed Solovyov’s ecclesiological intuitions and his ecumenical impulses. Their significance was not really recognized until our own time. Evaluating the ecclesiological positions of the contemporary Russian Church, Solovyov considered that they were marked by the tragic crisis of Raskol, who ended up punishing those who rejected Byzantine influences on the Church (see *Great Controversy*, chap. V). During these same years, Solovyov eagerly sought to distinguish the reasons for separation

between the Eastern and Western Churches, and he emphasized that they had no direct, dogmatic foundation. He therefore thought that as a Russian Orthodox he was not in the least separated from Rome—but he carefully distinguished between “Romanity,” which was the fundamental ecclesiological principle, and “Latinity,” which was a purely cultural reality. Consequently, he did not link himself at all to the Catholic Church: for him, it was sufficient that his Orthodox faith* linked him to the faith of Catholics. His thoughts on the history of Christianity also led him to take a keen interest in Judaism*, Islam, and Buddhism. Solovyov had learned Hebrew and had studied the Talmud and the Kabbala. He also confirmed himself as a Christian moralist with *The Justification of the Good* (1894–96). He also wrote important works of aesthetics. Between 1892 and 1900 he was responsible for the “philosophical section” in the great Russian encyclopedic dictionary *Brockhaus and Efron*, for which he himself wrote almost 200 articles.

At the end of his life Solovyov saw Christian history* in its entirety as a manifestation of the judgment* of God* on the world and the Church. He then expressed a great vision of the end of time, of the return of Christ*, and of the coming of the Kingdom, in the “Court Récit sur l’Antéchrist,” which ends his *Three Conversion on War, Progress, and the End of History* (1899–1900). A utopian and a visionary, Solovyov was also a polemicist. He formulated a pertinent critique of the Church of the Middle Ages and of the Church of the modern age in *The Crisis of the Medieval Worldview* (1891) and *On Counterfeits* (1891).

Strictly speaking, Solovyov did represent a school of thought, but he deeply influenced young philosophers such as N. Berdiaev, S. Boulgakov, P. Florenski, A. Losev, N. O. Lossky, S. Troubetskoï, and others. After 60 years of being blacklisted, the heritage of his thought is today in the process of being rediscovered and is generating many studies in Russia and in the West.

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BERNARD DUPUY

See also Ecumenicism; Intercommunion; Orthodoxy, Modern and Contemporary

Son of God. *See* Filiation

Son of Man

The epithet *Son of man* is the only one to be placed exclusively in Jesus' mouth (with the exception of Acts 7:56, where Stephen uses it). It is an enigmatic title, for no trace of it can be found in the Pauline body of writings or in any other New Testament texts outside the four Gospels*. It does appear independently nine times in Matthew and 10 times in Luke, in four passages that are common to both Matthew and Mark (i.e., a total of eight times), and another time in Matthew, which is paralleled in Mark but without the term "the Son of man." In addition to these 28 occurrences, it is found in eight texts that are common to all three synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke), adding up to another 24 times, and in eight texts common to Matthew and Luke (probably taken from the Q source of the Gospels*), for an additional 16 times. This brings the total number of occurrences in the synoptics to 68. The Gospel of John, in its turn, uses the term 13 times. In all cases, the term is accompanied by the definite article: *the* Son of man.

1. Origins of the Term

The term *Son of man* found favor among the Greek-speaking Christian communities, even though it seems to have derived from Semitic circles and to have resulted from a merger between Psalm 110:1 (quoted in Mk 12:36) and Daniel 7:13. Its formation may have been influenced by its usage in Psalm 8:4 and by exegetic processes analogous to those that were in use in Qumran.

Ezekiel is named 93 times "son of man" (Hebrew *ben 'adam*, i.e., "man"), an expression without an article. In Daniel 7:13, "like a son of man" (Aramaic *bar-nasha*) is closer to "the Son of man" because it refers to the celestial man, a collective body personifying the saints, perhaps the ideal Jewish people. "The Son of man" sometimes replaces a personal pronoun: *me*, *thou*, or *him*. For a long time, Enoch's *Parables* were used, as was Daniel, to decipher the meaning of "the Son of man." But insofar as the parables began to be regarded as Christian by numerous researchers, they

are no longer retained in this study. The messianic Son of man does not appear in the texts in Qumran. In 4 Esdras the expressions “son of man,” “like sons of men,” “like sons of man,” and “likenesses of man” have taken on a messianic sense, meaning the true man of the beginning or of the end of time.

2. *The Son of Man and Jesus*

Jesus used the term *the Son of man* in the third person as if he were making someone other than himself speak: “The Son of man has come not to be served, but to serve.” This epithet (which makes it possible to avoid using either the phrase “Son of God*” or the term “Messiah*”) is not a creation of the early churches but goes back to Jesus himself.

In Luke 6:22, those who are persecuted “on account of the Son of man” are said to be blessed, an expression that Matthew 5:11 words differently: “on my account.” The Son of man can also be the equivalent of a personal pronoun, as in Ezekiel. The line in Mark 8:38 is a good example of interplay between the pronoun “me” and “the Son of man”: “For whoever is ashamed of me... of him will the Son of man also be ashamed.” Nonetheless, Jesus never said, “I am the Son of man,” and the early communities never proclaimed him as the Son of man. Matthew and Luke have sometimes enlarged and sometimes specified the usage Jesus is supposed to have made of the term *the Son of man*, particularly in the texts that describe his sufferings. For example, Mark 9:1 and Luke 9:27 have “the kingdom of God,” whereas Matthew 16:28–29 uses “the Son of man.”

3. *Range of the Expression*

a) *Synoptics.* The words referring to the Son of man can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of the maxims on the Son of man’s actual deeds and authority: forgiveness of sins* (Mk 2:10) and Lordship over the Sabbath* (Lk 6:5). The second group is made up of the declarations that announce that the Son of man must suffer and be spurned. These declarations are absent from the Q tradition found in Matthew and Luke and cannot derive from Judaism*; certain ones may go back to Jesus. The third group is composed of mentions of the Son of man’s advent on earth and of the Parousia*. To a great extent the thought they contain corresponds to the apocalyptic expectation in Daniel 7:13–15, where the Son of man is lifted from the earth with the clouds to be given au-

thority by the Ancient of Days. In the apocalyptic passages of the synoptic Gospels (Mt 24; Mk 13; Lk 17, 21) and in passages describing Jesus’ appearance before the Sanhedrin, the words “like a son of man” (Dn 7:13) become “the Son of man.” Flexible and imprecise, the term *the Son of man* can designate just as easily *the Son* as it can *the man* and cover the other christological epithets.

b) *The Fourth Gospel.* The Son of man’s role is highlighted in John 1–13: the heavens always open on the Son of man (Jn 1:51) and point him out as the bearer of the new and constant covenant*. The only one to have come down from heaven, he will be lifted up on the cross and rise next to the Father* (Jn 3:13–14). The Father gives him the authority of judgment* in his time (Jn 5:27) because he is the Son of man. He bestows everlasting life* (Jn 6:27; see also 6:53, in which eating “the flesh of the Son of man” bestows life). Thus, John created an original eucharistic usage.

The Son of man is also the revealer: “When you have lifted up the Son of man, then you will know that I am he” (Jn 8:28). To the man born blind who was healed, Jesus said, “It is he [the Son of man] who speaks to you” (Jn 9:37). At the Last Supper, after Judas departs, Jesus* predicts his death* on the cross: “Now is the Son of man glorified, and in him God is glorified” (Jn 13:31). Pilate’s words “Behold the man!” (Jn 19:5), as he brings Jesus out to the crowd, doubtless have a link to the term *the Son of man*, but this epithet could not be put into a pagan’s mouth. John also stressed the Son of man’s traditional role while accentuating his human role as the new humanity’s leader in a descending and ascending movement.

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MAURICE CARREZ

See also Adam; Apocalyptic Literature; Intertestament; Jesus, Historical; Johannine Theology; Messianism; Parousia

Sophiology

A philosophical and theological movement originating in Russia that continued in émigré circles, sophiology consists of speculations about divine wisdom* (“sophia”), seen as a factor in the union between God* and man or, more generally, between God and His creation*. The principal representatives of the movement were V. Solovyov* (1853–1900), S. Bulgakov (1871–1944), and P. Florenski (1882–1937). The influence of Schelling* is clear. Sophiology cultivates anti-nomic or paradoxical characterizations of Wisdom: it is both created and uncreated, it is the fourth hypostasis, it is the eternal femininity of God, and so on. Sophiology’s principal adversary was V. Lossky (1903–58), who violently attacked its Gnostic tendencies, taking Bulgakov as his chief target. The latter was subjected to censure by the Moscow patriarchate.

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See also **Orthodoxy, Modern and Contemporary; Solovyov, Vladimir; Wisdom**

Soteriology. *See* Salvation

Soul-Heart-Body

A. Soul (Biblical Theology)

Our concept of the spiritual soul can barely be found in the Bible*: indeed, the Hebrew *nephesh* and the Greek *psukhè* have different meanings.

1) *Nephesh* in the Old Testament

The term *nephesh*, widely used in the Masoretic Text (755 3), has many meanings.

a) *The Throat, the Seat of Vital Needs.* The concrete sense of “throat, gullet,” in Akkadian *napishtou* and in Ugarit *npsh* is not known in Hebrew (Is 5:14; Ps 69:2). The place where food is absorbed (Ps 107:5; Eccl 6:7), seat of need, appetite (Is 29:8), the *nephesh* asks to be filled, satisfied (Prv 6:30); taste is located here (Nm 21:5; Prv 27:7). The throat is also the organ of breath-

ing; thus, *nephesh* sometimes means breath (Jb 41:13), the absence of which is a sign of death* (Gn 35:18; 1 Kgs 17:21). This is what the verb *nâfash* means, “to respire, to breathe” (Ex 23:12; 2 Sm 16:14).

b) Desire and Feelings. From the idea of a being that needs to eat and breathe, we are not far from the idea of desire, even of greed or envy (Prv 10:3, 12:10). From the root *wh* (to desire) or the verb *ns* (to rise), *nephesh* is human desire, man’s aspiration for material things (Mi 7:1), human realities (2 Sm 3:21; Jer 22:27), actions (1 Sm 20:4), for God* himself (Ps 25:1, 42:2f.); even evil* is not excluded from this desire (Hos 4:8; Prv 21:10).

On desire, which is like the driving force of human beings (Prv 16:26), depend certain feelings and states of soul, which are thus linked to *nephesh*: hatred (2 Sm 5:8), sadness (Jer 13:17), bitterness (1 Sm 1:10, 1:15), confusion (Ps 6:4), anguish (Ps 31:8), pain (Is 53:11); but *nephesh* can also know love* (Sg 1:7), hope* (Ps 130:5f), joy (Ps 86:4), calm (Jer 6:16), delight (Prv 2:10), consolation (Ps 77:3), and praise* (Ps 35:9, 103:1f.). Impatience (Jgs 16:16) and patience (Jb 6:11) are also part of *nephesh*. In this respect, poetic language speaks of the *nephesh* of God in order to express his desire or feelings (Jgs 10:16; Jer 12:7; Jb 23:13).

c) Life Itself. More broadly, *nephesh* is the life of the individual, often confronted with fragility, limitation, and, in particular, death (Ps 30:4; Prv 8:35f.). Several phrases invoke the term. “To seek” *nephesh* means wanting a person’s life, threatening them (Ex 4:19; Ps 35:4) with a view to their annihilation (Gn 37:21; Ps 26:9). “To save” *nephesh* is to save a life from the threat of death (verbs of deliverance: Jos 2:13; 1 Sm 19:11; Ps 34:23). “To keep” *nephesh* is to preserve life, to keep it away from danger (Ps 25:20; Prv 13:3). Life in this sense always has a physical aspect (including for animals: Lv 24:17f.); so *nephesh* can be understood as linked to blood as the symbol of life (Gn 9:4f.; Lv 17:11).

d) Living Being. In later texts, *nephesh* means a human person, an individual; this is so in casuistic laws (Lv 2:1; Nm 15:30) and lists of descendants (Gn 46:15; Ex 1:5). The word is even used for a dead person (Lv 21:1; Nm 6:6) and for living beings other than human (Gn 1:20–24; Ez 47:9). For an individual, *nephesh* with a possessive suffix is often used with the personal pronoun—“my *nephesh*” = “myself” and so on—an indicator that *nephesh* has to do with an individual’s identity (Gn 19:19f.; Jgs 16:30; Ps 54:6). Approximately a quarter of the uses of *nephesh* can be

translated in this way. It is useful to verify these occurrences to see which of the word’s meanings are actually in effect.

2) *Psukhe* in the Septuagint and the New Testament

a) Septuagint. For the Septuagint, *psukhe* must have best matched the various nuances of *nephesh* since it has been overwhelmingly adopted in this translation.

Consequently, if we disregard the uses influenced by Platonism, the semantic field of *psukhe* is greatly similar to that of *nephesh*, meaning respiration, life, the seat of desire and of the feelings, the person. Thus, for Lys (1966), *psukhe* represented an adequate translation from the Hebrew, avoiding a body-soul dualism.

In Hellenistic Judaism there was a shift in meaning: with regard to death, the immortality of the *psukhe* seems to have been preferred to a Palestinian belief in resurrection* (Wis 2:22f; 3:1–4; 4 Macc 18, 23). *Psukhe* in this sense would be clearly distinct from its corporeal envelope (Wis 9, 15): the anthropological unity of the human individual found in the Hebrew *nephesh* would be sacrificed in favor of a less tragic vision of death.

b) New Testament. Most of the uses of *psukhe* in the New Testament reflect the meaning used in the Old Testament. It is the individual physical life of human beings (Mt 6:25; Acts 20:10) and animals (Rev 8:9), life that can be given (Jn 10:11, 13:37), killed, or saved (Mk 3:4). The word designates the person (Acts 2:41; Rom 2:9) and also has the sense of a personal pronoun (Mt 11:29; 2 Cor 1:23). The *psukhe* is still the seat of human feelings (Mk 14:34; Jn 12:27; Acts 14:2).

The term sometimes seems to describe the authentic and complete life that the believer experiences in the presence of God (3 Jn 2). In Mark 8:35ff. par., *psukhe* could designate the person himself whose life is the supreme good*. But the text seems to refer to the restoration of this life after death (see Jn 12:25): life is not limited to the life experienced in the earthly body (Lk 21:19, 23:43; Heb 10:39), which does not exclude a certain bodily state after death (Lk 16:22; see 24:39). The *psukhe* thus seems different from the body (Mt 10:28), even if this distinction does not exactly reflect the dualism of mortal body and immortal soul. This conception is not opposed to the belief in the resurrection of the person (Rev 6:9, 20:4).

Paul hardly uses *psukhe*, except to mean “natural life,” or “person.” With the adjective *psukhikos* it defines man as left to own vital forces alone, without the gift of the Spirit of God (1 Cor 15:44–49; see Jas 3, 15).

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ANDRÉ WÉNIN

B. Heart (Biblical Theology)

The heart, in Hebrew *lév* or *lévâv* and in Greek *kardia*, represents a central concept of biblical anthropology*. The semantic field is almost the same in the Old and New Testaments.

1) Biblical Meaning of Heart

Aside from a few passages that mention the physiological heart (2 Sm 18:14; Hos 13:8), the biblical terms refer to the notion of the interior: the heart denotes what is hidden within (*qèrèv*: 1 Sm 25:37; Ps 64:7) and what only God* can see (1 Sm 16:7; Ps 44:22). From this comes the parallel with the kidneys (Jer 11:20; Ps 26:2) and the figurative use of the word (Dt 4:11; Jon 2:41; Mt 12:40).

a) Seat of the Emotions. As with us, but even more so, the Hebrews located different human emotions in the heart: joy and sadness (1 Sm 1:8; 1 Kgs 8:66; Acts 14:17; 2 Cor 2:4), love and hatred (Lv 19:17; Dt 6:5; Phil 1:7), desire, confusion and fear (Dt 20:8; 1 Sm 13:14; Jn 14:1; Rom 10:1), anxiety and irritation (Dt 9:6; Jer 12:11; Acts 7:54), confidence and vanity (Ez 28:3; Ps 57:8), and so on.

b) Seat of the Intellect. Quite clearly, the heart has intellectual and rational functions; in this sense, it is closer to what we call the mind. Thus, the heart is the organ of knowledge and understanding (Dt 8:5; Is 6:10; Prv 15:14), linked by this function to the ear (1 Kgs 3; Prv 18:15). It is also the place of attention (Eccl 1:13), of memory (Dt 6:6; Is 57:11; Lk 2:51), of conscious thought (Jer 19:5; Ez 38:10; Mt 9:4; 1 Cor 2:9), and of meditation (Ps 19:15; Prv 15:28). Thought, moreover, is what one "says in one's heart" (Gn 17:17; Dt 7:17; Mt 24:48). The heart remains the place of knowledge (Dt 8:5), of reason* (Hos 7:11; Eccl 10:3), and of wisdom* (1 Kgs 3:12; Jb 9:4).

c) Seat of Will. If the heart is the organ of thought, it is also the place where intentions are born (2 Sm 7; Is

10:7), where plans and projects ripen (Gn 6:5; Ps 20:5; 1 Cor 4:5), where decisions are made (1 Sm 14; 1 Cor 7:37; "to speak to the heart," is, according to Wolff [1973], "to incite one to make a decision"; Jgs 19:3; Hos 2:16f.) and from where one can draw courage to complete an action (2 Sm 7; Ps 27:14). We are not far here from moral choices (Is 57:17; Eccl 11:9), from ethical and religious commitment in which the human heart is revealed: the straight (Ps 7:11) and pure (Ps 51:12; 1 Tm 1:5) heart of the one who is "wholeheartedly" bound to the Lord and his law* (Jos 22:5; Jl 2:12f.; Acts 11:23) or, on the other hand, the hardened heart (Ps 95:8) of the one who refuses the word* of God (Is 6:10; Mk 16:14). In this way the heart is linked to one's speech and one's hands, for it is essential that an attitude be without duplicity, in agreement with the heart (Ps 28:3; Sir 12:16; Lk 6:43ff.).

The heart, therefore, represents the center of being, the place where individuals face themselves, with their feelings, their reason, and their conscience, and where they assume their responsibilities by making decisive choices for themselves, whether these are open to God or not. So it is not surprising that the word designates the person (Ps 22:27; Prv 23:15; Col 2:2) and that it is used as an equivalent to a personal pronoun (Ps 27:3; Mk 2:6; see section A).

2) Theologically Significant Uses of "Heart"

A major concept in biblical anthropology, the heart is used in particular to describe certain aspects of the relationship between a human being and God. Thus, God knows the heart of human beings. He is the one who probes the kidneys and the heart (Ps 7:10; Prv 15:11; Lk 16:15; Rom 8:27), a theme that can be found in Wisdom literature. However, it is in their hearts that human beings accept God or do not (Dt 6:5f.; Lk 8:15).

a) Hardened Heart. In the Exodus traditions, the hardening* of the heart is Pharaoh's obstinate refusal in the face of YHWH's desire to liberate Israel (Ex 7:13, 8:32).

His stubbornness is reinforced by God's determination in such a way that the narrator can say that YHWH hardens the heart of his adversary (9:12, 14:4). The narrator thus describes the negative consequence of God's desire for salvation* for a heart whose rebellion finally contributes to the revelation* of divine glory* (7:3ff.). For the prophets* and in the Gospels*, this motif is used in order to denounce the refusal of the word of God (Is 6:9f., cited in Mt 13:14f. par.; see Ps 95:8; Mk 3:5), the stubbornness of an evil heart that does not want to listen (Jer 3:17; Ez 3:7; see Za 7:12; Mk 6:52).

b) Conversion of Heart and a New Covenant. If the sin* of a people is thus engraved onto its heart (Jer 17:1), it is the heart that must be transformed by conversion* (Jl 2:12f.). Here the Bible draws on several images: the circumcision of the heart (Dt 10:16; Jer 4:4; Rom 2:29), whose infidelity represents a refusal of the covenant* made to Abraham (uncircumcised heart: Lv 26:40f.; Jer 9:25; Acts 7:51), the inscription of the Law on the heart (Jer 31:33; see Heb 8:10) or the gift of a new heart, a heart of flesh* instead of a heart of stone (Ez 11:19; see Jer 32:39f.). It is the integral renewal of the being that is thus linked to the promise*

of a new covenant. This is why Paul situates in the heart the place where the Holy Spirit* comes to dwell (Rom 5:5; 2 Cor 1:22; Gal 4:6).

c) Heart of God. "Heart" has similar meanings in the Old Testament when it is applied anthropomorphically to God (26 times). The place of his desire, of his pleasure and his will (1 Sm 2:35; Jer 32:41), of his plans (2 Sm 7:21; Ps 33:11), his memory (Jer 44:21), and his secret deliberations (Gn 8:21; Jb 10:13), the heart of God beats to the rhythm of his feelings for man: solicitude (Jb 7:17), affliction (Gn 6:6), regret (Lam 3:33), and compassion (Hos 11:8; see Mt 11:29).

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C. Body (Biblical Theology)

In the Old Testament, the horizon of promises* for a long time remained internal to this world, where bodies live. This perspective began to change right before the New Testament until the radical threshold that it crossed with the bodily resurrection* of Jesus*. But no period in biblical history stopped seeing the body as the site of salvation*.

1) Old Testament

a) A Corporeal Horizon. Without being absolutely denied, the afterlife (sheol*) is of no interest to the people of the Old Testament (Ps 6:6, 115:17; Is 38:18). Obedience to the Torah is conditioned by corporeal benefit or harm (Lv 25; Dt 28), hence the intensity of the life of the righteous.

Stories and poems make strong feelings resound. There is no word for "body," but parts of the body express feelings or gestures (*feet*: moving, see Is 52:7; *hand* or *arm*: action, see 53:1; *nose*: anger, see Ps 30:6; *face*: presence; *bone*: substance, see Gn 29:14; 2 Sm 5:1, etc. [Dhorme 1923; Wolff 1973]).

The believer can verify the promises only in the time-space of his body. He transcends the body only through his offspring, something that is in itself very uncertain (sterility, death in family, conflicts). Family* and nation (also understood as family) extend the body outside itself (Wheeler Robinson 1936), but community fractures and enmities—the typical forms of which are found in the Psalms*—reduce the individual body to its solitude: "I can count all my bones" (Ps 22:17). A place is thus made for the word of the prophet*.

b) Sphere of the Commandments. Some extracts from the Torah are applied to the body (Ex 13:9; Dt 6:8). A large part of the commandments focuses on the sphere of the body: purity* or impurity of food, clothing (Lv 17:15; 19:19c; Dt 22:5, 22:11f.), hair (Lv 19:27), hygiene (Lv 13; Dt 23:13ff.), environment (Dt 22:6f.). To observe these commandments promotes health (Dn 1:1–15). The dominant theme of one of these codes is "sanctity" (Lv 17–26): since no body is profane, boundaries are placed between bodies, be-

tween bodies and things, between Israel* and other people. With the risk of ritualism and sometimes magic, this includes an ethics* of respect. These codes point to a strong feeling of modesty. Moreover, sexual shame only emerged after sin (Gn 2:25, 3:7, 3:11). Poems show the body of man (Sg 5:10–16) and woman (Sg 6:4–7, 7:2–7) without inhibition.

The law* of the new covenant* (Jer 31:31–34) is, of course, to be inscribed in hearts (v. 33): not because this will regulate internal dispositions but because bodily gestures will henceforth be dictated by transformed hearts instead of by an external being.

c) Body and Its Origins. Creation* makes God* responsible for the whole sensible world and therefore the body. He who is at the origin (Ps 139:3f.) assures it of specifics (Ps 104, 148:8f.), such as nourishment, respiration, and propagation. Although human beings are similar to animals*, they mostly resemble God (Gn 1:26f.: “image” means more than the capabilities of the soul) and were the only ones to receive God’s breath (Gn 2:7). Nevertheless, the difference (Gn 2:20b) between human beings and animals (heart of ethics) connects to their solidarity (Gn 6:18–7, 3; 9:9ff.; Ps 36:7; Jon 3:7f.).

d) Fate of the Body. Biblical man does not take a stoical view of his ultimate bodily fate: he rather sees in it something that can move God to pity (Ps 89:48, 39:6f.). He does not defy death*. It was only later that the annals took an interest in this form of heroism, or even in suicide (2 Macc 14:37–46), in the face of the enemy. In particular, it would be a long time before death was preferred to disobeying the Torah (1 Macc; 2M; Dn). The Psalms do not record the fate of the individual God allows to die; only the saved are spoken of. Also later, the book of Esther tells of the plan to annihilate the whole of Israel at once (Est 4:6–13). After many martyrs had responded to a forced Hellenization, a light appeared: the Creator restored the bodies of those who had lost them by remaining loyal to him (2 Macc 7:9–14, 22–36; 12:44; 14:46; see Dn 12:2).

2) New Testament

a) Healing Bodies. The signs that Jesus, questioned by John the Baptist, gives to announce the coming of the Messiah* appear in the healing* of bodies (Mt 11:4f.). He is never seen avoiding bodies for any kind of spiritual reason. However, each story discreetly orients sufferers and witnesses toward healing “the whole man (*holon*)” (Jn 7:23). After the resurrection of Jesus the disciples continue to perform the acts of the Master (Acts 5:15, 19:12). For the evangelists, miracles* pro-

ceed from the resurrection of Jesus, whether they come before it or after it.

b) Teaching. In the Sermon on the Mount ethical attitudes are represented by actions (Mt 5:24, 5:40, 5:47; 6:6, 6:17, etc.). If it might be necessary to lose an eye or a hand rather than sin (Mt 5:29f.), this would be in order to avoid losing “the whole body” (v. 30). Notwithstanding such amputations, it can be noted that, among the demands made in Matthew 5–7, that of sacrificing one’s life is not one. Food and clothing should not be a cause of anxiety since priority is given to the Kingdom* (Mt 6:33). This does not represent a contempt for these needs because we are certain that God will take care of them, down to the very hairs on one’s head (Mt 10:30). Jesus is reproached for not being an ascetic (Mt 11:18; see Mt 9:14). His most urgent commandments have to do with caring for the bodies of others: naked, hungry, imprisoned (Mt 25:31–46). Matthew 10:28 implies the possibility of a person losing his body without losing his “soul.”

Jesus does not rush toward his death; certain martyrs were less horrified by it than him. He surrenders himself to death only when he sees that the “hour” has arrived, having escaped death until that moment (Jn 7:30, 8:20, 8:59, 10:39). He says openly that a violent death threatens the disciples (Mt 10:21f., 23:34, 24:9; Jn 16:2). This will not be provoked but will come only from the hate of the world* for those who manifest the truth*. Before dying, Jesus leaves not only his words but his very body to nourish his disciples.

c) Paul and John. Paul sees the body in the perspective of creation: the body that dies is a seed (1 Cor 15:36ff., 42ff.), what is revived is not the spirit but “a spiritual body” (*pneumatikon*: 1 Cor 15:44). The image of the seed speaks of a kinship: the original body is therefore not evil. The words “body of sin*” (Rom 6:6; see 6:12ff.) point to historical subservience and not to the body’s nature* as such. To “pommel” the body,” to “subdue it” (1 Cor 9:27), is to tear it away from what denatures it. The specifically Pauline distinction between “body” and “flesh*,” despite inevitable but instructive superimpositions, is a good lead. Flesh (especially in Rom 7–8) is not the inanimate body but the body outside of the spirit. The flesh also includes the “psyche.” But it was precisely in this flesh (Rom 8:13) that Christ* was sent, to meet our “body of flesh” (Col 1:22). The sharing of the bread and the cup—of Christ’s body and his blood—is the principal site for the Pauline doctrine of the body. “You are the body of Christ” (1 Cor 12:27): these words can be spoken to a group but never to an individual. The Christian is a “member” (*melos*:

Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 6:15, 12:12, 12:27) of this body. There is truly a body to the extent that each member fully performs a specific function. Christ's unicity (the "head": 1 Cor 11; Eph 1:22; Col 1:18; etc.) grounds that of the members: this teaching corrects the syncretic notions favored by the Corinthians and imposes on each member the whole force of his or her own calling. This body of Christ lives in time* and grows over time. (Eph 4:16).

The fourth gospel designates the body of Christ as being, from the beginning, the true Temple* (Jn 2:21). In the water that comes out of the wounded side (Jn 19:34) is recognized the river that Ezekiel saw coming out of the temple (Ez 47:2). The bodily signs that Jesus gives through healing (Bethesda, Siloam) and through feeding foreshadow the post-Easter sacraments*.

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See also Animals; Anthropology; Creation; Death; Ethics; Flesh; Healing; Miracle; Pauline Theology; Resurrection of Christ; Resurrection of the Dead; Sacrament; Sheol; Temple

D. Historical Theology

1) Patristic Origins

a) The first Christian writings focus primarily on holding together the major affirmations of faith*: man created in the image of God*, Christ* as the incarnate Son, and the resurrection* of the dead. For this they borrow concepts and categories of thought from contemporary Judaism* but also from philosophies* of the time, especially Stoicism*. This explains how authors of this period differ in part from ancient biblical anthropology* and from its notion of the heart, teaching that man is composed of a soul and a body while nevertheless avoiding a Platonic-like dualism. They never consider man's corporal condition as a fall or the result of sin.

b) During the second and third centuries the debate between Gnosis* and Platonism* forced orthodox writers to specify more clearly what it was that the Christian doctrine of the soul and body explained.

Gnostics, Platonic thinkers, and Hermetists declared that human souls (at least some of them) were divine by nature, that they existed separately from the body, and that their embodiment represented a fall from their true condition. Man, that is the soul, therefore has to separate itself from matter in order to return to the divine world, which corresponds to his real nature. For Gnostics the corporeal universe was not the work of

the supreme God but of a demiurge, identified as the God of the Old Testament, and resulted from a metahistorical fall that occurred in the world of the divine "eons."

Justin rejected the idea that the soul could have an affinity with the divine in such a way that a person could seize it and find happiness by means of the intellect alone (*Dial. Avec Tryphon* 4). He clearly affirmed the innovative character of the Christian message concerning bodily resurrection: "If the Savior only proclaimed eternal* life for the soul, what would he bring us that was different from Pythagoras, Plato, and others? In reality he came to bring man a new, extraordinary hope*. Was it not extraordinary and new that God promised, not to preserve immortality to immortality, but to make what was mortal immortal?" (*De la Résurr.* 10, Holl 109). Irenaeus* of Lyons was, at the end of the second century, the main defender of the tradition* of the Church in the face of Gnosticism. His teachings revolved around the unity of God and his plan for salvation*: the transcendental God is himself the creator God who, thanks to his two "hands," the Logos (Word*) and Spirit, persons* different from himself, but who are coeternal and one with him, made the world and performed the whole economy of salvation. Human beings are creatures, and do not have any element in themselves which is divine by nature. They are composed of a body (corruptible but call to incor-

ruption) and a soul (the breath of life that animates the body), created “in the image and likeness of God,” that is, in the image of the coming incarnate Logos. Nevertheless, the divine “likeness” will be realized in human beings only if, by consenting to divine grace*, they receive in themselves a third element, that of the Spirit.

The anthropology of Irenaeus is not trichotomist: the Spirit is not an element of man’s nature but a free participation in divine life. Nevertheless, it is not a gift that is simply added to nature since for Irenaeus man is not really what he should be, a “perfect man” according to the design of the Creator, unless he has this divine gift within him, which is necessary to reach true life, the vision of God.

It should be noted that the conflict of orthodox theology with Gnosis cannot be reduced to anthropology: an entire Christology* and a cosmology are also at stake, which clearly shows that debates concerning the soul and the body cannot be separated from other theological questions. Irenaeus’s synthesis (by referring to the divine project of creation*, or to the recapitulation in Christ) is a prime example.

c) Tertullian* teaches an anthropology similar to that of Irenaeus. He also focuses on the unity of the human compound, in which the soul blends with the body in a “complete mixture,” *mixis di’holôn*. Like Irenaeus he distinguishes the divine breath (*afflatus*), which constitutes the human soul, from the divine Spirit (*spiritus*) given to those who are worthy of it. The Spirit is not a constitutive part of human nature, but the body and soul “are worthless” without it. The decisive formula *caro salutis cardo* (“the flesh is the axis of salvation,” *Res. VIII 2*) sheds light both on Tertullian’s Christology (treatise *De Carne Christi*) and on his anthropology (the entire treatise *De Resurrectione Carnis* is an apologia for the flesh—e.g., “It is in flesh, with flesh, and by flesh, that the soul contemplates all that the heart contemplates”; *XV, 3*).

d) With the Alexandrians Clement of Alexandria and Origen*, theology was influenced by Platonism. Inspiration, however, remained fundamentally Christian; and if it drew from philosophy, this was both with a missionary purpose and in order to enrich Christian thought with secular elements that were deemed convergent. Clement himself proved to be not very systematic and continued to borrow much from Stoicism. For him, the tension between body and soul belongs to the unity of man: “Certainly, the best part of man is the soul, and the body is inferior. But the soul is not good by nature, and neither is the body evil by nature. Man is created in the world of senses; he is made by the synthesis of different things, which do not, however,

contradict each other: the soul and the body. All things come from one same God” (*Strom. 4, 26*; PG 8, 1373–76) Origen’s work is more speculative. In order to understand it, one really has to study the context in which *Peri Arkhôn* was written, that is, the conflict with Gnosticism, and at its primary intention, which is the recounting of a story of salvation in which the freedom of the creature is given its full place. According to Origen, the concrete condition of each spiritual creature results from a prior choice made by his free will. In *Peri Arkhôn*, therefore, he discloses that from all eternity God created a world of spirits united to subtle natural bodies, ethereal creatures, equipped with free will, and all equal. Sometimes they sin out of negligence, and they turn away, through satiety, from divine contemplation*. Depending on the seriousness of their sin, their bodies assumed a more or less thick and obscure form. Those who sinned less gravely retained bodies that were relatively subtle and became angels*; they were allowed to remain close to God and to form his court. Finally, the ethereal bodies of those who had committed a sin of medium gravity would be transformed into human bodies, into the form they take in our current world. Through practice of the Christian life and through contemplation, human beings can, however, free themselves from the weight of their earthly condition and find again something of their original condition. At the end of time, risen bodies will find their subtle condition and become spiritual bodies (*see 1 Cor 15:42–49*).

Origen’s texts require very careful interpretation. In substance, H. Crouzel (*Origène*, Paris, 1985) offers the interpretation adopted here. But many hold to the exegesis that was already championed by Origen’s first adversaries, which claims that the corporeal condition, without being evil in itself, was only a temporary medicinal punishment between the fall and the final restoration (apocatastasis*), and it was no longer possible to speak of a salvation of the flesh. Man has three elements: body, soul, and spirit. The spirit is the divine element in man, a free gift from God that leads the soul toward good. The soul has a superior and an inferior part. The former is the intellect (*noûs*) or the hegemonic faculty (*hègemonikon*); in biblical contexts, Origen also calls it the heart (*kardia*). The intellect is the center of free will and of spiritual sensibility. It alone is created in the image of God, of the Logos (and not the body, as Irenaeus, who retained Judeo-Christian categories, believed). If it submits itself to the Spirit, it becomes spiritual, contemplative, and reaches “resemblance”; it then even spiritualizes the inferior part of the soul, added to the soul after the fall and which corresponds to *thumos* (irascible appetite) and *epithumia* (appetite of concupiscence) of Platonic

psychology. As for the body (*sôma*), it is a characteristic element of all creatures, and only the Holy Trinity* is entirely incorporeal. But the body can assume various states: earthly (human beings here below), diabolical, or ethereal and luminous (the angels or the righteous after the resurrection). With regard to this spiritual condition of the body, one can speak of relative “incorporeality.” Terminological hesitation over this point explains the various interpretations offered of Origen’s thought.

His theology and anthropology, clarified by elements that could not be incorporated into the orthodoxy of the following centuries, was to have a great influence on Christian thought and spirituality, in the churches* of both East and West. The earthly body and the sensible (world) are not condemned, but they are relativized. Created by the one God, they constitute the world in which the “true realities”—the celestial and eschatological mysteries*—are embodied and are symbolized according to the modalities that belong to the temporary and fallen condition of intelligent creatures. And these creatures, instead of stopping there, must, via these modalities, rise up toward the true realities in and of themselves. The tension between soul and body can therefore serve to describe the spiritual* life as the elevation of man.

e) Origen’s contribution was clarified by the works of the Fathers* of the fourth and fifth centuries, in particular the great Cappadocians Basil* of Caesarea, Gregory* of Nazianzus, and Gregory* of Nyssa, at a time when Christian thought was achieving form through combating the major Trinitarian and christological heresies*. The highlighting of the saving role of Christ’s flesh and the insistence on the corporeal union between the risen Christ and Christians, who had become his members through communion* in the eucharistic body, went to explain, contrary to all Platonism, the dignity of the body and its participation in salvation. The Fathers were able to construct an anthropological synthesis that obviously varied greatly depending on the author but that might be systematized in the following way:

It is man, and not a part of man, who is in the image of and resembles God. And it is all of man that is saved (in accordance with the principle: all that was assumed by Christ is saved; see, e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 101, PG 37, 181). The human soul, while being intellectual and immortal by nature, is not divine by nature: it is only capable of being gradually deified, through the free participation that God grants it (man, through grace, becomes what God is by nature; see, e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, *Orat. In beat.*, PG 44, 1280 d). Matter, which is also created by God, is good and able to take

part in the deification of the soul. The bodily condition of man does not result from sin, from a fall, but is the effect of a positive disposition of God. One can often note in the Fathers, especially in their commentaries on the creation story, an amazement before the material creation and the perfection of the human body.

Nevertheless, the Fathers distinguish two successive states in material creation and in the human body: the earthly, “psychic” condition and the eschatological condition, which came first in God’s plan of creation. The eschatological condition alone corresponds to the primitive will of God over a creation of which it is (by virtue of this correspondence) the “true nature.” In its earthly state, dependent on the sin* of the first parents, the human body is “animal,” psychic,” and corruptible. It dons “garments of skin” (patristic exegesis* in Gn 3:21): it needs to nourish itself, to sexually reproduce, and is subject to suffering and death*. In fallen man there is a tendency to give in to the senses in a way that is opposed to the Logos, to the creative thought-will of God. Yet even in this condition marked by the fall, the role of sensible realities and of the body is far from being purely negative. Creatures reveal the Creator and, sanctified by the Church, become “mysteries,” “sacraments.” The body can and must become an auxiliary of the soul in its spiritual battle and in its search for God, through an ascesis of transfiguration and not of destruction. The body is thus felt, in its present state, as an ambiguous reality, “both friend and enemy” (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Disc. 14*; PG 35, 865 bc). After the resurrection the body will be a spiritual and glorious body, transfigured by the power of the Spirit.

This patristic anthropology, marked by the habits of Platonic thought, remains essentially Christian. Nevertheless, the theology of the Fathers did not limit itself to correcting philosophy, even if this correction was considerable, as in the case of the reevaluation of the body. The originality of its understanding of man presupposes another perspective: to consider man, that is, the soul-body unity, in the horizon of salvation (which is quite clearly shown by the eschatological motif of the resurrection of the flesh) and of liberty (which implies a spiritual life and the possibility of union with Christ).

f) We must mention here a whole spiritual tradition and at its head the mysterious author of the *Homilies* attributed to Macarius of Egypt. This tradition adopts a psychophysical conception of the heart and one that is closer to the biblical notion. It thus touches on certain trends of Greek medicine and philosophy, especially Stoicism, which made the physical heart into the organ and center of the *noûs*. The heart then appears as the unifying center of the person, the organ of

the intellect and of profound desires that gives man's life its fundamental orientation. "Grace, once it seizes the heart's pastures, reigns over all members and thoughts. For, it is in it that the spirit and all the thoughts of the soul and its hope* are located. Through it, grace spreads to all the members of the body" (Macarius, *Homilies* 15, PG 34, 589). This notion also belongs to the great Eastern spiritual thinkers, for whom the heart is the place of the highest spiritual experiences; and it can be found again in the 13th and 14th centuries in the Hesychasm* of the Athos monks. It inspired the psychophysical method of prayer*. The prayer of the heart also reveals an understanding of man.

2) Western Tradition

a) Augustine's work had its origins in his response to Manicheanism* and in a Christian reinterpretation of Platonic tradition. His vast output was bound to have a deep influence on Western theology and spirituality. In terms of the soul, it implied elaboration and modification.

First, Augustine established the notion of a completely immaterial intellectual substance that he calls "spirit." He clearly maintains the distinction between the uncreated spirited and the created spirit but emphasizes the kinship between them—this is why he represents the beginning of a less apophatic theology than that of the Greek Fathers. The traditional theme of man in the image of God is developed in an original manner in the form of an analogy* between the soul and the Trinity. In the *Confessions* (XIII, 11) the soul is likened to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, respectively, through its being, its understanding, and its will. The *De Trinitate* extensively describes another three-fold scheme, that of memory, intellect, and will.

The privilege of the soul over the body is now certain: it is by turning inward that the soul discovers God. "It is in the inner man that truth* lives" (*De Vera Religione* XXIX, 72), but this link between introspection and conversion* concerns only the soul. Because God and the soul are of the order of spirit, there is no question of an actual deification of the body: Augustine saw the eschatological glorification of the resurrected body much less as its transformation by the Spirit than did Ambrose* of Milan and the Greek Fathers. His pessimistic conception of the bodily condition is found in his thoughts on the original* sin and can also be explained, perhaps, by the polemical character of many of his writings on grace and freedom*. As for the deification of the soul, he considers it intentional union (on the order of knowledge) rather than the energetic compenetration proposed by the Greek

Fathers, who readily compared the process to the penetration of a branding iron by fire.

b) It was particularly Aristotelianism* that Thomas* Aquinas used to construct theology as a "sacred science," and his anthropology is differentiated from Platonism. Thomas's theology developed in an intellectual climate in which beatitude* was understood as contemplation of God, beatific* vision. However, this emphasis never yields to a division of man: Thomas's anthropology is deeply unifying. The link between the soul and body is not the compound of two substances that can survive by themselves. The soul is the form of the body, an Aristotelian formula that nevertheless calls for an original interpretation: the soul is form of the body (and remains one with it), but this form is also the spirit of man, an individual spirit (and does not come from the outside, from an impersonal spirit, like the Aristotelian *noûs* that comes "through the door").

In this context Thomas cannot retain the fullness of the biblical meaning of the word "heart": for him it is only a metaphorical equivalent of will. However, Thomist psychology does not ignore the realities evoked by the biblical notion; it simply analyzes them through categories other than the heart (e.g., *intellectus* and *voluntas ut natura*).

c) Spiritual writings would also have genuine repercussions in anthropology. Such was the case in the 17th century with the work of Cardinal Bérulle*, who developed a devotion to the humanity of Jesus* and to his heart. All the states that Jesus experienced as a man express his perfect adoration of God. These states, which belong to his inner life, where divine and human activity mingle, are now perpetually present in Christ, and the contemplative life allows the believer to interiorize and adhere to them. Bérulle's work is nourished by the great patristic and mystical tradition and would inspire the entire French school of spirituality (devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus).

Other examples can be cited, also belonging to the 17th century, of a spirituality of the heart that comes close to the biblical concept. In the school of cordial prayer, represented by Jean Aumont, Maurice Le Gall de Querdu, and the members of the Breton missions, the notion of the heart approximated that of the Byzantine Hesychastic tradition: contrasted with cerebral reflection is the deep inner life of the reunified being, which is seated in the heart. During the same century, Pascal*'s anthropology also attests to the importance of the heart.

d) The problem that modern thought poses to theological anthropology is that of the distance that it places

between itself and theological anthropology's central themes. In the first place, the theme of the heart managed to persist during the Enlightenment and beyond only by submitting itself to certain emphases and inflections that deprived it of its biblical resonances. Pietist theology is a theology of the heart, which sets itself the task of an "affective transposition of [Christian] doctrine" (J. Pelikan), but its emotional *a priori* never helped it develop a Christian logic of affectivity (J. Edwards* provided the only exception to the rule, within the context of the "great awakening"), no more than it led Shleiermacher* to do so, despite the primacy that he gave to feeling. The theme of the body, on the other hand, was subject to many evolutions during the 18th century: there was a rejection of the modified hylemorphism that had allowed Thomas Aquinas to express the fundamental affirmations of Christian anthropology as well as a Cartesian reduction of the corporeal to an "extended thing" that can be put aside without altering the essence of the self (the indirect consequence that is possible for a materialism in which man, like animals in Descartes*, is, in fact, only an extended thing). Finally, the soul, in terms of the various concepts used—a thinking thing, monad, spirit—appears more and more as a worldly principle of rationality and not as an index in man of an eschatological destiny: moreover, it is rather introverted (as, e.g., with the Leibnizian monad), so that the idea of a salvation promised to the body no longer gives rise to great theological interest.

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3) Contemporary Viewpoints

It is first of all to philosophies of the body that recent theology owes its concern for reorganizing a biblical vision of man as well as the conceptual means for undertaking this reorganization. In the corporeal experience of effort, Maine de Biran had already discerned an affirmation of the self that was as elementary and fundamental as the Cartesian *cogito* (see Henry 1965). Husserl's inquiries (see Franck 1981) were to bring him to posit a fertile distinction between the "organic body" (*Körper*, the human body as object) and the "body itself" or "flesh" (*Leib*, the body as experienced by a subject). Whether pursued by M. Merleau-Ponty or by M. Henry, philosophical consideration of the body had three benefits: 1) it brought to an end the unsatisfying representation of a self that "has" a body; 2) replacing it with the concept of a self that "is" a body/flesh and of a body that is a self, thus allowing a consideration of the transcendence of the self in relation to the domain of objective realities; henceforth, 3) the phenomenological approach allowed a renewed affirmation of the soul (e.g., Henry 1966, 1987), one that was capable of reappropriating the principal meanings of Thomist theory without falling back on the concepts of a metaphysics of substance. A notably different approach, neo-Hegelian in nature, also allowed Claude Bruaire (1968) to develop a philosophy that was able to accept the idea of a salvation intended for the body while proceeding (1983) toward an affirmation that was separate from the being of the spirit. Because they avoided the twofold reduction of the self to a thinking thing and of the body to an object, these contributions could not avoid disagreeing with the discourses that classically identified the essential self with intellectual activity. In a period in which theology could no longer take for granted that the Greek concept of the *noûs* truly accounts for divine life, philosophy could no longer take for granted that man exists first of all in a noetic mode. In *Being and Time*, Heidegger* attributes to "existence," to the "there," two modalities of the same origin and importance, one being understanding (*Verstehen*) but the other being the *Befind-*

lichkeit, which in fact designates fact the foundation of emotional life and is similar to the Augustinian concept of *affectio*. Interpreting what he does not call “existence” but “life,” understood as original immediacy, M. Henry (1963) was brought to posit the unconditional primacy of pathos and emotion. And it is possible that another way to consider immediacy, in the manner of E. Levinas, is to consider the privilege of emotion; in fact, ethics*, which constitutes the first philosophy because of the demands that the other person lays on the self simply because his face appears before me, can understand only because it is aroused by pathos. Here as elsewhere (e.g., in M. Scheler’s meditation on the *ordo amoris* and his explicit reference to Pascal*), it is toward an anthropology of the heart that the concepts are tending.

The theological repercussions of such forms of inquiry could hardly fail to be beneficial ones: 1) For theologies in which the resurrection of the body appeared in effect to be an appendix to a more fundamental doctrine, that of the immortality of the soul, a more precise perception of the egological dimension of corporeity certainly allowed for an anthropology that was more faithful to the basic theoretical demands of Christianity. A theology of the resurrection, moreover, calls for a theology of death* that goes further than interpreting it as an event outside the essential reality of the self but that can articulate carnal finitude and eschatological vocation. An absolute future is promised to man, in the personal unity of his flesh* and spirit, but this future is the object of faith* and hope: man can be one with himself only by being one with God. But if this absolute future is believed in and hoped for, there is the possibility of a theolgal relationship between man and his body (*see* Brague 1980)—and with the adoption of an eschatological horizon, we see here also the foundation of a sexual* ethics, of a liturgical anthropology, of a theology of asceticism, and even of a Christian interpretation of art. 2) The same period, which questioned the primacy of noetic activities in favor of emotional ones, underwent a significant renaissance in terms of a speculative interest in mystical experience, and the two facts were certainly linked. Whether or not these interests were strictly philosophical (as in the case of J. Baruzi), philosophico-theological (G. Morel), or purely theological (M. Huot de Longchamp—to name only three studies of John* of the Cross), it is at least clear that it is in the experience of suffering that one can find what is most human in man. Mysticism can be more than the trace of a boundary or the paradox of an excess; it can, for example, shed light on the fine word ipseity (*see* Henry 1963 on Eckhart). Proceeding with caution, this kind of clarification does not disqualify all experience of

God* that involves the intentionalities proper to *theôria*. But this clarification undeniably responds to the modern crisis of theories of contemplation and to the uncertainties that surround the concept of “vision of God” by adopting ancient notions of the *apex mentis*, or “the spark of the soul,” that make their appeal to a logic of affectivity that is more innate than any logic of the intellect. 3) It is not surprising, therefore, that disagreement about the classic conceptualizations is typically formulated in the name of a theme of charity that is meant to be a critique of the themes of being* (Laberthonnière early on, J.L. Marion) or reason*. A theology that attempts to “de-Hellenize” the basic concepts used to speak of God (e.g., Pannenberg, *Syst. Theol.* I, 401–15) necessarily asks that the same approach be applied to concepts used to speak of knowledge* of God. If God is more suitably and radically *agapè* than supreme intellect, knowledge of God is rooted in the demands of *agapè* more essentially than in the demands of *gnôsis* (e.g., Marion 1978). And just as the theologies of “God’s transcendental subjectivity” seem to be inadequate for analyzing divine life, theological anthropology seems committed to leaving behind conceptual systems in which man had intervened, in many ways, as the *subject*. If the final principle of all reality is the act of loving more than the act of being, this entails consequences for theological anthropology. 4) The many references to the lexicon of the “person” and the “personal,” passed on to theology by a philosophy that had itself borrowed them from a formerly theological vocabulary, reveal here their true meaning, which is a task that is more important than the often murky and redundant conceptual content of this lexicon. Strictly speaking, the notion of the human person adds nothing to the notion of the human being. The term, half descriptive and half evaluative, nevertheless ceases to appear as (merely) the fruit of a rhetoric of the concept if one is aware that in contemporary usage it serves to name this human being in its existing totality. There is no shortage of reasons for attributing a being to the body as such or to the soul as such or for drawing a strict distinction between the laws of the intellect and the laws of emotion and so on. But to describe man as person is to relativize these distinctions and attributions in the name of a promise of eternity addressed to the concrete reality of the self. The interest in what is most noble in man, such as has been manifest in all philosophical anthropologies, therefore requires a theological corrective. Here and now, man appears to us to be under the condition of a mortal finitude, which, according to Christianity, does not definitively reveal his humanity. The definitive itself, which the resurrection* of Jesus allows us to consider and in a certain way to represent, is not available

to us. But one thing is certain: the “personal” reality of a salvation jointly and severally destined for all of humanity. Whether in speaking of man we use the lexicon of the body, that of the soul/spirit, or that of the heart, nothing of that which we name is free from eschatological meanings. And if theology speaks of sanctity, it is in fact anticipating these meanings.

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JEAN-YVES LACOSTE

See also Adam; Anthropology; Heart of Christ; Knowledge of God; Person; Resurrection of the Dead

Sovereignty

In the modern world the exercise of sovereign authority through legal systems conferring jurisdiction has in practice to be bounded by systems of “human rights” for which there does not exist a precise and fully developed moral theology or even clear moral norms to which secular law should conform.

Ultimately, in modern societies, insurrection, anarchy, and lesser forms of social disorder are avoided by the imposition of a sovereignty exercised through legal systems that confer jurisdiction and depend on a large measure of public acceptance, not always aptly described as consent. In political systems regarded as democratic, mechanisms have been developed to ensure that public consensus does eventually impose limits on the exercise of sovereignty. Because there are theological principles at stake in the definition of hu-

man rights, the rights and duties of the churches in their interaction with secular sovereignties must be considered, whether they are personal or corporate, and particularly if, as is increasingly the case, they do not acknowledge the ultimate derivation of all human authority from God.

From pre-Christian Roman antiquity, when the Church was a branch of the state and the *ius sacrum* a branch of the *ius publicum*, offenses against the community had in many societies been regarded indifferently as crimes against the state or sins against the deity, and throughout history trial by ordeal in civil matters has invariably been viewed as an appeal to the judgment of God. Natural law theory, whatever it may owe to the utilization of the ancient Roman legal codes by the medieval canonists, did not find its firm theo-

logical foundation much earlier than the 13th century, when Aquinas proposed that law was the promulgation of rational norms for the common good. Scotus was immediately to argue that the Thomist view compromised God's transcendence of his own creation, constraining him to legislate in accordance with the norms of the divine reason, *ratio divina*, from which human reason derived and in which it participated. Human reason could therefore, at least in theory, generate "natural" law in accordance with God's own eternal law, the *lex aeterna*. Divine law, for Aquinas, had not been the unfettered promulgation of an arbitrary divine will, and secular legal systems, however sovereign, were bounded by natural law.

Even before Aquinas, "natural law" was considered by Gratian to have been generated according to the rational principles of the eternal law. By the 13th century, however, after the 11th-century investiture controversies decided in favor of deriving episcopal authority from ecclesiastical rather than secular sources, early Christian attempts at separating episcopal and princely authorities, like those made in the late fifth century by Gelasius I, had been replaced by theories in which the secular authority was subordinated to the ecclesiastical. This situation often sought its justification by recourse to the "donation of Constantine," a document that purported to be Constantine's transfer of civil power into ecclesiastical hands and that was revealed as a forgery only by Valla (c. 1405–57) in the 15th century. Constantine himself, as emperor, had felt himself entitled to appoint the bishops of Rome, that is, the popes.

From the time of the 16th-century schisms, Western Christendom was no longer simply synonymous with Rome's hierarchical Catholicism, and the ability of princes or, in the empire, town councils to enforce the various forms of sectarian Christianity to which they themselves adhered quickly led to the notion of state religious allegiances in which the state followed the religion of the sovereign: *cuius regio eius religio*. At least in matters of external conformity, this provided a practical solution to which some surprising major political theoreticians and literary figures such as Bonaventure des Périers (c. 1510–c. 1543), Jean Bodin (1529/30–96), and even Erasmus (1467–1536) and Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) came near to giving philosophical justification.

Indeed, it was not until after World War II, when Catholic theology was in turmoil on so many major issues, that John Courtney Murray could definitively argue that the imposition of state Catholicism in Spain could be justified only by reference to some relationship between Catholicism and *Hispanidad* rather than to any ecclesiastical right. But by the 17th century it

had already become clear that absolutist concepts of civil sovereignty could be supported both with recourse to a divine origin of civil authority, as in Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), and without it, as in Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), who derives civil authority from a social contract between sovereign and people. Whether theoretically derived from divine law or not, a theological basis for political authority in western Europe, as to some extent later in America, was shown to be compatible with the whole spectrum of political attitudes from extreme forms of absolutism to extreme liberalism.

In fact it was not until the 17th century that Grotius (Huigh de Groot, 1583–1645), in his *De iure belli ac pacis* of 1625, elaborated an ethical system in which human rights, duties, and obligations—personal, national, and international—were established without any reference to their derivation from the law of God. Grotius's philosophy of law was codified by his disciple Samuel Pufendorf (1632–94) and transmitted, largely through the pedestrian handbook *Principes du droit naturel* (1747) of the Genevan Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui (1694–1748), to Montesquieu (1689–1755). The latter proclaimed in the opening sentence of his celebrated *De l'esprit des lois* (1748) that laws, far from being a promulgation of God, were "the necessary relationships deriving from the nature of things." God was himself constrained by laws. Montesquieu's work is the source from which all modern theories of international law derive, and they invariably, like Montesquieu, fail to acknowledge the divine will as the source of all authority. By the 18th century both the American *Declaration of Rights* (1774) and Thomas Paine's (1737–1809) *The Rights of Man* (1791–92) were to derive essentially from Montesquieu despite the illiberal tyranny that resulted from the French Revolution, which Paine sought to defend against the criticisms of Edmund Burke (1729–97).

The three great religions originating in the Middle East, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, have all had the greatest difficulty in accommodating their theologies to purely secular concepts of sovereignty. The laws contained in both the Pentateuch and the Koran are only partly religious, and religious regulations are mixed with exclusively secular injunctions, as they notably also were in Puritan England, Calvinist Geneva, and Presbyterian Scotland. The admixture of religious authority in secular legal systems is still apparent in the importance attached in many parts of the modern world to the taking of oaths, whether in civil courts, on the bestowal of offices, or in the coronation ceremonies of kings and queens, still often clearly showing clear signs of derivation from episcopal consecrations.

In retrospect it can be seen that attempts by the ec-

clesiastical powers of both Catholic and Protestant Europe from the 16th century on to favor theologies linking sacerdotal and secular authority were for practical as well as religious reasons doomed to fail. The separation of the realms of God and Caesar proclaimed by Jesus (Mt xxii, 21) was to prevail. It happened, however, only gradually in the wake of the sectarian divide that opened up in the 16th century.

In 1570, Pius V both excommunicated and attempted to depose Elizabeth of England, thereby asserting even in political affairs a direct papal sovereignty superior to that of national sovereigns. The decree of deposition had no effects other than to make more certain the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots; to make life harder for English Catholic recusants; and to antagonize Spain, France, and the empire. No further attempt to depose a Protestant monarch on grounds of heresy was ever again made by a pope. When in 1585 Sixtus V declared Henri de Navarre incapable as a heretic of succeeding to the French throne, he had recourse not to any primacy of political sovereignty but to his spiritual power to absolve vassals from oaths or other obligations of allegiance. The effect aimed at was the same as that which Pius V had intended to achieve in England and in practice was equally nugatory, but a new theology of sovereignty had been developed.

When in 1625 Urban VIII sent his nephew, Francesco Barberini, to Paris to urge acceptance of the papal refusal to permit France to subject the Catholic population of the upper Adda valley to the three Grison leagues, forming together a Swiss Protestant *Bund*, he justified his interference in Europe's political arrangements by insisting that France's commitment to the Protestant Grisons was abrogated because a Catholic sovereign could not contract or inherit an obligation to

heretics. Claims to the spiritual power to dispense civic obligation as well as a direct and superior sovereignty had now been abandoned in favor of effectively denying moral rights to Protestant sovereignties. Barberini's argument was regarded as derisory, and direct assertions of the dependence of civil legitimacy on the consent of the spiritual power were gradually abandoned.

The modern theology of sovereignty crystallized in the 19th century, when Napoleon's subjugation of restored state Catholicism to the civil power came to a head with the appointment of Cardinal Maury (1746–1817) to the archbishopric of Paris against papal wishes. It drove Lamennais (1782–1854) into his strongly ultramontane position and eventually into his strenuous 1826 defense of the separation of spiritual and temporal powers. Impelled by the desire to impede civil tyranny in the name of political autonomy, Lamennais also held the papal right to decide what was the law of God and what pertained to the purely temporal realm. It was Lamennais's liberal attack on the untrammelled authority of the temporal power in matters concerning civil liberties, unwelcome to the papal curia on account of its alliance with the czar of Russia against the 1830–31 Polish insurrection, that finally brought about the open concession by Rome of total sovereignty to the civil sovereign in civil matters.

The papal encyclical *Etsi multa luctuosa* of November 1873 was finally to lay down Rome's acceptance of a distinction between a natural power of secular sovereignty and a supernatural ecclesiastical authority ordained for the salvation of souls, the final step in the development of the Catholic theology of sovereignty.

ANTHONY LEVI

See also Authority; Canon Law; Law; Religious Freedom; Traditionalism; Ultramontanism

Spiritual Combat

The notion that spiritual progress, growth in the *habitus* of charity, is necessarily a lifelong combat or even that the love of God involves lifelong effort is not systematically to be found in the spiritual doctrine of the Gospels, where at best it is implied by some of the reported sayings of Jesus. Saint Paul clearly shared the

view that moral life involves combat, but it originated in Plato, who expounds it in the *Phaedrus* (246, 253, and 256) using the parable of the charioteer and his two horses, with its distinction between noble, obedient affections and wild, disobedient ones. It is borne out by the distinction in the *Republic* between rational

and appetitive parts of the soul (Book IV, 441a) and the ascription in the *Timaeus* (69d) of different functions of the soul to different parts of the body.

It was popularized by Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations* (Book 1, chaps. 10 and 33), and Origen was to import it systematically into Christian spiritual doctrine. During the Renaissance, Pico della Mirandola took up the idea from Origen and used it in what we know as the *Oratio de hominis dignitate*. Erasmus also used it in the *Enchiridion* (chap. 7). He had expressed the spirituality of the conflict in terms of an anthropology also taken from Origen, although more commonly found in the Antiochene Fathers, exploiting Saint Paul's trichotomist psychology in 5 Thessalonians 23, which sees rational human beings as composed of spirit, soul, and body. *The Spiritual Combat* itself starts with a quotation from 2 Timothy 2:5 referring to the suffering to be endured in the career of arms of the soldier of Christ.

The idea that spiritual progress arises out of victory in a spiritual combat had become a common in spiritual writing, certainly by the end of the first decade of the 16th century, and a dozen years after that is fundamental to the spirituality of Ignatius of Loyola. The classic exposition of spiritual progress in terms of a combat is, however, the short book first published anonymously in Venice in 1589 under the title *Il combattimento spirituale*, with 24 chapters. A second edition of the same year has 33, and the 1598 edition had grown to a total of 60 chapters. There were at least 60 editions by the time of Scupoli's death in 1610. The definitive Theatine edition, published in 1657, has 66 chapters, with the final six added from a work on preparation for death.

The work, whose authorship was once disputed, is now universally ascribed to Laurence Scupoli, a Theatine from Padua. It is likely that Scupoli gave a copy to Francis de Sales, who was studying law in Padua in 1590. He recommended Scupoli's book more frequently than anyone else did, keeping a copy on his person for 18 years and reading from it daily. The book saw numerous editions and was translated into German in 1591, French in 1595, and English in 1598. Translations also swiftly appeared in Latin, Castilian, and Catalan. It was notably influential among the lead-

ing figures of the "Catholic revival" in early 17th-century France.

In content *The Spiritual Combat* defines spiritual perfection in terms of knowledge of God's greatness and goodness and of our own nothingness and inclination to evil and in the love of God and the hatred of ourselves. It consists in perfect submission to the will of God for his own sake. The four arms to be used are the mistrust of self, confidence in God, the striving for virtue through the conquest of the passions by the higher faculties of the soul, and prayer. It is necessary to beware of the tricks and illusions of the devil and to acquire virtues or overcome vices one at a time. The combat lies essentially in the battle between the higher and the lower parts of the soul, is fought under the standard of Christ, and admits of no relaxation of effort.

The principal weapon is prayer. Scupoli describes various forms of mental prayer and, while noting the importance of devotion to the Blessed Virgin and of intercession also to the angels and saints, holds that the major subject of contemplation should be the passion of Christ. Prayer becomes efficacious and invincible chiefly through the Eucharist, and Scupoli warns against the dangers of discouragement in spiritual aridity or of trust in the sensible warmth of feelings of devotion. The Christian warrior must rely on the examination of conscience and never give up before the moment of death.

As expounded by Scupoli, *The Spiritual Combat* is a, or possibly even the, classical statement of Renaissance Christian spirituality, whose principal elements can be traced back to the *devotio moderna* through Ignatius of Loyola, Erasmus, and such contemporaries of Erasmus as Battista Carioni da Crema (†1534) and Serafino da Fermo (†1540). Scupoli is certainly familiar with Cassian and Augustine. Christ, as for Ignatius and Zwingli, is the military leader under whose banner the Christian battles. Scupoli's book differs from other mainstream forms of Christian piety only in the Theatine emphasis it places on disinterest, the cultivation of the unattainable "pure" love of God for his own sake, but it shares with the contemporary spiritualities of which it is a synthesis a strong insistence on following the suffering Christ along the path to which we are called.

ANTHONY LEVI

Spiritual Direction

It would be excessive to claim that Christianity invented the role of director of conscience*. Aristotle had already written to Nicomachus that a profligate fell very far indeed “if he lacked a master’s direction.” On the other hand, “if he found someone to guide him, he was not incapable of attaining the golden mean and of acquiring the sense of duty” (*EN* IV, 35). Seneca, too, was convinced that we could not achieve virtue* if no one gave us a hand to free ourselves from our weaknesses. The guide constantly pleads the cause of good*. This was the spirit in which the Stoics would deal with the great themes such as peace of mind and the brevity of life.

From a Christian point of view, direction inquires about the relationship between the soul and revealed God*. It is a difficult task, and Gregory* of Nazianzus asserted that directing that strange animal that is man was “the art of arts” (PG 35, 426); Gregory* the Great was later to adopt his expression (PL 77, 14).

The fathers* of the church* saw direction as an essential pastoral duty. In his monastic rule, Basil* urged no concealment of any secret impulse of the soul: the heart’s mysteries must be divulged to those appointed to care for the weakest. This was veritable therapy (PG 31, 987). Augustine* would write to Paulinus of Nola and his wife Theresia, who were experiencing difficulties about how to conduct themselves in society, “Talk about it to some doctor of the heart (*cum cordis medico*) who is compassionate” (PL 33, 355).

In the Middle Ages it would be said that it was foolhardy to appoint oneself one’s own guide and to spurn the ministry* of those in the Church who had the mission of directing souls. Bernard* wrote that by deciding to be one’s own master, “one makes oneself a fool’s disciple” (PL 182, 215). By refusing to give one’s hand to a guide, one took the hand of a seducer. And William of Saint-Thierry offered this advice to a Carthusian (PL 184, 324): “If you want to get well fast, require yourself to do nothing on your own initiative, without having consulted your physician; and if you need his treatment, you should, without false shame, always reveal your ulcer to him.”

Somewhat closer to our own time, treatises and letters of direction were to proliferate. Too often, through generalizations based on certain abuses, these texts are presented as the director taking in hand the soul of the

person directed. In fact, directors did not lack respect for the other. Today we would say that their aim was to encourage an awareness of the affective behaviors that condition the individual’s disposition before God. But they were not seeking to put a soul “under such restraint” that it was made powerless to make a mature judgment. Bossuet (1627–1704) deplored the fact that, because tastes and feelings were overanalyzed, souls no longer dared to receive any gift from God. This author would tell the “genuine directors” to set souls free: “As much as you can, get them to become less in need of you and, through the rules of conduct you give them, to proceed as if by their own accord” (*Méditations sur L’Evangile* II, 56th day).

In 1707, Fénelon (1651–1715) would write to Madame de Montberon that “the frequent scrutinizing of the anatomy of one’s own heart makes for a dangerous remedy of self-love.” And M. Olier (1608–57) had already advised a pious person against thinking so much about themselves: under the pretext of making oneself more holy, one looks at oneself with satisfaction (*Lettres*, 297). It is therefore unfair to make a general charge of tyranny against directors or to treat their directives as “the pretentious prose of hygienists of the soul.” Francis de Sales urged Madame de La Fléchère “not to make her dear conscience sting any more.”

All the same, spiritual direction remained necessary. And Fénelon summed up the problem in his *Lettre sur la direction*, which condemned the hidden inclination to flatter oneself (OC, vol. 5, 731): “Your most subtle temptations come from you yourself; you are your own worst enemy; you need someone who has neither made your mistakes nor indulged in your passions*, someone at a distance from you who will help you to free yourself from them.”

There has also been much discussion about the *spiritual father*. This person is not primarily a master who negotiates with his disciples: it is because of what he is that he reaches the other. M. Legaut (1974) writes, “Spiritual filiation and paternity come in their own good time, at a privileged meeting between two beings who have already been secretly prepared.” One imagines that such an attitude is somewhat dangerous, and Dr. C. H. Nodet is right when he says (*Encyclopédie médico-chirurgicale*, 1955), “Psychologically, a man who by nature should have been the head of a house-

hold should not accept too easily remaining all his life the *son* of a religious *father*.” True paternity encourages the *son* toward increasing autonomy.

Today the emphasis is on *spiritual companionship*, and it is not always a priest who provides this. The companion must possess an inner sensitivity that allows him to recognize God’s action in another. He does not walk ahead of the other, nor does he follow him: he points out the obstacles. He constantly helps to put bring human activity into harmony with the Spirit’s urging to the extent that that impulse can be discerned in our hearts. Companionship is walking side by side, and both partners benefit from this journey, for each one of them is invited to undergo a continual conversion*.

There is therefore a similarity with what the reformed pastoral tradition calls the *cure of souls*. This *cure* is a search for signs of the Holy Spirit within a biblical perspective. Souls are followed in their winding progress, with respect being shown for each one’s individual inspiration. Protestant* theology stresses that the Holy Spirit is the real director: it is therefore important to help a soul be receptive to this guidance. The soul will be urged to distance itself from any anxious kind of searching and to avoid imprisoning itself in false security and illusions (J. D. Benoît 1940). The cure of souls will never demand a dependent state: it is a form of mutual aid supplied by two people who are on a journey together.

The *Christian East* does not use the word *direction*, at least not in the abstract sense of the term. The *starets* (elder) teaches above all how to turn one’s heart constantly toward God and therefore how to persevere so as to receive “the charism of prayer* and psalmody” (Evagrius Ponticus). One progresses from sensible impressions to spiritual prayer, which unfolds within the heart, for the heart plays a central role in the life of prayer. Isaac the Syrian was to say, “Apply yourself to going into your inner room and you will see the celestial room.” Nonetheless, the practice of the virtues* is not neglected, especially the virtues of humility, discretion, and charity. These three virtues guarantee the cohesion of the spiritual structure. Now, to attain such stability a companion’s help is sometimes very useful, especially at the beginning. John Climacus asserted that “the cenobite often needs a brother’s support (in Gouillard 1979).

Lastly, religious literature has often stressed what the spiritual master *is not*. His role is to lead others onto a mystical path. This guide is not necessarily a saint, although he should radiate virtue. Above all, it should be said that he is not primarily a scholar giving a course on what he has learned and what he knows. His desire is not to pass on his own knowledge but to orient his

neighbor toward a certain way of life. It should be noted, however, that the Catholic “director” cannot be unaware of an ethic* that corresponds to the Church’s teaching. Faced with a concrete situation, the adviser has the task of answering in the spirit of the Scriptures and of tradition* the one who asks how to act. Theresa of Avila particularly wanted “erudite” directors, and she said, “I have always sought learned confessors, because those who were only half-educated have done the greatest harm to my soul” (*Life*, V).

Depth psychology would later reveal all the ambiguities of human motivations. We know that Paul Bourget’s eponymous disciple (1889) had a “precocious liking for inner dissection” and pushed his examinations of his conscience to the point where they became “acts of secret torture”: his directors did not notice these excesses, calling them childish. What was needed was such as Abbé A. Huvelin, advising everyone not to analyze themselves too much and not to be continually telling their own story to themselves.

When R. Guardini (1885–1968) dealt with melancholy (*Schwermut*), he thought that it found its last refuge in the anxiety provoked in us by the proximity of the eternal. He added, “That is what makes man happy and, at the same time, is a threat to him, *Beseligung und Bedrohung zugleich*” (*Vom Sinn der Schwermut*, 2nd Ed., Graz-Wien-Munich, 1951). Perhaps it is the chief mission of spiritual direction to make it understood, in the light of the Gospels, that this proximity of the Absolute is primarily a source of peace* at the “fine point of the soul”.

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See also **Casuistry; Hesychasm; Monasticism; Spiritual Theology; Spirituality, Ignatian; Spirituality, Salesian**

Spiritual Paternity. *See* **Spiritual Direction**

Spiritual Theology

I. Definitions

1. *Relationship to Other Kinds of Theology*

The term “spiritual theology,” like the term “mysticism,” is modern and marked by the crisis in culture that can be traced back at least to the later Middle Ages and the Reformation. The term is used in practice to mark out a distinction from the rest of theology*. *Dogmatic* theology* is regarded as too cerebral and remote from actual Christian life, and while spiritual theology is keen to retain its roots in *biblical* theology*, it still sees it as necessary to wrest theology from the “critics.” In this way, it has given a hostage to an anti-intellectualism that is itself one of the responses of modern theology and culture to the crisis. Spiritual theology, like mysticism, seeks its roots in a tradition* that can be traced back to the patristic period, if not the Bible* itself, where it is claimed there can be found a theology that is free from the disjunctions of modern culture.

2. *Notion of the “Spiritual”*

Such an approach to spiritual theology is too bound up with what it is rejecting to be of lasting value. Here, we shall attempt a fresh start by engaging with the notion of the “spiritual,” in the two senses of the word. “Spir-

itual” can refer to the Holy Spirit* and be concerned with a lived engagement with the Spirit. Spiritual theology, then, attempts to understand what this means for our relationship with God*. However, “spiritual” can also refer more directly to a dimension of the human person that is often called the “heart”: the soul, inwardness, the capacity to engage with God. In this sense, spiritual theology consists in exploring the world that is opened up when one becomes aware of these realities, in a process that can be called “discovery of the heart.” These two ways of conceiving spiritual theology partially overlap and can mutually interpret each other, but they are fundamentally different. One has its roots in the biblical understanding of the Spirit of God and the dogma* of the Trinity*; the other is more philosophical and has affinities with Platonism*. The term “heart,” which is biblical, may perhaps reconcile these perspectives.

II. Outlines of a Spiritual Theology

1. *The “Spiritual” and the Spirit*

The first approach therefore involves starting out from what Scripture tells us and especially from deepening one’s understanding of Johannine* and Pauline* no-

tions: the indwelling of the Spirit within us (Jn 14–16), worship in the spirit (Jn 4:24), and the Spirit moving within the baptized Christian, incorporating him into the Son, and awakening a sense of communication with the Father* in prayer*, all this in solidarity with the whole cosmos* (see Rom 8). The church fathers* applied the term “mystical” (Bouyer 1986) to this hidden reality of the Christian life that is made manifest by the Spirit. The “mystical” meaning of Scripture is therefore its inner meaning, revealed by the Spirit, in which the Church* enters into intimate communion* with the incarnate Word* to whom the whole of Scripture points. Similarly, the “mystical” meaning of the sacraments*, especially the Eucharist*, is their inward reality, realized by the invocation of the Spirit. A further dimension of this “mystical” life is the Christian’s life “hidden with Christ in God” (Col. 3:3), which is the real state of the baptized Christian. The object of spiritual theology, thus understood, is not merely personal inwardness but the inward reality of the Church’s engagement with Scripture and its liturgical life. This inward reality is sometimes described as paradise, the state in which and for which God created human beings. One can become aware of paradise only through “spiritual senses” that complement and in some way surpass the normal five senses.

2. The “Spiritual” and the Inward

The other form of spiritual theology explores inwardness more philosophically and from a more unambiguously individualistic perspective. Nonetheless, its conception of inward reality has profoundly influenced traditional Christian understanding of the spiritual life. The soul is regarded as being divided into two parts, the rational and the irrational. Within the former there is found the *nous*, the mind, capable of pure awareness of ultimate reality. The latter is itself divided in two: the incensive part, the source of psychic energy, and the desiring part, which is closest to the body. This analysis of the soul has provided the framework for the definition of the virtues* that make for the beauty of the Christian life and the vices (originally temptations) that mar it. It also permits a definition of the goal: a state of tranquillity (*apatheia*) in which the *nous* is no longer disturbed by the turbulence of the lower part of the soul and can contemplate the reality of the cosmos and, ultimately, God himself.

3. The Heart

a) *Scriptures*. The notion of the heart (Hebrew *lev*, Greek *kardia*, Latin *cor*) is of particular importance in spiritual theology. “Heart” is a biblical term,

referring to the center of the person. It is not what modern languages understand by “heart” but something deeper and broader than affectivity. In the Psalms*, the heart is a place of gladness (Ps 4:8; 15[16]:9) and sorrow (Ps 12[13]:3); but it also meditates (Ps 18[19]:15, 48[49]: 4, etc.), seeks God (Ps 26[27]:8), can incline toward him and his testimonies (Ps 118[119]:36, 111ff., etc.), can be troubled (Ps 54[55]:5, 108[109]:22), and can be broken (Ps 50[51]:19). Indeed, a broken heart will not be set at naught by God, and one can beg for a new heart (Ps 50[51]:12). It is not just an organ of feeling; it is also an organ of decision, of pondering, but above all it is that part of the person that is at the center of our dealings with God. The heart *prays*: that is the deepest aspect of the heart. In this sense, to refer to the “heart” is to refer to the inwardness of the person: what is meant by the soul or, better, the *nous* in the philosophical tradition outlined here but without the intellectualism of that tradition. Because the heart is physically at the center of the body and essential for life, this language not only avoids intellectualism* but also shows that one must not forget the unity of the human being.

b) *Christian Thought*. The theme of the heart is treated in a whole spectrum of ways in the historical development of spiritual theology. In the writings of Origen* and Evagrius, for example, the heart is simply a biblical term for the intellect: heart and *nous* are used interchangeably, the choice being probably determined by context (see Evagrius, *Practical Treatise* 47). At the other extreme, in the *Homilies* of Pseudo-Macarius, for instance, the heart is a much more comprehensive notion than the soul, and the expression “the depths of the heart” (see *Hom.* 43, 9; 15, 32) represents an inwardness that extends far beyond consciousness, including longings and passions* that are unknown to the conscious mind and are capable of affecting one’s behavior in unpredictable ways. Understood like this, the heart is the center of the person, but it needs to be discovered, for as a result of original sin* we have lost contact with ourselves, we deceive ourselves about our longings and passions, and we are incapable of self-knowledge or self-control. The heart is thus an arena of conflicting tendencies, open to the assaults of both demons* and the influence of grace*. It is a place of discernment, a place of struggle, a place of prayer: purity* of heart entails self-knowledge and awareness of the unconscious and releases the person to love God and one’s neighbor. The struggle to achieve pure prayer is often seen as a search for the heart: the later techniques of Hesychasm*, which aim at pure prayer, are explicitly seen as ways of finding the true place of the heart.

4. The Spiritual Senses

Another traditional theme of spiritual theology is that of the spiritual senses (Rahner* 1932, 1933). Just as Paul distinguished between the inner man and the outer man, so we find a distinction being drawn, from the time of Origen on, between the five senses that belong to the outer man and the spiritual senses that belong to the inner man. It is the inner man that is created in the image of God and so can know union with him in love*. The outer man is the human being turned outward, toward the world perceived through the senses; the inner man is the human being turned inward, toward the world perceived through the spiritual senses. Through these spiritual senses we perceive the spiritual world, the realm of God, the angels*, and souls that have woken up to spiritual reality. Sin and the Fall have turned human beings outward—turned them inside out, in fact—so that they pour themselves out into the external world, which is not so much the physical world as a world valued in terms of external things, a world of reputation and ambition, possession and consumption. Most human beings are so committed to this world that the world of spiritual reality is foreign to them, or, rather, they are foreign to it. If they turn inward, if they allow themselves to hear the call of God, they will begin to wake up *within*, so to speak, to the spiritual world. As they become accustomed to this inner world, their spiritual senses will come to life. This inner world is sometimes conceived after the model of Plato's realm of the Forms, where truth* is essentially immaterial. At other times, and more profoundly, this inner world is the whole created order, seen in its true worth as created, a transfigured world perceived through spiritually transfigured senses. Maximus* the Confessor sees this transfiguration being effected both through the presence of the Spirit in the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, and through the purification of the heart through the simultaneous action of asceticism* and the grace of the Holy Spirit (*Ambigua* 41, *Mystagogia* 1–7, 24).

III. Emergence of Spiritual Theology in the West

1. The Heart and the Feelings

From around the 12th century, the conditions for the emergence of the modern notion of spiritual theology were put in place in the West, in particular a shift in the understanding of “heart.” It was increasingly seen as the seat of the emotions, and the biblical emphasis on the heart was taken to entail a contrast with the intellect. The already ancient idea that God is unknowable was taken to mean that God cannot be known but can be loved and that love of God is what is meant by

knowledge* of God: *amor ipse intellectus est* (William of Saint Thierry, *Epistula aurea* 173). Alongside this change in the understanding of the heart (itself bound up with *fin amor* “refined love” and the beginning of the modern notion of romantic love), there was also a change in the understanding of the Church.

2. Emergence of the “Mystical”

a) *Shift in Notion of the Church.* Until the 12th century, the expression *corpus Christi* (“body of Christ”) designated the Church: from that time on, in the West, *corpus Christi* came to mean the eucharistic body of Christ (specifically, the consecrated host), and the Church came to be referred to as the *corpus Christi mysticum* (“mystical body of Christ”). Certeau has developed this insight to show how this change laid bare a division between the priesthood*, which alone has the power to consecrate the Eucharist, and the hidden reality of the Church (“hidden” is the traditional meaning of *mysticus*). It is to this reality that claim was made by those who had special graces manifest in contemplation*, increasingly understood to be a supernatural* form of prayer (Prayer* IV 2b), and in extraordinary phenomena such as visions, levitation, the stigmata, and so forth. Such experiences, which began to be called “mystical,” provided supernatural validation of a source of authority that could challenge the institutional authority of the priesthood (authority* A). It was also open to those, especially women, to whom the priesthood was denied (Bynum 1987). The contrast between intellect and heart was reinforced by this contrast between the institutional hierarchy* and claims to direct mystical experience. Many of the spiritual writings of the later Middle Ages thus set up a clear distinction between the intellectual theology of Scholasticism* (itself the preserve of the priesthood) and an often overtly anti-intellectualist theology of the spiritual* life (see *The Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Imitatio Christi*).

b) *Taming of Spiritual Theology.* This theology of the spiritual life was not left in peace by Scholastic theologians or at least those theologians trained in Scholastic methods. While the supernatural claims of mystical prayer were conceded, vigorous attempts were made to limit such claims. Thus, for example, at the beginning of the 15th century the chancellor of the University of Paris, Gerson, attacked the Flemish mystic Ruusbroec. The development of spiritual theology from the 16th century on can be read as a conflict between claims to inherent authority on the part of those who possessed spiritual experience and the hierarchy's concern to see that such claims were conceded only where its ultimate

authority was recognized. The condemnation of Molinos in 1685 and, still more, Bossuet's securing of the censure of Madame Guyon in 1694 and of Fénelon in 1699, because of their doctrine of "pure love" (quietism*), can be seen as instances of this conflict. Although the notion of "spiritual theology" had now clearly emerged, it was with a more complex terminology: and such complexity is also evidence of this struggle. Not only was it explicitly called "spiritual theology" during this period, but it was divided into "ascetic theology" and "mystical theology." Ascetic theology was concerned with those practices that foster prayer and devotion and with all those matters over which human beings could have control. In respect of prayer, it was therefore concerned with vocal prayer (especially the recitation of the divine office) and meditation. The latter was understood as thinking about passages of scripture and the mysteries* of faith*, aimed at encouraging affective prayer. Meditation also covered matters of fasting and ascetic practices. These were all things that human beings could achieve by their own endeavors. "Mystical" theology was concerned with "supernatural prayer," or contemplation, which God alone could grant. This was regarded as something rare that only a few could hope to experience (and those few confined in enclosed convents for "contemplatives"). Such an approach to spiritual theology became the norm in the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent*: it is found in Scaramelli's two treatises of 1754, *Il direttorio ascetico* and *Il direttorio mistico*, and is still manifest in A. Poulain's *Des grâces d'oraison* (1901), which is described as a "treatise on mystical theology."

3. Modern Problems

a) Dissolution of the Old Consensus. At the beginning of the 20th century there was considerable controversy about whether contemplation is something that any devout and earnest Christian might expect to achieve. Poulain continued to regard contemplation as a rare grace, while others, such as Saudreau (1900) and Arinterio (1908), regarded it as an attainment of the life of prayer of every baptized Christian. In reality, the whole controversy was overtaken by broader changes in Catholicism*, for two reasons in particular. On the one hand, there was a growing awareness, not least among those touched by modernism*, of the authenticity of the spiritual life of many outside the Christian dispensation. This is found in the work of Friedrich Heiler (1892–1967), R. Otto (1869–1937), Friedrich von Hügel (1852–1925), Evelyn Underhill (1875–1941), and others. On the other hand, there was also the rediscovery of the fathers* of the church, most notably as a result of the labors of Henri Sonier de Lubac*, Hans

Urs von Balthasar*, and J. Daniélou (1905–74), and the impact on Western theology of Orthodox émigrés such as Vladimir Lossky (1903–58) and Myrrha Lot-Borodine (1882–1957). The growing use of the term "spiritual theology" today has much to do with the collapse of the conflict implied in the terms "ascetic" and "mystical" and greater openness to the spiritual resources of other religious traditions.

b) Future Prospects. The future is open. One strand sets spiritual theology against the dogmatic traditions of the different Christian traditions and indeed religious traditions altogether, seeking in spiritual theology something that transcends what is perceived as the divisiveness of all dogmas. On the other hand, for Christians of the Orthodox tradition and those attracted to it, spiritual theology does not entail disregard for the dogmatic tradition of the Church but rather explores the life of prayer and communion* with the God who has revealed himself in those ways explored by the dogmas of the Church. It is noted that patristic theology does not easily yield to the later Western distinctions. For instance, the notion of God's infinity (infinite*) is explored by Gregory* of Nyssa both in an explicitly dogmatic context, when he is defending the Trinity against Eunomius, and in his writings on prayer and the spiritual life, where God's infinity and the soul's experience of darkness are seen as complementary. In the treatises of Maximus the Confessor, flights of speculation, analysis of theological terms, and discussion of prayer and contemplation are found side by side. Even in the 14th century, when questions were raised about methods of prayer on Mount Athos (Hesychasm*), arguments in their defense were based mainly on the dogmatic distinction between the essence and energies of God. All this points to a theological balance that we should be seeking to recover while ceasing to regard spiritual theology as something to be contrasted with, or even opposed to, dogmatic theology.

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See also Asceticism; Contemplation; Mysticism; Prayer

Spirituality. *See* **Life, Spiritual; Spiritual Theology**

Spirituality, Franciscan

The outlook and attitudes characteristic of Franciscan spirituality originate with the experience of Francis of Assisi (1182–1226)—his character, life, and aims. This spirituality has undergone a variety of developments and emphases over the centuries.

1. The Founding Figure and His Originality

a) Our knowledge of Francis and his vision is based on two sorts of ancient documents: the *hagiographical narratives* (around eight appeared in the 40 years after his death) and the *writings of Francis* himself (around 30 texts of varying length and content). To these should be added the feminine contribution of Clare of

Assisi (1194–1253) in terms of both her writings and her life.

b) The originality of Franciscan spirituality resides in the unusual, if not unique, fact that it derives from the Christian experience* of a lay* person without a clerical education (he referred to himself as *ignorans et idiota*). While he borrowed some features from the mendicant movements of the 12th and 13th centuries, Francis was scarcely influenced by the intellectual and spiritual trends of the time. He drew his vision of God*, man, and the spiritual path from a fresh and immediate overall grasp of the gospel message. An astonishing balance enabled him to avoid fundamentalism*

in his interpretation. Presented without any systematic conceptual development, his “doctrine” nonetheless has a theological and spiritual breadth that is closer to the desert Fathers* than to Scholasticism*.

2. Key Themes of Francis’s Spirituality

The hagiographical narratives present and interpret Francis as a historical figure, but it is his own writings that best reveal the vision that occupied him and the spiritual attitudes that it implied. The following themes appear to constitute the framework of that vision.

a) *Gospels as First Point of Reference.* Francis does not refer to existing spiritual currents, their conclusions, or their practices. What he offers is “the life of the gospel of Jesus Christ,” understanding the gospel not selectively but in terms of its whole breadth as the revelation* of God’s love* in Jesus Christ and of the new life that issues from it.

b) *“God Desirable above Everything.”* Francis underwent a profound experience of the mystery* of the Trinity. While he is reticent about its subjective repercussions, he commends it insistently to every believer, inviting them to “love, honor, adore and serve, praise and bless God, desirable in his entirety above everything.” His view of God has something Johannine* about it: the Father* is preeminent, the Son is the revealer of his Father’s Name*, and the Holy Spirit* alone gives us knowledge of it. The Son is contemplated in the humility, frailty, and poverty of his abasement; his words, often quoted, are “spirit and life”; and he is present in the context of the Church* through the Eucharist*.

The believer is invited always to have “his heart turned towards the Lord,” in an attitude above all of adoration, wonder, praise*, and thanksgiving.

c) *Complete Poverty of the Individual.* “The good words, good deeds and all the good* that God does or utters in man or through man belong to God alone and must be restored to him in thanksgiving. Only man’s vices and sins* are his own. Therefore, he can glory only in his own weaknesses and bear Christ*’s cross every day. In this is to be found true joy, true virtue*, and the salvation* of mankind.” The material poverty that Francis proposes in his Rule (but not in the texts addressed to the laity) is an eloquent symbol of this complete poverty of the individual before God. From this follows the necessity of behaving as children (“minors”), submissive to everyone and servants of everyone, not as lords and masters.

d) *“Maternal” Love for All Mankind.* Another person, whether he be “a blessed friar, a friend or an en-

emy, a thief or a brigand, should be welcomed with kindness, spiritual joy, and respect. Even if he sins a thousand times, we should never stop loving him, without wishing him to become a better Christian for our comfort.” All human relations must be governed by such a degree of trust “that each may make plain his need to the other, like a child to its mother. For each of us must cherish and nourish his brother like a mother her son.”

e) *Presence of Brotherhood, Peace and Joy.* Francis describes the maintenance of a fraternal bearing toward all mankind in these terms: “May they avoid disagreements, verbal quarrels and negative judgments, and display gentleness, peace*, serenity, benevolence, humility, and courtesy to all people.” This kind of evangelical utopia is not applicable to mankind alone: it extends to the world of matter and to cosmic realities, which he refers to as brothers and sisters. Paradoxically (since Francis has a rather gloomy vision of mankind), it assumes a fundamental optimism, that of the creation* and of salvation. It is the basis of the desire to be everybody’s “brother” and of the concern to create harmony, reconciliation, and peace.

3. Franciscan Tradition and Its Developments

a) Francis’s spiritual influence was not restricted to the circle of his religious disciples. It extended to lay Christians, for whom Francis wrote a scheme of life, the *Letter to the Faithful*. The content of his message was presented over the centuries with a variety of emphases. The figure of the saint is central, and there is an insistence on his most striking aspects: the completeness of his poverty, his stigmata, and his palpable devotion to Christ’s humanity.

b) Two periods particularly rich in their contributions and developments may be singled out within the tradition: the 13th century and the 15th to 17th centuries.

- 1) The 13th century saw the continuation on the one hand of a current close to Francis’s own thinking and approach and represented by figures who were close to him: the friars Richer of Muccia (†1236), Egidius of Assisi (†1274), and Roger of Provence (†1310) and the nun Angela of Foligno (†1309). This current was marked by strong mystical tendencies and expressed itself in simple language, without any systematization.

In parallel with this, a learned tendency linked to Scholasticism* asserted itself, composed of theologians and Spirituals: Bonaventure* (†1274),

Petrus Joannis Olivi (†1284), Ubertino of Casale (†1329), and Ange Clareno (†1337). They developed syntheses that incorporated Francis's great intuitions into systematic frameworks that were marked by the intellectualism of the period and by contemporary preoccupations (such as the conflict over poverty).

- 2) During the period between the 15th and 17th centuries inclusively, after preachers such as Bernardino of Siena (†1444), a succession of figures appeared who were to give an impulse to Rhineland-Flemish* spirituality while stamping it with the Franciscan imprint. The Belgian Henri Herp (Harpius, †1477) was its most distinguished representative. His *Theologia mystica* was disseminated across southern Europe and, by way of the Spanish Franciscans Francisco de Osuna (†1541) and Bernardino Laredo (†1540), was to influence Carmelite spirituality through Teresa of Avila. A similar development occurred in France in the 17th century: the *Rule of Perfection* by the Capuchin Benet of Canfeld (†1610) was to play an important part in the origins of the French school and inspired continuations by Franciscans in France and Belgium. There was thus a strange affinity linking the extremely abstract Northern spirituality with a Franciscan approach that valued love above any concept. At the end of this period, a female Capuchin, Saint Veronica Giuliani (†1727), is evidence of the persistence of the mystical tradition* at the heart of Franciscan spirituality.

- c) Even today "the spirit of Assisi" retains its fascination. It draws on the figure of Francis himself and on

various features of his message: kindness, universal brotherhood, peace, reconciliation, a certain (poetic) lightness of being, and love and respect for nature. Most important, however, is the root of all these values, without which they would be neither meaningful nor possible: the need to take the whole gospel seriously, the profound experience of God, and the complete poverty of being.

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See also **Beguines; Bonaventure; Carmel; Devotio Moderna; Imitation of Christ; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism**

Spirituality, Ignatian

Ignatian spirituality is not linked to a particular theological viewpoint but to a "way of proceeding" (*modo de proceder*) in order to seek God* in everything, to help souls, and to serve the Church*. Nonetheless, this conduct implies some theological presuppositions.

I. Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556)

His conversion* in Loyola and his solitude in Manresa (1522) awakened Ignatius to the discernment of spirits and opened his intellect to the mysteries of the Trin-

ity*, the creation*, the Incarnation*, and of Christ*'s presence in the Eucharist* (*Autobiography*, no. 30): "He understood and knew many things, spiritual things as much as matters of faith* and learning, with so great an illumination that everything seemed new to him."

1. The Spiritual Exercises

a) Sources. The writing of the text, completed in Rome, where it received pontifical approval in 1548, was enriched by the exercises being put into practice and by Ignatius's studies at the University of Paris. But the main part dates from Manresa, where he had already noted down what might be useful to others. Strongly affected by his readings of the *Flos sanctorum* (*The Golden Legend*) by Jacobus de Voragine (†1298) and of the *Vita Christi* (*Life of Christ*) by Ludolphus of Saxony (†1377), which played a part in his conversion at Loyola, he became dependent in Manresa on the *devotio* moderna* through the *Imitation of Christ* and through the *Compendium breve*, which was compiled from the *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual* by the abbot Garcia de Cisneros (†1510) and was the manual for retreatants at Montserrat. These texts display the convergent influence of Franciscan tendencies (the devotion to Christ's humanity in Bonaventure's *Meditations*) and Augustinian ones (meditation according to the soul's three powers: memory, intellect, will) as well as the influence of the desert Fathers, filtered through Cassian (discernment of spirits).

b) Originality. Nadal, Ignatius's witness and interpreter, says, "The *Spiritual Exercises* contain almost nothing which does not appear in other books." But it is all reworked through the intuition that informs the whole operation, that of the central contemplations* of the Reign and of the Two Standards (the call from the eternal King to work with him to establish his kingdom* and to fight Satan), and through their link to the rules of election and discernment. The goal of the *Spiritual Exercises* is that of preparing a given individual, through an intense four-week process, for an experience* of union with God, sufficiently structured to lead to the fully free decision that decides a fate. They thus enlighten the conscience* as it grapples with a fundamental problem of modernity, "that of historical topicality, and of the free decision by which both social and individual human reality can create itself in it" (G. Fessard). In this sense, they propose a *spirituality of the decision*, or, again, a mysticism* of service, according to Ignatius's insistence that "God must be sought in all things," which Nadal interpreted in terms of being "contemplative in action."

c) Influence. Following the *devotio moderna* and in a more radical way, the *Spiritual Exercises* extend Christian spirituality to all walks of life. By their focus on election and their adaptability they aim at integration of existence in a life lived according to the Holy Spirit*. They would therefore be rapidly extended not only to the reform of monks and the training of the clergy but to the laity* of every rank, in particular to those within the Marial congregations. Many institutions called "Ignatian" would adopt the exercises as the focal point of their spirituality or as an element in an original synthesis. Francis de Sales was directly inspired by them, especially in his doctrine of indifference. Many other founders or reformers performed the spiritual exercises (Charles Borromeo, Bérulle*, and so on). These exercises became Church property, as is shown today by the practice of the examination of conscience and reference to the *Rules for Discernment*.

2. Other Writings

Ignatius's correspondence (6,800 letters), the *Autobiography* (also called *A Pilgrim's Journey*), the *Constitutions*, and the *Spiritual Journal* also form part of the founding documents.

II. The Ignatian Tradition

The tension between prayer and action constantly preoccupied Ignatius. Even though Ignatius, himself a man much given to prayer, demonstrated a preference for searching for union with God through the service of neighbor—whence his insistence on the "examination"—clear contemplative tendencies (Balthasar Alvarez, Cordeses, Alvarez de Paz) arose from the first generations. In 1590, General Aquaviva's letter on prayer annulled the debate: prayer should always tend toward a practical goal and not come to a halt at the joys of contemplation*, given that apostolic needs urge action. One must go to God with an upright intention that transforms action into prayer and that moreover presumes the habit of prayer. This develops Nadal's doctrine of the "circle of prayer and action," which would endlessly be commented on.

The mystical tendency would receive its classical form in the 17th century with Louis Lallemant, Jean-Joseph Surin, Jean Rigoleuc, and Jean-Baptiste Saint-Jure amid the abundance of innumerable spiritual treatises published in Spain, Italy, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, and the Netherlands. The other more ascetic tendency won out with the condemnation of Molinos in 1687 and of quietism* in 1699. Tested by this "twilight of the mystics" (Louis Cognet), then by the rationalism* of the Enlightenment, the Ignatian balance would be saved from voluntarism* only through a few

exceptional masters (Jean-Pierre de Caussade, Pierre-Joseph de Clorivière in the 18th century) and through the mysticism of service put into effect in the missionary and instructional epic of the 19th century. The contemporary period, from 1950 on, has seen a real renaissance of the Ignatian spirit through the rediscovery of the *Spiritual Exercises* and of discernment, thanks particularly to publications of the Ignatian *Writings*, to the work of theologians (H. and K. Rahner*, F. Varillon, G. Fessard), and to the sharing of the Ignatian charism within religious and lay communities.

III. Characteristic Features

1. Seeking God's Will

Human beings do not unite with God through prayer or through action but through the union of wills, and that union presupposes a state of inner freedom* that makes it possible to "seek and find the divine will in the organization of one's life" (Exercise 1). This indifference, guided by a desire for conformity with Christ, brings about the discernment of inner impulses (spiritual feelings) that rise up when faced with the alternatives. In this sense, the spiritual* life operates at that point where prayer* and action are no longer two separate activities but join together in a single free act that wants what God wants.

2. Following Christ in His Mission

The growth of this freedom can be understood from a Christocentric viewpoint. The *Spiritual Exercises* cause a desire for "inner knowledge* of the Lord who for me became a man, so as to love him better and follow him." Ignatius's contemplation of Christ becomes an absorption in the mission that Christ received from the Father*; and in the call Christ issues to all, to work "with him" to establish the Kingdom* by fighting the forces of evil*. Union with Christ is seen not in terms of nuptial symbolism but as a *sequela*, an apostolic companionship.

3. In the Midst of Creatures

Ignatian indifference has nothing in common with Buddhist detachment. Rather, it is the principle of an action that is all the more incarnate in that it is disengaged from "disordered affections" and rectified by the "right intention." In a letter of 18 July 1548, Ignatius writes, "[God in fact] wants to be glorified and served with what he gives us as Creator, which is nature*, and with what he gives us as the author of grace,* which is the supernatural*." This is why Ignatius does not propose only contemplation of the evangelical mysteries*, sacramental fidelity, and meditation on the commandments and on the counsels but also discernment of spirits, which makes it possible to "feel" what the spirit of Christ urges in existential situations. This im-

plies that the Creator speaks to the creature through what he is composed of as a creature (sensitivity, memory, intelligence, will). And it also leads to the Ignatian rule of action as defined by Hevenesí (1705) and commented on by Fessard: "Have faith in God as if success depended entirely on you and not at all on God. However, set every means in motion as if you had nothing to do, and God everything."

4. In Obedience

Obedience is founded on the Church's sacramental nature, the mystical body of Christ organized as a hierarchy. Obedience to the pope* for the missions, the fourth vow that the Jesuit makes during his solemn profession, is, according to Pierre Favre, "our principle and main foundation." True obedience, in fact, "does not look to whom it is given but for whom. And if it is given for our only Creator and Lord, it is him, the Lord of "all, that one obeys" (*Constitutions*, 84). Therefore, it is "blind" provided only that it is not dumb since, as stated in *Constitutions* (92), "It is more than very important, it is capital that the superior should have full knowledge of the inclinations and impulses of those for whom he is responsible." The most audacious initiative might come from below. That is why obedience also concerns the superior.

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CLAUDE FLIPO

See also Asceticism; Carmel; John of the Cross; Mission/Evangelization; Spirituality, Franciscan; Spirituality, Salesian

Spirituality, Salesian

a) *Francis de Sales (1567–1622)*. The eldest of 10 children, Francis de Sales was born in Thorens into an old Savoyard family. His education, first at La Roche and Annecy and then, from 1582 to 1588, with the Jesuits at the Collège de Clermont in Paris was that of a future noble. He was to stay close to the Society for the whole of his life. From 1588 to 1592 he studied law* in Padua, notably with Panciroli (1523–99), while entrusting his soul to the Jesuit Possevin (1534–1611). It is possible that he met the Theatine Scupoli (1530–1610) in Padua; in any event, it was there that he discovered Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat*, a forerunner to *Introduction à la vie dévote*, which would immediately become his bedside book. On his return, and despite his father's reservations, he set his heart on the priesthood* and was ordained in 1593. After having successfully directed the Catholic reconquest of Chablais in 1599, he was appointed bishop-coadjutor of Geneva. Before his episcopal ordination, a diplomatic stay in Paris in 1602 put him in contact with the French court and with Madame Acarie's circle (Bérulle, Carmel*). Ordained bishop on his return, he reestablished his diocese, which had been undermined by Calvinist penetration and was concentrated around Annecy (since all hope of returning Geneva to Savoy and to Catholicism* had been abandoned at the start of his episcopacy). In 1604 he met Jeanne de Chantal (1572–1641), with whom he would found the Order of the Visitation in 1610. Back in Paris in 1618, he met Vincent de Paul, Richelieu, and Angélique Arnaud, who was to place herself under his spiritual direction*. He died in Lyons on 28 December 1622.

b) *The Key to Salesian Thought: Crisis of 1586*. Eager to understand his faith, Francis wanted to take advantage of his studies in Paris in order to initiate himself into theology*. The quarrels of the time drove him to a crisis that would be decisive for his future: tormented by Baius's theses on predestination*, he thought himself damned and sank into deep despair. The temptation* of his era—believing, like Calvin* and Jansenius, in the small number of the elect—imposed itself on him with full force. Then, quite suddenly and definitively and without however giving his full support to Molinism, he was relieved of his torment by abandoning himself to Providence*, an act in-

spired before the statue of Our Lady of Deliverance. Even if there was only a single elected person, it depended only on himself to be that one through a sincere and total faith, everything else being nothing more than false problems from false theologians. Henceforth, that confidence would dominate his whole inner life, but he would retain from his trials the conviction that to prepare one's salvation* was the only thing that mattered in this world.

It is noteworthy that the two people whom he directed, Jeanne de Chantal and Angélique Arnaud, would have to face the same temptation; the solution for the former would be found in the Order of the Visitation; for the latter, the completely different path of the monastery of Port-Royal, once Francis's death had left the field clear there for Saint-Cyran (Jansenism*).

c) *Salesian Humanism*. From his studies in Paris and Padua, Francis was to retain a thorough classical culture, a love of speaking well and writing well, and above all a deep-seated humanism; "I am so much a man as to be nothing more than a man!" (XII, 330). All ideas interested him, and his thinking progressed continually under the eyes of the masters, both ancient and modern (among them Montaigne), whom he cited with a certain pride. At the height of his pastoral activities he would think it important to found in 1606 a literary academy in Annecy. By temperament he had confidence in the human race ("There is not a soul in the world which attaches itself more warmly, tenderly, and lovingly than I"; XX, 216).

Was he therefore optimistic? If so, rather less than has been claimed. His correspondence reveals him to have been anxious to save whatever could be saved in "the outside world," but he never failed to stress how fragile this salvation was and how much simpler was the monastic life. His *Introduction à la vie dévote* (1608) represents the codification of this encouragement to a sanctity in the world for "those whose circumstances oblige them, to all appearances, to live an ordinary life" (III, 6)—but only for those because deep down he would always hesitate about the salvation of the others. But the fact remains that, independently of the number of the elect, this guidebook to the Christian life would have the merit of setting down for generations to come (the work has gone through more than

1,000 editions in all languages) the rules of a baptismal spirituality exposed to every outside influence, where Christian order no longer holds sway. All the same, the emphasis was laid more on the transposition within society of the means to a religious life than on a more modern evaluation of temporal duties as such.

d) *A Man Rather Than a Work*. It would be futile to try to systematize Salesian thought. Francis's spiritual doctrine is certainly valid in itself; the density and depth of his *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, well thought out over a 10-year period and published in unfinished form in 1616, make it an important work of reference for an understanding of the inner life. From the meditation of beginners to the precise description of the death of love*, the treatise is consistent, ordered, and complete. Nonetheless, Salesian spirituality lies elsewhere: in the way of anticipating souls, of revealing them to themselves, and of removing one by one the obstacles that hinder them. This supernatural teaching would be the common foundation of the whole Salesian family from the Order of the Visitation to the numerous congregations that would identify themselves with Francis. Providing an antidote to an ever more influential Jansenism*, it would shape the pastoral work of reforming bishops* such as J.-P. Camus (1583–1652) or A. Revol (1548–1629). His rules are few and uncumbersome but are repeated over and over and pressed to their logical conclusion.

- “God* is the God of the human heart” (IV, 74). A disciple of Bernard* and of Augustine* (the most frequently quoted of his masters), Francis locates the pivot of the spiritual life* in the heart of man, in his ability to love, which made him a sharer in the Love that God is in himself. Therefore, perfection would be to “do everything by love and nothing by force” (XII, 359). Achieving this was just a matter of leaving everything to God, that is, of allowing the active expansion of a love that came from him and that advanced toward him: “Devotion [i.e., perfect love] is not a thing that one must win by force of arms; one must really work at it, but the real toil depends on having trust in God” (XX, 133). In practice, that means “ask for nothing, refuse nothing” (advice that occurs dozens of times in his works): without either repugnance or inappropriate zeal, do things one at a time because each event expresses God's good pleasure, and this without regret for the moment just passed, without anxiety for the moment to

come, and with one's attention constantly focused on the God who is present.

- Go forward “gently.” No opportunity is too small for a soul that wants to advance: “From wherever good comes, we must love it” (XX, 348). The minimum of means is always most desirable to Francis. He writes, “I have always thought that the spirit of the Order of the Visitation was one of a deep humility towards God and a great gentleness towards one's neighbor... . The spirit of gentleness is so much the spirit of the Order of the Visitation that whoever wanted to introduce more austerity into it would destroy it at once” (VI, 229).
- “I leave you the spirit of liberty*, the spirit that excludes force, doubt, or haste” (XII, 359). Salesian gentleness is not sickly sweet (“I like independent souls, vigorous ones that are not weaklings”; XX, 216) but naturally and supernaturally* calm, by means of which true love and true liberty progress at the same pace: “Grace is so gracious and so graciously seizes our hearts to draw them that she noways does offends the liberty of our will; she touches powerfully but yet so delicately the springs of our spirit that our free will suffers no violence from it” (IV, 127).

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See also **Banezianism-Molinism –Baianism; Humanism, Christian; Life, Spiritual; Spiritual Direction; Spiritual Theology; Spirituality, Ignatian**

State. *See Church and State*

Staudenmaier, Franz Anton. *See Tübingen, Schools of*

Stoicism, Christian

In the Hellenistic world, Stoicism had influence more as a moral philosophy* than as a metaphysics. It provided rich intellectual resources for the Christian theology* of the first centuries, and its influence was to be felt once again at the beginning of the modern era.

a) Stoicism of the Church Fathers. Stoicism left its deepest mark on the Greek Fathers*, notably Clement and Origen*, because of the importance of the Stoic school in Alexandria. However, Stoicism also made an impact among the Latin Fathers, from Tertullian* on, for they took from it not only the theme of exhortation (*parenesis*) and the rhetorical genre of consolation but also other materials. Thus, Ambrose* of Milan was inspired in writing his *De officiis ministrorum* (389) by Cicero's *De vita beata* (Seneca, Augustine*). Nevertheless, two separate periods and two different attitudes should be distinguished.

In the earlier of these two periods, certain Fathers took from Stoicism, as well as from Platonism*, those philosophical ideas that seemed to them to be pertinent for expressing Christian experience* or teaching. These included notions of the unity and transcendent nature of the divine Logos, the single filiation of the whole of humanity, and the organic conception of the universal society* of humankind. Ambrose, for example, states in *De officiis ministrorum* (III, 19), "It is the natural law that links us to the whole of humanity, so that our relations, one with another, are like those of

the parts of a body." The Stoics' notion of conflagration (*ekpurosis*) was conflated with the idea of the apocalypse, although Origen (*Contra Celsum* VIII, 72) contrasted the cyclical repetition of this catastrophe to the regeneration offered once and for all by the savior Logos. Through a similarly facile conflation between the Stoic *logos* and the Johannine* *logos*, such formulas as "to follow nature is to follow God" or "only the honest are good" seemed to be acceptable in a Christian context.

Very quickly, however, the incompatibility between Christian belief and certain fundamental ideas of Stoicism, such as its thoroughgoing corporealism, led the Fathers to retain Stoic phraseology rather than Stoic ideas and to underline those points on which Christianity and Stoicism differed. The god of the Stoics, the principal organizing agent of the cosmos*, is not a creator god or a savior god, and divine impassibility* (*apatheia*) does not exclude either the goodness or the wrath* of God* (Lactantius, *De ira Dei*). God's wisdom*, the source of a well-ordered world*, implies a specific providence*, concerned with the good* of each individual, in contrast to the impersonal and deterministic providence of Stoicism, which underpinned its hostility to astrology and divination. The Stoics' affirmation that humanity and the universe share a single nature (the "microcosmic" human being of Numenius of Ephesus) influenced Basil*, but Gregory* of Nyssa (*De hom. op.* XVI, PG 44) emphasized the inadequacy

of this type of naturalism in handling the creation* of human beings in the image of God.

The divergences between Christianity and Stoicism also had consequences for ethics*. It is right to follow nature (Cicero, *Off.* I, 100), but “to make oneself as much like God as possible” implies more than an ever greater development of rationality. Christians took over the Stoic terminology of the soul (hegemonic), but, apart from Tertullian*, they denied that it could be corporeal in nature. Nevertheless, the morality of “imperial” Stoicism attracted such favor that it was possible to interpret a plagiarized version of Epictetus’s *Manual* as a Christian text and, in the fourth century, to find readers for a false exchange of letters between the apostle* Paul and Seneca. Thus, Christians adopted Stoic formulas for the analysis of the passions* and the determination of moral norms, although the right of the wise man to commit suicide (Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* I, 22–29) and the self-sufficiency of the wise man remained stumbling blocks. Indeed, Seneca’s argument that the wise man is superior to God because he owes his virtues* to his own efforts rather than to nature* was to give rise to a Christian critique of Stoic pride. However, the ideal of *ataraxia* was taken up within monastic asceticism*, notably in the form of the notion of “holy indifference” (by Meister Eckhart in particular).

b) Modern Era. Stoicism survived into the Middle Ages as a naturalistic morality that emphasized form and intent rather than content and that presented itself as a rival to Aristotelianism*, then dominant. However, from the Renaissance on, there was an increasing number of moral anthologies influenced by Stoicism, such as the *Flores Senecae* compiled by Erasmus* (1534). Thus, Christian Stoicism entered a new period of influence, first in morality and philosophy and then, as a result, in theology*. Calvin*, for example, wrote a commentary on Seneca’s *De clementia* (1532), only to end up opposing a conception of destiny and patience that seemed to him to be an expression of obstinacy and pride (*Inst.* XVII).

Seneca’s ideas were rediscovered and put into popular form by Justus Lipsius (1604), who presents a Stoic version of theology in his *Physiologia Stoicorum* (1604), an introduction to Seneca’s *Naturales quaestiones*. His conception of a transcendent and immanent God, the principle of all life and order, prefigures the God of deism* while avoiding disputes over the Trinity* and Christology*. By forging links between the single, good, and omnipotent God; universal providence; and individual destinies, the Stoic theory of providentialism provided a rationalist explanation for the existence of evil*. Understanding the destiny of

each individual as a determinate system of causes, among which (in the case of human beings) free will participates as the decisive cause, made it possible to justify the inevitability of whatever happens and to unfold a series of events within a rational process. This process was understood to be good because desired by God, even though its meaning and its justness would not become apparent until it ended.

Pierre Charron (1541–1603) and Guillaume Du Vair (1556–1621) took from Stoicism the fundamentals of a model of moral wisdom and of impassibility in the face of public misfortunes. Charron insisted on the intrinsic worth of nature and with one blow reduced the role of original sin*. Human perfection once again became a matter of following nature, as in Charron’s *De la Sagesse* (II, 3; On Wisdom): “The good, which is the goal and purpose of human beings, and in which are to be found their rest, their liberty, and their contentment—in a word, their perfection in this world—is to live and to act according to nature when whatever is most excellent within them commands them, that is, reason; true prudence is a strict and firm disposition of the will to follow the counsels of reason.”

God’s grace* is undoubtedly also needed, as the wind that makes the organ on which human virtue plays produce a tune. However, this “relief” for natural virtue, which makes it worthy of an eternal reward, is not a constituent element of beatitude* but an addition to it. Prudence takes the place of charity as the architectonic virtue that organizes and sums up all the other virtues.

During the 17th century, treatises influenced by Stoicism were presented as preparations for Christianity: “Stoic philosophy is the handmaiden of Christian wisdom” (Gaspard Scioppius [1575–1649], *Elementa*, §167). Such treatises set out an easy and accessible way in which every person might reach Heaven (Jean de Bona [1609–74]) or upheld a “natural religion,” distanced from superstition, grounded in the recognition of a provident God, and accepting the plurality of churches* (Mackenzie, *Religio stoici*). Stoic indifference (*apatheia*) was understood as “disciplining of judgment” and was seen as being useful for encouraging resignation in the face of divine providence. Nevertheless, there was a danger that such indifference could be mistaken for the proud attitude of one who believes that it is possible to penetrate, by reason, “the counsels of nature, as if making laws for it” (Yves de Paris [1593–1678]).

In general, references to Stoic naturalism invited the reproach, as in the case of Leibniz*, that it led only to “patience without hope” and promoted fatalism and hence a drift into the naturalism* of Spinoza. This is why the morality proposed by Descartes, who eliminated the notion of final causes, was compared to Sto-

icism. Even before that, S. Goulart, who translated works by Seneca into French, had emphasized in his *Vie de Sénèque* (1595, §XII) that there is an abyss separating pagan philosophy, however suitable it might be for reforming behavior, from revealed religion: "There is nothing in his [Seneca's] writings or in his death that comes close to Christian belief and confession. On the contrary, in my opinion, Stoic philosophy is directly opposed to the true religion, for, while the former teaches human beings to glory in themselves, the latter teaches them to renounce themselves and glory in God."

Pascal*, in his *Entretien avec M. de Saci* (1655, published 1728), objected to Montaigne's skepticism*: after that, Stoicism could no longer be regarded as the philosophical language of Christianity. The Stoic philosophy of the power of human beings had been accurate in its presentation of human grandeur but mistaken in its one-sidedness and its neglect of human wretchedness. It had made what it misunderstood into a philosophical principle, and it therefore came to be seen as a reprise, within theory, of original sin itself. More fundamentally, in treating nature as strictly homogeneous, Stoic naturalism was completely inhospitable to any idea of the supernatural* or of nature as fallen. Finally, the Stoics' conception of time*, centered as it was on the present moment, made it impossible for them to conceive of a personal and collective salvation* embedded in history* and linked to an eschatology*.

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JACQUELINE LAGRÉE

See also Alexandria, School of; Aritotelianism, Christian; Deism; Erasmus, Desiderius; Origen; Pascal, Blaise; Platonism, Christian; Providence; Tertullian

Strauss, David Friedrich. *See* Tübingen, Schools of

Structures, Ecclesial

The notion of ecclesial structures indicates that the Church* of Jesus Christ* constitutes an organized entity. Different kinds of structures have appeared in the course of history*. Simplifying, we may distinguish between the following structures: *primatial*, which depends on a supreme pontiff; *episcopal*, centered on the ministry* of the bishop*; *synodal*, in which responsibility is exercised collegially; *congregational*, in which each particular community holds complete power; and *consistorial*, marked by its administrative character. In reality, however, none of these types appears in its pure state. Ecclesial constitutions never allow one of these elements to dominate without also accepting others. The task of the theologian in this area is to determine whether the factors of the organization are based on the positive function of the Church as it was instituted by God* (*iure divino*), on the “natural law*” willed by divine ordinance, or on a purely historical necessity (*iure humano*).

1. History

The problematic considered here was already present in the earliest developments of the Church. According to the New Testament the Church is the mystery* of the salvific action of God, which operates in time* and space through the Word* and the sacraments*. As such, it transcends the institutional order, but at the same time it can accomplish its historical task only by means of an organization and with the help of institutions that always fall short of its essential reality. This is what is expressed by the founding images by which the Church is designated in the New Testament: the relation to God (the Trinitarian God) is always emphasized there, but this is also so for a given structural element, which may not necessarily coincide with another element valorized in other conceptions. The notion of *people* of God*, for example, implies a relationship of equality among all its members, whereas the image of *body of Christ* may give rise to a hierarchical interpretation, and the image of the *temple of the Holy Spirit** signifies both equality (all have received the Holy Spirit) and the episcopal structure of the Church (apostolic succession*). There are thus several models of ecclesial structure as early as the New Testament period. In the Pauline communities, rigorously subject to the authority* of the apostle*, the

functional division of tasks according to differences of gifts predominates (*see* 1 Cor 12:4–31a, with the reference to the body of Christ). In the Greek communities we find a collegial organization of the Church (Phil 1:1: bishops and deacons*; Ti 1:5: presbyters*; Acts 20:28: presbyters and bishops). Presbyterian organization was the rule in Jerusalem*.

It was not until the second century that the episcopal structure, with the hierarchical triad of bishop, priest, and deacon, was established in communities (local* churches) as well as in assemblies of local churches; these were governed by the synodal principle, and each bishop represented his church. After the establishment of the imperial church (381) and through the increased authority of the pontifical see in Rome*, constitution assumed a metropolitan and patriarchal character. From the fourth century, monastic communities and religious orders were able to develop their own structures with relative independence. The Eastern Church, for its part, was organized around a three-fold principle: the eucharistic basis of the local (episcopal) church, the pentarchy (primacy of the five oldest patriarchates*: Council of Nicaea*, can. 6–7), and the “symphony” between the Church and the (Byzantine) state (Council of Chalcedon*, can. 17).

In the West a strongly centralized system took shape from the 11th century on. Its principal elements were the almost absolute primacy of the pope* (in a history running from Gregory VII in the 11th century to Vatican I* in the 19th), the unification of canon law* (by Gratian in the 12th century), and the insistence on “inequality” between clergy and laity*. Synodal elements survived only through the rights of participation of cathedral and collegial chapters as well as in the institution of the council. In the late Middle Ages this concentration of power provoked opposition (mendicants, conciliarism*, secularization of Church property by monarchs) that through the Reformation was to give rise to new confessions organized on the synodal (Lutheranism*), presbyterial (Reformed Churches), or congregational (Free Churches) model. The 20th century has seen the development of worldwide, continental, and national confessional alliances (confessional* families) as well as a World Council* of Churches bringing together the principal churches other than the Roman Church. The council has not, however, intro-

duced any organizational principle into the community of its members.

2. Ecclesial Structures in Contemporary Christian Churches

a) The Catholic Church. It sees itself as the visible community of believers, not absolutely identical, however, to the Church of Christ (LG 8). All believers who are in communion* with it participate in its mission. Some are members of the clergy, others of the laity; this difference is based on the sacrament of orders*. Authority* inheres essentially in the clergy, which has a dual structure: a vital structure based on the ordination* that links bishops to the apostles (apostolic succession), priests, and deacons by integrating them into the apostolic succession and a legal structure based on the power of jurisdiction invested in the pope—who holds supreme and absolute legal authority—and in the bishops. The latter, in communion* with the pope (*communio hierarchica*), exercise power in the universal Church and in the dioceses (local church). This primatial-episcopal structure is complemented by synodal characteristics (the system of councils, worldwide as well as in a single parish) as well as by congregational elements (which restore importance to the role of the laity and of local communities and affirm the fundamental rights of the Christian).

b) Orthodox Churches. The basis for the Orthodox ecclesial structure is the independence of the local church, centered on the sacrament of the Eucharist* and subject to the authority of the bishop, who is placed in the apostolic succession. There is no primatial jurisdictional body, for all local churches are equal, and all bishops participate in the same apostolic succession. Because the Eucharist is also the same everywhere, the different local churches, and hence the different bishops, are united by the bond of communion, which is realized and manifested primarily in the councils*. The synodal principle is thus the real structure of the Eastern Church. But it also includes primatial elements in the patriarchal system as well as congregational elements in the emphasis on reception*, particularly in Russian theology* (modern and contemporary Orthodoxy*) since Khomiakov (the

principle of *sobornost* as participation of all believers in the life of the Church).

c) The Churches of the Reformation. The Churches that came out of the Reformation or that have been established since then have very diverse ecclesial structures. They nevertheless all share a strict rejection of the primatial principle and an emphasis on the synodal, congregational, and also very broadly consistorial aspects of their constitutions. In the Scandinavian Churches, in the Anglican communion, and in part also in the United States, episcopal structures have been maintained or, as in Germany after 1918, reestablished. These Churches also maintain very different relations with the political authorities. Sometimes the sovereign has the status of *summus episcopus*; sometimes the Church is a state church, with the head of state as a structural element; and sometimes, on the contrary, church and state* are rigorously separated.

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WOLFGANG BEINERT

See also Catholicism; Church and State; Collegiality; Gospel; Government, Church; Hierarchy; Jurisdiction; Orthodoxy; Protestantism; Salvation; Synod

Suarez, Francisco

1548–1617

Suarez was a Spanish Jesuit, theologian, philosopher, and jurist who became known as the *Doctor eximius* (“distinguished doctor”).

a) Life and Writings. Born in Granada, Suarez entered the Society of Jesus in 1564 while he was studying canon law* at the University of Salamanca. He studied theology* from 1566 to 1570. He began teaching in 1571, first, as was customary, in philosophy* and then, from 1574, in theology, notably at the University of Valladolid, where he wrote a commentary on the first part of the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas*. In 1580 he was called to teach theology at the Roman College. He also wrote a commentary on the questions in parts IIa and IIIa of the *Summa* while he was in Rome*. Having returned to Spain health grounds in 1585, he went to the University of Alcala to replace Gabriel Vasquez (1549–1604), the other great Jesuit theologian of the time, with whom Suarez openly disagreed on a number of questions. Vasquez himself took Suarez’s place in Rome. At Alcala, Suarez continued his teaching on the questions in part IIIa of the *Summa*. He then published his *Commentarium ac disputationum in tertiam partem Divi Thomae tomus primus* (Alcala, 1590, Vivès XVII–XVIII).

After Vasquez returned to Alcala, Suarez departed for the University of Salamanca, where, not being required to teach, he devoted his energies to publishing his writings, based on his course notes. During this period he revised and expanded his first volume on part III of the *Summa* and published a second volume (Alcala, 1592, Vivès XIX) and a third (Salamanca, 1595, Vivès XX–XXI). He also started writing his *Disputationes metaphysicae*, which is partly based on the philosophy courses that he had taught in the first years of his teaching career and which was intended as an introduction to the study of his theology. Having been made a doctor of the University of Evora, Suarez was invited to Coimbra in 1597 by King Philip II of Spain-Portugal to occupy the famous chair of principal professor. It was also in 1597 that Suarez published the *Disputationes metaphysicae* (Salamanca, Vivès XXV–XXVI). The fourth and fifth volumes of his commentary on part IIIa of the *Summa* appeared some years later (respectively, Coimbra, 1602, Vivès XXII, and *De censuris*, Coimbra, 1603, Vivès XXIII).

The concilium *de auxiliis* (Bañezianism*) began around the same time, and Suarez had to break off his work on his commentary in order to address the relations between grace* and freedom. The texts he wrote during this period were collected in the *Opuscula theologica sex* (Madrid, 1599, Vivès XI): they include, in particular, *De concursu et efficaci auxilio Dei ad actus liberi arbitrii necessario*, *De scientia quam Deus habet de futuris contingentibus*, and the memorandum *Brevis resolutio quaestionis de concursu et efficaci auxilio Dei ad actus liberi arbitrii necessario*. This memorandum served as a manifesto for a number of Jesuit theologians in Castile along with *Disputatio de justitia qua Deus reddit praemia meritis et poenas pro peccatis*. The latter is an argument against Vasquez, who did not accept that divine justice* has anything to do with rewarding merits, on the grounds that such rewards are due exclusively to divine goodness and that divine justice has no role to play other than in the punishment of sins*. The *Opuscula* were criticized by Bañez, and Suarez defended them in a memorandum that was not published until 1859 (by Monseigneur Malou in Brussels): *Patris Francisci Suarez gravis epistola ad Clementem VIII pontificem maximum et epistolae subjuncta ejusdem Apologia, seu responsiones ad propositiones de auxiliis gratiae notatas a M. Dominico Bannez*. In this same context we should also mention Suarez’s *Tractatus theologicus de vera intelligentia auxilii efficacis ejusque concordia cum libertate voluntarii consensus*, which was also published posthumously (Lyon, 1655, Vivès X).

Suarez did not take part in any of the concilium *de auxiliis*, but he had great influence over the debates through those of his pupils and followers who did take part as well as through his presence in Rome from 1604 to 1606. This was due to the necessity of defending his argument, expounded chiefly in *De paenitentia* (*Disputatio* XXI, §IV, Vivès XXII), for the sacramental nature of confession for one who is absent, which makes confession at a distance possible. (This argument was to reappear during the 19th century, when the question of confession by telephone was raised.) Despite Suarez’s efforts, the argument was prohibited by Rome in a decree dated 7 June 1603 (*DS* 1994–95).

After his return to Coimbra, Suarez went on teaching until 1615 and published or prepared for publica-

tion his commentaries on part Ia of the *Summa: De Deo* (Lisbon, 1606, Vivès I), *De angelis* (Lyon, 1620, Vivès II), and *De opere de sex dierum* (Lyon, 1621, Vivès III). He also worked on his commentaries on part Ia IIae, *De gratia* (first and second parts, Coimbra, 1619; third part, Coimbra, 1651; Vivès VII–X) and *De legibus* (Coimbra, 1612, Vivès V–VI). He wrote *De virtute et statu religionis*, which concerns part IIa IIae, not on the basis of his own teaching but at the request of the Jesuit General Father Aquaviva. This commentary was published together with a treatise on the religious life in the Society of Jesus (4 vols., Coimbra, 1608–9, and Lyons, 1624–25, Vivès XIII–XVI). It was during this period that Suarez changed the method he used in his commentaries on Aquinas. Several polemical treatises also date from this period, including *Defensio fidei catholicae et apostolicae adversus anglicanae sectae errores...* (Coimbra, 1613, Vivès XXIV), which was written at the request of Pope Paul V in opposition to two texts by King James I of Great Britain. Such writing and publishing works were brought to an end with Suarez's death on 25 September 1617. After his death, his friend Father Balthazar Alvarès (1561–1630) undertook to publish not only those works that were ready for publication but also the course notes that Suarez had not yet revised. In addition to the posthumous publications of the 17th century that we have already mentioned, Alvarès published *De anima*, a philosophical treatise that dated from Suarez's youth but that had been partially revised before his death in order to make it part of his theological system (Coimbra, 1621, Vivès III). Alvarès also published part of a commentary on part Ia IIae of the *Summa*, based on lectures given in Rome, which had also probably been partly revised by Suarez (Lyon, 1628, Vivès IV), and part of a commentary on part IIa IIae (Coimbra, 1621, Vivès XII). However, neither Alvarès nor, two centuries later, Malou was able to complete the publication of Suarez's writings.

b) Suarez's Characteristic Method and Arguments. Suarez's works are distinctive primarily because of the style of his commentaries on texts by Aquinas and Aristotle. Indeed, he systematized a new form of commentary. Instead of closely following the letter of the text being commented on, the succession of arguments within it, or even the order in which questions are addressed in it, his commentaries are organized as autonomous treatises providing systematic treatment of the questions at stake and invoking the text being commented on solely to insert excerpts from it in their original order. Thus, each of his commentaries progresses in line with the passage reproduced at the beginning, and there is no further reference to it other than to indicate concordance with the questions. This new style of com-

mentary, more concerned with doctrine than with text, was undeniably "modern," representing a break away from the traditional practices inherited from medieval Scholasticism*. Suarez adopted this approach in his philosophical works from the outset, with *Disputationes metaphysicae*, but only at a later stage in his theological works, at the time of his first period in Coimbra (from 1606). As a result, two different methods are applied in his commentaries on the *Summa Theologica*.

Suarez was also innovative in his way of handling the relationship between philosophy and theology. Even though he accepted the traditional view of philosophy as the handmaiden of theology, Suarez believed that metaphysics was prior to any doctrine, including theology. Theology is discursive and develops on the basis of natural principles that it takes to be understood, while the function of metaphysics is to establish and explain these natural principles. Accordingly, metaphysics has value as a universal foundation, its prior status is equivalent to independence from theology, and this independence is required precisely so that it can best perform its role as handmaiden (*see Disputationes metaphysicae, prooemium*, vol. XXV, and *De divina substantia, prooemium*, vol. I).

Suarez's approach to metaphysics is distinctive for five main reasons. 1) He regards metaphysics as the study of real being, *ens in quantum ens reale*. 2) He divides studies in metaphysics into two distinct disciplines: the common determination of being (covered in the first volume of *Disputationes metaphysicae*, vol. XXV) and then (as in the second volume of that work, vol. XXVI) the determination of the different species of being, in other words, the specific determinations of being. This division would lead, following Suarez, to the distinction between *metaphysica generalis* and *metaphysica specialis*. It allowed Suarez to argue for a double primacy within metaphysics: on the one hand, the primacy of being understood in terms of its largest and most universal determination, which constitutes the sufficient and principal object of metaphysics, the being of God*, and, on the other hand, the primacy of being from the point of view of the study of the specific determinations of being. 3) Suarez subjected God to metaphysics. He studied God as primary object, but only as *praecipua pars entis*, not as deity*. One may therefore speak of Suarez's metaphysics as having an ontotheological structure. 4) As against Aquinas, Suarez refused to treat the being* of a real being as an act distinct from essence. This refusal is manifested in particular in Suarez's concern to exclude from metaphysics every datum that is resistant to reason*. 5) Finally, Suarez affirmed the primacy of the univocity of the objective concept of *ens* over the analogy* itself (*Disputationes metaphysicae* I–III).

In theology Suarez often distanced himself from the

Thomist tradition (Thomism*), in particular on the following questions: 1) the motive for the Incarnation* (*Commentaria in tertiam partem* . . . , vol. XVII), 2) the role of the express species in knowledge and its consequences for the conception of the beatific vision* (*De Divina substantia*, l. II, c. 11 and 12, vol. I), and 3) the tendency to supplement Aquinas's intellectualism* by taking greater account of the will, whether in the determination of beatitude* (*De ultimo fine hominis*, d. VII, vol. IV), in relation to the question of the origin of civil society* (*De opere sex dierum*, l. V, c. VII, vol. III), or in defining law* (*De legibus*, l. I, c. V, vol. V). It was on the question of the definition of law that Suarez entered into controversy with Vasquez.

Along with certain other Jesuit theologians of his time, Suarez accepted the hypothesis of pure nature* (*De ultimo fine hominis*, d. IV, s. III) and of the type of relationship between nature and the supernatural that results from it. He also accepted, albeit after some reflection, the idea of intermediate knowledge. However, he differed from the Molinists on the problem of predestination*, for he adopted Bañez's solution to it and succeeded in reconciling it with the notion of intermediate knowledge: it is because God has predetermined us that he can infallibly foresee our consenting to receive grace (*De concursu, motione et auxilio Dei*, vol. XI).

In the moral domain, Suarez played an important role in the development of casuistry* at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries by contributing to the formulation of what was to be called moderate probabilism (*De bonitate et malitia* . . . , d. XII, vol. IV). On questions of politics and law, what is most noteworthy is Suarez's insistence on the specific nature of the purpose of civil life (*De legibus*, l. III, c. XI, vol. V) and the consequences of that specificity for the treatment of two questions: the relationship between Church and state* and the limits of political authority. Suarez applied these considerations to the case of James I (*Defensio fidei*, vol. XXIV). We should also mention the role that Suarez played in the establishment of the natural law tradition, even though his ideas were then developed in an antitheological spirit opposed to his intentions, as well as his contribution to the definition and development of modern international law.

The exceptional breadth and diversity of Suarez's writings ought not to distract us from the originality and firmness that he brought to the exposition of his ideas or to his independence of spirit. His importance within theology and philosophy throughout the 17th century cannot be exaggerated. It was assumed that Suarez was a Thomist, and from the 17th century on, his writings became the main reference point for philosophy and theology within the Society of Jesus. By another irony of history, this Counter-Reformation Jesuit also had considerable influence on the development of the "Scholastic metaphysics" that domi-

nated Lutheranism* in German-speaking countries during the 17th century. Suarez's influence even extended into Greek and Russian Orthodox theology, which was undergoing its "Babylonian captivity" at that time and depended exclusively on borrowings from the Latin West. Suarez's ideas also played a leading role in the "neo-Thomism" that was encouraged in the late 19th century by Leo XIII's encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (4 August 1879). The Thomist manuals published at that time were inspired by late Scholastic commentators (John of Saint-Thomas and the *Salmanticenses*; see Thomism*) and especially by Suarez. The history of "Suarezism" was thus extended into the early years of the 20th century, when it was represented most notably by P. Descoqs and G. Picard.

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LAURENCE RENAULT

See also Analogy; Authority; Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Being; Casuistry; Grace; Law; Predestination; Supernatural; Vision, Beatific

Substance. *See* Being

Subordinationism

The term “subordinationism” covers the different forms taken, in particular before the Council of Nicaea* in 325, by the tendency to make the Son* dependent on the Father* and to place him therefore in a certain position of inferiority in relation to the Father. And while subordinationism is centered primarily on the person of the Son, it may also be compared with different types of modalism*. Before Nicaea the christological definitions of the Fathers*, who were concerned with preserving the integrity of the monotheistic affirmation and above all with avoiding any ditheism in relation to the Son, could avoid the risk of subordinationism only with great difficulty. Certain verses of the New Testament, particularly in the Saint John’s Gospel, also lent support to a hierarchical presentation of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. Thus, alongside expressions indicating the equality of Father and Son (Jn 10:30; 14:7, 9; 17:10, 21), there could also be found “The Father is greater than I” (Jn 14:28), which was rarely applied by the Fathers to the humanity of the Word* alone but also to its divinity. The influence of the emanationist schemas of the Gnostic type also influenced the various currents of theology* of the Logos in the second and third centuries (Simonetti 1993); the divinity of the Son is a divinity of participation, and only the idea of a subordination of the Son to the Father can allow one to distinguish them from each other (*See* Novatian, *De trin.* 31, 192). Several passages in the works of Justin might lead us to view this apologist* as a subordinationist: in his desire to fully maintain the unity of God and the monarchy of the Creator, he speaks of the Logos as the “most powerful and most just prince we know, *after* God who engendered him” (*First Apology* 12, 7; *see also* the *Dialogue with Trypho* 56, 4; 61, 1). Irenaeus*, however, avoided any form of subordinationism in two ways: first, in refuting Gnostic systems he took care to insist on the difference between rational “emissions” of eons and the generation of the

Son, which was an ineffable event (*Adv. Haer.* 2, 28, 6); second, and even more important, the connections he established between theology and economy preserved both the full equality of the Persons within the Trinity* and the order of their manifestation.

Subordinationism is still a live issue in the work of Origen (Rius-Camps 1987). His position may seem contradictory, and according to the texts he holds that the Son is both equal and subordinate to the Father. “There is no time where the Son did not exist,” he affirms on several occasions (*Treatise of Principles* I, 2, 9 and IV, 4, 1; *Commentary on the Romans* I, 5); and as Athanasius* (*De decretis nicaenae synodi*, PG 25, 465), he refers to the Greek text of the *Treatise of Principles* (IV, 4, 1), it is out of the question to consider the affirmation as an addition due to the Latin translator Rufinus. Other formulations in Origen’s work do, however, imply (e.g., *Commentary on John* XIII, 25, 151) that the Son is inferior to the Father, thus lending support to the idea of subordinationism; but it is the question of the order of the Persons* that is dealt with in this way, and the Father’s superiority is a result of the fact that he is the Father, the source of divinity. Origen’s exegesis* of John 14:28 in the *Contra Celsum* (VIII, 14–15) aimed above all at refuting the idea—which Origen attributed to Celsus—that the Son, the Logos, could be more powerful than the Father. Elsewhere (*Commentary on John* XIII, 151), using the meaning of “logos” as a proportion, he asserted that the Son, like the Spirit, “transcends all creatures...but is himself transcended by the Father as greatly or even more than he himself or the Holy Spirit transcend other beings.”

The only subordinationism that was truly heretical was that of Arius and his successors, who refused the Nicaean *homoousios* (consubstantial*) and considered the Son to be a creature. The debate on the concept of engendering during the Arian crisis was thus a lasting reflection of the subordinationist position, to which the

Christology* of the Athanasius's *Defense against the Arians*, written between 338 and 350 (PG 26), was a response.

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See also **Arianism; Christ/Christology; Docetism; Johannine Theology; Modalism**

Substance

Philosophical Greek from Aristotle on commonly uses substance in two senses. Substance is, on the one hand, individual reality, the this or the that, a man, a god, a stone: we are then speaking of "first substance," *prôtê ousia*. Substance is, on the other hand, what members of the same species have in common: we are then speaking of "second substance," *deutera ousia*. Peter and John are each a first substance. But they are both men and therefore have a second substance (a nature) in common. The vocabulary of substance made its solemn entry into Christian language when the Council of Nicaea* defined the consubstantiality of the Father* and the Son, so that they are one and the same God*: consubstantiality thus as one and only one first substance (if "substance" had been used in the sense of second substance, the council would have asserted that the Father and the Son have divinity in common, as the gods of Olympus do, that is, as participants in a single nature). The language of substance was later used by the bishops* present at the Council of Chalcedon* in a confession of faith formulated in an equivocal way, calling Christ* "consub-

stantial with the Father in His divinity" (first substance) and "consubstantial with us in His humanity" (second substance). Another Aristotelian distinction, that between substance and accident, was appropriated for theology in the Scholastic* doctrine of the Eucharist*, in which appeared the notion—monstrous in terms of Aristotle's physics, which the Averroists hastened to point out—of transubstantiation (a first substance, bread and wine, is converted into another first substance, body and blood of Christ, but the accidents of the first substance remain). It should be added that the most solemn formulations of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist speak of substance and "species," not substance and accidents.

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See also **Being; Chalcedon, Council of; Consubstantial; Nicaea I, Council of**

Suicide. *See* **Death**

Sunday

a) Origin of Sunday. The New Testament states that the Christians gather together on the first day of the week, the day on which Christ* was resurrected (Acts 20:7–12; 1 Cor 16:2; *see also* Jn 20:26). In Greek this day received the name of “the Lord’s day” (Rev 1:10), in Latin *dominica dies*, whence derived the Spanish *domingo* and the French *dimanche* and so on (while the Germanic languages kept their reference to the sun’s day). The Slavic name for this day means “resurrection*.”

According to the old law* (Ex 20:8), the Jews reserved the Sabbath* (seventh day) for the Lord God*—an observance whose legalistic aspects were annulled by Jesus* when he declared that he was the Lord of the Sabbath (Mt 12:8). It is difficult to tell whether the early Christians (or certain ones among them) observed both the Sabbath and Sunday or whether in the early days the gathering on the first day of the week took place according to the Jewish way of counting the days, the evening of the day before (therefore on Saturday), or whether, on the contrary, from the outset it took place on the morning of the resurrection. In any event, from the beginning of the second century, according to Ignatius of Antioch (*Letter to the Magnesians* 9), it seems that there are two incompatible rationalizations, and Pliny the Younger’s epistle to Trajan (112) certainly seems to indicate that the Sunday gathering was a fundamental practice of the Christians.

Justin Martyr’s *First Apology* has left us the first description of a Sunday eucharistic assembly. For the martyrs of Abitinae in Tunisia (304), this assembly was a requirement of their faith*, even though an imperial edict forbade it to be held. Contrary to the previously mentioned imperial edict, Constantine was to favor the pagan cult of the sun at the same time as Christianity when he made the first day of the week a day of rest (321).

b) Theology. In the theology* of the fathers* of the church*, Sunday was the day on which the resurrected Christ was present in the midst of his disciples as he was during the meals that followed Easter*, and it would also be the day of his return at the end of time. It is the first day of the week, and it thus commemorates the creation* of the world, and it is the eighth day, the day that comes after the Sabbath, therefore the day of the world to come. The theme of the resurrection is

perhaps stressed more strongly in the ordinary Byzantine liturgy* for Sundays (as it was already in Jerusalem* in the fourth century, when one of the Gospels* about Christ’s resurrection was read at the nocturnal vigil), while the Roman liturgy pays more attention to the sequential unfolding of the Word* of God during the course of the year.

Early Christians laid great stress on two distinctive symbols in the dominical liturgy: the absence of fasting and the practice of praying standing up and not on one’s knees since standing prayer* symbolically represented Jesus raised from the dead. From the Constantinian era on, the fact that Sunday was a day of rest gave the Sunday holiday an importance that, despite the difference in meaning, was not without analogy with the Old Testament attitude to the Sabbath. According to the Catholic discipline (*CIC*, can. 1247), the dominical obligation mainly involved participation in Holy Communion; theologians have striven to bring out the full importance of the principle of this obligation. It is a participation in a gathering of the Church, which ensues from the Church’s very nature as an assembly. Moreover, when Mass is not accessible, a liturgy of the Word is strongly recommended in Church or among family circles (*CIC*, can. 1248). The religious traditions to which the Protestant Reformation gave birth make no provision for an obligation on this point; on the other hand, certain people strive to put a higher value in the Sunday service on celebration of the Eucharist*, which is quite often still restricted to four Sundays per year (because the Reformers did not allow Holy Communion without communion).

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***See also* Cult; Easter; Liturgical Year; Mystery; Shabbat**

Superessential. *See* Supernatural

Supernatural

The concept of the supernatural is a theoretical tool that enables us to envisage the union of man with God*. At the intersection of anthropology* and theology*, it relies on the idea that man is by nature* oriented toward God: man has a natural desire for the vision of God, an aspiration that nature cannot accomplish by itself and that only a supernatural gift can satisfy. Just as grace* fulfills the ends of nature by raising it beyond its natural power, the supernatural completes nature and gives meaning to human history*. Through the vicissitudes of the supernatural, one may grasp all the difficulties of Christian anthropology.

a) *The Word and the Thing*. “Supernatural” was used at first to designate substances superior to nature. Following Plato (*Republic* VII, 509b), the apologist Justin designates God as living “beyond every essence (*epekeina pasès ousias*)”; others locate Him beyond the world or beyond heaven. For Gregory* of Nazianzus, God is “above essence” (*Sixth Discourse*, chap. 12; PG 35, 737 B). Didymus the Blind sees in God the “superessential essence” (*hupeousios ousia*, *De Trin.* II, 4; III, 2, 47), as does Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Eunomes*). Pseudo-Dionysius* adopts the vocabulary of Proclus in order to celebrate divine transcendence, the “superessential Jesus*” (*Mystic Theology* I, 3; PG 3, 1033 A), which is beyond all heavenly essences, the God above nature (*hyperphuès*, *Divine Names* I, 4, 589; II, 9, 648; 13, 3, 980 3 CD; 981 A). Maximus* the Confessor, his commentator, calls God “the superessence of essences” (*On Divine Names*, chap. 1, PG 4, 193 B). These expressions were translated as *ultra substantiam* (Jan Scotus, *In opuscula sacra Boetii* Rand 40, Munich, 1906), *supersubstantialis*, and *superessentialis* (id., PL 122, 154b)—all terms designating the transcendent in its absolute separation, in a purely static sense.

However, within the world but in a dynamic sense, *hyperphuès* also means the operations of God that are outside the ordinary course of nature: immaculate con-

ception, incarnation*, Eucharist*, miracles* (Maximus, *Expositio orationis dominicae*, PG 90, 8793 B). *Huper phusin* (above nature) has the sense of transcendent, but it is sometimes associated with *para phusin* (against nature) in an allusion to Paul: the Church* of the pagans is grafted onto Israel* like a wild olive branch onto a cultivated olive tree—“against nature” (Rom 11:24). This allegory has always posed a dilemma for interpreters. For some, the doctrine of the incarnation implies that God wills nothing against nature (nor against reason*), for that which is against nature is the realm of disorder and evil*: “None of the things made by God can possibly be against nature, . . . [but] there are things that are above nature: they are those things that God can do by raising man above human nature” and uniting him with divine nature (Origen*, *Against Celsus* V, 23). For other interpreters, what is against nature designates the abasement and the incarnation of Christ*.

The confrontation with philosophy* (Christian Aristotelianism*, Platonism*, and Stoicism*) made necessary an articulation between these realms. It was presented as early as Leontes of Byzantium: it can be said that operations in accordance with nature are simply human, those that go against nature are depraved, but that whoever elevates himself extends his capacity and attains, thanks to God, to acts above nature (*Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* I, 2; PG 86, 1333 AB). The gifts received by man elevate him above his nature and unite him with divine nature. Salvation*, deification, and the gift of the Spirit occur according to grace and not according to nature, not by destruction or negation of nature but by raising it above itself.

The Latin term *supernaturalis* seems to make its first appearance in Rusticus, as a translation of *hyperphuès* in a work of Isidore of Pelusium (R. Aigrain 1911, *Quarante-neuf lettres de saint Isidore de Péluse* 44). It assumed prominence notably in the Carolingian translations of Dionysius, Hilduin, and John the Scot

Eriugena (c. 810–c. 877) and then in the latter's own works. A synonym of "spiritual" or "pneumatic," it means primarily the theological transcendence of the divine principle, but it also indicates that, in the economy of salvation, that divine principle leads man to deification in a way that fulfills his aspirations and goes beyond his capacities. The union of the human and the divine is accomplished in the union of nature and the supernatural.

b) Problem of the Supernatural: The Desire of God and the End of Man. Without using the word "supernatural," the fathers* of the church consider that man was created in the image of God, in Christ and for Christ: he has received the divine prerogatives of thought, freedom*, immortality, and the domination over nature; and he is made in light of the full resemblance to God, which will complete that image. He is destined to live eternally in God, to enter into the movement of Trinitarian life, and to draw all creation* into that life. Augustine* is convinced that man was made with an eye to the vision of God face to face: "You made us for you and our heart is without rest until it rests in you" (*Confessions*). But he also knows that in order to reach his goal, beatitude, man needs the external help of God, which is grace. Thus, it is God who raises man to a blessed condition, one that he has not merited by his works*. Better yet, man has no merit in himself: it is divine grace that bestows it on him. To be sure, eternal* life is the recompense for good works (*Enchiridion*, chap. 107; *De correptione et gratia*, n. 41), but these good works have value for God only because they themselves are engendered by grace (*De correptione et gratia*, n. 41; *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* I, n. 3). Man is saved by an overflowing of divine generosity that owes nothing to no one. He attains the completion of his humanity thanks to the help of God.

Grace is thus not simply indispensable to man in order to restore to him his nature from before sin*, it is also necessary to raise his nature, before original sin* as well as afterward. Before sin, Adam had no less need of grace than sinful man, but he needed it only as an aid making it possible for his freedom to persevere. After sin, on the other hand, it gives him both the strength to avoid evil and the strength to exercise his freedom for the good*. Existence before sin thus did not consist of greater independence from God. The term took on a problematic cast when it came to integrating this theological tradition into a vision of nature created by God in which the world was seen no longer as a pure miracle dependent on divine power but as one in which natural laws have their own coherence; and this was even more so when nature was thought

about with the help of Aristotle's metaphysical concepts in the 13th century. For Aristotle, in fact, the relationship to the divine is entirely natural: the divine is the unmoved mover of the cosmos*, but it is possible to raise oneself toward divine life by an ethical fulfillment of the self.

It was first necessary to agree about terms. Although the commentators on Aristotle say that the divine is supernatural in itself, this is in the static sense in which it belongs to separate, transphysical realities (Thomas Aquinas*, *In I Metaphysicae*, Prooemium). How is a supernatural movement to be introduced into our world? Aristotle knows of only two kinds of movement, natural and violent (against nature) (*Physics* V, 6, 230 a18–b9): it is thus difficult to integrate the action of grace into nature without reducing it either to a natural fulfillment of the goals of nature or to a violent reversal of nature against itself. The solution came from the study of the relationships between nature and art in Aristotle. Art imitates nature, which means that it fulfills it in the human realm: the human works of mechanical arts, ethics*, and politics lead human nature to its perfection. Medieval writers thus think of the supernatural following the model of art, as a gift that fulfills the goals of nature while remaining of divine origin. The supernatural thereby no longer characterizes primarily a transcendent object (a separate nature) but rather designates the way in which God acts on the finite world.

Thereafter, it was necessary to agree about the goal. For Aristotle, all men wish to know, particularly the highest causes: the contemplation* of God is the goal of man, the act that most radically fulfills his essence. For the theological tradition* as well, the vision of God is the goal of human destiny. There is thus agreement on the final goal. The question lies with the means. And to answer this question, a distinction must be made between the felicity of the philosophers, accessible here below in the exercise of morality and speculation, and heavenly beatitude, reserved for the beyond and dependent on the gift of divine grace.

It is here that the theologians of the Middle Ages separate themselves from the philosophers. For Thomas Aquinas, it is true that every being attains its goal according to the order of its nature. But in man the natural desire for the divine vision is a determination that belongs exclusively to his essence (*De malo*, q. 5, a. 1; *CG* III, 50; III, 147; *ST* Ia IIae, q. 3, a. 8). Thus, "every intellect naturally desires the vision of the divine substance" (*CG* III, 57, 2334); and this desire can be satisfied because "it is possible for the substance of God to be seen through the intermediary of the intellect, both by intellectual substances and by our souls" (*CG* III, 51, 2284). God thus raises up nature in order

to make it capable of receiving the vision of God. Our final goals go beyond the grasp of our nature. Man thus has for Thomas a *paradoxical* destiny, which even surpasses the capacities of his nature. The paradox of intellectual nature is to desire what it does not have the power to acquire and to be able to attain, through another, a perfection that no creature can acquire by itself (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 5, a. 5 ad 2um). This poverty makes up the grandeur of man. The supernatural increases the dignity of his nature. The natural desire to see God opens out into a Christian humanism*.

In a more technical manner, Duns Scotus* dissipates a possible ambiguity between two senses of natural that naturalism* tends to confuse. Within a single nature, the natural is opposed to the violent and to the neutral (Aristotle). In the relationship between two natures, on the other hand, the natural is opposed to the supernatural. And in this case, supernatural designates merely a relationship between two terms: the action of an agent who is not by nature the one who imprints that action on that agent is supernatural (*Ordinatio*, Prologue, §57). The supernatural comes from a superior free agent who does not follow the ordinary course of nature. For Duns Scotus as for Thomas, the natural desire of man is for the vision of God. And the opposition between philosophers and theologians is already at this point built around the supernatural. “Philosophers assert the perfection of nature and deny supernatural perfection”: they think that the dignity of nature is to be able to attain its own perfection. But “the theologian knows the defect of nature and supernatural perfection” (*Ordinatio*, Prologue, §5), for he knows the sinful degeneracy of our nature as well as the grandeur of man when he receives grace. The theological goal of man, beatitude, is greater than philosophical felicity, for that is only an abstract knowledge* of God. This is why only theology knows the dignity of man, a creature naturally able to receive the supernatural in order to attain a good beyond the means of his nature. For Duns Scotus, however, a single act changes value in the eyes of God according to whether it comes from a subject in a state of grace, “informed” by charity, “supernaturalized” by divine election (*Quodlibet* 17, a. 2, §[4] 7). As a result, the intrinsic content of the act is in danger of being devalued and replaced by the extrinsic presence of grace. In this theology, which exalts the absolute power of God, the present, instituted order of salvation is contingent: God could save without the Church and without the sacraments*.

The nominalism* of Ockham (c. 1300–c. 1350) goes further: there is no permanence of the habitus in man; it is thus the act itself that is salvific and not the corresponding habitus (*Sentences* I, d. 17, q. 1 and 2).

Thus, God could save man even without a habitus of charity, *without grace*: “No form, whether natural or supernatural, can constrain him” (*Sentences* I, d. 17, q. 1; *Opera theologica* 3, 455). God does not require that one already have grace in order to save. He saves without conditions and gives His grace as He wills. Ockham thus hopes to be at the opposite end of the spectrum from Pelagius.

But if one begins from man, not from divine power, here too Ockham’s position implies that man can be saved without grace. It thus appears Pelagian to his opponents: “If God accepts a work that is purely natural as meriting eternal life*, His will that accepts it finds dignity and value in nature, and this is the heresy* of Pelagius” (Lutterell, art. 14, Koch ed., *RthAM*, 1935–36). The freedom of divine power is thus reflected outside itself in an anthropology* of nature alone. And one can understand the reaction of Gabriel Biel, positing a harmony between nature and grace. No work is good, according to Biel, as long as it has not been made acceptable by divine charity. But to whoever does good, God does not refuse His grace: “God gives grace to whoever does what is in his power, by immutable necessity and by hypothesis, for He has arranged immutably to give grace to whoever does what is in his power” (*Collectorium* II, d. 27, q. 1, a. 3, dub. 4). Through the covenant established with man, God has committed Himself necessarily to giving His grace to ratify the free acts of man. This gift is necessary, but it is not constrained, because God submits Himself to an obligation that he has freely ratified—a conclusion in which Biel, against his will, is closer to Pelagianism* than all his predecessors (Vignaux 1935).

The violent opposition of Luther* to this interpretation is well known. He expresses it by rejecting the very problem of harmony between the natural and the supernatural, for he recognizes no unity in nature except in the form of a corrupted reality (and an illusion maintained by the philosophers). The activity of the creature is nothing other than the realization of the present omnipotence of God. There is thus no longer any finite free will (WA 18, 719).

c) *Pure Nature, or Anthropology Detached from Theology*. In Scholastic* theology, which focused more on the study of nature than on the history of salvation, it seemed necessary to organize anthropology and to scrutinize the relationship between the nature of man and the supernatural independently of the breach opened up by sin. In order to study the supernatural in its pure state, it was necessary to study nature in its pure state, before sin, in Adam*. Opinions on this point were diverse. For Bonaventure (*Sentences* II, d. 29, q. 1, a. 2) and for Duns Scotus, man was created

at first without grace, but for Prévotin of Cremona and Thomas Aquinas, this could not have been the case. Gilles of Rome supported the position of Prévotin and Thomas with arguments that were transposed to human nature as a whole: “There was a necessity, a debt through which human nature had to be created with a supernatural and gratuitous gift” (*Sentences* II, d. 30, q. 1, a. 1; Venice, 1581, 408–9). But the question was on occasion raised in terms of the history of salvation. In order to move from a historical stage to a state of pure nature, it was in fact necessary to reverse Augustine’s perspective, something that 13th-century Scholasticism declined to do, although the Scholasticism of the 15th century had no such scruples.

Dionysius the Carthusian (1402–71) limits the natural desire of man to the capacity of his nature, thereby opposing Thomas Aquinas (*De puritate et felicitate naturae*, a. 55; *Opera omnia*, vol. 40). In a universe made of a stream of emanations coming from the Principle in an ontological gradation, every intelligence naturally has as a final goal to be joined to the intelligence immediately superior to it, as in the theology of Avicenna. And only this goal is naturally desirable because natural desire tends toward a natural goal. Cajetan reiterates the same separation among the orders, but he inserts it into his commentary on Thomas. He introduces the hypothesis of pure nature in the name of an Aristotelian principle: nature does nothing in vain; it cannot have an aspiration that it would be unable to fulfill through its own means. Hence, if there is in man a desire for God, this desire is not natural but added on by God in a gratuitous act of His omniscience and His will. *De juris*, nature is self-sufficient (this is the theory of pure nature); and if, *de facto*, man always desires God, this is simply because God so wishes and because He substitutes Himself for the order of nature. It is thus by virtue of an “obediential” power (a power that can be actualized only by the gratuitous intervention of God) that man desires God and not because of his nature as man. Cajetan thereby makes possible both a humanism without God (which can subsist without the supernatural) and a theology imposed from outside, destructive of human nature, antihumanist (see Boulnois 1993, 1995; Lacoste 1995). Molina adopts the same hypothesis, with more caution (*Concordia* [1588], 1876 Ed.). For Suarez* (*De Gratia*, Proleg. 4, chap. 1, n. 2; Vivès, 7, 179), man is made for a natural beatitude by virtue of his creation; and if he pursues a higher goal, this has been added on. In the state of pure nature, contrary to what Augustine may have said, man would not be troubled but at peace (*De ultimo fine hominis*, Vivès Ed., vol. 4, 156). Instead of opening onto the infinite*, man is closed in on his nature. Created nature is considered as perfect in itself,

not, to be sure, without grace but as though grace did not open it up to the beyond and did not raise it above itself. It is no longer oriented toward union with God.

The position of Michel de Baye (Baius) reverses perspective on the subject to such a degree that it is with reference to him that “supernatural” appears for the first time in a document of the Catholic magisterium* (Pius V’s bull condemning Baius in 1567; van Eijl 1953). Reacting against the hypothesis of a pure nature, Baius asserts that it is empty. By virtue of his created nature, in fact, man must receive grace, and he even, in complete fairness, has a right to it, for God has freely committed Himself to giving His grace to the man who obeys the laws of his nature. Following this reasoning, grace no longer intervenes except as the means enabling man to merit his recompense (*De meritis operum* I, 2). Nature’s goal remains commensurate with its created requirements, and the means to attain it are due to the creature. Grace was due to the pure nature of innocent man (Adam) and confirmed his freedom (proposition 21: “The elevation and exaltation of human nature with divine nature was due to the integrity of its original condition; it must therefore be natural, not supernatural”). But after original sin, in the state of fallen nature, the will is powerless: it is determined either by grace or by its own corruption. By thus emphasizing the corruption of nature, Baius is led to misconstrue the question of freedom and the origin of sin. The grace that he deals with is extrinsic; it is due to intact nature, but it reigns from the outside over fallen nature.

Jansenius was influenced by Baius on several decisive points. In Baianism*, grace is due to the nature of innocent man and enables him to act, but optimism concerning created nature—where sufficient grace abounds—is associated with a pessimistic vision of the state ensuing on sin: not to attribute everything to grace would be to presume on what remains of will in sinful man. Jansenist refutations of Baianism are based on the system of pure nature, in fact taking their place on the same terrain as their opponent, and they thus cannot carry conviction. Jansenism is thus confined to asserting that fallen man has the power of accomplishing at least some morally good actions because pure nature, free will, and morality were not destroyed by original sin. Grace is thus reduced to an adventitious status. The supernatural order appears as contingent and external, whereas the natural order is presumed sufficient and appropriate for man.

Theologians of the classic period were distributed among all these positions. Bérulle agreed with Augustine that “the nature of man was not created to remain within the terms of nature; it was made for grace” (*Opuscule* 1323, 2; Rotureau, p. 389). Leibniz*, in

contrast, subjects God to the necessity of the various kinds of nature, among which His will is confined to recognizing which combination is the best; grace supervenes to confirm and strengthen that choice but not to exalt and transport the kinds of nature beyond their limits. Despite a few noteworthy exceptions, the supernatural is thus dissociated from the aspirations of nature, and whereas the supernatural is exiled far from human nature, that nature seems capable of attaining its own goals without recourse to a grace that appears as an extrinsic, if not alienating, superstructure. In this perspective, rationalism* and traditionalism* appear as deformations of the same paradox of the supernatural: rationalism by supposing that, in the state of created nature, man would know God without revelation*, traditionalism (L. de Bonald) by supposing that revelation provides man with his initial store of natural knowledge. In the first case, nature is sufficient unto itself; in the second, the supernatural is for nature and nature not for the supernatural.

This set of questions and the challenges they pose had been generally obscured by Neoscholasticism, and the principal credit for bringing them to the fore lies with H. de Lubac*, under the influence of M. Blondel* and despite violent opposition from neo-Thomist circles. When K. Rahner* (1962) reiterated “calmly the concept of obediential power” in order to establish a theology on the basis of the presence of a “permanent existential supernatural preordained for grace,” despite a vocabulary taken from Cajetan, he was engaged in perceiving in the fundamental structures of existence a mediation between the nature of man and grace, the interface making possible the desire for God. Closer to the church fathers, H. Urs von Balthasar* (1966) is important in this debate principally because he emphasized that Christianity is neither a philosophy of nature nor an anthropology but the revelation of God in the figure of Christ: “Revelation does not run counter to any human aspiration...[but the] heart [of man] understands itself only if it has first of all perceived the love*, turned toward it, of the divine heart pierced for us on the cross.” Lubac thus rediscovered a very old principle: if all men are called to salvation, divine grace acts within each one of them. The whole cos-

mos* was created with a view to the recapitulation (Irenaeus* of Lyon) of all things in man and in Christ. The human spirit is a nature that desires God but can receive Him only as a free and gratuitous gift. For God deposits the aspiration in nature itself. “This desire is nothing other than His call” (Lubac 1946).

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See also Anthropology; Banezianism-Molinism-Baianism; Beatitude; Grace; Life, Eternal; Nature; Vision, Beatific

Suso, Henri. *See Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism*

Symbols of Faith. *See* **Creeds**

Synderesis. *See* **Conscience**

Synergy

Synergy is a key concept in the Orthodox theology* of grace*, where it designates the cooperation (the Greek *sunergeia* is a synonym of the Latin *cooperatio*) of man in the work of salvation* carried out in him by God.* The Christian East almost entirely escaped the Pelagian crisis: the concept of synergy is the object of an untroubled affirmation that enables the avoidance of the distinctions and refinements introduced from Augustine* on into the Latin theology of grace. Catholic theology has no objection to make to the synergism of the Eastern

Church: it is itself a theory of “cooperation” (*see* the documents of the Council of Trent*, *DH* 1529, 1554, 1559). In Luther*, the Protestant theology of grace was set forth as a protest against synergism. But as early as the generation of Melanchthon (1497–1560), a moderate synergism found a place in Lutheranism*.

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See also **Augustine of Hippo; Grace; Pelagianism; Works**

Synod

The word *synod* (from the Greek *sun-hodos*, “a deliberative meeting,” with the same etymology as “council*”) means an assembly of lawful and competent representatives of the Church*, called for the purpose of achieving ecclesial unity* by means of resolutions about theological, disciplinary, and legal matters. The

synod is the institutional concretization of the structural principle of the *communio* (community), which, by virtue of the fundamental equality of all the Church members through baptism*, also extends the responsibilities of the regional communities to the level of the universal Church.

1. Development of the Synodal Institution

Modeled on the Council of the Apostles* (Acts 15), the synodal institution was created during the second century at a time of local and regional crises (involving Montanism*, concerning the date of the Feast of Easter*). This first synods aimed to bring about a resolution of the internal conflicts by harmonizing the faith* of a Church held to be one in time* and space (Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit.* 2, 3; 3, 20–23). The criteria the synod had to meet were, therefore, the lawfulness of the participants (mostly bishops* but also priests, deacons*, and laity*), faithfulness to tradition*, freedom of speech, publicity, the people's participation, and the Church's reception*.

Synods were held at the provincial level (provincial, eparchial, or metropolitan synods, whose sittings the Council of Nicaea*, in canon 5, had prescribed as biannual). They were held in the provinces of patriarch* (in Constantinople, once a year, in addition to the *sunodos endèmousa*, convoked piecemeal—in 448 for the first time—and composed of all the bishops present in the town). They were also held in ecclesiastical regions—either regions of a particular nation or regions of the whole Western Church. (The Roman synod held in 376 was thus called a *sunodus dutikè*.) On the scale of the empire (*sunodus oikoumenikè*), by tradition the synod adopted the name of (*ecumenical*) council. The synodal element has endured through all the ecclesiastical constitutions, but it works in various ways according to the ecclesiologies*.

2. Particular Forms

a) Catholic Church. On account of its structure*, the synodal and communal element of the Catholic Church finds itself in a contradictory relationship with the primatial and hierarchical element and can therefore be evaluated only in comparison with itself. The Second Vatican Council, whose aim was to stress communion* within the Church, strove to reinforce that aspect. According to the Code of Canon Law of 1983, that communion is revealed in the episcopal synod (cans. 342–48), in the full and provincial synod (cans. 439–46), in the episcopal conference (cans. 447–59), in the diocesan synod (cans. 460–68), in the presbyterial council (cans. 495–502), in the pastoral diocesan council (cans. 511–14), and in the pastoral parish council (cans. 536). In every case, however, these assemblies have only an advisory function in their relations with their hierarchic superiors, the bishop or the priest.

b) Orthodox Churches. In the eyes of the Orthodox Churches, since their ecclesiologies center on the

regional* Church and its eucharistic foundation, the synod is the only authentic decision-making body; it demonstrates what all the regional Churches live and believe. It meets on the regional and provincial levels and then on the levels of the patriarchate and the autocephalous Churches before reaching its highest expression at the ecumenical councils. At each level, the synod generally represents the supreme authority regarding doctrinal affairs, the liturgy, and spiritual life* but also regarding all questions concerning the attribution of responsibilities and external representation. The validity of its resolutions depends mainly on their reception* by the believers. It may be composed only of bishops, or it may bring together various levels (bishops, members of the clergy, monks, or laity); however, the bishops always have primacy.

c) The Church Born of the Reformation. The synodal principle followed a specific development in these Churches after their rejection of the Roman pontifical and episcopal hierarchy*, thought to be an instrument of domination. The synods are composed in various ways that range from the direct administration by the Church to simple parished representation. There is no single set of rules regarding relations between clergy and laity in the synod, the directorship (which may be entrusted to a bishop or to a layperson), the possibility of admitting supplementary members, or the ecclesiastical authority's right to admonish. Its powers are no less variable. They generally include legislation, electoral and budgetary management, and doctrinal questions.

The first Lutheran synodal rules—establishing a structure formed of pastors* and elected members, entrusted with administrative tasks and supervision—were laid down in 1526 for the state of Hesse. In Germany, until well into the 20th century, they retained a certain skepticism about this system, which presupposed ordination*.

The Reformed Church's first synodal constitution was introduced in Paris in 1559 to settle ecclesiastical questions of doctrine and discipline; it granted equal rights to pastors, to elders, and to deacons. It exerted an influence over the presbyterial constitutions of Scotland (1561), of the Netherlands (1571), and of the Rhineland (1610).

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Synod

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See also Catholicism; Collegiality; Council; Government of the Church; Jurisdiction; Orthodoxy; Protestantism

T

Targums. *See* **Translations of the Bible, Ancient**

Tatian. *See* **Apologists**

Tauler, John. *See* **Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism**

Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre. *See* **Evolution; Eschatology**

Tempier, Etienne. *See* **Naturalism; Truth**

Temple

The temple is the house of God*. God lives in the midst of his people* and makes himself present to the faithful. In the biblical world the temple stands at the center of religious life and the life of the nation of Israel, bearing a strong symbolic charge.

a) Various Denominations of the Temple. The Hebrew word for *temple* is *hékâl*, which corresponds to the Acadian *ekallu* and the Sumerian *E-GAL*, meaning “big house.” The word can refer to a palace, the temple, or the main room of the temple later called the Sanctuary. Because the temple is the house of God, it is often designated by the common word for house, *baît*, as in Bethel, “House of God” (Gn 28:19).

The term *mishekân* also pertains to the register of habitation. However, it is used in a more specialized sense in the description of the sanctuary in the desert, alternately with *'ohél*, “tent,” and *'ohél mô'éd*, “tent of meeting.” The term *mâ'ôn* applies to God's celestial abode (Dt 26:15) and his earthly abode (2 Chr 36:15–16). If the place where Moses stands is holy ground (Ex 3:5), the generic term “place,” *mâqôm*, is sometimes a parallel to *baît*, with the meaning of “temple,” given that in the thought of Deuteronomy it is the place chosen by the Lord to place his name* (1 Kgs 8:29; see also Dt 12:5).

For Ezekiel and the priestly writers, the dwelling place of the Lord that is filled with glory is the tabernacle, *miqedâsh* or *qodêsh* (Ex 40:34), which participates in a privileged way in the very sanctity of God. Solomon had been chosen to build “a house” as sanctuary (1 Chr 28:3). The psalmist concisely includes several different elements of this vocabulary, stating: “Lord, I love the habitation [*mâ'ôn*] of thy house [*baît*], and the place [*mâqôm*] where thy glory [*kâbô*] dwells [*mishekân*]” (Ps 26:8).

b) The Temple and its Symbolic Function. In the Ancient Near East, the temple was built by the king at the request of the divinity, according to plans revealed by him. The earthly house of God is a replica of his celestial abode. David had planned to build a temple (2 Sm 7:1–3), but he was rejected because he had shed too much blood (1 Chr 28:10). It was left to Solomon to accomplish this great project.

The temple built and consecrated by Solomon

(1 Kgs 6:1–8:66 and 2 Chr 1:18–7:22) stood until the fall of Jerusalem* in 586 B.C. In a grandiose utopian vision, Ezekiel and his disciples envisaged the future Israel* symmetrically arranged around a new temple (Ez 40–48). Restoration of the temple cult* was a priority for the repatriated; the second temple was built between 520 and 515 B.C. under the leadership of Ezra (Ezr 5:1–6:22). The priestly writings describe at length the erection of the tent of meeting in the wilderness, which owes a great debt to the structure of the temple (Ex 25–31 and 35–40). Herod the Great's building, erected between 19 B.C. and A.D. 27, represented an authentic reconstruction of this temple (though since ancient sources referred to Herod's temple as still being the “second temple,” there was presumably some structural continuity with Ezra's post-exilic building).

The architecture* of Herod's temple reflected the hierarchical organization of Israel's religious society*. After the square of the pagans comes the square of the women, and then the square of the men. The altar of the holocausts was located in the courtyard of the priests. The building was made up of the vestibule, the Sanctuary containing the altar of incense, and then, separated from the Sanctuary by a veil, the Holy of Holies, where the high priest entered only once a year on the Day of Atonement. Each room had its specific minister, its rites, its decoration.

Symbolically, the temple exercised an irresistible force of attraction on Israel. It was, first of all, the affirmation of the presence in the midst of his people of a God who allowed himself to be approached by his believers. “And the name of the city henceforth shall be, The Lord is there,” proclaims Ezekiel at the end of his vision (Ez 48:35). It was also the sacred place where God manifested his sanctity, and each person participated according to his standing, having access to a given part of the temple. The temple, in receiving the heritage of the temple of Silo where the Ark (1 Sm 1–3) was kept, and the ark of Mount Sinai on Mount Zion, became the focal point of Israel's traditions. Just as the ancient temples were conceived as true microcosms, the symbolism of the temple extended ultimately to the cosmic order (cosmos*).

c) The Temple in the Life of Israel. However, such a strong institution was not unanimously approved. At

first it appeared as a foreign and, consequently, pagan import. By its sedentary conception, the temple could seem to traduce the nomadic roots of Israel, which went back to a time when God walked with Israel without asking for a “house of cedar” (2 Sm 7:7). Even worse, was the temple not a discredit to the transcendence of God, who has heaven for a throne and the earth for a footstool (Is 66:1)? To obviate this possibility, the temple had to be described as the place that God had appointed as the abode of his name or his glory.

As the center of religious life, the temple exerted considerable influence. The masses converged there for the great pilgrimage* festivals. The complex ritual of sacrifices* was developed at the temple in response to the profound aspirations of the Israelite soul: total offering, communion, expiation. From the temple the praises of Israel rose joyfully up to God, as testified by the Psalms* and the Chronicles. Love of the temple inhabited the piety of Israel (Ps 26:8).

In addition to prayer*, the temple always exercised an educational function. After the period of exile Israel existed as a religious community centered around the temple. And the priests (priesthood*) who governed the temple enjoyed authentic political power. The temple was an economic and financial power. It also functioned as a relief committee.

But there were fissures in the imposing edifice. The prophets* had already warned against the formalism (Jer 7:4) of worship at the temple. The infidelities of its governors, already denounced by Nehemiah in the fifth century B.C., diminished its prestige. With the approach of the Christian era, a group of Essenes questioned the legitimacy of the temple and ultimately seceded, taking refuge in Qumran. The allegiance of the priestly aristocracy to the Roman authority led to additional discord. This loss of credibility coincided with the development of the institution of the synagogue. Centered on a liturgy* of the word*, it ensured the survival of Judaism after the destruction of the second temple in A.D. 70.

d) Jesus and the Temple of Stone. Jesus knew the temple of Herod in all its splendor (Mk 13:1). In Greek, *hieron* designates the whole of the edifice and *naos* the part where the divinity resides, next to more unusual appellations: the place (*topos*), the holy place or Sanctuary (*hagia*). Luke gives particular prominence to the temple. His Gospel* begins with the announcement to Zechariah, which takes place in the sanctuary, or *naos*, and ends, after the Ascension, with the unceasing prayer of the disciples in the temple, or *hieron* (Lk 24:53). This is where Jesus* is revealed, whether by Simeon (Lk 2:27–32) or by his own words

(Lk 2:40–51). As John points out in various passages, Jesus attended the temple during the great pilgrimage festivals. It was there that he taught (Lk 19:47), and there that he debated with his adversaries (Mt 21:23–27). When he entered Jerusalem he purified the temple (Mt 21:12–27). His announcement of the coming destruction of the temple (Mt 24:2) was held against him by those who were the most bent on his ruin, as it would later be held against his disciples.

e) From the Temple of Stone to the Temple of the Body. With his prophetic gesture of driving the merchants from the temple, Jesus demonstrated his concern for an authentic cult. His claims went even further, when he declared “something greater than the temple is here” (Mt 12:6). The edifice that Jesus would rebuild would not be man-made (Mk 14:58). The new temple is his risen body (Jn 2:20f.). As he “dwelt among us,” or literally, “pitched his tent among us” (Jn 1:14) he was God present among men. “And what is becoming obsolete and growing old is ready to vanish away” (Heb 8:13). The Christians would not be taken by surprise by the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70; this temple had been part of the old economy that had been nullified by Christ’s sacrifice.

In Christian thought, the community had become the temple of God. God henceforth abides within believers sanctified by the offering of Christ. A construction founded on the apostles* and prophets, with Jesus as cornerstone, the Church forms “a holy temple [*naos*] in the Lord” (Eph 2:21). Paul reminds the Corinthians that they are the temple of God and the Spirit abides in them, “for God’s temple is holy, and you are that temple” (1 Cor 3:17). In their very existence, believers live the sanctity demanded of an abode of God. Their consecration signifies unfailing adherence. Since their bodies are temples of the Holy* Spirit, they do not belong to themselves anymore (1 Cor 6:19). Because they are the temple of the living God, they must accept the necessary separations, as the new covenant* obliges (2 Cor 6:16–18).

f) The Heavenly Sanctuary. Jesus entered once and for all into the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 9:12). The temple of stone and its cult pertain to the image and the replica (Heb 9:23), the figure, the parable (Heb 9:9–10), destined to be effaced when the reality is fulfilled. Penetrating beyond the veil, Jesus has sat down on the right-hand side of his Majesty’s throne in the heavens, and he is the minister of the true sanctuary (Heb 8:1–2). Always ready to intercede for human beings, he is their way to the Father*. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the community is presented as being on the move, overcoming all difficulties, aiming for the heav-

enly fatherland where it will live in intimate, permanent union with God.

The Book of Revelation is informed by this liturgy of praise* and acclamation celebrated in the heavenly temple. The chosen stand before the throne of God and “serve him day and night in his temple” (Rev 7:15). What is this temple in reality? In the new Jerusalem, John, the visionary of Revelation, does not see any temple, “for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb” (Rev 21:22).

In the final analysis, behind the image of the temple it is the history* of the presence of God among human beings, and the presence of human beings to God, that is being played out. The temple of stone is only the figure of a spiritual reality. And yet, paradoxically, the Jews did not rebuild the temple after its destruction in A.D. 70, whereas the Christians, notwithstanding their

awareness of being the temple of God, went on to build many places of worship.

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See also Architecture; Soul-Heart-Body; Church; City; Creation; Cult; Holiness; Jerusalem; Liturgy; Praise; Priesthood; Sacrifice

Temptation

A. Biblical Theology

a) Vocabulary. In Hebrew, the verb *nissâh* means “to tempt,” in the sense of “to put to the test” (synonyms: *bâchan*, “to test,” and *châqar*, “to examine”) in order to show, to see, to know something not apparent. Sometimes, the verb means “to experiment in order to find out” (1 Sm 17:39 and Eccl 2:1). In Greek, “temptation” is rendered by words derived from the root *peira* (the verb *[ek]peirazô*, “to try, to attempt, to test” and the substantive *peirasmós*, “attempt” and “temptation”).

b) The Archetype: Temptations in the Desert. In the Old Testament, alongside profane uses (1 Kgs 10:1 and Wis 2:17; see also Acts 9:26; and Heb 11:29), two syntagms stand out: “God* tempts X” and “X tempts God.” A sort of shuttling between one and the other, linked with the material benefits and the law* given by Yahweh, appears in the narratives* of Israel’s sojourn in the desert.

The gifts of water and manna are a proving point for Israel, a sort of test: will Israel resist the temptation of seeing them as nothing but things to be taken to satisfy its needs? Or, on the contrary, will it see them as a sign,

an invitation to freely acknowledge the giver? Its way of undergoing this “test” says much about the people’s fidelity (Dt 8:2). In this test, the law intervenes like a word spoken against covetousness, separating the need from the thing in order to give a chance to the sign and to the faith* that imbues it. (Ex 16:4; see also Ex 15:25). Both the gift (Dt 8:16) and the law (Ex 20:20; see also Sir 4:17) are components of the test-temptation, as Genesis 2–3 recounts. Likewise, in Genesis 22:1, Abraham’s test consists of an order given by God about his gift, Isaac. In its way, the gift of the Promised Land will be a test: the pagans’ presence could tempt Israel to turn away from the law (Jgs 2:22).

The people’s resistance to this test of voluntary acknowledgement of God is also called temptation: Israel tempts God. When the goods bestowed happen to fail and nothing more is available than the narrative’s or the law’s words, lack of faith is expressed in murmurs, in challenges (Ex 17:2–7). This rebellious attitude involves forgetfulness of the signs already given, refusal to listen to the Word* and to have confidence, contempt for God (Nm 14:22–23 and Ps 78:41). It is the opposite of faith and fear* of God (Dt 6:14–17; see

also Jdt 8:12–13), for it puts God into the position of having to show his proofs by confirming his presence (Ps 95:9); it also reveals a people enslaved by covetousness and, hence, by death* (Nm 11; see also Ps 106:14–18). The New Testament takes up this theme again (1 Cor 10:9, Heb 3:8–9, and Acts 15:10), a theme maintained by the tradition of the wise (Wis 1:2 and Sir 18:23). With this as a background, the Pharisees' mistrust, which they show by their putting Jesus* to the test, takes on an enhanced meaning (Mk 8:11 and parallels, Mk 12:15 and parallels, and Jn 8:6).

c) Development of the Theme: The Temptation of Man. In the late wisdom literature and in the New Testament, it is during the testing by suffering that the just (the Christian) finds himself tempted to abandon his fidelity. If God tests the just/believer, of whom Abraham is the archetype (Sir 44:20 and 1 Macc 2:52, and Heb 11:17), it is through the painful situation in which the latter finds himself because of his faith (Sir 2:1, Wis 11:9, and 1 Pt 4:12–13). In this crucible, faithfulness may increase (Sir 4:14, Wis 3:5–6, Jas 1:2–3 and 1:12, and 1 Pt 1:6–7), thanks to God's protective presence (Sir 33:1, Mt 6:13, 1 Cor 10:12–13, and 1 Pt 5:8–9). The test here has a more educative aspect (see already Dt 8:2–6). In apocalyptic* literature the tribulations at the time of the end are sometimes seen as the decisive test (Dn 12:10 and Rev 3:10).

The theological narrative of Jesus' temptation renews its links with the archetypal narratives, evoked by the biblical quotations with which Jesus counters the tempter. Proclaimed Son of God (Filiation*) and Messiah-servant at his baptism* (Mt 3:17 and parallels), Jesus confronts the temptation of being son and servant just as Israel had been when in the desert—taking the benefits and forgetting the word, challenging God to furnish proofs, preferring power and glory to

service of the One (Mt 4:1–11 and parallels). But Jesus responded with the word of the law, which is the presence of the Other (see Dt 8:3, 6:16, and 6:13) to the fiction of a desire that destroys all covenants. In this way his true fidelity shone through, fidelity to himself, to his Father*, to his mission*, a fidelity from which he never deviated (Mt 16:16–23), not even in the face of death (Mt 26:36–44). In that situation, Jesus is the new Adam* (Mk 1:12–13; see also Heb 4:15).

d) God or Devil? Quite late, Satan (the enemy), or the devil (demons*) gradually assumes the tempter's role. Supporting texts include: 2 Samuel 24:1–2, 1 Chronicles 21:1–2, Wisdom of Solomon 2:24 (which glosses Gn 2–3), Matthew 4:1, 1 Thessalonians 3:5, and 1 Peter 5:8. The text of Job 1:8–12 reveals an intermediate position. James 1:13–14 establish the problem's anthropological base more firmly, starting with Genesis 3:1–5 (see also Rom 7:7–11 and 1 Tm 6:9–10): the temptation corresponds to the possibility of corrupting desire to turn it into covetousness. The test that forms the handling of desire may end either in growth or in a fall, an alternative reflected by the variation of the subject God-devil in the “mythological” type of presentation.

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See also Demons; Evil; Faith; Good; Jesus, Historical; Law and Christianity; Miracle; Passion; Sin

B. Spiritual Theology

Following the New Testament, Christian authors give the words *peirazô* and *peirasmós* not only the Old-Testament meaning of test, but above all, in a quasi-technical way, the precise meaning of temptation, of soliciting to do evil*, in particular, in the way in which they understand the sixth request in the Lord's Prayer, to which they generally give the meaning of “Protect us from agreeing to temptation” (see J.

Carmignac, *Recherches sur le “Notre-Père,”* Paris, 1969).

a) Patristic Theology of Temptation. The idea of the struggle against temptation in the Christian's life had already been suggested by the theme of the two paths that the *Didache* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* had inherited from the literature of Qumran. But the phe-

nomenon of temptation only reveals its full meaning when compared to the patristic conception of redemption, envisaged as Christ's victorious combat against the forces of evil (see G. Aulén, *Christus Victor, la notion chrétienne de la rédemption*, Paris, 1949).

Irenaeus* of Lyons was one of the first representatives of the above conception, which the whole of Greek patristics would adopt. For him, Christ's temptation in the desert held a central place in the plan of salvation*. It "recapitulated"—that is, it took up again, while inverting it—the temptation and Adam's* fall. Adam, by using his freedom* badly, had yielded to the tempter and fallen into the grip of sin*, death*, and the demon*. In essence, the second Adam, Christ, was the Son of God*, the conqueror of the enemy who had conquered man. His temptation in the desert thus revealed the whole meaning of the redeeming incarnation. For Irenaeus, the Church* relived this struggle between Christ and Satan, fortified through his example and clothed in the power he had passed on to it. Like Christ, Christians are tempted to worry about their material survival instead of counting on divine Providence*. They are capable of yielding to pride, which leads to heretical interpretations of the Scriptures, and of capitulating before the earthly powers, which drive them to martyrdom* or to apostasy. In the last days, this struggle would culminate in the assaults of the Antichrist, in whom would be distilled all the Enemy's malice.

This theme recurred in Origen*, whose thought would exert such a strong influence on the development of theology* and spirituality. For Origen, too, redemption was above all a victorious combat of cosmic dimensions, a combat between Christ and the evil powers that hold man captive. This battle raged during the whole of Christ's earthly life, until the resurrection*, but the triple temptation in the desert was its crucial moment.

Through baptism*, which involves a radical conversion*, Christians participate in Christ's victory. But temptation accompanies Christians the whole length of their spiritual lives*. By renouncing the seduction of the heretics' scriptural arguments, the Christians of his time relived Christ's second temptation, and by resisting as far as martyrdom the pressures of the Roman state's paganism*, they shared in the third.

Very aware of Christ's ontological union with the Christians and of that of the Christians among themselves, Origen taught both that it was Christ himself who continued in the faithful his battle against Satan, and that any victory won by a Christian was a victory of the whole Church (Steiner 1962).

As Henri de Lubac* remarked (*Histoire et Esprit*, Paris, 1950), the idea that the spiritual combat was a

continuation of the battle that won redemption and that the images of Christ's military campaign and the two enemy cities*, which would be found in the 16th century in Ignatius's reflections on the Kingdom and the two banners, really went back for the most part to Origen.

After the edict of Milan, which brought peace* to the Church in 313, the idea that in the martyr's person* it was Christ himself who suffered and fought—for instance, in the case of the martyrs of Lyons in 177 (Eusebius of Caesarea, *History of the Church* V, 1, 23; SC 41, 12)—was transposed onto the monk's fight against diabolic temptations (for instance, in Athanasius* of Alexandria's *Life of Anthony*, 7, 1; SC 400, 151).

b) Spiritual Combat in Ancient Monastic Literature. The main reason for the first monks' retreat into the desert was a search for *hèsukhia*, for the silence and solitude needed for contemplation*. But the desert was also the place of temptation for them, and their asceticism* held traits of a fight against Satan.

Evagrius Ponticus classified the Desert Fathers' doctrine about spiritual combat. He translated their experiences into the categories established by Alexandrian* philosophy and Origen. His teachings were spread in Greek Christianity by the majority of later spiritual writers, and in the Latin world by John Cassian who, before his foundation of two monasteries in Marseilles, had been Evagrius's companion in asceticism in the deserts of Egypt.

Evagrius stressed the usefulness of temptations. By giving us the opportunity to demonstrate our preference for Christ and to preserve our humbleness, temptation played a positive role in spiritual life: "Suppress temptations and no one will be saved," says one of his *Apothegms* (Evagrius, 5). According to Evagrius temptation began with a simple suggestion, then the soul "entered into a dialogue" with it, either to offer good arguments against it, or to begin to let itself be seduced. Then came the consent, which, by repetition, engendered passion, then captivity, a veritable obsession, an irresistible urge against which the will was powerless.

We also owe to Evagrius the catalogue of the eight evil thoughts, or demons, which attack the soul: gluttony, lust, avarice, anger, dejection, acedia (sloth), vanity, and pride. This list is the source of the Western catalogue of the deadly sins, as it was fixed by Gregory* the Great, in which laziness replaced acedia, envy replaced dejection, and vanity merged with pride. But this catalogue of sins represents the moralist's point of view; the ancients spoke of demonic tempters and of evil "thoughts." That was the view the spiritual father, for whom discernment had to apply itself to the suggestions before consent occurred.

Indeed, Satan was skillful at disguising himself as “an angel of light” (2 Cor 11:14), giving rise to the importance to the spiritual father of spiritual discernment and of the manifestation of the “thoughts.” Finally, Evagrius and the ancient masters discoursed at length on battle strategies against temptations, particularly on the guarding of one’s heart (*see* soul*-heart-body) and of recourse to short and ardent prayer*, which were the chief defenses against them.

c) Spiritual Authors. With variants and transpositions adapted to each milieu and each epoch, the first Desert Fathers’ teachings about temptation and spiritual combat were adopted by all spiritual writers. In Greek Christianity, these teachings can be found in the great classics such as John Climacus’s *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, or *Ladder of Paradise*, and in the *Philocalie*, an anthology compiled by Macarius Notarus of Corinth and Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain. In Western Catholicism* *The Spiritual Combat* by Lorenzo Scupoli the Theatine deserves particular mention.

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See also Adam; Anthropology; Conscience; Passion; Prayer; Spiritual Direction

Ten Commandments. *See Decalogue*

Teresa of Avila. *See Carmel; Contemplation*

Terminism. *See Nominalism*

Tertullian

c. 160–c. 225

At the turn of the second and third centuries, Tertullian dominated the Christian community in Carthage by the force of his strong personality (31 treatises have come down to us, and many others have disappeared). An African with a double Greek and Latin education, trained in the areas of rhetoric and law, he converted in his adult years. The question of whether he remained a layman or was ordained a priest has not been decided, but, in either event, he filled the role of a Doctor within the Church, which at that time of rapid expansion was also faced with myriad troubles, including persecutions by the Roman state, propaganda campaigns by Gnostic sects, and internal conflicts.

a) Apologetic Works. His chief work, the *Apology*, is an energetic defense, in the name of justice* and freedom* of thought, of a Christianity reputed to be “an illicit religion.” But also, with its form of an exhortation to conversion, this book stresses the originality of the “Christian truth” (compared to that of Judaism*, the philosophers, and heresies*). Tertullian set forth the contents of his *Apology* from the triple angles of a “faith*” (monotheism*, the doctrine of the Word*, and the doctrine of the Incarnation*), of a life of “love*” (practice of the faith and moral conduct), and of a “hope*” (eschatological promise of the resurrection*). This book assumed the heritage of the Greek apologists*, amplified their views, and distinguished itself from them by its passionate tone and its challenging voice. Thus, one of the phrases proclaims: “The Christians’ blood is a seed” (*Apology* 50:13). One of Tertullian’s most original themes, summed up by the exclamation “Oh, testimony of the naturally Christian soul” (*Apology* 17:6), was developed in his *De testimonia animae*. Questioning the soul*, which is cognate with God* because it was made in his image before it was corrupted by the world and the education received therein, Tertullian discovered in current popular expressions (such as “good God!” and “Great God!”) authentic perceptions of the divinity, God’s attributes*, and the beyond. His remodeling of the Stoic proof by *consensus omnium*, together with the cosmological proof, allowed him to define a natural way of acceding to knowledge* about God, a way that preceded the supernatural path through revelation* in the Scriptures.

b) Conception of the Christian Life. For Tertullian, Christian life was a break with the world, corrupted by the ubiquity of idolatry* in civil society (*De idololatria*). He stressed the importance of penitence and baptism*, closely allied, since the first was the necessary condition for obtaining the second (*De paenitentia, De baptismo*). Having fallen into the power of the devil* and of death* through Adam*’s transgression, man had been snatched from this slavery by Christ’s work, which baptism reactualized by restoring to the repentant sinner his status as a son of God. Even though his baptismal theology was quite ambiguous, juxtaposing affirmations of the efficacy of the holy water and of the quasi-exclusive importance of the inner state of mind, it nonetheless brought out clearly the sacramental originality of this “seal of faith,” which guaranteed man’s regeneration. Through the acceptance of the Holy* Spirit, baptism opened the doors to a life of perfection and holiness*, whose every action was both a gift from God and a voluntary response from man. The work of personal sanctification dedicated itself to divine will in total commitment to Christ’s service, in a spiritual combat and a search for purity* and rigor, which was realized through the most perfect imitation* possible of God’s holiness as manifested in Jesus* (*Patientia* 3:2–11). This work should normally end with the acceptance of martyrdom*, the acceptance that “baptism by blood”, the crown of Christian patience, gives direct access to heaven.

c) Controversy with the Gnostics. It was during the course of this dispute that Tertullian developed his theological thought. Although he was a detractor of philosophy*, in which he found the roots of Gnostic speculations, he was not that champion of anti-rationalism that he has been regarded as for so long. His famous *credo quia absurdum* (“I believe what is absurd”) is inauthentic, and his somewhat similar expression (see *De Carne Christi* 5:4) did no more than extend the Pauline paradox of 1 Cor 1:25 by combining it with a rhetorical argument drawn from a commonplace phrase, which juggled with concepts of likelihood and unlikelihood. Moreover, Tertullian was capable of drawing extensively on the arsenal of a philosophical thought based on Stoicism. The Monist

materialism of the Pontus also tinged certain of his images (the corporality of God, of the soul). Certainly he answered his adversaries, at first, in an authoritative way, the refusing to engage in any discussion, based on the principle that, since they had come later, they had no rights over the Scriptures; only the Church, their keeper, could legitimately interpret them according to its “rule of faith” and its “apostolic tradition” (*De praescriptionibus haereticorum*).

But Tertullian put this negative attitude behind him in order to refute theological, christological, and anthropological conceptions with rational* arguments, especially the arguments of Valentinus and Marcion. He applied his main efforts to attacks on their Docetism.* Following Irenaeus*, he reacted against their contempt for a “flesh” that they excluded from salvation. In his *De Carne Christi* and his *De resurrectione mortuorum*, as well as in his erudite treatise *De anima*, Tertullian established the interdependence of soul and body in man’s condition and in the history of salvation* by basing himself on Scripture as well as on an argument that involved power, justice, and God’s goodness. Thus, the true incarnation of the Son—so true and so complete that it excluded Mary’s virginity *in partu* and *post partum* (*De Carne Christi* 23:3–5)—became the principle and guarantee of an eschatological resurrection.

d) *Controversy with Modalism.* Tertullian answered Praxeas, who insisted on strict monotheism and rejected the growing idea of the Trinity*, by recalling the concept of a plan, or of the divine being’s inner disposition to refine his doctrine of the Word. The “perfect generation” of the Word for the work of creation* (*Adversus Praxean* 7:1–1) made him the Son of God and a second person without, nevertheless, denying his eternity* (*ibid.*, 5:2). The term “person*” made possible the expression, inside God’s essential unity (“substantial”), of a distinction without separation in the three divine beings who manifested themselves in the achievement of the plan of redemption and creation. A subordinating inflection can be seen in his term *gradus* (“step”), which his Trinitary analysis associated with *persona*, and also in his images of the root, of the spring of water, and of the sun, on which he based his conception of the “planning” of the outflow of the Father*’s divine being, who retained it in all its plenitude, to the Son, “derivation” and “portion,” and finally to the Holy Spirit (*Adversus Praxean* 8:5–6 and 9:2). But in fact this language aimed above all to highlight participation and coexistence in the difficult expression of a mystery* in which identity of substance was accompanied by the otherness of the Three. Tertullian also elucidated through a precise expression (*Adversus Praxean* 27: 11) the hypostatic*

union, according to which Christ Jesus’ two component elements, God and man, were united, without merging, in a single person in whom each substance retained its specificity (*proprietas*).

e) *Adhesion to Montanism.* As far as discipline was concerned, Tertullian’s demand for rigor gradually forced him into increasingly intransigent positions that distanced him from the orthodoxy of his times. For instance, on ascetic practices (fasts), on the remarriage of widows and widowers, and on penitence after baptism—from which he ended by excluding, in his *De pudicitia*, certain categories of sinners (those guilty of the irredeemable sins* of idolatry, adultery, and homicide). He adopted—and tried to justify in opposition to the Carthaginian Church, which he disdainfully described as “psychic”—the “new prophecies” and conceptions of the Montanist trio (Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla). This trio had claimed to have received the Spirit of truth, of the Paraclete promised by John 14:16, and, in a climate of “pneumatic” exaltation, they had established stricter disciplinary and religious rules. Under this influence, Tertullian’s ecclesiology* hardened without changing. He saw in the church, an exclusively spiritual group, the Trinity’s extension and earthly image, and he set against the hierarchical Church (*numerus episcoporum*) the Church of the Spirit, the only one to which he reserved the right, through the intermediary of a spiritual man, to forgive sins (*Pud.* 21:16–17). In the end, this attitude was to make him a schismatic (the sect of Tertullianists?). Moreover, the impression of living in the last days seems to have exacerbated his expectation of the Parousia*, and particularly of the thousand-year reign that was foretold for the just and that was supposed to precede the Last Judgment*, but he emphasized its purely spiritual character (*Adversus Marcion* 3:24 and 5–6).

f) *Influence.* Despite certain anomalies in his doctrine and his final faltering, which earned his work a condemnation in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, Tertullian played an essential role in the history of Western theology*—and not only through the intervention of Cyprian*, who called him “the master.” Through several of his perceptions—particularly in the domain of Trinitary and christological thought—Tertullian anticipated the dogmatic wordings of the great Councils* of the fourth and fifth centuries. He was able to create a firm and precise theological vocabulary by adapting and adjusting Latin materials to the expression of a thought whose roots went back to the Bible*. He guided this theology toward a more moral and philosophical religious form, more voluntaristic than specu-

lative, less inclined to construct rational syntheses than anxious to respect the revelation given by exploring it more deeply, and by insisting on salvation's historic and eschatological realities.

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See also Asceticism; Eschatology; Existence of God, Proofs of; Gnosis; Millenarianism; Modalism; Montanism; Sacrament; Schism; Stoicism, Christian; Subordinationism; Tradition

Theism. *See Deism and Theism*

Theodicy. *See Evil; Providence*

Theodore of Mopsuestia. *See Antioch, School of*

Theodoret of Cyrrhus. *See Antioch, School of*

Theological Schools

In a cultural universe in which the two phenomena were closely connected, Christianity appeared not only as a religious movement but also as a school of thought, a *hairesis*. Thus the apologist* Justin offers the perfect example of philosophical research culminating in a conversion* to Christianity, without any renunciation of his original interests (*Dial.*, prologue). It was, however, within Christianity itself that schools were soon to arise, splitting the unsystematic jumble of New Testament teachings into a multiplicity of theologies. The New Testament already refers to the existence of groups that almost deserve the title of schools: Pauline* and Johannine* theology are not merely the work of individual thinkers. Our corpus seems to include texts written by disciples of these thinkers (in the case of the deutero-Pauline texts) and texts that suggest the presence of a circle and its theological options, such as the community of the Beloved Disciple.

It was, however, necessary for theology to become increasingly understood as a systematic discourse, or exegesis* of the Scriptures, and moreover for it to adopt a general policy of borrowing from the dominant philosophies* of late Antiquity, before well-differentiated schools appeared. These schools could already be linked to a teaching institution. The rise of Alexandrian philosophy, which was prominent from Clement to Cyril* of Alexandria, was due in part to the *didaskaleion*, or “catechetical school,” founded by Pantaeus about 180. Some schools may also have owed their fundamental outlook to one or more founding masters.

The doctrinal debates of the fifth and sixth centuries were to demonstrate the contribution of the theological schools to the formulation of Christian dogma*. They would also compel the Church hierarchy* to arbitrate the debates that set one school against another—in this case the schools of Alexandria* and Antioch*. In the patristic age, a number of characteristics of theology can be clearly seen: 1) The supreme teaching bodies of the Church*, the Ecumenical Councils*, can accord the status of official Christian doctrine to a particular theology. Examples include the canonization of Alexandrian Christology by the Council of Ephesus* (in 431) and of neo-Chalcedonian Christology by the Second Council of Constantinople* (553). 2) The procedure by which the Church defines its confession of

faith* never concludes a discussion without giving rise to new debates. The concept of dogmatic definition is not that of a “last word.” 3) It is also possible for a particular theology to be unable to fit on its own terms into Christian doctrine as it has developed. The tumultuous history of Antiochene Christology is that of a theoretical tendency whose orthodox intentions were quite clear. It was able to offer a valuable corrective to the extremist interpretations of Cyrillian Christology, but it was hard, in the period between Ephesus and Constantinople II, to reconcile fruitfully with the defined orthodoxy. 4) Arbitration is sometimes achieved, not by canonizing the theory of one school, but by proposing a *via media*, which has never itself constituted the opinion of a school. Thus the Christology promulgated at Chalcedon* (in 451) was largely that of Pope* Leo I’s *Tome* to Flavian, which may be thought of as an innovative contribution inspired by the desire to quell the debate in which Alexandrian Christology was opposed to Antiochene Christology.

While Byzantine theology from the sixth century experienced disagreements that did not really oppose one school with another (with the exception of the conflict between the hesychastic tradition and the Latin-speaking philosophical movement), the Latin Middle Ages witnessed the development of a system of theological working in which the schools played a more dominant role than ever. Two important phenomena bear on to the interpretation of this: 1) the existence of centers of theological research linked with monastic communities or cathedral churches; and 2) the rise of specific theological traditions within the religious orders.

- 1) The history of medieval theology up until the 12th century must be considered as the history of a number of centers of teaching. An abbey where a well-known master taught would attract monks eager to acquire the best theological training. Anselm, for example, became a monk at Bec because of Lanfranc’s prestige. At Chartres, Laon, and elsewhere, theology was taught and created at the very heart of diocesan life and under the patronage of the bishops*. Thus, traditions arose that in general handed down not so much theologoumena, or “opinions” peculiar to each school,

as a certain style composed of shared references, common usage of the same sources, and a shared conception of theology.

- 2) Scholasticism* in the strict sense was characterized by the institution of universities and of study-houses (*studia*) for monks, most notably those of the mendicant orders (Franciscans and Dominicans). A new way of teaching and producing theology developed within the framework offered by the institution of the university. From then on, theology would be the theology of the *schola*, the school, more than of any particular school, and that school would always be known as a school of theologies (in the plural). Consequently, no medieval university can be regarded as a single school.

Tradition in the university only extended as far as the discipline and the course of study. Thus theological schools in the 13th century emerged from the process in which the newly founded religious orders established their own theological heritage by according special authority to their principal doctors. This did not however make Albertism or Thomism the exclusive property of the Dominican order, nor Bonaventurism or Scotism the sole property of the Franciscan order. The great monastic doctors began by teaching at universities alongside secular masters, where their influence went beyond the confines of their religious families. Some religious families (for example, Carmel*) never acquired a theological tradition of their own, but made do with borrowings. A religious family such as the Franciscans, on the other hand, counted among its numbers so many original thinkers, with such a variety of fundamental outlooks, that it is hardly possible to identify a homogeneous Franciscan school after Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure*, and Duns* Scotus (and also Ockham).

In any event, what is important is that there was a diversity. On the one hand, some theological theses became more or less the exclusive property of one school. For example, there was a Thomist solution to the problem of the reason for the Incarnation*, and there was also a Scotist solution; there were also Thomist and Scotist positions on the question of the immaculate conception of Mary*, and so on. On the other hand—and this second fact is probably more significant—the schools proved to be the heirs and transmitters of an idea of theology itself, and so the “scientific” view of theology would become a rallying-cry for the Thomist tradition, while the tradition of Bonaventure can always be recognized by a “practical” and wisdom-based outlook largely inherited from Augustine*. Moreover, since each school made its

voice heard beyond the zones of influence assured it by its own teaching centers, its discourse—geared to the demands of academic work and constantly open to questioning, especially in the forum of the *disputatio*—could maintain its individuality while continuing to aspire to the universal. The theological schools were not theological chapels.

The theological schools that arose in the 13th century did not merely continue through the later Middle Ages, but to some extent survived beyond them; the history of Thomism* or Scotism cannot yet be regarded as complete. A new factor came into play, however. As a result of the theological confrontations of the Counter-Reformation, founding systems gave rise to schools that—because of prevailing circumstances—were condemned to a rather sterile repetition of their defining theories. The dispute that most troubled Catholic theology from the Council of Trent* to the 18th century was a far-reaching debate on grace*, in which theses and systems confronted one another violently. This was, above all, a debate that Rome* wished vainly to bring to a close. While the heterodoxy of Baianism (see Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism) and Jansenism* was evident and was clearly condemned, the inconclusiveness of the congregations *de auxiliis* entrusted with investigating Bañezianism and Molinism was more than anything an acknowledgement of impotence. (Rome failed to reach a decision despite nine years of theological discussions; the opposing parties were forbidden to anathematize one another; and further publications on the subject were prohibited.) There may have been a difference of perspective between the opposing theories (to which could be added the later Augustinianism of Norris, Berti, and Bellelli, declared lawful by Benedict XIV in 1749 in a bull that encouraged the existence of theological schools), but there were also contradictions. Incapable of offering a judgment (but suggesting by that very fact that the debate concerned theological constructs and not the confessed faith of the Church), Rome obliged all parties to stand their ground. Consequently, neither Molina’s theory nor that of Bañez was able to benefit from a constructive reception*. The Bañezian theory of “physical premotion,” which had originated in the Dominican order, became a shibboleth of that order until the 20th century, as did Molina’s “moderate science” for the Jesuits. Both systems, however, were handed down just as they had been formulated, with a fidelity that did not permit them to develop a history. As for Jansenism, this “wayward Augustinianism*” (H. de Lubac) was never in a position to give rise to a school—its fundamentalist relationship to the *Augustinus* restricted its existence to that of a party within the Church.

The history of theological schools since the 18th century has been characterized by unity of place, unity of founding influences, a unified conception of theology, and the defense of a school's own theological theses on subjects that the Church's official doctrine leaves open to debate. All or some of these distinctive characteristics occur regularly in the recent history of theology. The schools of Tübingen*, the (Protestant) school of Erlangen, and the Roman school clearly show the continued importance in the 19th century of a thriving intellectual center in which theological production is in part a communal activity—the Dominican school of Saulchoir and the Jesuit school of Fourvière are contemporary examples of the phenomenon. Recent tendencies, such as liberation* theology and feminist theology, have proved durable enough, and have brought together authors with enough in common, to make it likely that they will take their place in the history of theological schools, even though they lack unity of place.

Neoscholasticism, an institutionalized offshoot of the Roman school that was declared the official Catholic theology (and philosophy) by Leo XIII, has presented itself as a reincarnation of the School (of Thomism alone, in point of fact) persistently enough, with a clear enough sense of its theoretical aims, and with enough of a monopoly over certain teaching centers, to qualify by right as a theological school. Two reservations must be stated, however. On the one hand, the most important theologians of the 20th century (Barth*, Balthasar*, Lubac*, Rahner*, and so on) have exerted their influence without founding schools. (Barth was considered the founder of a school, but “dialectical theology” was no more than a temporary grouping of several theologians whose paths were very soon to diverge. Lubac was a figure in the theology of Fourvière, but his teaching career was interrupted in circumstances that turned him into a solitary researcher, and so on.) On the other hand, the academic authority that during the Middle Ages ensured a perpetual confrontation between the opinions of different schools, and which thus prevented the schools from degenerating into cliques or lobbies, has more or less ceased to fulfill this role in recent theology. There seems to be no common language (or metalanguage) that would enable a critical evaluation of points of view and positions. The appearance of theological *modes* is no novelty. One characteristic is new, however, and that is the lack of any methodical comparison of discourses—those that claim to be new, those that claim to be very old, those that declare themselves “different,” and so on.

The history of theological schools offers striking confirmation of several fundamental truths: 1) the fact

that theology has its concrete existence in the multiplicity of “discourses, fragile every one, and all destined to become outmoded, which the Church of necessity accumulates over the centuries in order to express the truth of Scripture” (Chapelle 1973); 2) the fact that this multiplicity has its secondary origin in the “vexations” inherent in the Scriptures, and its ultimate source in the incomprehensibility of God’s mystery*; and 3) the fact that “the universality of truth proves always to be defined and thus partial, and at the same time defining and thus at the mercy of the current of history*” (ibid.). Nor is it necessary to prove that each particular theology derives from a community whose viewpoints and “familiar interests” (J. Habermas) it expresses. It is equally clear that membership of a group defined in terms of its own style and project does not prohibit a writer from donning the (modern) garb of the “author,” but represents the necessary background from which any real originality must differentiate itself.

Admitting all this must in any case lead to a reappraisal of the phenomenon of theological schools, several of whose typical characteristics deserve more than archaeological attention: 1) theological projects capable of bringing together communities both synchronically and diachronically; 2) projects able to give form to the ecclesiastical practices of these communities (whether contemplative, apostolic, or both) while allowing the latter to sustain them in return; 3) contextual projects (limited to one time, one place, or one circle) that go beyond the limits of the discourse demanded by that time or place and attempt an overall contribution to the understanding of the faith; 4) projects that can exist only in the plural, in a perpetual debate whose terms may alter when the Church officially defines its faith, but which is set off anew whenever a new definition opens the way to a new *undefined*; and 5) projects that can only be termed theological by accepting the dual status of Church and scientific matters. So two dialectics harbor the permanent sense of what every theological school reveals in part: the dialectic between tradition* and creativity, and the dialectic between theological experience and community experience.

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See also **Hermeneutics; History of the Church; Theology**

Theologumen

Term originating in Protestant exegesis* and introduced into Catholic theology by K. Rahner*. A theologumen is "a proposition consisting of a theological assertion that should not be treated immediately as a magisterial teaching of the Church or as a dogmatic pronouncement imposing a commitment of faith*" (*Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* 10, 80). Theologu-

men means a fragment of a theological theory, a theorem, but a fragment that has not been subject to a definition (or the condemnations generally accompanying definitions).

THE EDITORS

See also **Theological Schools; Theology**

Theology

Explaining Christian faith*, speaking coherently of the God* to whom the Scriptures bear witness, or speaking of all things in their relation to God, *sub ratione Dei* (Thomas Aquinas): these formulas, which are only introductions and are by no means exhaustive, spell out the program of theology. This program is, in a sense, already accomplished in the Scriptures themselves: theology, in fact, is founded upon the Scriptures as a body of texts that are already theological, and its highest ambition is to render them totally comprehensible. Fur-

thermore, this is the program adopted by the Christian Church*: theological writings are answerable to a community of believers, whose faith the writings wish to interpret and transmit; they engage their authors more as "people of the Church" than as individual thinkers. Finally, the theological program is realized in a multiplicity of discursive and textual practices that are always historically determined: it is therefore only in the exposition of this multiplicity and its history that theology demonstrates its essential features.

1. Terminology

“Theology,” from the Greek *theologia*, or “discourse on divine matters,” is a pre-Christian term. It first appeared in Plato (*Republic*, 379 a), in a passage that poses the question of the pedagogical use of mythology. Aristotle used the term, but modified it: the theologians are Hesiod or Homer, who are considered distinct from the philosophers (*Met.* I, 983 b 29, II, 1000 a 9, etc.), but two passages from the *Metaphysics* (V, 1026 a 19, and X, 1064 b 3) use the expressions “theological philosophy” and “theological knowledge” to designate the third highest of the theoretical sciences after mathematics and physics. It was thanks to Stoicism, however, that the term “theology,” and all words of the same family, became established in philosophy: theology became explicitly a philosophical discipline as early as Cleanthes (*SVF* I, 108, 12), then with Panaetius. The complicity of theology and mythology certainly endured and the Stoics took note of it: a famous passage by Varro, abundantly quoted in Christian literature (Augustine*, *Civ. Dei* VI, 5–10, etc.), distinguishes three kinds of theology: the mythical theology of poets, the “physical” theology of philosophers, and the political* theology of lawmakers. It was not until the advent of Neoplatonism that we could see philosophy somehow annexing theology (Proclus)—but that was at a time when Christianity had already taken possession of the term.

Prior to finally taking possession of the term, Christianity had shown little eagerness to appropriate it; this may have been due to the association of theology with pagan mythology. Appropriation of the term by Christianity did not really begin until the thinkers of the School of Alexandria*. Although Clement and Origen* still mentioned “the ancient Greek theologians” and the “theology of the Persians,” they in fact claimed that the term “true theology” should be applied only to Christian discourse. Orpheus is mentioned as a theologian by Clement, but so is Moses (*Strom.* V, 78, 4); and the same Clement makes a distinction between the “theology of the eternal Logos” and the “mythology of Dionysus” (*Strom.* I, 57, 6). The term *theology* did not, however, entirely lose its association with pagan religiosity until the *Ecclesiastical Theology* of Eusebius of Caesarea (and the political triumph of Christianity over paganism*); it was only then that *theology* really became a Christian term. Theologians, henceforth, were no longer the pagan mythologists; they were the prophets* of the Old Testament; they were Paul, or particularly John the Evangelist. Theology was defined by the Christian faith; the term could even serve to designate the Christian Scriptures (as, for example, in Pseudo-Dionysius*, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* IV, 2). The usage of the term took shape and became clearer

as the Trinitarian and christological debates evolved, and as a result, *theologia* and *theologeîn* became qualifiers to describe orthodoxy*. An extra terminological point came authoritatively into the picture, starting with Eusebius (*HE* I, 1, 7): from then on “theology” was to designate knowledge of the Trinitarian mystery*, and that knowledge was to be distinguished from “economy,” from the doctrine of salvation*. At the same time, an existential meaning came to be attached to the term in ascetic literature (Evagrius Ponticus, Maximus* the Confessor), where “theological contemplation*” represented the third and highest level of the mystical life. Finally, in the work of Pseudo-Dionysius, the christianization of the concept of *theolog* achieves completion: the distinctions made between “cataphatic” (affirmative) and “apophatic” (negative*) theology, between mystical and “symbolic” theology, would bear, from then on, only on the internal articulations of Christian discourse and on its intrinsic coherence.

This Christian appropriation of a term of Greek origin received, for a long time, a marginal response in the Latin West. Latin theology, although aware of Greek terminology, adopted other terms instead: *doctrina sacra* (Augustine), *sacra scriptura*, *sacra eruditio*, *sacra pagina*, *sacra doctrina*. However, Latin thought did take from Boethius* the Aristotelian tripartition of theoretical work (physics, mathematics, philosophy/theology, see *Met.* E 1, 1025 b-1026 a) and remained attached to it. Later (dating from the ninth century), with the spread of the *Corpus Areopagiticum* and the influence of John the Scot Eriugena, the term *theologia* became more common. In the work of Abelard* it received a meaning which was even more precise, and which heralded the “scientific” theology of Scholasticism*. But the term *sacra doctrina* would still be the one most commonly used by Thomas Aquinas. It was not in fact until late Scholasticism that *theology* became the sole term used.

2. The Patristic Discourses

From the very beginning of Christian preaching* a certain number of contexts and authoritative analyses came into play, and these determined in a definitive manner what theology was going to be. Theology became the discourse of the Church; it was a discourse aimed at existing communities, in their own churches; it was also meant as a missionary discourse, with the purpose of defending (*apologia*) the faith of the Church against the pagan world, thus allowing the spread of that faith.

a) Catecheses and Exegeses. Being an intra-ecclesial discourse, theology follows the cultic rhythm of eccle-

sial life. Christian initiation*, in which sacramental rites presuppose catecheses*, is a primary site for discursive production; the eucharistic celebration, during which the Scriptures are read and commented upon following the pattern of synagogal preaching, is another; and both are inseparable. The first problem that theology had to resolve was an exegetical one—that of the realization in the person of Jesus Christ of the hopes* of Israel*—and the treatment of this problem is discernible across the whole corpus that would eventually be called the “New Testament.” Likewise, it was under the privileged form of exegesis that patristic theology became organized. Theology deals with events, and it does so by interpreting texts that have been acknowledged as canonical, and which enjoy the status of normative evidence. It is therefore not surprising if the largest part of the corpus of patristic writings is made up of scriptural commentaries, whether or not these derive from preaching. And it is also not surprising that the theological theory that received the earliest sophisticated treatment was precisely the theory of the senses of Scripture.

b) Apologetic Discourses. The first theology that had claimed for itself the dignity of embodying a figure of the logos was, however, that of the apologists*. Theology bears a Greek name, and that name begs a question. The early apologies composed in favor of Christianity raised less the question of its rationality than that of its morality. Nevertheless, the question of its rationality was already a central issue for Justin. And when we come to the masterpiece of patristic apologetics, Origen’s *Against Celsus*, rationality and truth* (Origen was replying to Celsus’s *True Discourse*) occupy center stage. Theology here assigns itself the function of defending the coherence and credibility* of Christianity against the religious and philosophical reasoning of paganism. But this defensive discourse is also a creative discourse: the defense of Christianity is accompanied by an elucidation, thanks to which a number of important and enduring concepts take shape.

c) Internal Requirements of Faith. If exegesis and catechesis gave rise to the production of new words that commentary or initiation into the mysteries demanded; and if apologetic discourse could not be organized without instigating work on the articulation and conceptualization of the reasons for Christianity, theological work also appeared as early as the patristic era as the fruit of an internal exigency of faith. By distinguishing between faith (*pistis*) and knowledge (*gnôsis*) on the one hand, and by discerning, on the other hand, the fact that the latter is achieved via the former,

Clement of Alexandria supplied the founding charter of a theology whose purpose was nothing other than to meet the believer’s intellectual requirements. Neither Clement’s *Stromata* nor Origen’s *Principles* reflect any cultic or apologetic context whatsoever. In these works theology develops (loosely with Clement, systematically with Origen) as an effort of speculative intelligence. It certainly acquires no autonomy from its scriptural sources and from the exegetical treatment they receive; however, a new organization of theology does seem to emerge.

d) Theology and the History of Definitions. Theology is meant to be “Gnostic”; but we cannot separate the speculative self-understanding of faith, with its conceptual basis, from the doctrinal history that constitutes the context in which the conceptual work of theologians is inserted. Indeed, a first intra-ecclesial discourse, that of Christian initiation and of preaching, is linked to a second intra-ecclesial discourse, that of the defense and illustration of faith within the Church itself. The history of theology is also the history of theological crises within the Church, and it is through these crises that the Church forges its official language, even if it means always borrowing it from individual thinkers. Speculative theology thus came to be part of the history of doctrinal definitions, and in this way a superior mode of theological discourse was being reached: the “magisterial” word. By introducing a non-biblical term (“consubstantial*”) into the Church’s public profession of faith, the First Council of Nicaea* proved as solemnly as it could that theological work is more precisely a work *of* the Church than a work *in* the Church. It also proved that this work is subject to the constraints of a history* in which the Church constantly clarifies its language.

The plurality of discourses and of their authors can thus be coordinated with some clarity. On the one hand, theology, understood in the broadest sense, accompanies all of the Church’s experience: here we speak of theology as an evangelizing word referred (symbolically or really) to the cultic practice of Christian communities. This theology is not of a strictly technical kind, but through it the “event of the Word*,” which founded the Church, is perpetuated. On the other hand, because this evangelizing word is committed to manifesting some coherence and means to be the true word among all words, theology is also committed to meeting technical demands: the foundation of the catechetical school (*didaskaleion*) of Alexandria by Pantaeus (c. 180), or before him (see Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE* VI, 3, 3), and probably the foundation of other similar centers, represent the “birth certificate” of the “theologian” (it must be said, however, that the

Christian East will always be reluctant to confer such a title, and will reserve it for John the Theologian—known in English as John the Divine, author of the Revelation and usually identified with John the Evangelist—Gregory* of Nazianzus, and Symeon “the new theologian”). The theologian is thus understood as being entrusted with an intellectual responsibility within the Church. The coming of a theology that is more conceptual and more systematic needs finally to be understood in two ways: it is an instrument that allows the Church to fine-tune its creed of faith, and it also meets the demands of a faith in search of “gnosis.” Theology is a constraint born from the deployment of doctrines; it also reveals an unquestionable complicity of Christian faith with the needs of reason*. A complex system thus takes shape; its organization will vary with time, but its essential elements will endure.

3. *Scholasticism: Scientia et Quaestio*

The closing of the philosophical school of Athens by Justinian (in 529) may have had only a certain symbolic value, but it nonetheless signaled the advent of an age during which (within the Christian world) theology ruled incontestably over the organization of knowledge. The theory of that rule is older than the Middle Ages and as old, in fact, as Christianity. The gnoseology of Augustine probably provides the best patristic illustration, inasmuch as it rigorously reduces all other knowledge to the status of prolegomena to faith. Later, an opusculum by Bonaventure* was to give the most compact version of that theory (*De reductione artium ad theologiam*, Q. V, 319–325—the title is editorial). The Latin Middle Ages and the Greek Middle Ages knew how to practice other discourses than that of theology and they conferred the status of knowledge on these other kinds of knowledge. However, the Latin Middle Ages happened to be—and this point is of the utmost importance—the very time and place when theology was being defined in a privileged manner by its position in the structure of knowledges. This was the time when theology came to be defined first of all as a science and as a discipline within a teaching curriculum. The establishment of teaching institutions, from Alcuin (730/735–804) to the creation of the abbatial and cathedral schools, and then of the universities, represented the major external factor in the history of medieval theology. The plurality of discourses may endure—catechetical and homiletic discourse, magisterial discourse, and so on—but the lexis, as well as the history of ideas and of institutions, confirm that theology was defined from then on above all by the place it occupied in the codified organization of the institutions in charge of transmitting knowledge. When the expression *facultas theologica* (“discipline”

or theological “science”) appeared at the University of Paris in the first half of the 13th century, it confirmed a long but steady process, in the course of which theology had become the business of professors of theology and of students in theology.

On the other hand, this process saw the emergence of a system of education that owed most of its characteristics to the successive receptions of Aristotle in the West. Several distinctive features emerged in a schematic manner: 1) Known primarily through the early translations of his work in logic, Aristotle supplied theology with the means newly to define itself as a rigorous discourse. Under the influence of the *Organon*, theology was thus practiced and thought out within the canons of dialectic. The victory of the “dialecticians” (of whom Abelard may be regarded as the patron) over the anti-dialecticians (Peter Damian, Bernard* of Clairvaux) did not mean, despite the extreme nature of the anti-dialecticians’ remarks, that theology became subject to procedures that were irrelevant to theology’s intentions. This victory did mean, however, the advent of a new rationality. The logos of theology and the logos of philosophical logic were linked from then on. The latter gave the former the required tool for carrying out its reasoning; theology could claim to be true by tying its fate to the most rigorous language. 2) This language found its exact expression in the adoption of the “question,” *quaestio*, as the basic tool of theological reasoning. Devoted to the study of the patristic “authorities,” who were known directly or via anthologies, early medieval theology did not “question.” When Peter Lombard composed his *Sentences*, his aim was still to provide the student with an organized compendium of these authorities. Between the didactic account of the compilations and the dialectic brought forward in the “questions,” the transition was therefore the one that led to a heuristic notion of theology. 3) The consequence was an obvious relegation of biblical commentary to the background. Higher Scholasticism did not neglect biblical studies—the scriptural commentaries of Thomas Aquinas are among the best of his writings—but it marginalized them, or it made them in any case preliminary to the speculative work of the “question.” Readily defined from then on as a “science,” on the Aristotelian model of the “subaltern sciences,” theology could no longer give any centrality whatsoever to scriptural exegesis.

A certain unity in the practice of theology does not mean that Scholasticism enjoyed any type of unanimity concerning the nature of the knowledge it was thus practicing. Theology was thematized as science (*scientia*) by Thomas Aquinas and his descendants; Franciscan theology, as illustrated by Bonaventure and his

descendants, will be understood more readily as wisdom*, *sapientia*. In Thomist thinking, theology was considered as a theoretical understanding of God subordinate to the knowledge of God by God himself and by the blessed; in Franciscan thinking it was more readily considered as practical knowledge related to charity. It may seem, however, that the differences between schools of thought are less important than the *organization* of each of these theologies, which merit the precise name of “scholasticisms,” and that the unity of a method is more important than the uses to which it was put, because all of the schools did in fact belong to *the School*. The patristic theologies did not develop anarchically, any more than did post-patristic Greek theology. With the organization that the Latin West gave to theological studies, it may seem, however, that method weighed more heavily. This gave rise to consequences that signaled the precariousness of the medieval synthesis. Practiced as an academic discipline, Scholastic theology saw the unraveling of the ties that, during the patristic period, had linked the systematic/speculative discourses to the ascetic and mystical ones. Scholastic theology was first constituted to meet the needs of “faith seeking understanding” (it certainly did not discover those needs); and even in those of its traditions that were the least intellectual in character, it was a theology for intellectuals, losing almost any connection with preaching and with the kerygmatic activities of the Church. The focus of Christian experience* was certainly never out of sight; but in a discipline where the heuristic dimension was of foremost importance, the theological consequences tended to occupy a place that was considerably more important than the recalling of the articles of faith.

4. Reformation and Modernity

Theology owes its modern face to a plurality of heterogeneous factors: Luther*’s protest against Scholasticism; the growth of historical disciplines; a reorganization of the relations between philosophy and theology; the tension that finally erupted between “science” and “Church.”

a) Luther furnished his program, on the one hand for a theology with a firmly biblical orientation, and on the other hand for one that was firmly existential. The Protestant watchword, *scriptura sola*, did not at all mean that Protestant theology was to follow only the way of scriptural commentary, or that it was to give it clear preference. Indeed, from Melancthon onwards, and especially in the 17th century, Protestant theology was to organize itself in a way that was as systematic as the Catholic theology of late Scholasticism, and in many respects it was to be neo-Aristotelian. Nonethe-

less, Luther himself was first of all a professor of Old Testament exegesis, and his notion of theology was based on a return to a biblical “reading” and a vigorous rejection of any influence coming from philosophical reasoning. “It is an error to say that it is not possible to become a theologian without Aristotle,” states the *Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam* of 1517 (*prop.* 43). This theology that wants to be free from any philosophical influence is a theology that has been brought back to its focus, namely the crucified Christ* of Pauline* theology. The theology of the cross, *theologia crucis*, which Luther opposes to a “theology of glory*,” *theologia gloriae*—the latter desirous of contemplating the divine majesty as it governs all things—is then developed as an experiential theology. “It is not through understanding, reading, or speculating” that one becomes a theologian (WA 5, 163, 28), but through true faith, felt by personal experience. Some well-known formulas express, along with his lack of interest in theological speculation, Luther’s focus on the experience of salvation: “Christ is not named Christ because of his two natures. Why should that matter to me? But he bears the name of Christ, a name which is magnificent and comforting, because of the ministry* and of the task he has assumed; that is why he is given that name. His being by nature man and God, that is for himself; but his having assumed his ministry, his having poured out his love* to become my Savior and my Redeemer, that is where I find my solace and my well-being” (WA 16, 217–218).

Lutheran theology speaks of God indeed and does not limit itself to being a science of belief. It is certain in any case that it is not the discourse of a faith seeking understanding: it is the discourse of faith seeking the certainty of salvation.

b) The post-Reformation era was an age of theological specializations. *Moral theology* (ethics*) was born as a distinct discipline toward the end of the 16th century; at the same time there was also the advent of *positive* theology*, which was to develop fully during the 17th century. The latter was a theology concerned with its own history. From the patristic era the recourse to authorities had been an accepted theological procedure. But with the rise of humanism, that recourse had become critical. It is often difficult to decide where the dividing line is between a positive theology defined as a theological discipline, and a history of the Christian doctrines that would not have any theological concern. In any case it is a major fact that theology was influenced by historical disciplines that had themselves been developed for the writing of histories other than that of theology. In both the Catholic and Protestant realms, and in a process that accelerated up until the

end of the 19th century, theology was written as it wrote its own history. The debates prompted by the historian J.J.I. von Döllinger (1799–1890) in the run-up to Vatican* I constitute perhaps the perfect example of this: from that time onward the Church had to take into account the critical history of its sources and include it in its magisterial discourse.

c) Theology has always known that it is not alone in speaking of God. But if enough thinkers acknowledged the factual coexistence of a “theologians’ God” and a “philosophers’ God” to allow for a basic philosophy to find its place within the classic framework of theological constructions, something new emerged in the 19th century: a philosophy nourished in its turn by theological motifs. Whether in Hegel*’s works, or in Schelling*’s later philosophy, or in Kierkegaard*, the discourse does not claim to be theological, but it mobilizes theological arguments. Delivered as lectures in university philosophy departments (Hegel, Schelling) or privately, the discourse was in fact marginal as far as theology was concerned. It would certainly give rise to theological responses but would not be considered as belonging fully to the history of theology. Although operating at the margins, this discourse did, however, inaugurate a new practice in theological reasoning, which was thenceforth at work within the realm of philosophy itself. Philosophy could become a “philosophy of revelation*,” or even include a Christology* and an idea of the Trinitarian God. A christological sketch could present itself, in Kierkegaard’s work, under the title of *Philosophical Fragments*. In any case, two major phenomena must be taken into consideration. On the negative side, theology, in part, ceased to be a primarily ecclesial discourse and underwent (in Hegel and Schelling, but not in Kierkegaard) a certain annexation; a line of thought that did not explicitly claim any doctrinal or intellectual authority in the Church took over the content of ecclesial preaching and partially subjected it to its laws. On the positive side, the Biblical God entered (as such) the realm of philosophy, which required an expansion of theology’s traditional boundaries. On the one hand, the standard frontier between theology and philosophy became blurred. On the other, the juxtaposition of the philosophical and the theological was being replaced by theological work done within the framework of the philosophical.

d) If contemporary theology is starting to perceive the benefits of such a reorganization, its dangers were evident rather sooner. Can theology keep its name and its ambitions while ceasing to be a discourse of the Church? Medieval theology was of the university and

of the Church. The hypothesis of a university theology that would no longer be ecclesial emerged clearly during the 19th century in the Protestant world. The question was raised particularly acutely by C. A. Bernoulli’s book, *Die wissenschaftliche und die kirchliche Methode in der Theologie* (Freiburg, 1897). The book’s main interest was that it brought to a conclusion a trend that had persisted throughout virtually the whole of the century. From the Middle Ages to the 19th century, the requisites of scientificity changed; the idea of a scientific theology became at least problematic. Between the demands of academic work and those of ecclesial faithfulness, between university and Church, there was henceforth a field of “tension” (for example Seckler 1980). That tension was bound to arise once critical history was earning its place in theology, and the position of theology itself was becoming less secure among the university disciplines. Medieval theology had been able to take the form of an academic theology without losing its ecclesial identity—even though it is true that the upheaval of the Reformation was not due only to the spiritual experience of a monk, Luther, but also to that monk’s revolt in his capacity as a university professor, “Dr. Martin.” The 18th century had already given good examples of a crisis situation: the birth of “enlightened” and anti-authoritarian theologies, and of a “neology” (rationalism*) that criticized the traditional doctrinal formulas, because of its sustained desire to become emancipated from the magisterial authority* of the ecclesiastical ministry; and symmetrically, the polemic of pietism* against the “theology of the non-regenerated,” which stated it was impossible to practice the profession of theologian where the demands of theological life were not met. During the 19th century, and still in the Protestant world, the crisis became more acute because the scientific status of theology became less certain. As a result, the aporia occurred quickly, under the form of a division. On the one hand the Church uttered the discourse of its confessions of faith and of its catecheses; on the other hand the university faculties of theology faced the temptation of ensuring their scientific respectability by freeing themselves of all ecclesial constraints. Theology wanted to organize itself as a science, albeit a science with a new meaning—and it could do this only by assuming the role of an authority that criticizes any form of theological speech other than “scientific” speech.

5. Contemporary Reorganizations

University theology of the 19th century was not entirely cut off from the daily life of the Church; nonetheless, reestablishing a close connection was one of the main problems it had to face in the 20th century.

The prime inspiration of the “dialectical theology” of the young Barth*—a pastor who subsequently became a professor—was the avowed need to create a theology that could be preached; and the mature Barth responded to Bernoulli’s dilemma by giving his main work the title of *Kirchliche Dogmatik* (*Church Dogmatics*). As the ecclesial structures of Catholicism* could not have allowed such a dilemma to be raised, Catholic theology had not been subjected to the temptations of Protestant university rationalism*. But because this theology had been deployed continuously as a university theology since the Middle Ages, and because Neoscholasticism, officially established at the end of the 19th century, had probably exacerbated the problems already raised by the syntheses of higher Scholasticism, analogous efforts had to be made. A theology that could be preached, a university discourse that would not be separated from the languages of worship and preaching; this is precisely what would eventually be requested, a few years after Barth, by “the theology of preaching” (*Verkündigungstheologie*), as proposed by people such as J.A. Jüngmann and H. Rahner. The Protestant answer to Bernoulli’s question was a neo-orthodoxy capable of taking up again, in a significant manner, the central themes of Christian preaching; the Catholic response probably came with the renewal of patristic studies. The aporia of theology was hidden, in a certain sense, in the notion of progress. Organized as a science, medieval theology and its posterity could not but produce the ambition of enriching a body of knowledge: if theology, thus conceptualized, had to have a history, it could not be any other than the progress of knowledge—and the progress of knowledge is not achieved only through its accumulation, but also through the refinement of the technical language in which knowledge is expressed. History cannot be undone. It is, however, through a rereading of sources, rather than because of any ambition for progress, that 20th century Catholic theology has made its most noteworthy contribution to the understanding of faith. To the rediscovery of patristic writings, with all their power to fertilize theological discourse, might be added another factor: the reappearance of Orthodox theology amid the totality of Christian theologies, due to the emigration that followed the 1917 Russian Revolution. The adversaries of the “new theology” (Lubac*; see *TRE* 24, 668–675) were not entirely wrong about what was at stake. The founders of *Sources chrétiennes* and those around them (though with other words) wanted to replace a heuristic/deductive theology with a hermeneutic one. A science of conclusions had to be replaced by a return to the sources; without the study of these sources, conclusions would have no meaning; any conclusion was in

fact only to be drawn after a close interpretation of the sources. It was indeed a matter of refusing the endemic progressivism of Neoscholasticism.

There was probably more to this: the connections between contemporary Catholic theology and the “liturgical movement” were a major new fact. Theology is liturgical in essence, but it had probably reached a point where it had become so only in the most attenuated way. The rediscovery of liturgy as a site of speech and meaning, which had been heralded in Guardini’s program (published under the title *L’essence de la liturgie* in 1918, one year prior to Barth’s first commentary on the Epistle to the Romans), goes beyond the limited framework of the theory of Christian worship and generally concerns any theory of Christian discourse. The theologian’s profile thus changes significantly. Nowhere is it said that reflection and critical activity are being refused the right to exist, but on the other hand, theology is being taken back to its source. Theology deals with the mystery of God, it deals with it in a Church that also celebrates “mysteries,” and in a Church for which this mystery offers itself to thought in an economy of presence and event—in a Church, therefore, whose religious practices provide the first matrix for speaking *about* God by offering a language in which to speak *to* him. And if that is the basis of a Catholic as well as of an Orthodox theology, it should probably be added that hermeneutics*, to which a significant current of Protestant theology has committed itself (E. Fuchs, G. Ebeling), is in a certain way a genuinely liturgical theology—a theology of words that become Word, and eminently so in the act of preaching.

These tendencies are those of an existential theology, of which Balthasar*’s article (1948) on “Theology and sanctity” gives us probably a complete manifesto. It is not possible to respond to the question of theology without evoking the person of the theologian. Theological language* is a believing language, self-implicating, which cannot be understood separately from those who speak it. Theology cannot therefore be entirely defined without discerning in it the efforts of a faith in search of charity, of a faith already prompted by charity. And if, on the other hand, we go back to the patristic identification of theology and the highest contemplation*, then it will be necessary to observe that theology takes form in the experience of the saints as certainly as (or even more certainly than) it does in academic work; in this case the theologian appears not just in the form of a professor, but also in the features of a Theresa of Lisieux, or an Elizabeth of the Trinity, or a Silouan of Athos. None of this is new, but this classical view revives a tradition* forgotten over the centuries during which the theological contri-

bution of the mystics had been considered scientifically negligible.

This does not mean that a theology understood first of all to be *sapientia* can eliminate all scientific concern from its field of research. If theology is an experience, it is simultaneously a discourse among all the discourses that aspire to be true, and the matter of its validity has permanent value. During the 20th century this matter was approached in several ways: 1) Faced with the modern redefinition of the field of "science," it was not possible to reaffirm the rationality of the theological by isolating theological language in the realm of cultic languages in such a way that all communication would be broken off: it was necessary to integrate theological language into the general economy of language without denying it its own specificity, but also without condemning its logic to be a merely "regional" logic. Whether in relation to logical reason (e.g. Breton, 1971) or the philosophy of language (e.g. Ladrière, 1984), theology had therefore to prove that its experience is indeed the experience of the logos; it also had to recall what patristic teaching tells us, namely that the divine Logos is not separable from the logos present in human beings. 2) Again because of the modern redefinition of the field of "science," theology was bound to respond by justifying its own epistemic competence. Beyond the classical theories concerning theological knowledge (e.g. Scheeben*), the production of a theological epistemology that would take into account this redefinition in the framework of a dialogue with the sciences represented a necessary moment (Torrance 1969). The concept of "theological science" then reappeared in order to reintegrate theology into the community of knowledges that aspire to the highest rigor, and to prove that it does have at its disposal cognitive procedures as well-founded as those of other branches of knowledge. 3) Missionary concerns required that theology responded to the requests for critical rationality inherited from the Enlightenment by arguing for (and from) the immediate intelligibility of its statements. The necessity for existential relevance is thus added, in Bultmann*'s opinion, to the necessity for critical judgment: theology can exist in the element of the logos only by conducting within itself a critical analysis of any mythical residue; and inasmuch as its own vocation is to have its words heard and its central texts read, theology cannot meet these necessities (and permit those texts to become word) unless it decodes the texts for modern man, deciphering them in such a way that the eternal meaning of the gospel appears from beneath the alluvium of a bygone cultural context.

Whether a circle or a field of tension, the connection between *scientia* and *sapientia* remains the constitutive

problem of theology. Fully given back to the context of ecclesial life, theology cannot, without risking ruin, lock itself up in the joys of liturgy* or in the satisfactions provided by a precritical reading of the Scriptures. On the one hand, theology owes it to the world to express itself in a rigorous language: the apologetic moment is constitutive. On the other hand, it owes it to itself to be able to conduct its own self-criticism. Theology may fashion for itself an ideal image of what it is, the image of the word proclaimed and commented upon liturgically by the ministers of the Church; and that image, with which eucharistic ecclesiology* is familiar (N. Afanassieff, A. Schmemmann, J. Zizioulas; see also Marion, 1982), no doubt has its truth: theology is mystagogical. There is, however, another image, which does not contradict the previous one, but reveals another aspect: here theology appears as a perpetual quest for the most accurate language, and thus it enters the debate in which *all* the languages that aspire to be true participate. The demand for proper criticism does not contradict the mystagogical or doxological demand; it actually proceeds from it. Theology is plural by nature. And the plurality of discourses leads to a tenuous equilibrium. If theology were only liturgical in nature, it would cease to meet the missionary demands of *apologia*. Should it instead be only scientific in nature, it would cease to meet the demands of the spiritual lives of believers. The complex history of theology shows the aporias that constantly threaten it. It also demonstrates the conditions of theology's loyalty to its own logos and its own functions.

Theology best seizes these conditions when it conceptualizes the ecclesiological status of its discourses. The Church as such is then the very subject of theology. It is so in various ways: as Church determining solemnly its rule of faith; as Church commenting liturgically upon its Scriptures; as Church bringing its own discourse into an encounter with all the religious discourses of the world; as Church guaranteeing reflexively the rigor of its discourse; as Church discovering in the process of reasoning the means to deepen faith. No ecclesial function could therefore exhaust the practice of theology, and no simple definition could exhaust its meaning. The status of the theologian is multifaceted: neither the bishop*, nor the professor, nor the mystic could suffice as such to realize the whole essence of the theological. Theology is a historical discourse produced by a Church that is never entirely absorbed by a single one of its tasks; that never claims to have delivered the final commentary on the events from which it was born; and that does not entrust any one person among its members with the exclusive responsibility of issuing commentary. The unity of theology is discovered only in the articulated plurality of theological

discourses. And the good articulation of these discourses—a good division of theological labor—is perhaps the essential task of the Church.

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See also Being; God; Language, Theological; Philosophy; Scholasticism; Theological Schools

Theology, Dialectical. *See* Barth, Karl; Lutheranism

Theology, Feminist. *See* Woman

Theology, Monastic. *See* Bernard of Clairvaux

Theology, Moral. *See* Ethics

Theology, Mystical. *See* Negative Theology

Theophany

I. Old Testament

1. Vocabulary: “To See,” “To Be Seen,” and “Vision”

“Theophany”—from *theos*, “God,” and *phanein*, “to appear” or “to make oneself seen”—is not found in biblical vocabulary. Its content belongs to the semantic field of “seeing” and “vision” (*see* Vetter, 1976). It had been granted to man to “see” God*, or at least be witness to one of his manifestations. When a human being “sees” God, however (simple mode, or “QAL” from the verb *ra’ah*), it is not simply a matter of sensory perception (Vetter), and it is God who “makes himself seen” (reflexive mode or *niphal*). Likewise, the “vision” (*mare’eh*, *châzôn*...) goes beyond ordinary human capacities. God’s transcendence is maintained thanks to mediations, such as that of “the angel* of the Lord,” or through terms such as “Name*” (*shém*), “face,” (*pânîm*) or “glory*” (*kâbôd*), which contain an element of anthropomorphism*.

These changes in formulation correspond to a ten-

sion that can be felt in a number of narratives*. YHWH “manifests himself” to Abraham (Gn 18:1), but Abraham only sees three men (verse 2). Similarly, the angel of the Lord appears to Moses (Ex 3), but the burning bush, which is not consumed (v. 2), is all that is visible. In Judges 13 the angel of the Lord is taken at first for a “man of God” and later recognized (v. 20), then Manoah goes so far as to say, “We have seen God” (v. 22). The texts often give the Word* as the only means of divine communication. But we will see that some individuals qualified as “seers.”

2. The Texts

Theophany is frequently a sign of divine favor, confirms a promise*, or accompanies help given.

a) Narrative Traditions: Local Manifestations (Sanctuaries). From the relation (not always explicit) between theophany and localized sanctuaries, modern exegesis* has uncovered “cultural legends” or narrative traditions* maintained by the guardians of various lo-

calities. Thus in Exodus 20:24: “In every place where I record my name, I will come to you and bless you.” To the divine initiative, the human response is that of building an altar. Thus explains Abraham in Sichem (Gn 12:7) and Isaac in Beersheba (Gn 26:23ff.). Genesis 16:1–16 is the story of manifestation that completes 13:18 (construction of an altar). The angel of the Lord comes to the aid of Hagar (Gn 16:8ff.) at Lahai Roi, whose name suggests that she could have seen God (or the god) who sees her (vv. 13f.).

In the Jacob cycle, the tradition of Bethel (Gn 28:10–22) combines several features: vision in a dream, angels (v. 12), the promise of the Lord (vv. 13ff.). Jacob recognizes him to be present “in this place” (vv. 16ff.), which will be a “house of God” (elements of a ritual in verse 18); he names it “bethel” and will later build the altar there (Gn 35:1, 35:8). Elsewhere, the name of Peniel or Penouel clearly emphasizes that Jacob was able to see God without dying (Gn 32:31) while he was struggling against the mysterious “man” (Gn 32:25–32).

A cultural legend seems to be behind Exodus 3:1–6. The site, which an addition identifies to be at Horeb-Sinai, was protected as a holy place: “Don’t approach...take off your sandals” (v. 5). The “bush,” *senèh*, suggests Sinai, a supreme place of divine manifestation. In Judges 6:11–24, theophany legitimizes both Gideon and an altar (v. 24).

God was also manifest in places that were already recognized as holy, and where there was a temple*, such as Gabaon (1 Kgs 3:4–15), where Solomon had come to make a sacrifice (v. 3).

b) Theophany as the Legitimization of a Role. The theophany that Moses experienced (Ex 3:1–4, 17) coincided with his being sent on a mission*. He even received the revelation* of the name of the Lord (3:13ff.; 6:2f.) and would be able to make use of signs of credibility (3:12; 4:1–9). The case of Gideon is similar (Jgs 6:1–10, 6:14). The sign requested (v. 17) and granted (vv. 18–24) is comparable to Exodus 3:12 and 4:1–9. To this might be added the case of Samuel (1 Sm 3:10, 3:21) and Solomon (1 Kgs 3:4–15), although no mention of the prophets* will be made at this time.

c) Prophetic Traditions: “Seers,” Prophets, and Vision. According to Numbers 12:6ff., while God manifested himself to prophets through visions or dreams, he spoke in the presence of Moses, and Moses “saw the form of the Lord.” Visions and dreams were therefore the usual means of revelation to the prophets. However, the prophets were first and foremost men of the “word.” Even if stories of vocation could be ac-

companied by theophany (Is 6; Ez 1–3), this was not always the case (Is 40:1–9; 61:1ff.; Am 7:14f.).

1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings feature prophets, “seers,” or “men of God.” The Lord can be consulted through their mediation (*see* 1 Sm 9:5ff.; 1 Kgs 14). Gad, the prophet (1 Sm 22:5; 2 Sm 24:11) is declared “seer of David” (2 Sm 24:11). Oracles are announced in writing as “visions” (*see* Is 1:1; 2:1; 13:1; Am 1:1; Mi 1:1; Na 1:1; Hb 1:1), something that is verified only in certain passages (*see* Am 7:1–9; 8:1ff.; 9:1–4; Jer 1:11ff.). Ezekiel is the great visionary and prepares the way for apocalyptic theology.

d) The Theophany of Sinai and Cultural Traditions. The theophany par excellence is that of Sinai (Horeb), associated with the covenant* and the Ten Commandments (Decalogue*). It is accompanied by cosmic phenomena (Ex 19:16–19). The texts bring together several traditions.

In spite of Exodus 19:13b (*see* 24:1f., 24:9–11), Moses alone approaches the mountain. But according to Exodus 19:17, the people go with him as far as the foot of the mountain. From that spot, so that they will not be afraid, it is Moses who will speak to them (Ex 20:18–21). Moses speaks with God (Ex 19:19), and preserves the “words (*debârim*) of the Lord” (Ex 24:3; *see* 20:1f.), which are related to the covenant (Ex 24:3–8; 32:10, 32:27f.).

By means of a sort of return to the source, it is again at Horeb, another name for Sinai (1 Kgs 19:11) that God promises Elijah that he will pass in front of him, as in an earlier time when the glory of the Lord passed before Moses (Ex 33:21ff.; 34:5–8). A powerful wind, an earthquake, and a fire (1 Kgs 19:11) precede the advent of a light breeze: Elijah understands then that God will “pass” and he veils his face as he stands at the entrance to the cave (v. 12f.). God then speaks to him and gives him a few orders (vv. 13–18).

In the sacerdotal traditions, the theophany of Sinai is relayed by the meeting tent, which in turn anticipates the temple of Jerusalem* (Ex 24:15b–18a; 25–31; 35–40). The “glory” of the Lord (*see* Ex 24:16f.; or the pillar of cloud: Ex 33:6–11) comes to reside there (Ex 40:34f.). The temple of Jerusalem, where the ark is kept, is also where the Lord, “who presides over the cherubim,” can be found (1 Sm 4:4; 2 Sm 6:2; 2 Kgs 19:15; Ex 37:16; Ps 80:2; 99:1; 1 Chr 13:6). The arrival of the ark and of the presence of the Lord amount to the same thing (*see* 1 Sm 4:7f.). If the temple was built in the “name” of the Lord (*see* 2 Sm 7:13; 1 Kgs 8:17–20, 8:43, 8:48; Dt 12:5, 12:11, 12:21, etc.), it is his “glory” that, accompanied by the cloud, comes to inhabit it (1 Kgs 8:11). One day Ezekiel would see the “glory” leave the temple (Ez 8–11). For the faithful in

the Old Testament, the temple was the place of divine manifestation (Ps 63:2f.).

3. The Eschatological Manifestation

The definitive intervention of God in favor of his people, which radically changed the course of history*, has the traits of a theophany presented above all in an apocalyptic genre (*see* literary* genres). God reveals his power over the cosmos* according to the model—somewhat amplified—of the major episodes of the holy war, sometimes described as cosmic cataclysms (Ex 14:29; 15:1–12; Ps 106:8–12). It is thus that in Deuteronomy 7–12 one finds several colorful descriptions. The apocalyptic discourse of Jesus* in the synoptic gospels* (Mk 13 par.) also uses the conventions of this language.

4. Who Can “See God” and How?

a) “One cannot see God and stay alive.” “You cannot see my face, for no man can see my face and live” (Ex 33:20). This axiom was etched into the consciousness of the people (Ex 3:6; Jgs 6:22; 13:22, etc.; *see* Is 6:5). Manoah’s wife, however, does notice that the message received is incompatible with the threat of death* (Jgs 13:23). Sometimes the Lord himself is reassuring (Jgs 6:23; *see* Is 6:6f.).

b) *Exceptions.* The major exception is Moses. God spoke to Moses “face to face, as one man speaks to another” (Ex 33:11), and Moses knew the Lord face to face (Dt 34:10), whence his superiority over other prophets. Numbers 12:6ff. is particularly explicit. There are diverging traditions.

In Exodus 33:18–23, Moses asks to see the “glory” of the Lord (v. 18). The answer he receives does not seem homogeneous: unlike what is said in v. 11, Moses cannot see the “face” of the Lord (v. 20); and it is only when hidden by the Lord’s hand that he will be able to see his “back parts” (vv. 21ff.).

Other than Moses, it was granted to few individuals to “see God”: for example, along with Moses, there were Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy ancients in Exodus 24:1f.; 24:9ff. The text is not straightforward.

If the peak of the story is to be found in vv. 10ff.—Moses and his companions were able to contemplate God without risking death—the 2nd verse diverges. The same discordant note, in the case of an entire people, is found in Deuteronomy 5:4f. According to verse 4, an older verse, the entire nation listened to the Lord face to face (without any explicit mention of the word “vision”), but verse 5 introduces Moses’s mediation. This is in fact a correction, for verses 23 ff. repeat the line from verse 4: the people no longer want to communicate with the Lord without Moses as intermediary.

c) *Writings of Wisdom.* Elements of theophany are frequent in the Psalms*; they even appear, from time to time, in wisdom* writings. In the Psalms, divine manifestation disrupts nature (Ps 29:5–9; 68:2f.; 78:13–16; 97:2–5; etc.). God appears before Job in the middle of a hurricane (Job 38:1; 40:6) and Job recognizes his own error: “I had only heard of you by word of mouth, but now my eyes have seen you” (42:5).

II. New Testament

1. Vocabulary

The authors of the New Testament followed to a large degree the path opened to them by the translation of the Old Testament into Greek, the Septuagint (LXX). *Horáo* and *horama*, with their synonyms, are important. The related vocabulary, “to see” and “vision,” has therefore a privileged place. But the LXX, to mention only this work, had used *epiphaneia* and *epiphanein* on numerous occasions, often to restore the *r’h* to the *niphal*. It is therefore not surprising to come across them also in the New Testament (*see* Lv 1:79; Acts 27:20; Ti 2:11; 3:4, for the verb; 2 Thes 2:8; 1 Tm 6:14; 2 Tm 1:10; 4:1, 4:8; Ti 2:13, for the noun).

2. Revival of Old Testament Traditions, and New Elements

It was through Jesus that God appeared in a decisive manner. And from one Testament to the other there is both continuity and development.

a) *Continuity.* In some cases the way in which God is made manifest or revealed is nearly the same as in the Old Testament: God guides Joseph (Mt 1:20; 2:13, 2:19, 2:22) or Paul (Acts 16:9f.; 18:9; 23:11; 27:23) by using dreams. Luke repeats the idea of Joel 3:1: dreams are an eschatological manifestation of the Holy* Spirit (Acts 2:17). God also manifests his will through angels: the annunciation of the birth of Jesus to Joseph (Mt 1:20) and to Mary (Lk 1:26, 1:38), and of the birth of John to Zachariah (Lk 1:11ff., 1:19). In Matthew 1:20 the angel of the Lord appears in a dream; in Luke 1 the apparition of Gabriel is more immediate. Angels assist Jesus (Lk 22:43; *see* Mt 4:11; Mk 1:13) or announce his resurrection* (Mt 28:2; Lk 24:4, 24:23; *see* Jn 20:12). The baptism* of Jesus (Mk 1:9ff. par.) gave rise to a sort of theophany: the skies open, the Spirit descends, a voice proclaims: “This is my beloved son.” The episode of the transfiguration contains several comparable features (Mk 9:2–9 par.).

b) *Development.* The new element in the New Testament relates to the resurrection of Jesus (Mk 16 par.; *see* 1 Cor 15:5–9), made known above all through his

appearances. But the aspect of theophany is more evident in the vision of Stephen (Acts 7:55f.; see Lk 22:69), or that of Paul on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1–19; 22:4–21; 26:9–18). The risen Jesus is contemplated in the features of the Son* of Man by the seer of the apocalypse (Rev 1:9–20). The event of the resurrection was unique insofar as it was a definitive manifestation of the grace* of God for the salvation* of humankind (Ti 2:11, etc.); likewise, our hope* is found in the expectation of the “manifestation [*epiphaneia*] of the glory” of Christ* (Ti 2:3): this would become the definitive theophany.

3. “To See” in the Fourth Gospel

Jesus, Theophany of the Father. John emphasizes the aspect of theophany in the incarnation* and in the mission of Jesus. In the incarnate Word* we are given the possibility of contemplating the glory of the only Son (Jn 1:14), even though Jesus, before his death, speaks of a glory yet to come: (Jn 13:31f.). Philip asks: “Master, show us the Father” (Jn 14:8)—thus, Jesus is the theophany of the Father: “Whoever has seen me, has seen the Father” (v. 9). Through Jesus, the invisible God is made visible (Jn 1:18). Faith*, therefore, is received through what the first witnesses “saw” (see Jn 20:29) and that faith nourishes one’s expectations of

contemplating Jesus in his glory (see Jn 17:24). We live from that certainty: “We see him as he is” (1 Jn 3:2; see Rev 22:4) and we too shall be glorified with him (see Col 3:4).

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See also Angels; Anthropomorphism; Cosmos; Eschatology; Glory of God; Prophet and Prophecy; Resurrection of Christ; Revelation; Temple

Theophilus of Antioch. *See Apologists*

Theosophy

The use of the term *theosophia* is unknown before Porphyry, for whom the *theosophos* was an ideal being who could be both philosopher and poet. Proclus used *theosophia* in the sense of doctrine, and according to Clement of Alexandria the *theosophos* was a man driven by divine knowledge. In the Middle Ages

theosophia became synonymous with *theologia*; but from the end of the 16th century the term came to be used to denote an esoteric movement. It may have been in Arbatel’s *De magia veterum* (Basel, 1575), a short work on spiritual magic, that it was used for the first time in a sense close to the 17th-

century one. Its usage spread thanks to the editors of Boehme's works.

a) *Dawn and the First Golden Age of the Theosophical Movement.* One esoteric movement among several that had appeared since the Renaissance (including neo-Alexandrian hermetism, Christian cabbala, Paracelsianism, and "spiritual" alchemy), theosophy was in part inspired by these, and became established in Germany as a specific spiritual movement. Among the proto-theosophists, mention should be made of Valentin Weigel (1533–88), who combined Rhineland*-Flemish mysticism with Paracelsianism, which was both a mode of thought concerning nature and a cosmology composed of medicine, alchemy, chemistry, and complex theories about the networks of interrelations that united the different levels of the reality of the universe. Also important were Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1605), whose *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternum* (1595 and 1609) was to exert a lasting influence on various later esoteric movements, and Johann Arndt (1555–1621), who in his *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (vol. 4, 1610) attempted to fuse medieval mysticism, the neo-Paracelsian inheritance, and alchemy.

From Silesian Lutheran Jacob Boehme's first book (*Aurora*, 1610) the theosophical movement acquired its definitive characteristics, or nearly so—only *Der Weg zu Christo* (1622) appeared in Boehme's lifetime; *Aurora* (1634), *De Signatura Rerum* (1645), *Mysterium Magnum* (1640) and his other works were published subsequently. Boehme and his successors exhibit little doctrinal unity, but three common characteristics can be discerned in the movement: 1) The "triangle" of God*, man, and nature—a visionary theory concerned at the same time with the nature of the deity* (including intradivine processes, etc.), with nature, and with mankind's origin, place in the universe, and role in the economy of salvation. 2) The primacy of myth. The theosophist's creative imagination is presumed to be based on revelation*, but emphasizes its most mythic aspects, such as are to be found in Genesis, the vision of Ezekiel, and the Revelation. Thus such themes and figures as Sophia, the angels*, the primitive androgyne, and the successive falls of Lucifer and Adam* are presented. Theosophy is a kind of theology* of images. 3) Direct access to higher worlds. Man has the ability to place himself in an immediate relationship with the divine world or that of higher entities, the *mundus imaginalis* or imaginal world (Henry Corbin), and can thus hope to bring about an interpenetration of the human and the divine, and to "fix" his spirit in a body of light for a "second birth."

Six factors contributed to the success of this type of

experience*: 1) Lutheranism* permitted free enquiry, which in the case of some mystics assumed a prophetic bias. 2) Theosophy was characterized by a mixture of mysticism* and rationalism*, and the theosophists gave expression to inner experience, while conversely also paying attention to pre-existing discourses in order to transform them into inner experience. 3) A hundred years after the Reformation, the spiritual barrenness of theology was at times keenly felt. 4) Many believers expressed the need to turn their interest toward a prophetic type of activity, in reaction to a magisterium* that was often intolerant of this. 5) The period witnessed an intensification of desire for unity between sciences and ethics*, and theosophy was in its very essence all-embracing. 6) The appearance of mechanism gave rise to a reaction that reaffirmed the place of the microcosm within the macrocosm—in other words, the idea of universal correspondences.

The following authors are attached to this current of theosophy: In Germany, besides Boehme, Johann Georg Gichtel (1638–1710), *Theosophia Practica*, published 1722; Quirinus Kuhlmann (1651–89), *Külp-salter*, 1677; and Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714), *Das Geheimnis der göttlichen Sophia*, 1700. In the Netherlands, Johann Baptist Van Helmont (1577–1664), *Aufgang der Arzneykunst*, 1683; and Franziscus Mercurius Van Helmont (1618–1699), *The Paradoxical Discourses Concerning the Macrocosm and the Microcosm*, 1685. In England, Robert Fludd (1574–1637), *Utriusque Cosmi Historia*, 1617–26; John Pordage (1608–81), *Theologia Mystica, or the Mystic Divinitie of the Aeternal Invisibles*, 1683; and Jane Leade (1623–1704), *The Love of Paradise, Given Forth by Wisdom to a Translated Spirit*, 1695. In France, Pierre Poiret (1646–1719), *L'Économie divine, ou Système universel*, 1687; and Antoinette Bourignon (1616–80), *Œuvres* (edited by Pierre Poiret, 1679–1684). To these is added a rich theosophic iconography. At the end of the 17th century, theological writings appeared that gave a key place to theosophy, but which either criticized it or condemned it, such as Ehrgott Daniel Colberg's *Das Platonisch-Hermetische Christenthum*, 1690–91.

b) *The Transitional Period.* In the first half of the 18th century a new theosophical movement arose, in which two main tendencies can be distinguished. One tendency, which remains close to the original Bohemian corpus, is characterized by William Law (1686–1761) in *An Appeal to All that Doubt, The Spirit of Prayer* (1749–50), and *The Way to Divine Knowledge* (1752); Dionysius Andreas Freher (1649–1728), an interpreter of Boehme; Johann Georg Gichtel in *Theosophia Practica* (1722); the German Douzetemps

in *The Mystery of the Cross* (1732); and by the Swiss Hector de Saint-Georges de Marsais (1688–1755), an associate of the spiritualists of Berlebourg, in the *Explication de la Genèse* (1738). This theosophy no longer exhibits the visionary outpouring that was characteristic of the movement in the 17th century. It is more intellectual and, while it is true that it remains “all-embracing,” it is hardly based on a *Zentralschau*, or central vision, of an illuminative type.

The same goes for the second strand of early-18th-century theosophy, a “magical” tendency that showed a Paracelsian and alchemical bias. It was represented by Georg von Welling (1655–1727), also known as Salwigt, in *Opus mago-cabbalisticum et theosophicum* (1719); by A. J. Kirchweyer (†1746) in *Aurea Catena Homeri* (1723); by Samuel Richter, also known as Sincerus Renatus, in *Theosophia Philosophica Theoretica et Practica* (1711); and by Hermann Fictuld in *Aureum Vellus* (1749).

This period also saw a proliferation of treatises on theosophy, most of them highly critical, such as those by Friedrich Gentzken’s *Historia Philosophiae* (1724), Johann Franciscus Buddeus’s *Isagoge* (1727), and above all, Jakob Brucker’s *Kurtze Fragen* (1730–36) and *Historia critica philosophiae* (1742–44). Diderot’s article in the *Encyclopédie*, “Theosophes” (1758 and 1763), which plagiarizes Brucker, is however relatively favorable.

c) From Pre-Romanticism to Romanticism, or the Second Golden Age. The theosophical movement underwent a revival in the 1770s, enjoying a second golden age that lasted until the middle of the 19th century. Several significant factors contributed to this: 1) the importance of the idea of the “inner” or “invisible” Church*, independent of denominational structures; 2) an increasingly widespread interest in the problem of evil*, and particularly in the myth* of the fall and reinstatement; 3) the agreement between science and knowledge, which became a major issue at the same time as experimental physics was being popularized, with its capacity to stimulate the imagination by offering a glimpse (thanks to electricity and magnetism) of a life or fluid that seemed to permeate all the kingdoms of nature; and (4) eclecticism, which took more varied shapes than ever—some became interested in little-known civilizations, some attempted to reconcile apparently very distinct traditions.

Within the theosophical scene that extends over these eight decades, three currents can be discerned. First, there was a theosophy that continued to be influenced by Boehme, and that is represented by a figure still considered to be the greatest theosophist in the French language, Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin

(1743–1803). Saint-Martin’s first book, *Des Erreurs et de la Vérité* (1775), was inspired by the teachings of his mentor Martines de Pasqually (1727–74), the author of a *Traité de la Réintégration des Êtres créés dans leurs primitives propriétés, vertus et puissances spirituelles divines*. Among Saint-Martin’s other major works are the *Tableau naturel des rapports qui unissent Dieu, l’homme et l’univers* (1781), and those inspired by Boehme, such as *L’Homme de Désir* (1790) and *Le Ministère de l’Homme Esprit* (1802). In French, too, there appeared *La Philosophie divine appliquée aux lumières naturelle, magique, astrale, surnaturelle, céleste et divine* (1793) by Jean-Philippe Dutoit-Membrini (1721–93), also known as Keleph Ben Nathan. In Germany the two most important figures were the Swabian Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–82), an interpreter of Boehme, Swedenborg, and the Cabala in *Lehrtafel der Prinzessin Antonia* (1763) and *Biblisches und emblematisches Wörterbuch* (1775); and Franz von Baader of Munich (1765–1841), one of the major representatives of German Romantic *Naturphilosophie* (*Complete Works*, 1851–60).

The second current is epitomized by the name of a single author, the Swede Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), who seems to owe nothing to earlier or contemporary theosophy. Swedenborg’s output included *Arcana Coelestia* (1745–58), *De Nova Hierosolyma* (1758), *Apocalypsis revelata* (1766), and *Apocalypsis explicata* (published posthumously, 1785–89). This body of work, produced during the previous period, is less dramatic and tragic than the other productions of the same movement in that it puts little emphasis on the foundation of Judeo-Christian myth and the complexities of hierarchy; but the doctrine of “universal correspondences,” which it expounds at length, has influenced many writers, including Balzac and Baudelaire.

The third current involved a number of initiatory societies of an esoteric nature. These served to transmit part of the content of the two previous currents with the help of rituals that were often rich in symbolism. This was particularly true of several high-degree Masonic rites, including the Corrected Scottish Rite (1768), the Golden Rose-Cross (1777), the Brothers of the Cross (1777), the Initiated Brothers of Asia (1779), the Illuminated Theosophists (around 1783), and the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite (1801).

d) Eclipse and Persistence. The Occultist Movement, which made up a major part of the esoteric scene in the late-19th and early-20th centuries, was hardly of a character to secure the continuance of theosophy. It did, however, help to ensure its transmission, thanks to

its very eclecticism. The second half of the 19th century also witnessed the success of the idea of a “primordial tradition,” which was assumed to lie behind all humanity’s religious traditions. Theosophy tended rather to take root and develop within a specific tradition (the Judeo-Christian*), and the appeal to a parent “tradition” easily led to quite abstract speculations. The work of René Guénon (1886–1951) also helped to stifle the theosophical movement.

The birth of the Theosophical Society, the first mass esoteric society in the modern West, was contemporary with the rise of occultism, in which it was partly rooted. The Society was founded in 1875 by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–91), and according to its constitution had three aims: 1) to form the nucleus of a universal brotherhood; 2) to encourage the study of all religions, philosophy*, and science, and 3) to study the laws of nature as well as the psychic and spiritual powers of mankind. The cultural and spiritual influence of the Theosophical Society brought about a shift of meaning. In the minds of a vast section of the public, this is what the word *theosophy* typically conjures up, rather than the quite different esoteric movement that arose at the turn of the 17th century.

The theosophical current has not altogether dried up during the period running from the mid-19th century to the present day. It had a profound influence on the thought of such Russians as Vladimir Solovyov* (1853–1900) and Nicolas Berdyaev (1874–1945). It is present in the works of the Austrian Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), the founder of the Anthroposophical Society—including his *Goethe als Theosoph* (1904) and *Theosophie* (1904)—as well as in the works of the German Leopold Ziegler (1881–1958), in the *Meditationen über die grossen Arcana des Taro* (1972) by the Baltic writer Valentin Tomberg (1901–73), and in the *Ésotérisme de la Genèse* (1946–48) by France’s Auguste-Édouard Chauvet (1885–1955).

Over the past 70 years, studies of the theosophical movement, or rather of some of its representatives, have been far commoner than what could strictly be termed new theosophical works. Mention should be made, however, of Henry Corbin (1903–78), a respected Islamist, who put “Abrahamic theosophy” at the heart of an investigation that combined scholarship and spiritual research to introduce Islamic theosophy to the West. In this work, Corbin also attempted to lay down the foundations of a “comparative theosophy” of the Biblical religions—in spite of the obvious differ-

ences separating the Western theosophical movement from what one might call the theosophies of Islam.

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ANTOINE FAIVRE

See also Lutheranism; Mysticism; Myth; Nature; Orthodoxy, Modern and Contemporary; Philosophy; Platonism, Christian; Rhineland-Flemish Mysticism; World

Theotokos. See Ephesus, Council of; Mary

Theresa of Lisieux. See Childhood, Spiritual

Thierry of Chartres. See Chartres, School of

Thomas à Kempis

1379/80–1471

The importance of Thomas à Kempis, who was born in 1379 or 1380 at Kempen, near Zwolle in the Rhine delta (now in the Netherlands), derives from a probability bordering on certainty that he was the author, and not just the copyist or final editor, of the four spiritual treatises known as *The Imitation of Christ*. These treatises constitute by far the most influential work of Christian devotion to have been published during the second Christian millennium and, although their genesis has been the subject of academic dispute, opinion has increasingly hardened behind à Kempis's authorship. The controversy was reviewed at length in 1968 by R. R. Post (*The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism*, Leyden 1968) who argues with apparent conclusiveness for à Kempis's authorship, in the wake of studies by L. M. J. Delaissé (*Le manuscrit autographe de Thomas à Kempis et "L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ,"* Paris/Brussels/Antwerp/Amsterdam 1956) and P. Debonnie (*L'auteur ou les auteurs de l'imita-*

tion, Louvain 1957). The academic controversy may yet be rekindled, but modern editions now universally ascribe the *Imitation of Christ* to à Kempis. The assumption is that the work arose in the context of à Kempis's development of his own spiritual life, as he jotted down the aphorisms and insights on which it was based.

À Kempis was sent, like his brother John ten years earlier, to the famous chapter school at Deventer, where he arrived around 1392–94. He was still attending school in 1399, and in that year he traveled to Zwolle to see his brother, by then prior of the new monastery of Canons Regular of the Windesheim congregation at St Agnietenberg. At Deventer he had been received by Florens Radewijns (1350–1400) into the hostel of the Brethren of the Common Life, founded by Geert Groote (1340–84), of whom Radewijns was the successor, in the spirit of his popular and widespread spiritual movement known as the *devotio moderna*.

À Kempis himself probably entered the monastery in 1399 and was invested there in 1406. In 1413–14 he was ordained priest. The Windesheim congregation of monasteries was a further foundation of Groote's followers, also based on his spiritual tradition, the *devotio moderna*, of which the *Imitation of Christ* is by far the best known, if not necessarily the most central exposition. The spirituality of the *Imitation* deviates from that central to the *devotio* only because it contains elements and emphases peculiar to à Kempis's own personal meditation as his spiritual life developed.

À Kempis was the monastery's "procurator," but his indifferent success in that office led in 1429 to his appointment instead to the post of sub-prior. With only two short periods of absence, he remained at St Agnietenberg until his death in 1471, by which time he had become superior. The canons, like the non-monastic and non-ordained Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life to whom their spirituality related them, earned their living as experts in the copying and binding of manuscripts, and À Kempis himself became a renowned copyist, producing at least two full ten-volume bibles as well as choir books and missals. He was however also an author of spiritual treatises and such other works as the lives of Groote, Radewijns, and other brethren, and of the history of St Agnietenberg. He was also in charge of transmitting Groote's spiritual legacy to the younger members of the community.

The four treatises of the *Imitation of Christ* circulated separately, and were probably not intended to form a single work. When they appear in a manuscript together, their order is sometimes different. They are known in over 700 manuscripts and 3,000 published editions in 95 languages. There is an unsigned autograph of nine of à Kempis's spiritual treatises, including the four that make up the *Imitation of Christ*, dated 1441. The treatises deal with matters central to Groote's spirituality, the life and passion of Jesus, the moral virtues, and spiritual exercises. They are essentially practical, oriented toward performing God's will on earth in such a manner as to augment spiritual perfection and to gain heaven, and are characteristic of the movement away from an emphasis on Christ's glory and the idealized depiction of Jesus' life and passion, which reflected the generally liturgical, monastically based devotion of the high Middle Ages. They are also concerned with the "purgative" and "illuminative" stages of devotional life, rather than the final "unitive" phase of ecstatic union with God. In this à Kempis differed from what had been the preoccupation of some earlier members of the Windesheim community, such as Hendrik Mande (c. 1360–1431) and Gerlach Peters (1378–1411). They had developed the more purely mystical doctrine of Groote's own model, Ruusbroec,

although without totally neglecting the need to overcome the reality of sin.

Outside the *Imitation*, à Kempis's other spiritual treatises, such as *The Garden of Roses* or *The Valley of Lilies*, continue to use the allegory common in medieval works of devotion. They are written as an encouragement to cultivate the virtues taught as well as exhibited by Christ. Even in the *Imitation*, in which the new religious sensibility of the *devotio* makes Jesus clearly vulnerable and his agony an encouragement to his followers to bear their own anguish, the title is somewhat misleading.

The word "imitation," which in the context means "following" or "discipleship of Christ," is taken from the opening sentence of the first treatise, and must be understood as indicating the need to follow Christ's teaching and example. The consideration of his agony, as a means for arousing compunction, is still secondary. The need to "conform one's whole life to Christ" is stated in the first chapter, but leads to an extended meditation on the nature and acquisition of virtue. Christ's human agony had gradually become a principal focus of Christian devotion in Bernard* of Clairvaux (1090–1153) and Francis of Assisi (1182–1226). It was firmly established north of the Alps by the date of the great folio of meditations known as the *Life of Christ* by Ludolph the Carthusian (†1378) in the late 14th century, and had become the basis for the popular lay devotion propagated by the *devotio* generally. À Kempis exploits the compassion engendered by the tortured Jesus to motivate his readers to the arduous effort needed to overcome the vanity of earthly ambition and sensual desire.

The first treatise of the *Imitation* cannot be later than 1424, and the others not later than 1427. The work is unpretentious and disordered, written in rhythmic, clear, simple Latin for personal use. The first three books could be arranged in any order, like the chapters within them, which follow no consecutive pattern or argument. The work reads like a personal handbook of annotated and expanded spiritual aphorisms, such as the devout were encouraged to compile from their own and others' experience, and to use for their personal spiritual profit.

The first book starts with the medieval theme of contempt for worldly vanities and contains short chapters on mostly passive virtues, such as humility, truthfulness, prudence, and obedience, and on the avoidance of vices such as arrogance, inordinate affection, loquacity, and rash judgments. Only by freeing itself from the desires of the flesh can the soul attain peace. The moral stoicism of the ancients, adopted and christianized by the Middle Ages, has been transformed into a genuinely Christian spirituality. From

the beginning the importance of learning is emphatically deflated. Indeed, “the more thou knowest...so much the heavier will thy judgment be, unless thy life be also more holy.” What is important is the acquisition of virtue. “Study to wean thy heart from the love of visible things, and to betake thee to the things unseen...” There are chapters on resisting temptation, on the uses of adversity, on the monastic life, and on the examples of the fathers, with reflections about death, judgment, and the amendment of life. The aim, which is the promotion of an essentially lay piety, explains the recurrent emphasis on moral virtue as something to be striven for, and its acquisition as the purpose of life on earth. The aim of the devout life is to “win” Christ.

The interiorization of religious devotion in the *devotio moderna*, the relatively slight importance it attached to sacraments outside the Eucharist, and the relative indifference to sacramental piety and the hierarchical nature of the Church outside the Eucharist was to allow it to blend easily into the spirituality promoted by Lutheran theology when the time came. But there still remains in à Kempis a central insistence on a spiritual progress that could be achieved only by effort. Virtues have to be acquired little by little, and through constant effort: “If every year we rooted out one vice, we should soon become perfect men.” Together with compassion for the suffering Christ, in the pursuit of virtue à Kempis invokes the fear bred by contemplating death and judgment. The spirituality is rigorously individualistic.

The second book holds up the example of interior virtue and exhorts to companionship in the life and sufferings of Jesus, again emphasizing the need for effort and its reward. The personal assimilation of

Christ’s moral virtues, to which the *Imitation* is intended to guide the reader, depends on as complete as possible an imaginative identification with Jesus himself, and the union with Christ in which perfection consists is even taken to the extent of stimulating a desire to share his sufferings.

The third and fourth books are a dialogue between God and the devout soul. They strongly reflect the characteristic spirituality of the lower Rhineland in the early 15th century, with its sharp distinction between the spiritual and the material, the internal and the external. Learning is still treated with suspicion, as likely to lead more easily to vanity than to humility. True peace and happiness lie in renunciation, abnegation, and endurance. The fourth book is devoted entirely to the Eucharist. During Mass the faithful should meditate on Christ’s self-immolation as a preparation for receiving him. The spirituality is personal and ascetic rather than social or apostolic. It is concerned with the private acquisition of virtues, particularly those fostering abnegation and humility. It both paved the way for the Reformation (for which in the early 16th century it speedily made way), and was the basis—although transformed—for the piety of Erasmus and, a little later, of Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuits. Its central message is “Endure with Christ and for Christ, if thou wouldst reign with Christ.”

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ANTHONY LEVI

Thomas Aquinas

c. 1224–1274

1. Life and Works

Thomas was at first a Benedictine Oblate at Monte Cassino, where he received a solid initiation into the study of Augustine* and of Gregory* the Great. In Naples from 1239 on, at a time when, under Frederick II, that city was a center of intense cultural activity, he

familiarized himself with the natural philosophy* and metaphysics of Aristotle and of his commentators. When Thomas became a Dominican (1244) he was sent to Paris (1245–48) to study under the direction of Albert* the Great, who introduced him in particular to the works of Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite. He

deepened his knowledge of Aristotle's ethics* and he appropriated the expository methods of the Masters of Arts, whose courses he appears to have taken. With Albert he went to Köln, where he completed his training (1248–52). Having become, by the end of that period, “Bachelor of Biblical Studies,” he lectured on Isaiah and on Jeremiah.

Teaching in Paris (1252–59), Thomas Aquinas was at first a bachelor and for two years (1252–1254) he lectured on the *Sententiae* by Peter Lombard. His text (completed in 1256 or slightly after) allows for his personal opinions, as well as the marked influence of Albert and of Bonaventure* (this is less apparent in his later books). *On The Principles of Nature* and *On Being and Essence* were also from that period. As Master in Theology* (1256), Thomas Aquinas participated in philosophical dispute and wrote the questions *On Truth* (truth and knowledge: q. 1–20; good* and the appetite for good: q. 21–29), the *Quodlibetal Questions* VII–XI, and the commentary on Boethius*'s *The Trinity* (in particular the epistemological aspects). Against the secular masters of Paris (Guillaume de Saint-Amour and his supporters), he undertook the defense of the mendicant orders, of their right to study and teach, and he published a book, *Contra Doctrinam Retrahentium a Religione*.

In Italy (end of 1259–68) Thomas resided first in Naples (? 1259–61), then in Orvieto (1261–65), where he occupied the functions of conventual lecturer, and completed two major works. The *Summa Contra Gentiles* (the first 59 chapters were written before he left Paris), had the double objective of explaining the Catholic faith* and of rejecting contradictory errors. It was organized according to a plan in which the subject matter is divided in four books, and which already looked forward to that of the *Summa Theologica*: (1. God*; 2. the “procession” of creatures; 3. their return to God; 4. the truths that elude philosophy: the Trinity*, the Incarnation*, the sacraments*). At the same time, Thomas wrote a commentary on Job, a good example of literal exegesis* at the service of a doctrinal reflection on the suffering of the just and innocent man, and on divine Providence*. At the request of Pope Urban IV, he started the “Chain of Gold” (*Catena aurea*), a commentary followed by the four Gospels*, by means of extracts from the fathers* of the church (*On Matthew* was completed in 1264). Several responses to theological consultations and numerous opuscles date from that period (*Contra Errores Graecorum*; *On the Divine Names* by Pseudo-Dionysius; *Officium etiam of corpus Christi fecit*, and so on).

In Rome* (1265–68) Thomas started the *Summa Theologica*, whose First Part was composed at that time (1266–68). He completed the “Chain of Gold”

(*Mark, Luke, John*), and engaged in philosophical dispute or wrote on this whole series of questions: *On Divine Omnipotence*, *On the Soul*, *On Human Souls and Angels*. At that time he also wrote the *Compendium Theologiae* (unfinished). Aside from numerous talks, he commenced his activity as commentator of Aristotle with *Sententia Super De anima* (direct collaboration with Aristotle's translator, Guillaume de Moerbeke, was hardly probable).

In Paris once more (1268–72), Thomas taught the commentaries *On Matthew* (1269–70) and *On John* (1270–72), debated and wrote the questions *On Evil*, the *Quodlibets* I–VI and XII. He also continued his commentaries on Aristotle (*Physics*, *Comets*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Ethics*, *Politics*, and so on), as well as writing the Second Part of the *Summa* (1271–72). The reawakening of the quarrel with the seculars prompted him to write *The Perfection of Spiritual Life* and *Against those who Hinder Entering into Religion*, which reveal his passionate nature, the religious ideal of his order as well as his own. His commitment in doctrinal quarrels is indicative of a moderate Aristotelian position: against the “Augustinians,” *On the Eternity of the World* recognizes that only the Christian doctrine on creation* can lead to an affirmation that the world had a beginning. And *On the Unity of Intellect* refutes the “Averroist” thesis of a unique intellect possible for all mankind, by declaring it contrary to the teaching of Aristotle as well as to the Christian faith (Libera 1994).

In Naples, at the beginning of the summer of 1272, Thomas directed the Dominicans' new center for study, continued writing the Third Part of the *Summa* (on Christology* and the sacraments), and he probably gave a course on the Epistle to the Romans, and on the Psalms (1–54). A number of repeated mystical experiences* and great fatigue forced him to stop his writing and his teaching around 6 December 1273. Summoned by Gregory X to the Second Council of Lyon*, he fell ill during the journey and died on 7 March 1274, at the Cistercian abbey of Fossanova. Canonized by Pope John XXII in 1323, Thomas Aquinas was proclaimed a Doctor* of the Church by Pius V, on 15 April 1567.

2. Sources and Methods

The Thomist synthesis relies on a large number of philosophical ideas, ranging from Stoicism (through Cicero and Ambrose*) to Neoplatonism (through Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius). Aristotle is, however, the dominant authority, together with his Arabic (Avicenna, Averroes) and Jewish (Avicbrón, Maimonides) commentators. From the theological viewpoint, one notices the predominant influence of the Bible* and of the fathers of the church.

a) “Master in Holy* Scripture,” and bound by this title, according to the university statutes, to “read” the Scriptures every teaching day, Thomas Aquinas contributed several commentaries on the Old Testament (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Job, and Psalms) and on the New (Matthew, John, and all of Paul’s writings). That important part of his complete works must be read and made use of as well as the systematic accounts; but the latter also give an important and decisive place to the Scriptures (25,000 biblical quotations in the *Summa* alone), since it is not merely one authority among many, but really the source and the framework of the theological accounts. This cannot be ignored without misapprehending Thomas in his capacity as theologian (Valkenberg 1990). His commentaries are more or less developed depending on what they are meant to be: “a cursory reading (Isaiah) or a masterly and authoritative exposition” (Job). In order to appreciate them it has to be realized that they are often *reportationes*, that is, notes taken by listeners published after having been put in order. They may be faithful and reliable, but the fact remains that they have not had the benefit of a final editing. Isaiah (handwritten in part) is an exception to this, as are Job (composed), John, and Romans (reviewed). Depending on the genre being used, the Thomist exegesis abounds in distinctions and reconstructs what the author is saying in order to accentuate the deep theological intention. Conscious of the limits of allegorical exegesis, Thomas favors the literal meaning, which he finds to be the only one that is adapted to theological argumentation—but he includes in it the spiritual meaning (Spicq, Verger, Smalley 1983 and 1985).

b) Thomas Aquinas had a good knowledge of both the Latin and the Greek Fathers (the “Chain of Gold” quotes 57 Greeks and 22 Latins), and of the history of the Ecumenical Councils, being the first Western theologian who used the complete corpus of the first four Ecumenical Councils (Geenen 1952). He gave an eminent example of what would later be called positive* theology. Among his favorite authors, the following should be mentioned: Gregory the Great (2,470 instances; Portalupi 1989), John Chrysostom* (in the scriptural commentaries), but above all Augustine, whose influence, considerable and constant (1,000 quotations in the *Sentences*; 2,000 in the *Summa*, “which was written in an uninterrupted dialogue with Saint Augustine,” Elders 1987), can be clearly identified, particularly with respect to the following: the divine ideas (transposition of a Platonic theme), the Trinity, the appropriateness of Incarnation, the nature of the soul*, beatitude*, the law*, grace* and sin*, and so on. This Augustinian heritage, when added to

Thomas Aquinas’s meditation in *Nicomachean Ethics*, and perhaps also to the controversies of 1270, would help him to correct, during his mature years, the excessive intellectualism* of his youth.

The influence of Pseudo-Dionysius is less great (1,702 quotations in all of the works put together, and among these quotations 899 come from the *Divine Names*), but this author was, with Augustine, one of the means through which Neoplatonism counterbalanced, for Thomas Aquinas, the influence exercised by Aristotle. This anonymous theologian, who wrote at the junction of the fifth and sixth centuries and who attempted to evangelize the Neoplatonic system, had as a particular contribution the fact that he acclimatized, in Christian theology, the theory of the three means leading to the knowledge* of God (causality, negation, eminence). His works, known in the West since Gregory the Great’s time, were already available in four translations at the time of Thomas Aquinas (Hilduin, 827–35; John the Scot Eriugena, 852; the translation of John Sarrazin, from the middle of the 12th century, was the first satisfactory one, and was to enjoy a wide distribution; and finally the translation of Robert Grosseteste, 1240–43). His supposedly apostolic authority did not impose itself in an absolute manner on Thomas Aquinas. Although the construction of the *Summa* may have owed something to Pseudo-Dionysius, Thomas did not adopt Dionysius’s theory of the knowledge of God without reservations. The apophaticism, for example, of the *Divine Names* represents in Thomas only a moment, a stage, in what is a more global thought process, where positive knowledge is certainly analogical, but also real (see O’Rourke 1991; Humbrecht 1993; analogy*). The Dionysian influence is felt in the treatment of numerous other questions, for instance in angelology and in the use of the category of sign in sacramental theology (listed in Pera or Turbessi 1954). It is, however, carefully criticized in respect of some key points: for Thomas, God is not beyond being*, but very well the *ipsum esse subsistens* (being himself subsisting); being has primacy over good, and the axiom *bonum est diffusivum sui* (good tends to spread) is interpreted in an Aristotelian sense.

c) These sources, however, were no more than mere materials, and sometimes even mere instruments at the service of a theological project perfectly unified by the reality whose understanding is at issue. The subject of theology is God himself, and all the rest must be viewed in a perspective dependent upon him. Developed in particular regarding Boethius’s *The Trinity*, and in the *Summa Theologiae* Ia, q. 1, the theory of theology brings out two major features: it is inseparably speculative and practical. Its contemplative (*specu-*

lativa) orientation places it in the line of the *intellectus fidei* of Augustine and of Anselm*, but, to achieve this end, Thomas uses two elements derived from Aristotle, although he does transform them deeply before making use of them (Torrell 1994).

The notion of “science” is verified as soon as there is “speech”, that is when two truths are being related to one another by means of reasoning: the first truth, being better known, plays the role of explanatory principle, and the other one, the second, is dependent and plays the role of explanatory conclusion (thus the resurrection* of Jesus Christ in its relationship to that of Christians). Gradually, step by step, the totality of the given that is revealed thus gets organized according to its internal relations into a coherent synthesis that reproduces in a human mode something of the intelligibility of the divine design concerning the world and the history of salvation*.

The theory of subordinationism*, also received from Aristotle (who, in fact, gave it only a minor place) is of capital importance for the status of this science, which is unique in its way: indeed, it expresses the dependence in which theology is positioned in relation to revelation*. As a result of this dependence, theology is connected through faith to the knowledge God has of his own self (Torrell 1994). Theology is thus situated on the very path leading from faith to blessed vision: the purpose of this *scientia* (named also *sacra doctrina*) is the “contemplation*” of first truth* in the celestial fatherland (*Sent.* I, Prol., q. 1, a. 3, sol. 1; Chenu 1957; Torrell 1971). This knowledge, however, is also practical. It exercises a directing influence on human conduct, which it enlightens in such a way as to orient it toward its final end, namely God himself. The *Summa*, therefore, does not consist only of a dogmatic* reflection directly centered on the mystery* of God; it also develops an important moral theology.

3. The Thomist Synthesis

a) The work of Thomas Aquinas is ample and varied, and can by no means be reduced to the *Summa*. But the *Summa* does provide a fair idea of the whole. The author’s topics are strong enough that they can be found over and over again in all of his works, but there are also indications that his ideas have gone through some evolution on several points (for instance on the manner in which the gifts of the Holy* Spirit are distinct from the virtues*, Ia IIae, q. 68, and particularly on the gift of science, IIa IIae, q. 9; on the necessity of grace* in order to persevere in the direction of good, Ia IIae, q. 109; on the motive and necessity of the Incarnation, IIIa, q. 1, a. 1–3; on the acquired science of Christ*, IIIa, q. 9, a. 4; on the notion of satisfaction in the the-

ology of redemption, IIIa, q. 46, a. 2, ad. 3; and on the causality of the sacraments in the production of grace, IIIa, q. 72). The *Summa* can be read with profit only if the reading is accomplished in the perspective of a probing mind. Ignoring this point would entail transforming into a rigid system what the author has intended certainly as a rigorous synthesis, but an open one as well.

b) This fact is already apparent in Thomas’s plan. He took inspiration from a circular pattern that pulls his reader into the dynamic of “exit” (*exitus*) of creatures from the first Principle, the Creator of all things, and of their “return” (*reditus*) toward him. A Neoplatonic influence is not to be excluded, but the fact that it is here a question of emanation through free creation indicates that this influence should not be overestimated. Rather, Thomas found his inspiration in the contemplation of the God of the Bible*, the Alpha and Omega of all things (Rev 1:8). Although the circular vision was not exclusively Thomas’s (he found it in fact in Albert, and to a lesser degree in Bonaventure), he did, however, put it to a more systematic use in several of his works. It allowed him to incorporate in his philosophical construction all the contingencies of the history* of salvation, in particular of the Christ who is “born from God and going toward God” (Jn 13:3), and through whom the effective return to the origin takes place (Émery 1995).

c) As for its content, therefore, the Thomist synthesis starts with the study of God and of his creative work: the angels*, the world*, and Man. The latter received privileged treatment, because he was created in the image of God (Gn 1:27), who associated him with himself as a secondary cause in the government of the universe. That was the object of the first part. Despite the classical division into second and third parts, one has to understand everything that follows as describing in all its fullness the return of the image to its divine example. From the outset, Thomas gives special consideration to what occupies first place in the order of desired aims, to what is the ultimate *purpose* of the enterprise, namely God as beatitude of Man, the supreme Good who satisfies fully all the aspirations of his creatures (Ia IIae, q. 1–5). That is the goal to be reached. All the rest are simply the “means” which are employed to achieve that goal. It is, first of all, a matter of dealing with human action, voluntary and free, through which human beings proceed toward this goal or turn away from it (second part); then it becomes a matter of the “means” par excellence, “the only Mediator between God and men” (1 Tm 2:5), Jesus Christ, who in his humanity is the way to beatitude (third

part). The “circle” closes finally with the study of the blessed life in which human beings enter at the end of time, following the risen Christ, but Thomas died before he could write this part (the supplement), which completes some editions of the *Summa Theologica* (it was written by his disciples using his *Commentary* of the “Sentences,” and so does not reflect the final state of his thinking).

d) The components of this large philosophical construction were not all equally new. Indeed, it presented in organized form the essential theological heritage of the preceding centuries. But the metaphysical premises that underlay the whole construction provoked very lively reactions at the time. In 1279, barely five years after Thomas’s death, the Franciscan Guillaume de la Mare published a catalogue (*Correctorium*, Glorieux 1927) of 118 Thomist theses reputed to be dangerous. In this same work he also published the censures, which those theses had received from the Church, proposing both a critique and a refutation of them. The most famous of the censures concern the following: the manner through which God will be known in the beatific vision (without any created concept, said Thomas, but according to his very essence, Ia, q. 12, a. 2); God’s knowledge of future contingents (in the present of his eternity, Ia, q. 14, a. 13); the eternity of the world (its contingent nature is in itself separable from its beginning in time*, something that can only be affirmed by faith, Ia, q. 46, a. 2); the hylomorphic composition (matter and shape) of the angels and of the human soul (which Thomas replaced with a composition of *quod est* and *quo est*, essence and existence, Ia, q. 50, a. 2 and q. 75, a. 5); and the unique nature of the substantial shape in Man (whereas Bonaventure accepted a plurality of hierarchically arranged forms—spiritual, sensitive, vegetative—Thomas thought that these three functions were exercised by the same soul: simple and indivisible, it accepted no pluses or minuses, Ia, q. 76, a. 3). Though apparently very abstract, these theses in fact had quite concrete repercussions in theology. They brought with them other deep differences regarding knowledge (intellectual illumination or abstraction based on senses) and the primacy of intellect over will. These differences were immediately reflected in the way theology itself was regarded (for Thomas, it was primarily speculative; for Bonaventure, practical) and they persisted in the voluntarist or intellectualistic premises that would later mark the history of theology so strongly.

e) The principal merit of the *Summa* resided (as it does today) in the fact that it highlights the internal intelligible connections between the elements of faith

with a vigor that would be hard to surpass. For those who know how to dissociate the pedagogical value of the Thomist synthesis from the outdated “physics”—which can easily be separated anyway—or from those elements which have aged too much since Thomas’s time, that synthesis has kept its pedagogical value. It does indeed remain, even in our own time, a brilliant introduction to the Christian mystery. Some of its elaborations have become absorbed into standard Catholic theology: the treatise on God, in particular the five “paths” which lead to the establishment of his existence, the divine names and the Trinitarian relations; the creation; the ontology of Christ and the instrumentality of his humanity; and the relationship between human freedom and God’s omnipotence, as seen in the light of the theology of grace. These are no doubt the most salient points.

It seems two things should be highlighted more than they usually are. The first one concerns moral theology as a whole, in respect of which it is possible to notice something genuinely new on two major points. Putting together in a single, organically structured work all of the dogmatic and moral theological materials is, on the one hand, a way of standing out against the usual approach of the manuals of that time (Boyle 1982); and thus ethics finds itself freed from the limitations of voluntarism*, and we go from a morality of obligations to one of virtues and beatitudes, with a deeply evangelical inspiration (Pinckaers 1985; Schockenhoff 1987). On the other hand, the unified treatment of all human behavior in the light of the ultimate end comes under the same necessity that links closely the moral theology of the *Summa* to the contemplative finality of all theological knowledge. It could not be otherwise, because “the basic truth, which is the object of our faith, being also the aim of all our desires and all our actions, will act through charity, in the manner of speculative intellect which becomes practical by extension, according to Aristotle.” (Ia IIae, q. 3, a. 2, ad 3).

Influenced by theological virtues, moral theology can therefore extend itself into a spirituality in which the central themes are easy to identify: the Trinitarian vocation of Man, who has been made in the image of God, and is restored to the image of the first-born Son through God’s first gift, the omnipresent and active Holy Spirit. And since grace does not destroy nature*, it is also possible to envisage a spirituality of creation in which can start to blossom the glorious freedom of the children of God (Torrell 1991 and 1996).

The second point to be highlighted is the treatment of Christology. Theologians rightly took advantage of a Thomist notion, which for the first time in the West included the components of the christological councils—but the most original contribution may be found perhaps

in the questions devoted to the “mysteries” of the life of Jesus Christ (IIIa, q. 27–59). Thomas Aquinas was, in fact, the first and the only theologian of the Middle Ages to speak not only of the main events marking the human existence of the incarnate Word (the *acta et passa Christi in carne*) from his birth to his death*, but to treat them in a structured piece of work conceived as an integral part of a speculative Christology (Biffi 1994; Scheffczyk 1986; Torrell 1994 and 1996). Each one of these events is highlighted in a soteriological perspective, but also in that of an ontological and moral exemplarity. These pages, in which Thomas questions himself methodically, and with a deep knowledge of Scripture and of the Fathers, about the role of the humanity of Christ in the work of salvation, already provide an outline of what is being sought under the name of narrative Christology in contemporary research. Aside from their theological interest they also have an evident bearing on the spiritual application of theology (Torrell 1991 *b*). The causality exercised by each of the mysteries of the life of Christ on those who receive it opens highly creative perspectives for Christian life: because grace is not only Christic, but also Christoconformist.

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See also Albert the Great; Aristotelianism; Augustine of Hippo; Bonaventure; Duns Scotus; Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite; Scholasticism; Thomism

Thomism

The adjective “Thomist” has been applied since the 14th century to followers of Thomas* Aquinas. Since around 1950 it has been in competition with a new word, “Thomasian,” although this coinage has not been accepted everywhere or by everyone. “Thomasian” is sometimes used to refer to what relates directly to Aquinas, and the literal exegesis of what he wrote, while “Thomist” and “Thomism” are used to refer to his followers.

While Thomism has had an unbroken history, we can distinguish three periods when it has been particularly important: 1) the 150 years following Aquinas’s death in 1274; 2) the efflorescence of neoclassical and baroque Scholasticism* from the 16th to the 18th century; and 3) the revivals of Thomism that preceded and followed Leo XIII’s 1879 encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (Garrigou-Lagrange, Pesch, and Weisheipl). The philosophical distortions that Thomism has undergone have been described fairly frequently, but here we shall concentrate on the theological aspect, which is much less well known.

1. Beginnings

Nascent Thomism was vigorous, but already on the defensive. On 7 March 1277 Étienne Tempier, bishop of Paris, issued a list of 219 heterodox articles subject to prohibition, some of which were indirectly targeted at Aquinas (*see* naturalism*). There were also some direct official attacks on Aquinas’s teaching, but once the investigation had been transferred to Rome* it was halted. In 1323 John XXII, expressing his personal admiration for Aquinas and seeking to hinder Franciscan spirituality, canonized Aquinas and praised his writings on doctrine. In 1325 another bishop of Paris, Étienne Bourret, declared that his predecessor’s condemnation did not apply to Aquinas (Torrell 1993).

a) Opposition to Aquinas continued nonetheless. It had begun, even before Aquinas’s death, with Robert Kilwardby and John Pecham, and was carried on by Guillaume de La Mare in his catalogue (1279) of 118 Aquinas’s propositions that were regarded as dangerous. This *Correctorium* stimulated a series of refutations by the Dominicans Richard Knapwell, Robert of Orford, Jean Quidort (also celebrated for his writings on ecclesiology), William of Macclesfield, and Rambert of Bologna.

Alongside these authors, the first generations of Thomists in England, France, and Italy also included Thomas Sutton, a relatively independent follower who wrote an impressive body of work; Bernard of Trilia, who was more subservient to Aquinas; Peter of Auvergne, who was more eclectic; Hervé Nédellec, who rejected the real distinction between essence and being*; and Remy of Florence, who had been taught by Aquinas himself. Meanwhile, in Köln, the influence of Albert* the Great remained predominant.

All these writers have been recognized as Thomists because of their acceptance of Aquinas’s major theses (Weisheipl 1967), but in addition they soon came into opposition to Duns* Scotus and to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary*, for, while Aquinas had believed in the sanctification *in utero* of the mother of Christ*, he had not accepted that she was free from original sin*. The Thomists also adopted a common position on the subject of theology* (God*), its speculative purpose, and its subordination to the knowledge of God and the blessed. Like Aquinas himself they made a clear distinction between the respective domains of faith* and reason*, and believed that reason cannot provide proofs in matters of faith (Torrell 1996). In defending Aquinas they highlighted their master’s texts, following the formula *Thomas suiipsius interpret* (“Thomas interpreted by himself”). Their repetitiveness was a sign, not only of their faithfulness to the original teaching, but also of the ossification that was to follow.

b) This initial period of efflorescence was followed first by a relatively latent period, and then by revival in the 15th century. The latter was evidenced by the growing number of Thomist teachers, as more new universities were created throughout Europe; the growing number of manuscript copies of Aquinas’s writings; the translations of the *Summa Theologica* into Greek and Armenian; and the sound knowledge of Aquinas displayed by the Italian Renaissance humanists (Kristeller 1967, Swiezawski 1974, Memorie 1976).

Jean Capréolus (1380–1444), *princeps thomistorum*, is the most notable of the Thomist writers of this period. His *Defense of the Theology of Saint Thomas* (1433) demonstrates his profound understanding of his master’s work, which he defended against a whole

series of opponents. He recognized that it was possible to develop Aquinas's conclusions, and was inclined to emphasize those elements in Aquinas's teaching that were derived from Augustine*. Several abridged versions of the *Defense* ensured that it became an influential work, and it was to Capréolus that Cardinal Cajetan (discussed below) owed the best part of what he knew about the first generations of Thomists and the controversies that had marked the beginnings of Thomism (Grabmann 1956, Bedouelle 1996).

During this same period, Antonin of Florence (1389–1459) undertook some innovative extensions of Aquinas's morality into the domain of economics, while Johannes of Turrecremata (1388–1468) stood out among ecclesiologists as a moderate papalist. In 1473 Peter of Bergamo published his *Tabula aurea*, which remains a valuable reference tool.

2. Expansion

The Dominicans had never ceased to read the *Summa Theologica*, but it was only in Köln, where Henry of Gorcum (†1431) had consolidated a form of Thomism, that commentary on the *Summa* took the place of commentary on the *Sentences*. There had already been some commentaries on the *Summa*—for example, Johannes Tintoris (†1469) had commented on Parts Ia and Ia IIae—but the practice received official authorization in 1483. Conrad Köllin published his commentary on Part Ia IIae in 1512. In Paris Pierre Crockaert, a Flemish nominalist who had joined the Dominicans and been converted to Thomism, started teaching the *Summa* in 1509.

a) The most celebrated of the commentaries that follow Aquinas's texts article by article is that of Tomaso de Vio, Cardinal Cajetan (1465–1534). He taught the *Summa Theologica* at the University of Pavia from 1497 to 1499, but he did not start writing his commentary until 1507. He finished it in 1522, by which time he had already been head of the Dominican Order, then a bishop* and a cardinal (Iserloh-Hallensleben 1981).

Cajetan was an innovator who introduced many changes, both in terminology and in content. His essentialization of Aquinas's *esse* led him to give up any attempt to provide a rational demonstration of the immortality of the soul* (Gilson 1953, contested on this point by Reilly 1971 and Hallensleben 1981). His doctrine of analogy* was close to that of the Scotism he was combating. He also developed new theories about the formal constitution of the personality, original justice*, the sacrifice of the Mass*, the causality of the sacraments*, and other questions. Cajetan's interpretation of the natural desire to see God led him to develop a theory of the capacity for obedience that is far re-

moved from that of Aquinas (Boulnois 1993). Reviving one of Aquinas's own practices, he also wrote commentaries on the Bible*, adopting some daring views that caused him to be censured by the Sorbonne. As a moralist, Cajetan supplemented his course on Part IIa of the *Summa Theologica* with his own *Small Summa of Sins*, to be used by confessors, in which he addressed the pastoral problems of his day, although in doing so he revived a practice that Aquinas had sought to move beyond. Pius V ordered Cajetan to publish an expurgated version of his commentary on the *Summa Theologica* alongside the first complete edition of Aquinas's writings (the *Piana*, Rome, 1570).

Cajetan's contemporary, Francesco Silvestri of Ferrara (1474–1528), distanced himself from him and put forward his own ideas. Silvestri's commentary on Aquinas's *Summa contra Gentiles* was printed later, alongside Aquinas's text, in the so-called "Leonine" edition (see below).

b) In Spain the main centers of Thomist activity were the universities of Valladolid and Salamanca (Andrès 1976–77), to which the practice of writing commentaries on the *Summa* had been introduced from Paris by Francisco de Vitoria (c. 1485–1546), a former student of Crockaert's. While he did not neglect philosophy*, Vitoria treated Scripture and the church fathers* as the basic building blocks of theology. Attentive to the problems of political morality that were being raised by the colonization of the New World, Vitoria laid some of the foundations for modern international law*, and he was more restrictive than Aquinas had been in defining the conditions for a just war*.

Vitoria's followers played leading roles in the Council of Trent*, and Thomism reached its apogee: the Council's decrees on justification* and the sacraments were strongly influenced by Aquinas's teachings. Vitoria's followers included Domingo Soto (1494–1560), who took an active part in the writing of the decree on justification, and Melchor Cano (1509–60), who is best known for his *De Loci Theologicis* (1563), a text that exemplifies the practice of a theology newly concerned with sources. Drawing inspiration from Aquinas (*Summa Theologica* Ia, q. 1, a. 8, ad 2), Cano proposed a method of research and appreciation (*inventio*) of the propositions that serve as the basis of theological speculation. This method inaugurated the various positive specialisms that were soon to declare their independence, and led to a disastrous separation between the various branches of theological learning that Aquinas had kept united through his *sacra doctrina*.

Cano's pupil Domingo Bañez (1528–1604) wrote a commentary on the first two parts of the *Summa Theologica* in a spirit of synthesis and approached problems

by the summit. In opposition to Cajetan, he understood the role of the *esse* in Aquinas's philosophy. Whatever else may be said about it, Bañez's doctrine of nature* and grace* was not unfaithful to Aquinas. His concept of "physical premotion" means nothing more than the priority in nature (not in time) of the real efficacy of grace over the human action* that it sustains. The opposition that this concept aroused was an indication of a climate of "pre-Molinism" (Duval 1948; and see Bañezianism*-Molinism-Baianism).

c) The last of the great Thomists of this period, John of Saint-Thomas Poinset (1589–1644), inaugurated the era of *Disputationes*: he no longer followed the letter of Aquinas's texts in detail, but, like the *Salmanticenses*, undertook wide-ranging discussions of a selection of major problems. Like Cajetan, John of Saint-Thomas has been seen both as an emblematic figure and a symbol of contradictions (Fabro 1989). Jacques Maritain denounced his "complications, so typical of baroque Scholasticism," the limitations of his polemic, and his lack of attention to the scientific renaissance. Since he was not concerned with history, John of Saint-Thomas had little interest in internal criticism. Thus, he accepted the apocryphal *Summa totius logicae* as authentic, asserted that Aquinas had not rejected the notion of the Immaculate Conception, and placed the formal constituent of the divine essence within the *intelligere subsistens*, thereby demonstrating that he had failed to perceive the force of Aquinas's *ipsum esse subsistens*. According to John of Saint-Thomas the true disciple is not content merely to follow Aquinas, but extends his ideas. Accordingly, he frequently and deliberately put forward his own conceptions, and so became one of the first to define the object of theology as the deduction of new conclusions. John of Saint-Thomas wrote a fine treatise on the gifts of the Holy* Spirit, which was rediscovered in the 20th century (R. Maritain 1950, Sese 1989), and his genius, along with his position in history*, allowed him to play a crucial role in the diffusion of a popularized form of Thomism, as the immediate source of works that were to have considerable influence, including writings by J.-B. Gonet (†1681), A. Goudin (†1695), V. L. Gotti (†1742), and Ch.-R. Billuart (†1757).

d) Following the wishes of its founder, Ignatius Loyola, the members of the Society of Jesus were required to study and teach in accordance with the *Summa Theologica* (Tolet, Le Jay). However, Ignatius and his successors also wanted a theology that would be capable of reconciling Thomists, Scotists, and nominalists. This Jesuit eclecticism found its most outstanding rep-

resentatives in Francisco Suarez* and Gabriel Vasquez (1549–1604), both of whom, like Cano, displayed a concern to return to the sources. The doctrine of grace developed by Luis de Molina (see Bañezianism-Molinism-Baianism) became the focus of an interminable dispute between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, which popes Clement VIII and Paul V had to leave unresolved despite all the efforts of the congregations *de auxiliis* (1598–1607). From 1656 onward both schools were also divided over the question of probabilism, a theory initiated by the Dominican Bartolomé de Medina (1528–80).

e) The Carmelites of Salamanca—the *Salmanticenses*—initiated a major collective project that included a textbook on "Scholastic" theology, published between 1600 and 1725, a textbook on moral theology, and a manual of philosophy (*Complutenses*). Long hailed as a monument of fidelity, this project is in fact a monument to the Thomism of its time. The authors' lack of a historical sense led them to neglect sources and omit certain treatises (IIIa, q. 27–59), while their separation of dogma* from morality contradicted both the letter and the spirit of Aquinas's work. Thus, they studied the sacraments in moral terms, but, since the reflexive questions that morality raised were allocated to "Scholastics," there soon remained little for morality to cover apart from casuistry*. The *Salmanticenses* failed to perceive the distinctiveness of the theological method—they did not comment on the section in the *Summa Theologica* (Ia, q. 1) concerning the *sacra doctrina*—and their rational elaboration of Thomism attained a level of dialectical refinement that it would be difficult to surpass (Deman 1939).

The Thomism of the 17th and 18th centuries deserves to be better known than it is. Many of the Thomist writings that appeared in France (by Contenson, Gonet, Goudin, and Massoulié), Flanders (Billuart), Italy (Maurus, Gotti), and Austria (the Benedictines of Salzburg) were influenced, for the worse, by the philosophical climate of the time. Yet they have some merits, chiefly in their having maintained a living tradition, evidenced by new editions of Aquinas's own writings: there were eight editions of his complete works during these centuries, of which the last (1775–86) was edited by B. de Rossi (or De Rubeis) and was the second to be published in Venice.

3. Revivals

a) The 19th-century revival of Thomism in Italy, made possible by a movement that had begun in the early 18th century, resulted from numerous painstaking efforts by secular priests* as well as by Jesuits and

Dominicans—most notably by M. Liberatore, one of the founders of *Civiltà Cattolica* (1850); L. Taparelli d'Azeglio, who introduced Goudin into the Jesuit college in Naples; T. Zigliara, the first chairman of the commission established by Leo XIII to prepare a critical edition of Aquinas's works; and V. Gatti, F. Xarrié, and N. Puig, all three of whom taught at the Dominican college of the Minerva. Among the Jesuits active in this movement, two should be mentioned. J. Kleutgen wrote the first draft of the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, as well as a reinterpretation of the history of theology and philosophy, the *Theologie und Philosophie der Vorzeit* (1853–63), which was directly inspired by Cano and Suarez, and which had a great deal of influence; J.-B. Franzelin (1816–86) tried in vain, despite his considerable learning, to reconcile Aquinas with Suarez and Lugo.

b) Leo XIII's encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879), with its call for "Christian philosophy to be restored according to the spirit of St. Thomas," was to have a decisive impact (StTom 1981). Several scholarly institutions and periodicals made their appearance in its wake: *Divus Thomas*, at Piacenza (1880); the Academy of St. Thomas in Rome (1879); the Institute of Philosophy (D. Mercier) and the *Revue néoscholastique de philosophie* (1894) at Louvain; the University of Fribourg (1889); the *Revue thomiste* (Toulouse-Fribourg, 1893) and the *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* (Paris and elsewhere, 1907); the *Rivista italiana di filosofia neoscholastica* (Milan, 1909); and *Ciencia tomista* (Salamanca, 1910). From the outset, differences in terminology indicated differences in approach: thus, while some, such as Mercier or Sertillanges, were happy to call themselves "neo-Thomists," others, including Mandonnet and Maritain, wanted to be known simply as "Thomists."

In 1914 Pius X acted against modernism* by ordering the publication of a list of 24 philosophical propositions, written by a Jesuit, G. Mattiussi, which was intended to promote a purer form of Thomism (*Enchiridion Symbolrum*, 3601–24; see Régnier 1984). All but one of these propositions were opposed to Suarez, but the General of the Jesuits secured from Benedict XV a degree of flexibility in their application. In 1917 the obligation to teach Thomism was incorporated into the new *Codex Iuris Canonici* (no. 1366, §2), and manuals saturated with an unconscious rationalism* were used to spread a repetitious doctrine that referred to Aquinas only by way of later commentators, and that caused some disaffection.

c) Meanwhile, Leo XIII's call for the restoration of Christian philosophy was being answered by more in-

dependent thinkers. At the very least, we should mention the "transcendental Thomism" promoted by J. Maréchal (1878–1944), who came up against a marked degree of distrust because he was thought to be tainted with Kantian idealism. Nevertheless, he inspired such men as Karl Rahner* and Bernard Lonergan*, who were to have considerable influence, as well as J. B. Lotz and E. Coreth (Puntel 1969, Verweyen 1969). We might also mention G. Siewerth, who attempted to draw comparisons between Thomism and the ideas of Martin Heidegger*, and E. Przywara (see analogy), a profound thinker in whose writings the inspiration of Aquinas is combined with a number of other approaches (Coreth, Neidl, Pfligersdorffer 1990).

Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) deliberately based his speculative version of Thomism on the work of the major commentators, yet he did not hesitate to introduce innovations (*Les degrés du savoir*, 1932). His writings on art and poetry, and his political and social philosophy, were widely influential. Adopting a more historical approach, É. Gilson (who was accompanied in this regard by C. Fabro and L.-B. Geiger, notably on participation) denounced the "betrayals" of the Thomists (Bonino in *Revue thomiste*, 1994). In addition to his book *Le Thomisme* (fourth and decisive edition, 1941), he also wrote on Augustine*, Bonaventure*, and Duns Scotus, and was thus enabled to situate Aquinas more accurately within his milieu. Gilson and Maritain assembled a body of followers in Canada and then in the United States, with the foundation of the Institute of Toronto by Gilson (1929), and of the Institute of Ottawa and Montreal by M.-D. Chenu (1930), which brought about a declericalization of Thomism and medievalism, and was something Leo XIII had not foreseen when he launched his initiative.

This tendency may be illustrated by the work of A. Gardeil and R. Garrigou-Lagrange in apologetics and mystical theology; that of L. Billot, R. Schultes, N. Del Prado, and F. Marin-Sola in dogmatic theology; and that of H. Noldin, D. Prümmer, and B. H. Merkelbach in moral theology. In some of these cases the original Thomist inspiration was perceptibly modified by other influences, but one also finds theologians who have stayed closer to Aquinas, such as J. M. Ramirez or M.-M. Labourdette (Bonino 1992). The inspiration of Thomism may also be traced in the ecclesiology* of Ch. Journet.

d) The single most important factor in the revival of Thomism has been the historical and critical research of medievalists, starting with the work of H. Denifle, F. Ehrle, M. Grabmann, P. Mandonnet, P. Glorieux, and other pioneers. Following the foundation of the *Bul-*

letin thomiste and the *Bibliothèque thomiste*, the school of Saulchoir inaugurated a historical and critical form of Thomism that was still developing at the end of the 20th century. Research by Y.M.-J. Congar and M.-D. Chenu (*La théologie comme science au XIIIe s.*, first published 1927, third edition 1957), and publications by M.-R. Gagnebet (*La nature de la théologie spéculative*, 1938), have been decisive in reconstructing the precise conception of Aquinas's *sacra doctrina*.

Two new editions of Aquinas's *Opera omnia* (Complete Works) appeared during the 19th century (Parma, 1852–73; Paris, Vivès, 1871–80), but both have now been surpassed because of the exceptionally high standard of the critical edition known as the “Leonine” edition, based most notably on the work of Constant Suermondt, J. Perrier, the brothers H. and A. Dondaine, P.-M. Gils, R.-A. Gauthier, L.-J. Bataillon, and B.-G. Guyot. Alongside the research by Franciscans on Bonaventure and Duns Scotus, and that of other scholars on a multitude of other medieval authors, these studies of Aquinas have helped to bring about a far-reaching renewal of approaches to Aquinas's teachings.

4. Appreciation

a) It has now become clear that “Thomism” and “Thomist” are analogical terms, sometimes bordering on the equivocal, for Aquinas's originality has sometimes been poorly understood. On the other hand, it is also certain that Aquinas's historical authority owes a great deal to his followers, who adapted and extended his teachings in a variety of ways, and thus kept them alive. Their greatness lies in their having brought Aquinas into eras other than his own; their tragedy lies in their having unconsciously projected the categories of these eras onto their master's ideas. Nevertheless, it is not possible to dismiss the contributions made by Vitoria and his followers, or those of Cajetan and John of Saint-Thomas.

b) Many questions continue to be subject to debate (see Pesch 1965); here we shall focus on theology alone. Misinterpretation of the *intellectus fidei* has led some to treat theology as a “deductive” discipline that aims to arrive at new conclusions. Yet Aquinas himself wanted theology to be “ostensive,” with the aim of “showing” the internal coherence of what has been revealed by relating it to the *articuli fidei*. The doctrine of grace has also given rise to numerous differences, with the idea of pure nature, complications in vocabulary, and the proliferation of entities unknown to Aquinas. In Christology* the theory of the “subsistence”

and the *unum esse* of Christ represents a shift away from Aquinas, as does the declining interest in the important section on Scripture (27 questions) and Aquinas's account of it.

However important these particular questions may be, it appears that from the 17th century onward it was quite common to regard Aquinas, erroneously, as a philosopher first and foremost. Yet he was above all a theologian, who made use of philosophy—or, better, philosophies—but recognized them as having an authority that is “alien and merely probable” (*Summa Theologica* Ia, q. 1, a. 8, ad 2). There has also been a tendency to emphasize his Aristotelianism, although in fact it was heavily influenced by Neoplatonism and other schools of thought, and Aquinas never felt that he was tied to Aristotle on decisive questions. During the baroque era those who wrote commentaries on Aquinas believed that they could construct a Thomist philosophical system distinct from theology. By insisting on the necessity of restoring Aquinas's *philosophy*, Leo XIII inadvertently accentuated this tendency, to the detriment of his formal, theological intention. The requirements of the era also made Thomism into a weapon in the war of apologetics, following on from the theodicy (Leibniz*, Kant*) developed in the preceding centuries. As a result, too little attention was paid to Aquinas as disciple of the church fathers, and of Augustine in particular, and to Aquinas as commentator on the Bible, even though, in Aquinas's view, scripture is “the soul of theology” (*Dei Verbum* 24).

c) Thomism retains its inherent diversity in our own time. Some of the more rigid views developed within neo-Thomism have not entirely disappeared, but historical research has resulted in a tendency to return to Aquinas with more caution and more attention to the letter of his writings. The commentaries left to us by his followers are less important than they used to be, and greater care is being taken to avoid projecting the concerns of posterity onto the master's own texts. The sources of Aquinas's ideas are better understood, in all their diversity, as also are his relations with his teachers (Albert*) and contemporaries (Bonaventure). Tracing what he owes to them or shares with them also makes for a better grasp of his originality.

Nowadays, Thomist philosophy, which is vigorous and well informed about its own history, seems to have more life in it than Thomist theology does. Nevertheless, there are good grounds for hoping that Aquinas's strictly theological ambitions may be rediscovered. The unity of theological knowledge is moving into the foreground once again, and efforts are being made to follow Aquinas's example and to combine the “speculative” with the “positive,” “dogma” with “morality.”

There has also been a revival of interest in the spiritual dimension of theology (Torrell 1996), and its link with pastoralia and the Christian life. However, despite the large number of detailed studies undertaken from this new perspective, much still remains to be done in order to present all the riches of Aquinas's works to a new generation of readers.

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JEAN-PIERRE TORRELL

See also Bonaventure; Duns Scotus, John; Grace; Loci Theologici; Lonergan, Bernard John; Lubac, Henri Sonier de; Rahner, Karl; Scholasticism; Suarez, Francisco; Thomas Aquinas

Tillich, Paul

1886–1965

1. Life and Works

Born in Eastern Prussia, a Lutheran pastor and son of a Lutheran Pastor, Paul Tillich taught systematic theology* and the philosophy of religion* in Germany. In 1933 he emigrated to the United States because of his membership in the religious socialists' movement. From this time on, he became a professor of philosophical theology at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, and then taught at Harvard from 1952 and from 1962 in Chicago, where he died.

2. Theology

The principal objective of Tillich's work was to reconcile religion and culture by unveiling, in particular, the divine present at the very foundation of all reality. In order to do this, Tillich initially implemented a method known as "correlation."

a) Correlation and Theology of Culture. Tillich's theology, like his life, was always situated "on the frontier" between two worlds or two versions of reality. But this frontier was not so much a dividing line as an element joining two versions of reality that contrived, appropriately, to enter into a reciprocal correlation. Thus the two worlds of Christian faith* on the one hand and culture on the other, far from being opposed, were called on to provide mutual illumination and reveal their full reciprocal potential. There is a religious basis to any cultural endeavor, an aspiration to touch "the very foundations" of things and of life, the foundation of the "being*." This is why "the existential concept of reality also concerns... the relation between religion and culture. Religion, insofar as it is an *ultimate concern*, is the substance that gives culture its meaning. And culture is the sum total of forms through which the fundamental concerns of religion can be expressed. In sum, religion is the substance of culture, and culture is the form of religion" (*The Theology of Culture*).

b) The Depth of Being and Ultimate Reality. The truths of faith also provide an answer to the existential questions that characterize the human condition. God* "is the answer to the question underlying human finiteness. This answer cannot be derived from an analysis

of existence.... If the notion of God appears... in correlation with the threat of non-being implied in existence, one must call God the power of infinite* being, which resists the threat of non-being... the infinite basis of courage" (*Systematic Theology* I). God appears, therefore, as the very depth of one's being—of all beings—a depth that both founds and eludes in an almost limitless way (*ground of being*). God is seen as the ultimate reality on which everyone feels dependent; God "approaches us unconditionally," and all aspire to him.

c) Jesus, the Christ and the New Being. Tillich's Christ* is the one who will deliver man from the alienation to which all human existence is subject. Christ accomplishes this first of all by opening the existence of the historical individual who was Jesus* of Nazareth to a new reality that transcends and transfigures that existence—that of Christ, or the New Being, who also opens the door to whomever shares his experience*. "To experience *the New Being in Jesus as Christ* is to understand that this power does not depend on our good will, but is a gift, a present, a grace*" (*Systematic Theology* II). In this way, "the New Being that is Christ is neither that which he does, or suffers, or says: It is his entire being, with his corporeal and social dimensions... bringing renewal to all those who partake of him, and he ushers them into the sphere of the New."

d) The Courage to Be, Faith, and Love. The new life, revealed in Christ and made manifest through his spirit, is fully displayed in faith and in the power of reconciliation that animates it. "Faith, indeed, is the act of being seized by spiritual presence, of being open to the transcendent unity of a nonambiguous life. In relation to the christological affirmation, one might say that faith is the fact of being seized by the New Being as it is manifested in Jesus Christ." (*Systematic Theology*, III). On an individual level, this reconciliation deflects anxiety and enables the courage of being to assert itself as faith and unfold as love*. On a cultural level, this same appearance of the new being is manifested by the power of a symbolic language, restoring what alienation had destroyed, and through the union of art and religion, it transfigures reality and opens it to its ultimate meaning.

3. Influence and Posterity

Tillich was very influential, particularly in the United States, where he managed to arouse interest in theology among scientists and people in the cultural domain, who often had no prior interest in theology. Nor can one deny the synthetic impact of his work. Relayed by certain elements of *Process* Theology*, Tillich's ideas are, in some respects, comparable to those of Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955). But, as with de Chardin, they were seen to be too distant from the radical questions raised by atheism* or the persistence of evil* as revealed in contemporary agnosticism* to truly provide an answer. And yet these questions continue to demand an urgent response.

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JEAN-FRANÇOIS COLLANGE

See also **Barth, Karl; Bultmann, Rudolf; Experience; Religion, Philosophy of; Revelation**

Time

While Greek philosophy* first considered time in terms of its cosmic and cyclical reality, the Christian experience is that of a time organized into a history* by divine initiative and reflected as such in the experience of a “stretched” consciousness (Augustine*) between present, past and future. Caught between a sequence of founding events (the *absolute past* of an inaccessible “sacred history”) and an *absolute future* (eschatological fulfillment) promised and anticipated in Christ*'s Resurrection*, the believer's present is defined in the first place by an act of memory, which provides its historical coordinates, and in the second place by an act of hope*, which refers it to this absolute future. Thus the theological meaning of the present consists of its envelopment by an originating past and its yearning for the perfection of all things, represented in theology by the “kingdom* of God.”

The liturgical experience fixes and expresses the chief characteristics of this envelopment and this yearning. On the one hand, the believer's memory is strongly expressed in the liturgy as a *commemoration*. Going beyond the mere order of remembrance, the

original past is endlessly represented in a sacramental practice that feeds on presence (but not Parousia*) rather than defying an absence, and which regards the experience of salvation* in the present (for example, O. Casel). On the other hand, the present of the liturgy* is presented as an anticipation of the *eschaton*: the eternal rewards are already at the Church*'s disposal while it acts in hope. Hence, the relationship with the absolute future is experienced in the form of extreme proximity. Just as Jesus* began his preaching* by announcing the imminence of the Kingdom, so the Christian experience lives out this imminence as the secret of its relationship to the *eschaton*. All presents are liturgically equidistant from the final summation, just as they are equidistant with (or “contemporary” with, in Kierkegaard*'s description) the origin. Thus the present earns the designation of *kairos*, the favorable time able to accommodate fully the relationship between man and God. “In this daily existence which we receive by your grace*, eternal life has already begun” (*Roman Missal*, sixth preface to the Sundays of ordinary time).

Trapped in the time of this world, contained in the consciousness like any present, never free from the pressures of anguish and boredom, and caught in the irrefutable logic of a *time leading toward death**, the present of faith and hope is nonetheless experienced at the boundary between the world and eschatology. This fact may itself be reflected in the intrinsic style of temporalization. The proposition of original experiences corresponds to a time necessarily bursting with eschatological meanings. The concern here, in which a philosophical analysis can discern the secret of time (Heidegger*), centers on the proposition of a *nonchalance*, which entrusts the direction of the future to God alone and thus experiences the present in its own terms, in the fullness of its meaning. By virtue of the essential imminence of fulfillment, the present can be lived as a *vigil* that refuses to speculate on the postponements of history. And in this nonchalance and this vigilance, a *filial* temporality is established, in the image of Jesus' pre-Resurrection time (Lacoste 1990).

Admittedly, the theological and eschatological meanings do not rule out the existential logic of a Christian time that is in the first instance a human time comparable to any other, but they do give rise to a divergence. Thanks to its kairological content, this time also structures itself by subverting the logic of any purely worldly temporalization. It is thus desirable to qualify, by means of a christological conception of the question of time, in relation to God's eternity*, that which eternity controls and judges (Barth*). And if the divine/human person* of Jesus must, therefore, be regarded as "the concrete *analogia entis*" (Balthasar*), if human time and God's eternity can assume a relationship of analogy*, human time ultimately ceases to be defined in terms of being-in-the-world, and instead defines itself in terms of an eternal relation to God, an

eternal movement of the finite spirit toward God (Gregory* of Nyssa's "epectasis"). In speaking of the resurrection of the flesh, theology necessarily speaks also of a resurrection of time. The believer thus experiences, in his mortal flesh, a time leading *toward* death that is not a time intended *for* death.

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See also Eschatology; Eternity of God; History; Life, Eternal; Liturgy

Tolerance. *See Deism and Theism*

Trace (Vestige)

The Latin term *vestigium*, translated as “vestige” or “trace,” belongs first of all to the problematic of representation. It is thus related to the symbol of the line, proposed by Plato in Book VI of the *Republic*, in which the tangible world appears as the reflection of the intelligible world*. Philo used the Greek *mimèma*, translated into Latin by *vestigium*, to define the tangible world, a degraded image or vestige of the *Logos*; he also applied it to man insofar as he is part of that world (*De opif.* 145 ff.). The term was adopted in the patristic and medieval periods, not solely in reference to the problematic of the image, but in order to express an orientation toward likeness and, more broadly, the relationships between the cosmos*, man, and God*. To recognize the trace of God in created beings is to contemplate the author through his work, to ascend from the cosmos to its creator and thereby unify cosmology and symbolic theology*. The concept of trace, used in this way, is at the basis of all Christian aesthetics.

It was in Augustine that *vestigium* was given decisive direction as well as a non-disparaging sense. If he adopted it to designate the world, this was with the idea that the world was the expression of its creator. In Book X of the *Confessions* and in the Commentary on Psalm 41, for example, Augustine introduces a *prosopopeia* of the Creation*, in order to show that everything that exists is not God, but has been created by him, and is, therefore, fundamentally good and refers to its creator.

More radically, Augustine makes the soul* the quintessential *vestigium*, for it is in the image of the Trinity*. This image, however, is not of the same nature as its creator, and this is why Augustine offers analogies* in order to express it: soul, knowledge, love* (*De Trinitate* IX); memory, intelligence, will (X); memory, inner vision, will (XI). Offered in order to show that the soul expresses the Trinity, these analogies are created to give a positive meaning to the concept of vestige. They are echoes of the Trinity in the human being. Augustine, however, emphasizes that the Trinity infinitely transcends the traces it has left in us, and goes on to say: “If the Trinity of the soul is the image of God, this is not because it remembers itself, understands itself, and loves itself; but it is because it can still remember, understand, and love Him by whom it was created” (*De Trinitate* XIV. 12. 15). The image of

the Trinity in the soul is thus not static, but dynamic; it realizes itself only in relation to the Creator, and this relation constitutes for it a kind of continuing creation.

As for the theme of *resemblance*, Augustine does not offer a detailed treatment of the theme of likeness but implies it in his analysis of the dynamics of the image. Understood thus as a vestige, the Creation is seen as a theophany*. Visible images express the primordial nature of things and recount the glory* of God and the regeneration of the cosmos through salvation*. Imitative of the Creator in various forms, these primordial natures carry on among themselves a harmonious relationship, and each one resembles the others in accordance with constant rhythms.

In this context, Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite is another important source. Because for him God is absolutely unknowable and can be characterized only by an absolute negativity, it would be deceptive to believe that he can be attained by means of noble images, which would necessarily be inadequate. On the contrary, it is better to have recourse to figures “drawn from the most lowly earthly realities,” and to represent God “with images that do not resemble Him in any way” (*Celestial Hierarchy* I §3, PG 3. 140 D). The dissimilar symbol is thus a better theological instrument than the image, to the extent that it declares its own insufficiency and impels the soul again in its ascent toward God. John the Scot Eriugena, who considered nature as an immense allegory of the divine, adopted this theory. And because human art can do nothing but imitate divine art, art itself then takes on an anagogic dimension (*see* senses of Scripture*). This is the meaning of the plastic representations, even the most monstrous of them, decorating Romanesque churches, and of the stained glass windows of the Gothic cathedrals (*see* Suger, *De consecratione*, ed. G. Binding, Köln, A. Speer, 1995).

Although Augustine’s analogies had many imitators, as shown, for example, in Richard of Saint*-Victor, the Augustinian understanding of *vestigium* was of short duration, except in Anselm* and John* of the Cross, who both present the created being as a vestige of the Creator. In the 12th century, in fact, the term tended to resume a Platonic tonality and to be rationalized. In the *Summa de Anima* (p. 147), Jean de la Rochelle opted for a variation on the Augustinian scheme, *vestigium*,

imago, and *similitudo*, but *vestigium* is defined as a “distant, obscure, and individual representation,” far from the *similitudo*, which is an immediate, complete, and clear representation. The concept of trace nevertheless maintained a decisive role in the reflection on nature. For example, beginning in the 12th century, encyclopedias developed the theme of the “mirrors of nature”—means of knowing the invisible attributes* of God on the basis of His work. In an analogous way, Cistercian art also used a symbolism of nature and made the cloister, for example, a figure for paradise.

In the following century, Bonaventure* adopted a similar perspective, but he introduced some nuances. First of all he differentiated the image, the traces of which can be found in nature, and likeness, the privilege of man alone. In his Commentary on the *Sentences* (I. d. 3. p. 1. c. 1. q. 2. ad 4) Bonaventure proposes a distinction not among vestige, image, and likeness, but among shadow, vestige, and image. The *shadow* is a distant and confused representation, based on the immediate causality of Creation. The vestige is a distant representation, but one that is distinct and based on a threefold causality (efficient, formal, and final) as well as on the transcendentals (the One, the True, and the Good). As for the *image*, it is a close and distinct representation and belongs only to intellectual nature, as that nature is structured by the three faculties of the soul that had been recognized since Augustine.

In the fourth of the *Questions on the knowledge of Christ*, Bonaventure applies the scheme *vestigium*, *imago*, *similitudo* in order to define the degrees of being* of created beings and the mode by which God cooperates in their action. He explains: “As a vestige, [the created being] is related to God as to its principle, as an image, it refers to Him as the object of its activity (of intellect and love). But as a likeness, it is directed to God as to the innate gift that He makes of Himself. Hence, any created being coming from God is a vestige of Him; any created being who knows God is an image of Him; but only the created being in whom God dwells is His likeness.”

An analogous procedure can be found in the *Itinerarium*, in which the soul gradually rises to the contemplation* of God. Bonaventure clearly distinguishes between vestiges, which are the first stage of this ascent, and the image of God, which represents the second stage. And he explains (ch. I §2) that “among created beings, some are vestiges and others the image of God; some are corporeal, the others spiritual, the former temporal, the latter intemporal; some are outside us, the others within.” But although the *Itinerarium* at first proposes a path toward contemplation through and in the vestiges of God in the world, it then

advocates a return to inwardness, through the intermediary of the image of God that is in us, and at that point, unlike Augustine, Bonaventure does not speak of vestiges. The Sermon on the threefold witness of the Trinity (n. 7), finally, adopts a broader point of view, but does not give the soul a special place. Thomas* Aquinas also defined a hierarchy of created beings in accordance with the scheme *vestigium*, *imago*, *similitudo* (*De Potentia* q. 9. art. 9 c; *Summa Contra Gentiles* IV. 26; *Summa Theologica* Ia q. 4. a. 3; q. 45. a. 7; q. 93. a. 2, 6).

Although the vestige is an important moment in the dialectic of being, it is in itself only a simulacrum in which likeness is only partial. This is perhaps the reason for which Meister Eckhart (see Rhineland*-Flemish mysticism) said that, left to themselves, created beings are “pure nothingness*,” but that there is “something in the soul” through which they are more than a simple vestige.

This symbolic understanding of the world and of “vestiges” was replaced by a more ontological interpretation in Duns* Scotus and John of Ripa. In the 17th and 18th centuries, it was necessarily called into question by the appearance of mechanist and rationalist arguments. Some recollections of Augustine, such as the “mark of God on his work” in Descartes*, are all that modern times preserved of the problematics of the vestige.

A reflection on the theme of the trace, however, has been resumed in the 20th century, not referring to the world but to others, in the work of E. Levinas (*En découvrant l'existence avec Husserl et Heidegger*, Paris, 1982): “Being in the image of God does not mean being the icon of God but finding oneself in his trace. The revealed God... does not show Himself through his trace, as in chapter 33 of Exodus. To go toward Him is not to follow that trace, which is not a sign, but to go toward others who are standing in the trace.”

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See also **Anthropology; Beauty; Creation; Images**

Tradition

A. Catholic Theology

a) The Idea. The *idea* of tradition, which initially referred to the act of transmitting material objects, was eventually applied to the perpetuation of religious doctrines and practices, handed down from one generation to the next by word of mouth and living example. From there, the term was extended to the whole of the contents thus communicated. In that sense the Catholic Church* considers itself to be the constitution of living tradition and justifies its message and role through the transmission of the Christian faith*, of which it is, in its own eyes, a component element. However, this claim must not be viewed as concerning merely a specific confessional trait, but as an essential element of Christianity itself. By putting the accent exclusively on the Holy* Scriptures, the Reformers cut themselves off from that tradition, which they made a collective term to denote all the exterior biblical manifestations of Christian life and thought since the time of the apostles* (apostolic tradition). The widest meaning of the term *tradition*, including the Holy Scriptures, however, is the oldest one, while the antonym Scripture/Tradition became current only from the time of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation onward.

b) Origins and Development of Christian Tradition. In the daily lifestyle and the history* of the Jewish people, tradition did not at first give rise to any discussion. It was lived as an obvious fact. The only difficulty came from the concrete means that had to be adopted or developed gradually in order to ensure its continuity and growth and to thus make it the object of a conscious relationship. The beginnings of the Christian movement lie entirely within that context; it was a matter of taking the measures and creating the institutions that seemed necessary for the community's protection. These measures and institutions were based on the authority of the gospel*—that is, on the word of the Lord, who by this means ensured his living presence in the world*. The first elements of an explicit awareness of tradition appeared with the “rule of faith” and the links it created—links with the canon* of Scripture and links with the idea of the succession of bishops* and presbyters*. So many reference points and institutional means made it possible to reject doc-

trinal errors, schisms, and the founding of illegitimate communities.

It took some time before particular traditions came into being, and then an explicit awareness of tradition. In 1 Thessalonians 4:16–17 we find Paul still announcing the imminent dawning of the day of the Lord—which, moreover, did not exclude but, on the contrary, presumed the missionary work of the spreading of the Word*; in Romans 9–11, however, Paul has already developed the lines of force of a history of salvation*, understood as a temporal process in which the work of its transmission is embedded and of which he, Paul, is the instrument, as he states particularly in 1 Corinthians 11:23 and 15:3. Here can be observed the appearance of a central aspect of the gospel message, which would finally be given an official definition under the technical term “deposit of faith,” and which coincides at bottom with the idea of an obligatory “rule of faith.”

In the process of the composition and interpenetration of New Testament testimonies, Luke, the evangelist and the author of the Acts of the Apostles, is credited with a particular influence on the creation of tradition and the idea of tradition (see Lk 1:1–4 and Acts 1:1–2). This is why, in the perspective of systematic exegesis, elements of a “proto-Catholicism” have been seen. It is only because of its account of the life of Jesus Christ that John's narrative was inserted in the New Testament between Luke's Gospel and Acts, and this interpolation has obscured the impression of the original cohesiveness of these two texts. It is often thought that Luke's project was only made possible by neglecting the eschatological meanings of Jesus*' message or by his reinterpretations oriented toward a contemporary eschatology*. But although it is true that the time frame determines the conception that we form of concrete tradition, the New Testament texts show that these two realities can be linked in various ways. A consistent eschatological approach to the Gospels can also make room for mission* and tradition. The fact remains that, faced with the attacks and challenges of the period that followed, attempts were clearly made to extract from it principles and institutions intended to reinforce tradition.

It was above all the Gnosticism* of the second century (but also Marcionism* and other movements) that

necessitated measures capable of ensuring the solidarity of the faithful and the cohesion of communities. For example, in his *Against Heresies*, Irenaeus* of Lyons assembled all the established doctrinal elements in order to develop a coherent and consistent view, in which the individual references might reinforce each other. Tertullian*, for his part, defended the Christian faith by means of judicial rhetoric, thus adding a new facet to the kinds of argument deployed by Irenaeus in the field of salvation history. Henceforth, it was easier to define not only the contents of Christian tradition but also the way in which these contents ought to be transmitted. However, a fear of innovation ended up casting suspicion on Christianity's vital activity, as is clearly shown by the use made of the expression by which Vincent of Lerins has summed up the principle of tradition. Only "what has been believed everywhere, always, and by everyone" (*Commonitorium*, c. 23) was to be accepted as Catholic, with the risk this presented of trapping the Church in a unilateral relationship with the past. Only as long as Christianity experienced its faith, in the main, as a lifestyle that was still self-evident, did this conception present no difficulties. The significance of the *Commonitorium* for the history of dogma* was not recognized until the 16th century.

The nominally Christian world of the end of Antiquity and the Middle Ages did not see its own Christianity challenged, except at the margins. Tradition belonged to a natural environment, so to speak; it did not raise any real problems, and even if the validity of such and such a particular tradition happened to be disputed, in its totality it was accepted without argument.

c) *The Reformation.* In the end, even the Protestant Reformation's reactions against certain particular traditions challenged tradition as such only in the name of Scripture, that is, relative to the whole to which Scripture belonged (see *Enchiridion Symbolorum: Definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* 1501). By his demand for conformity with Scripture, Luther* introduced an element of tradition and a specific method of transmission. In his own way, therefore, he himself invoked tradition. The question was, who was following the *best* tradition? What the Reformer rejected was certain individual traditions—that is, concrete points of Christian practice and particular convictions that, according to him, derived from other sources than the testimony recorded in the texts of the Gospels. He therefore restricted the domain from which traditions might be drawn, only acknowledging the legitimacy of those that seemed to him to be confirmed in Scripture. Likewise, the Council of Trent put up less of a defense of tradition *per se* than it defended

certain particular conceptions, dispositions, or customs. Therefore, the "Decree on the Acceptance of the Holy Books and the Tradition of the Apostles" (*Enchiridion Symbolorum* 1501–5) was intended for the most part to clarify the Catholic understanding of Scripture. It states: "This truth* and this principle are contained in the written books and the non-written traditions that, received by the apostles from the mouth of Christ* himself or transmitted as if hand-to-hand by the apostles under the Holy* Spirit's dictation, have come down to us." The fact that this definition later gave birth, in catechesis and theological commentary, to what has been called the "theory of the two sources" of revelation, is explained by a desire to oppose the Reformation's progress and by the (imagined) demands of apologetics. On this point the quarrel did not break into the open until just before Vatican* II, notably in the famous controversy that pitted J. R. Geiselmann (Tübingen) against H. Lennerz (Rome). This confirms that it is only in the modern period that the problem of *Tradition* has become a completely separate issue from the question of *traditions* (in the plural).

d) *The 19th Century Debate about Tradition.* It was the Enlightenment's radical challenge to authority as well as the progress of historicism during the previous century that finally led Catholic and non-Catholic thinkers to ask themselves explicitly the question about tradition. French *traditionalism* (Bonald, J. de Maistre and so on) tried to base the whole of religious thought on the principle of tradition, while the Catholic school of Tübingen* was bent on putting this principle into practice in the framework of a discussion founded on constituted orthodoxy*. The "Roman school" (G. Perrone, C. Passaglia, Cl. Schrader, and J. B. Franzelin), also moved by a desire for theological revival, likewise stressed the principle of tradition, without nonetheless falling into a traditionalism excluded in the meantime by the Magisterium*. At Vatican* I, recourse to tradition took on such importance that Pope Pius IX is supposed to have uttered the questionable phrase: "I am Tradition." The classic summary of the position of the Roman school was put forward by J. B. Franzelin in his *Tractatus de Divina Traditione et Scriptura* (lithographed in 1867–68, printed in 1870). The reversal of views that had occurred is evident from the title of the work, where tradition preceded the Holy Scriptures, which seem more like a collection of "writings," in the plural, subordinate to the unity of tradition. The interest of Franzelin lies in the fact that he introduced into the concept of tradition a differentiation that authorized a new approach to the problem. A tradition existed *before* the

testimonies that record their contents in writing; and there is a tradition *after* the testimonies, a tradition whose work is to translate, to interpret, to bring these testimonies up to date—in short, to bring them alive in the present time. In this way Franzelin could deal first with the essence of the divine tradition, then with its preservation, and lastly with its relationship to Scripture and the interpretation of Catholic doctrine. After this first part he tackled Scripture by examining first of all the inspiration of the whole, then the way in which the inspired books are known to us. He continued by looking at the role of the canon of Scripture in the tradition of the Catholic Church and at the authenticity of the Vulgate. Finally, in an appendix he described, in a way characteristic of the whole work, the relation between human reason and divine faith, which clearly showed that he was not aiming merely at a formal examination of tradition. Typically he relied, above all, on linguistic observations and data, whose historical character was not lost sight of either in establishing the facts or in their interpretation, even if this aspect had not yet been treated with all the technical tools that later research would make available.

e) After Vatican I. The neo-Thomism of the following period, on the other hand, viewed thought as a system existing outside time (*philosophia et theologica perennis*); it therefore evaded the problem of a living tradition while leaving the field open to properly historical research. However, in assigning to the latter the task of upholding and confirming already validated truths, independent of tradition, neo-Thomism placed itself at perpetual risk of seeing in their results nothing but threats of relativism*. The crisis of Modernism* showed that the problem could not be solved in this way (see *Enchiridion Symbolorum* 3458–66 and 3494–98, as well as 3873). Naturally, it was not without reason that there was some hesitation about making a commitment to an in-depth and systematic examination of the question of tradition. Indeed, no discussion can restore the nature of “evidence” derived from a reality actually lived. On the contrary, discussion only distances it further, at the risk of breaking the tie, which in the last resort sustains the spirituality of a faith and of the reflection it inspires.

In the period since World War I, and in order to counter the dichotomy introduced by Thomist Neoscholasticism, certain Catholics have put the emphasis on the whole, which encompasses the factors thus dissociated. In so doing they have reminded the faithful of the central aspects of the traditions of Christian life, whether in the activities that express the Church’s concrete reality (divine service/liturgy*,

charitable works, teaching, *actio catholica*, *participatio actuosa*, counsel, synods* and so on), or in Christian thought in general, or again in theological reflection. At the very beginning of the 20th century, in his *Histoire et dogme* (1904), Blondel had stressed the importance of this task. The immense amount of historical material released in the interval needed to be integrated into the Christian spirituality of the time so as not to remain merely soulless knowledge. From another angle, the philosophy of life and the philosophy* of existence emphasized the need for a new practical commitment.

f) The “Living Tradition.” Sustained by the memory of the Catholic school of Tübingen and of Scheeben* (one of the great representatives of the “Roman school”), the “living tradition” movement was one of the sources of spiritual renewal that was to make it possible for theological thought to act beyond the borders of its own field. In place of a quantitative view of tradition it substituted a qualitative view, through which revelation seemed above all to be a communication and a self-communication. Dialogic and hermeneutic* thought drew from this movement a new impetus and materials. Research on orality as the unsurpassable form of tradition and as the original testimony’s mode of expression, revealed the fact that the writings can only intervene in this process in an indirect and secondary way. Since a new reality cannot be born (whatever its continuous ties with the past) unless a reciprocal action is necessarily established between the present and tradition, a reciprocal action that is immediately translated on the social level, the theme of orality influenced the debate about the foundations of the historical sciences, the controversies about the abandonment and the loss of tradition, as well as the thinking about the validity for later eras of the testimony about tradition. Certainly, the first consequence of the problematization of tradition was to show that the approaches, the descriptions, and the attempts at rational explanations were incapable of solving by themselves the problem of the distance that separates a tradition—lived or fixed in the evidence—from the discourse held about it. But can a tradition be genuinely appropriated through learning, knowledge, and thought in the specific meanings that these terms have taken on today in the Western context? A theory of tradition is not, and cannot itself be, a living tradition, even if theory as such is an inseparable part of human tradition—that aspect of the problem would have to be treated in a discussion about “fundamentalism*,” because it is wrong to say that realities experienced and ways of life cannot be better transmitted and preserved than by theoretical teaching.

g) *Vatican II*. By its stress on the *pastoral* nature of its elucidations, developments, and resolutions, Vatican II rejected a view of historiography understood as an accumulation of knowledge, and as a simple matter of intellectual comprehension, in favor of a more all-encompassing, qualitative approach. It thus linked its own conception of tradition with the points of view introduced in the new discussions on history (*see DV in Enchiridion Symbolorum* 4207–14). The question of the limits of historical science, as it had been practiced until then, did indeed provoke a fundamental debate from which might emerge a new view of history, closer to traditional Christian conceptions, but one in relation to which these traditional Christian conceptions might themselves also undergo some modification. In any event, it could no longer be a question of indefinitely accumulating information and results, with these becoming so numerous as to render the mind incapable of taking a global view and organizing these disparate elements into a meaningful sequence. From this there arose the problem of the legitimate abandonment of a tradition, a problem that until then had scarcely been glimpsed, and even less analyzed in any convincing way. An awareness developed of the difficulty of the selection that must inevitably be made between various traditions, of the need to distinguish between the important and the secondary. Moreover, this question had already been raised in the old context. In any case, from the Christian point of view, a clear and plausible definition of what is called salvation history was lacking (*see LG in Enchiridion Symbolorum* 4122–24 and 4130–41), a concept that certainly involves differentiation in the historical material, but that must not give support to the false idea that history contains separate parts or fields. It remains to find agreement once more about the means that a theological history of traditions could properly use, because a great number of criticisms addressed today to religion and the Church are aroused by institutional blockades that tradition is accused of having put in place. The idea of tradition's essentially "living" nature does not refer only to the

effects of the truth of the gospel but also to the method of transmitting this truth, which is based in a decisive way on communication and reciprocity. The rediscovery of this living aspect could be seen as the real transformation of tradition, a tradition that, for far too long, had been understood in terms of an anxiety to preserve with the least possible change a treasure or a capital conceived as a material entity. But then the critical potential of this living material must also be reckoned with. In that sense, Vatican II was not only the result of a new way of thinking about tradition but also the starting point for forms of research that, in the interests of the Christian faith, need to be pursued today.

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See also Canon of Scriptures; Holy Scripture; Loci Theologici; Magisterium; Revelation

B. Protestant Theology

1. Great Historical Movements

Protestantism* maintains a critical but not a negative relationship with the notion of tradition. Its consistent principle of acknowledging the sole authority* of the

Scriptures leads it to reject the idea of any authority belonging to tradition (whether Fathers*, Councils*, or Magisterium*). When summoned to abjure before the Diet, Luther refused and declared: "Unless they can

convince me by testimony from the Scriptures or by obvious reasons—for I have faith neither in the pope* nor in councils alone, since it is clear that they have often been in error and have contradicted themselves—I am bound by the scriptural texts that I have cited and my conscience* is held captive by the word* of God; I cannot nor do I want to retract anything, for it is neither sure nor honest to act against one's conscience" (Discourse of Worms, 18 April 1521: *Luther's Works*, vol. 7, 832–38 [*Works*, vol. 2, Geneva, 1960]). This critical principle is well in evidence in the three great movements that arose from the "Teaching Reformation"—that is to say, Lutheranism*, Calvinism*, and Anglicanism* (the polemical aspect would be radicalized if we extended the presentation to the various movements of the radical nebula, such as Anabaptists*, Spiritualism, Unitarianism*, or Millenarianism*).

a) *Lutheranism*. The critical principle was adopted in the symbolic texts of Lutheranism. Melancthon tried to express it in a conciliatory way by specifying at the end of the first part of the *Augsburg Confession* (1530): "We did not... want to give or transmit to our children and our descendants another doctrine than the one which conforms to the pure word of God and Christian truth*. If therefore this doctrine is clearly based on the Holy Scriptures, and if, in addition, it is neither in contradiction nor in opposition to the Christian Church*, not even to the Roman Church—as far as one can ascertain from the writings of the Fathers—we consider that our adversaries cannot be in disagreement with us as regards the articles below."

The Book of Concord (1577) specifies that the writings of the Fathers or the theologians should never be placed in the same category as Holy Scripture, that they are subordinate and that they can only state to what extent and in which places the doctrine of the prophets* and the apostles has been preserved in its integrity (*Epitomé* I). The Scriptures are consequently the only yardstick of faith*. Other doctrinal writings should be subordinate to them and no ecclesiastical tradition contrary to their teachings could be accepted. However, if the conformity of a doctrine is judged by reference to the Scriptures, nothing prevents theologians from adding to their presentation proofs drawn from tradition and from the Fathers.

The Lutheran attitude consists of tolerating tradition when it is not in disagreement with the Bible*. Above all, it is a question of repudiating anything that might seem likely to veil the principle of justification* by faith alone.

b) *Zwinglianism and Calvinism*. In the Zwinglian-Calvinist or reformed movement the same insistence

on the sole authority of the Scriptures can be found. The first *Helvetic Confession* (1536) makes clear distinctions. First there are the Scriptures, which should not be "interpreted and explained except by means of themselves, according to the principle of faith and charity." Then there are the Fathers* and the Doctors, who, as long as they have kept to the Bible, are recognized "not only as interpreters of the Scriptures but also as chosen instruments through whom God has spoken." Lastly there are the doctrines and tradition of men, which, "however beautiful and venerable they might seem, and however ancient they are... turn away from God and the true faith" (articles 2–3–4).

The *Confession de foi des Eglises réformées de France* (1559) specified that the biblical canon, which constitutes the rule of faith, finds its legitimacy "not so much through the common accord and consent of the Church as through the testimony and inner conviction provided by the Holy* Spirit."

The word contained in the books of the Bible is unchangeable, so much so that: "Men, or even the angels*, are not allowed to add to, subtract from, or change it. Whence it follows that neither Antiquity, nor custom, nor the masses, nor wisdom, nor judgments, nor rulings, nor edicts, nor laws, nor councils, nor visions, nor miracles* should be opposed to these Holy Scriptures." Conformity with the Scriptures does not however preclude the assumption of a heritage from the past, and particularly not the acceptance of the great symbols of the faith (articles 4–5). The "Reformed Church Principle" consists in retaining only the doctrines and practices that are established by the Scriptures.

c) *Anglicanism*. In the Anglican family there is both a great anxiety to maintain the link with the usages, particularly the liturgical ones, of the undivided Church and a desire to give the different Churches a certain latitude in the observation of the rites. Therefore, article 6 of the *Thirty-Nine Articles* stipulates: "The Holy Scriptures contain everything necessary for salvation*: everything which is not contained in them or which cannot be proved by them cannot be considered a requirement for anyone as an article of faith and could not be considered indispensable or necessary for salvation." But in practice the position is more moderate, as stated in article 34: "It is not necessary for traditions and ceremonies to be the same in all places and on all points; for in all ages they have been diverse and can vary according to the diversity of the countries, eras, and customs, provided that nothing is established contrary to the word of God."

Anxious to allow the coexistence of a certain practical plurality alongside the Church's unity*, Anglican-

ism tries to establish a distinction between the fundamental truths (convictions or institutions) and those that are secondary: the balance is maintained according to a “calculated combination”—different according to each movement—between the Scriptures, tradition, and reason*.

2. Theology

a) *The Principle of Sola Scriptura.* The Protestant position needs to be related to the distinction it imposes between the original norm, which is the Scriptures (*norma normans*) and the derived norms (*normae normatae*), which consist of the symbolic texts (confessions of faith and catechisms). Doctrinal, liturgical, and ecclesiological traditions do indeed exist within Protestantism, but no actual authority is conferred on the texts which testify to them: they derive their normative value from the Scriptures, which they seek to mirror. That is what is specified by the conclusions of certain symbolic texts that do not feel bound by the form that the expression of faith takes (1st Confession of Basel, 1534): “In this Confession, if something happened to be lacking, we are ready, God willing, to present more ample information in conformity with the Scriptures [*Augsburg Confession*]. In the last place, we wish to submit to the judgment of the divine Scriptures this Confession which is ours, and, to this end, we have sworn that if we learn anything better at the instigation of the Holy Scriptures, that we are willing to be obedient to God and to his holy Word at all times and with a great act of grace.”

In the period when the controversy was at its height (16th and 17th centuries), whatever their confessional family*, the Protestants attacked Vincent of Lerins’s adage according to which, in the Church, truth was whatever had always been believed everywhere and by everyone. They delved into patristics and the notion of antiquity: on the one hand, contrary to what the Roman position leads one to believe, the Fathers have not all and not always taught the same doctrine, for example, with regard to the Eucharist* or images* (for instance, J. Daillé, *Traité de l’emploi des saints Pères*, 1632); on the other hand, a statement’s antiquity cannot constitute a criterion of its truth (for instance, J. Mestrezat, *Traité de L’Ecriture Saint*, 1633). From the 17th century onwards and into the 18th, the progress of the *critica sacra* provoked a crisis of scriptural reference: L. Cappel (1585–1658), J. Locke (1632–1704), J. Le Clerc (1657–1736). Since that was so, unless it proceeded to a fundamentalist type of reading, or acknowledged along with Catholicism* that an official authority was needed in order to settle the senses of the Scriptures*, Protestantism had to take the historical aspect into its hermeneutics*. In the 20th century, Bult-

mann*’s thinking is decisive. According to it, preaching* and the sacraments* belong to the traditions of Christ, not in the sense that he might have established them but because they are the means by which his kerygma is delivered to believers: “Tradition is part of the very event which is contained within it.” In addition, scientific exegesis becomes aware of the historical nature of every doctrine and text—that is, of the influence that various traditions exert over the writing of the biblical books. This is why Protestant theology* insists on both the distinction and the necessary link between the word of God—the heart of the message—and its form, which is the Scriptures.

b) *The Ecumenical Dialogue.* By distinguishing the tradition of the Gospels from the traditions belonging to each Church, the IVth World Conference on Faith and Constitution (Montreal, 1963) made possible a theoretical convergence of the confessional positions. The conference defined tradition as the transmission of the gospel in and by the Church, its updating, its being made current through preaching and the administration of the sacraments, the liturgy, theological teaching, mission*, and witness. It questions and challenges particular traditions. Even if this distinction does not in practice abolish the divergences—as shown by certain reactions from Protestant theologians to the document *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry* (Lima, 1982; see, for example *Etudes théologiques et religieuses* 58, 1983/2)—it made it possible to go beyond the past antagonism between Scripture and tradition. Protestant theology revealed itself willing to “rehabilitate” tradition, not as an example of dogmatic authority, but as a point of mediation where, in the act of transmission, individual faith accepted its historical and community dimensions (see G. Ebeling, P. Gisel). Far from ensuring the continuity and the repetitiveness of the statements of faith, tradition then constitutes a starting point for a constantly renewed realization of the Christian witness in the world*. This point of view goes back to the distinction—a founding distinction in the Protestant family—between Law* and Gospel: the truth is not attested by the form of the statement but by the relationship—between man and God—that gives rise to the daring expression of faith.

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See also **Calvin; Ecumenicism; Zwingli, Huldrych**

Traditionalism

The word "traditionalism" refers first of all to a school of thought that appeared at the beginning of the 19th century and to its continuation up to the present day, and also to a theological error that was censured on numerous occasions and finally condemned by Vatican* I.

a) Historical Origins. Having witnessed the damage caused to the Church* and to theology* by the French Revolution, certain Catholics set about renewing apologetics. At the very moment when Paris was celebrating the Concordat signed by Pius VII and Napoleon, François-René de Chateaubriand (1764–1848), the father of Romanticism, published his *Génie du christianisme* (1802). Diverging from the usual perspective, this work sought to show not that Christianity is excellent because it emanates from God*, but that it "comes from God because it is excellent"; it endeavors therefore to prove in every domain the wealth and beauty of its dogma*, its morality, and its worship.

The three "founders" of traditionalism proposed another path: despite differences in style and doctrine, Joseph de Maistre (1754–1821), Louis de Bonald (1754–1840), and then Felicité Robert de Lamennais (1782–1854) came together to denounce the rationalism* and individualism of the 18th century which had led to a generalized skepticism. On a political and social level, the Revolution was the fruit of the Enlightenment, the current of thought made famous by French and German philosophers. According to the light of divine providence*, these founding thinkers averred, it was an expiation* of the fathers' forgetfulness of reli-

gion, and punishment for the struggle led against Catholicism* and royalty, which it was important should be restored (J. de Maistre, *Considérations sur la France*, 1796; *Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1821). Wanting to reestablish religion and the monarchy by restoring the notions of authority* and by placing God once again at the summit of society*, Bonald reflected upon the constitution of society and the origins of power: the perfect form of religious society, Catholicism alone corresponded to the social nature of man (*Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux dans la société civile, démontrée par le raisonnement et par l'histoire*, 1796; *Législation primitive considérée dans les derniers temps par les seules lumières de la raison*, 1802). A formula by Lamennais summed up these doctrines: "Without the pope, there is no church; no church, no Christianity; no Christianity, no religion and no society; such that the life of European nations has...its sole source in pontifical power" (*De la religion considérée dans ses rapports avec l'ordre politique et civil*, 1826). Maistre demonstrated the existence of a logical link between sovereignty and infallibility (*Du pape*, 1822).

The anarchy in the political and social order was an expression of the skepticism that reigned in the order of thought: the question of the origin of power was inseparable from that of the origin of ideas. What authority could enable one to attain certainty, if not that of infallible reason*? This was the issue that Lamennais raised in his famous *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion* (vol. I, 1817; vol. II, 1820; vol. III and IV, 1821–23). In this essay he denounced all forms of in-

difference, and rejects philosophy*, which made individual reason the judge of what man ought to believe—hence universal skepticism. The authority of proof must be replaced by the proof of authority, according to Bonald, who underlined the link between thought and word, and again asked the question, already raised in the 18th century, regarding the origins of language: for Bonald, it is a gift from God, similar to the ideas given by the Creator to his creatures (see creation*) in a primitive revelation.

Traditionalism can be summarized in two interdependent theses: 1) Individual reason left to its own devices is incapable of attaining moral and religious truths, and in particular of knowing them with certainty. 2) These truths have their origin in a primitive revelation that infallibly transmits tradition*: thus, the general assent of the human race—or common sense—has become the sole criterion of all certainty. Maistre was the precursor of this traditionalism, Bonald its father, and Lamennais its herald (Hocédez, vol. I). Similar but subtler theses were posited during those years by Catholic theologians in Tübingen (Drey, Möhler).

b) Developments, Censure, and Condemnation. The encyclicals *Mirari vos* (1832) and *Singulari nos* (1834) condemned Lamennais's ideas, particularly his liberalism. The influence of his traditionalism continued to be felt among certain disciples such as P. Gerbet (1798–1864), or an Italian cleric who came to France, J. Ventura (1792–1861), as well as in an entire sector of the French clergy, including in particular Monsignor Doney, bishop* of Montauban (1794–1871). In 1855 the founder and director of the *Annales de la philosophie chrétienne*, A. Bonnetty (1789–1879), who held that revelation and faith* alone were capable of leading man to the knowledge of natural religious truths, had to sign four propositions recalling the doctrine of the Church on the origins, capabilities, and use of reason. In Louvain, G. Ubaghs (1800–74) would contribute to the development of a traditionalist current that differed from the French current on the question of certainty; in 1866, Rome* called for a halt to the teaching of what it regarded as a dangerous doctrine. Several provincial councils—Rennes and Avignon in 1849, Amiens in 1853—condemned rationalism*, but also warned against the theses of traditionalism on the powerlessness of reason and on the exaggeration of the authority of tradition at the expense of reason.

The First Vatican Council's constitution *Dei Filius* (1870) condemned the errors of traditionalism by asserting that “God, the principle and goal of all things, can be known with certainty through the natural light of human reason on the basis of the created things”; but it also acknowledged, in accordance with the doc-

trine of Thomas* Aquinas, that “it is thanks to divine revelation that all humankind, in the present condition of the human race, needs must know with ease, and with a solid certainty and no traces of error, that which in divine things is not in and of itself inaccessible to reason” (see *DS*, 1785–86).

c) Traditionalism in the 20th Century? While much of the early-19th century debate has been forgotten, certain political theses of traditionalism regarding the Revolution, the monarchy, and the *ancien regime* were revived by Charles Maurras (1868–1952) and the Action Française.

Monsignor Lefèbvre and his *traditionalist* movement rejected Vatican* II in the name of tradition, viewed as the preservation of a religious past established by the council of Trent* and the reforms of Pius V. The reform of the liturgy* was thus impugned in the name of a sacral conception of immutable rites; the religious freedom* of persons*, in the name of the rights of an irreformable doctrinal truth; and ecumenism*, in the name of the one true Catholic Church. Such attitudes demonstrated the absence of a sense of history, whereas the Council reiterated that “the Church is a social reality of history*” (*GS* §44). The rejection of the Revolution and of democracy* underscored the affinities of the movement with Action Française and the political theses of the founders of the traditionalist school in the 19th century.

The paradox of traditionalism has been emphasized: it does not take into account the authentic tradition of the Church regarding the capacity of reason and the necessity of revelation. Along with Jaroslav Pelikan one might conclude: “Tradition without history homogenized all the stages of development into one single statically defined truth; history without tradition produced an historicism which relativized the development of Christian doctrine in such a way that it seemed arbitrary to make a distinction between an authentic growth and a cancerous aberration. . . . Tradition is the living faith of the dead; traditionalism is the dead faith of the living” (*The Christian Tradition: Development of Christian Doctrine*, vol. I).

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See also Fideism; Freedom, Religious; Modernism; Political Theology; Rationalism; Tradition; Vatican II, Council of.

Traducianism

Traducianism is the hypothesis according to which the human soul* is transmitted by way of carnal generation. After having been linked to the question of original sin*, this hypothesis progressively disappeared in favor of *creatianism* (not to be confused with *creationism*, the fundamentalist* position opposed to the evolution* of species). According to creatianism, each human soul is directly created by God*.

According to Jerome (c. 347–419), who seemed, for his part, to be partial to creatianism (PL 23, 1112), the question at the beginning of the fifth century was as follows: “Did the soul fall from the sky as thought Pythagoras, all the Platonists, and Origen*; does it emanate from God’s own substance according to the Stoician or Manichean hypothesis...? Or, are souls created each day by God and sent into bodies...or [are they born] by propagation (*ex traduce*) as Tertullian*, Apollinarius*, and most of the Occidentals claimed?” (PL 22, 1085–86). Probably under the influence of stoicism, Tertullian saw the soul as a subtle body that propagated at the same time as the material body. Augustine* vigorously rejected this materialistic traducianism (PL 33, 1861), but considered the possibility of a spiritualistic traducianism according to which God created one soul, that of Adam*, from which are drawn all the souls of the men who are born (PL 32, 1299). According to him, this hypothesis allows one to understand the doctrine of original sin, by which all men sinned through Adam. Thus, Julian of Eclana (around 386–454), for whom true faith* imposes creatianism, concluded that this doctrine is indefensible. To better reject it, he nicknamed his partisans *traduciani* (PL 45, 1053) and so we owe him the word *traducianism*. Augustine responded by

maintaining his stance: on the one hand the question of the soul’s origin is a very difficult one to resolve, on the other hand the adopted hypothesis should not bear on the doctrine of original sin.

In 498, Pope Anastasius II rejected materialistic traducianism (DS 360) and emphasized that creatianism did not question the transmission of the original sin. Up until the 13th century, many authors hesitated to clearly condemn spiritualistic traducianism, out of respect for Augustine. Scholasticism, however, took to Peter Lombard’s affirmation (c. 1100–60) that the Catholic Church* was teaching creatianism (II *Sent* d. 18). For Thomas* Aquinas, “it is heresy to say that the intellectual soul is transmitted with the seed,” because this would render it so interdependent of the body that it would disappear with it (Ia q. 118, a. 2). This doctrine was confirmed in 1341 by Benedict XII (DS 1007).

Calvin* rejected traducianism more firmly than Luther*. Bellarmine* thought that the argument of tradition* could be invoked against traducianism. H. Noris (1631–1704) countered him on this point by recalling that Augustine remained in uncertainty. Traducianism saw a renewal of interest in the 19th century with authors such as Jacob Frohschammer (1821–93) or Antonio Rosmini (1797–1855). Of the last, in 1887 the Holy Office rejected an affirmation suggesting the multiplication of souls by generation (DS 3221).

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See also Original Sin

Transcendence, Divine. *See Analogy; Infinite*

Translations of the Bible, Ancient

1. *The Septuagint and Other Greek Translations*

a) Origin and Name. The name “Septuagint” (Latin, *septuaginta*, “seventy,” and for that reason often rendered by the shorthand “LXX”), originates in the legendary meeting of 70 (or 72) independent translators. The term appears as early as the second century A.D. and refers to the earliest Greek translation of the Old Testament and, more precisely, of the Pentateuch. Only later did the term come to denote the Greek translation of the entire Hebrew scripture, as well as the deuterocanonical books* written originally in Greek. Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) was included in this category until manuscripts of the book in Hebrew were found at the Cairo Geniza and at Qumran.

According to the “Letter of Aristeas” (probably second century B.C.), the Greek translation of the Pentateuch was due to the request of Philadelphos Ptolomeus (Ptolemy II, reigned 285–246 B.C.) for a copy of the Law* to be placed in the library at Alexandria; according to tradition, the team of 70 translators worked in seclusion on the island of Pharos. It is much more likely, in fact, that the Septuagint represents translations by the Jews in Egypt for their own use, perhaps as early as the end of the third century B.C.

b) The Translation. The Septuagint indicates a Hebrew (or in some cases Aramaic) text that differs from the Masoretic text. Each book or group of books has been translated somewhat differently, and the vocabulary represents Jewish philosophical thinking of the second and first centuries B.C.. Since the Septuagint is the form of the Old Testament most frequently quoted in the New Testament, its vocabulary helped to shape the Christian theology* of the first centuries.

c) Revisions of the Septuagint. The Greek text was apparently revised several times, in the first century B.C.

and in the first century A.D., with further revisions or re-translations from the Hebrew text during the second century, as well as Lucian’s revision in the fourth century. In the case of 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings, Lucian’s recension was based on a pre-Masoretic Hebrew text that bears certain similarities to texts of 1 and 2 Samuel from Qumran, and to citations in Flavius Josephus and Justin. In addition, this recension bears occasional resemblance to the *Vetus latina* (Old Latin) translation of the second century A.D.. All this suggests that Lucian’s text was based on a much earlier revision, possibly from as early as the first century B.C.

The Greek text of the Minor Prophets* contained in a scroll from the Dead Sea (c. 132 A.D.) was clearly brought closer to the Masoretic text. According to Barthélemy (1963), this text was part of a larger recension of almost all of the Old Testament. Calling this the “*kaige* recension” (based on translating the Hebrew *gam* by the Greek *kai ge*), or R recension, Barthélemy found evidence of this in some sections of the texts of Samuel and Kings in the Codex Vaticanus, as well as in Lamentations, the Song of Songs, Ruth, Judges, Theodotus’s recension of Daniel, parts of Job and Jeremiah, and the Psalms in the fifth column of Origen*’s *Hexapla* (1963). This same first-century recension seems to be at the basis of a later translation attributed to Theodotus.

d) Other Greek Translations. In the second century, some rabbis became dissatisfied with the Septuagint, since it had been taken over by the Christians as the text of their scriptures. This prompted attempts to re-translate the Old Testament from the Masoretic text. In about 130, Aquila (probably to be identified with Onkelos) produced a slavishly literal translation, of which only fragments are in existence today. However, the Greek version of Ecclesiastes incorporated into the Septuagint has been attributed to Aquila (Barthélemy 1963). The best source for Aquila’s translation is what

remains in the *Hexapla*, whose third column contained Aquila's text.

During the same century, Symmachus produced another translation. As with Aquila, he followed the Hebrew text closely, but he was more careful to write in a good Greek style. As with Aquila, the best source for this translation is the little that remains of it in the fourth column of the *Hexapla*.

Aquila's translation was used by communities of Hellenized Jews until the Middle Ages. In 553, Justinian's *Novella* 146 (*Peri Hebraion*) officially authorized its use in the liturgy* of synagogues.

2. The *Vetus Latina*

a) *Origin*. Most scholars agree that the *Vetus latina* ("Old Latin") translation originated in northern Africa. Tertullian* states that in his time (c. 160–c. 225) the language of the churches* in Africa was Latin. This is confirmed by Cyprian* and, later, by Augustine*. There may have been a pre-Christian Old Latin translation of the Old Testament current in Africa, but this has been categorically denied (J. Gribomont, "Latin Versions," *IDB Supp.*). Latin was also the language of the churches in northern Italy, Spain, and Gaul. Novatian (first half of the third century) cites a text that is not African, which suggests a rather rapid multiplication of Latin translations, corresponding to the rapid expansion of Christianity in Europe. These texts, which today are called "European," correspond to what Augustine called the *Italia*, a name that, until recently, was used to refer to the Old Latin translations in general. The variety of locations accounts for the various forms in which the *Vetus latina* is found in the manuscripts today.

b) *Nature and Importance*. The *Vetus latina* is a translation from the Greek of both the Old and the New Testaments. For the Old Testament, it is a valuable witness to what the Greek text was before it underwent Origen's recension. For the New Testament, the underlying Greek text represents the western tradition. As with the Greek, the Latin text must be studied individually for each book, since no pandect (manuscript containing the entire Bible) dating from before the seventh century has been found. The *Vetus latina* is not merely of interest in relation to textual criticism: it has the same importance in relation to the theological language* of the earliest Latin theologians that the Septuagint has in relation to that of Christian authors who wrote in Greek.

3. The *Vulgate*

a) *Jerome* (c. 347–419). Jerome, who had very quickly come into contact with both secular and Chris-

tian literature, traveled around the Empire and mixed as much in Roman aristocratic circles (as witness his correspondence with Marcella, Paula, and her daughter Eustochium) as with the monastic communities of Syria, Egypt, and Palestine. Endowed with knowledge of Hebrew and Greek—he was a *vir trilinguis*, "a trilingual man"—and benefiting from his acquaintance with Jewish masters, he became an advocate of *hebraica veritas*, "the Jewish truth," which explains his preference for the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotus. Although he quarreled and broke with his friend Rufinus of Aquileia, who had translated Origen's writings, Jerome shared Rufinus's admiration for the Alexandrian master. Jerome's exegetical labors also became the occasion for an exchange of letters with Augustine.

b) In 383, Pope Damasus entrusted the revision of the Latin text of the gospels* to Jerome. Jerome went on to revise the Psalms* according to the Greek, creating what is known as the "Roman Psalter." After his arrival in Palestine, he undertook a revision of the Old Testament based on the Greek text of the *Hexapla*: he had access to a copy of Origen's text in Caesarea. His Psalter from this time is known as the "Gallican Psalter" because it was adopted for liturgical use in Gaul during Charlemagne's reign. Around 390, Jerome abandoned this project and set about a fresh translation of the Old Testament based on the Hebrew text. In 391, he published his translations of the prophets; this was followed, some time before 395, by Samuel and Kings, the Psalter *juxta Hebraeos* ("according to the Jews"), Job, and Ezra and Nehemiah. Two years later, 1 and 2 Chronicles appeared, and in 398 the "books of Solomon": Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and the Song of Songs. Finally, in 405 his translation of the Octateuch (Genesis to Ruth) appeared, along with Esther. In the meantime, Jerome had also translated Tobit and Judith from the Aramaic. The remaining books (Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 1 and 2 Maccabees, and Baruch) were incorporated into the Vulgate in the text of the *Vetus latina*, since Jerome never translated or revised these "deuterocanonical" texts.

It is still debated today to what extent Jerome revised or translated the New Testament beyond the gospels. Many scholars think that the translations of Acts, the Epistles, and Revelation are to be attributed to Pelagius or his circle, or to Rufinus the Syrian, one of Jerome's followers. In the New Testament, the Vulgate clearly differs from the *Vetus latina*.

The text of the Vulgate had authority* in the Latin church (Decr. 1–2 of the fourth session of the Council of Trent*) until the publication of the "Neo-Vulgate" in 1979 (Const. apost. *Scripturarum thesaurus* of 25

April 1979, *AAS* 71 1979, 557–59). It was therefore crucially important for Catholic liturgy and theology.

4. Syriac Translations

a) Old Testament. Nothing is known for certain concerning the translation of the Bible into Syriac, commonly known as the *Peshitta*. It is suggested that it dates from the third century, but it is not clear whether the translators were Jews or Christians. If they were Christians, the translation may have been done in Edessa or Adiabene. In any event, the first mention is found in Aphraate in the fourth century. The *Peshitta* was translated from the Hebrew in a form close to or even the same as the Masoretic text. The publication of a critical edition of the Old Testament is under way in Leyden.

b) New Testament. The New Testament was translated into Syriac at least five times during the first six centuries of the Christian era. It is disputed whether the first effort was Tatian's, in his *Diatessaron* (a fusion of the four gospels into one, c. 170) or the Old Syriac version (extant today in two manuscripts from the fifth century). The *Peshitta* of the New Testament became the official translation in Edessa in the fifth century, but it was already the common text of the churches that used Syriac, the Nestorians and the Jacobites, before their successive separations at the Councils of Ephesus* and Chalcedon*. Its text fluctuates between agreement with the Byzantine text and with the western text.

5. Targums

According to Nehemiah 8:8, as early as the time of the return from the exile there was a need for an Aramaic translation of the scriptures from the Hebrew, which was no longer spoken currently by the people. The "targums" are translations intended for the reading of the scriptures in the synagogues.

There are targums of all the books of the Hebrew scriptures except Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Fragments of what are probably targums of Job and Leviticus have been found at Qumran. For the Torah, the *Targum Yerushalmi* (fragment TJ2) is the oldest; it is based on oral traditions in Galilee from the second century A.D. onward. It was known only in fragments until A. Diez Macho found a complete manuscript in the Vatican Library (1956). The *Targum Onkelos*, close to the Hebrew text, was given an official status in the third century A.D. (*Targum of Babylon*). It may be of Palestinian origin. The *Targum Yerushalmi* I (*Pseudo-Jonathan*) is a late composition, dating from the late Middle Ages. As for the Prophets, the *Targum*

Jonathan contains Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the 12 "minor prophets." It is written in the same Aramaic dialect as the *Targum Onkelos* and generally follows the Hebrew text closely. The "Megillot" targums include the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, and the "Writings" targums include Psalms, Job, Proverbs, and Chronicles.

The targums constitute a reflection of what Judaism* was in the early centuries of the Christian era, as well as an indication of how the Scriptures were understood. They also clarify some of the formulations and beliefs in the New Testament.

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See also Bible; Canon of Scriptures; Exegesis; Fathers of the Church; Gospels; Hellenization; Intertestament; Origen

Treasure of the Church. *See Indulgences*

Trent, Council of

1545–1563

Starting with the early years of the Reformation, some theologians who had remained faithful to the Church of Rome* provided their viewpoint, supported by rele-

vant arguments, in reply to the assaults of the Protestant reformers; this was done mainly in Paris, Köln, and Louvain. There was, however, one single manner

to reaffirm solemnly the dogmas* that were being challenged: only the meeting of an ecumenical council* could defend those dogmas and could suggest a larger vision of the Church's reform, as had been highly proclaimed by Lateran* V. There had not been, however, sufficient political and religious will to bring to fruition the wish proclaimed by Lateran V; that is why an ecumenical council, that is, a general one, appeared to be in order.

1. The Historical Framework

The council meeting that eventually became the Council of Trent was expected and announced for decades; it was delayed by political and ecclesiological disagreements, and it was finally convened in the northern Italian city of Trento (Trent), an imperial city where many people spoke both German and Italian—the choice of venue was a compromise to satisfy both the emperor's and the pope*'s demands. The council brought about a reform in depth of the Catholic Church. It also provided the Church with a vision that remained, roughly speaking, valid until Vatican* II. It also supplied, albeit not exclusively, a doctrinal basis that served as the framework within which Catholicism* was to model its thinking and its action during four centuries.

It is essential to recall the chronology of the council's events, which stretched over almost twenty years.

a) The Early Period: 1545–47. The council was convened by Pope Paul III; its members assembled, in a modest fashion, for the first time on 13 December 1545; 34 Fathers had voting privileges. There were eight meetings in all at Trent, then two more in Bologna, after the transfer there (25 March 1547) of a majority of the Fathers. Their departure from Trent was motivated by a plague epidemic, but it was also due to the papal desire to resist the strong pressures coming from the emperor.

b) Second Period: 1551–52. At the end of the year 1550, pope Julius III reconvened the council; it opened on 1 May 1551 at Trent. Being in the course of a political conflict with the pope, King Henry II of France did not allow the French bishops* to attend. There were six sessions during that second stage of the council. One of the major events, although it had no practical impact, was the presence of some Protestant delegations, in particular from Württemberg and from some imperial cities; they were able to present their confessions of faith* (*See* creed*). The council was suspended “for two years” on 28 April 1552, on account of the threats coming from the Protestant armies.

In fact, ten years passed before the council could

meet again. The sudden death of Pope Marcellus II Cervini, then in 1555 the election of Paul IV Carafa, who was convinced that the reform of the Church had to be preceded by those of the Curia and of the diocese of Rome, and finally the abdication of Emperor Charles V in 1558, had prevented the council's resumption. When peace in Europe was re-established with the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in April 1559, Pius IV of Medici, elected pope at the end of that same year and assisted by his nephew, Cardinal Charles Borromeo, convened the council to pursue the work that had been started. Emperor Ferdinand and the king of France, Charles IX, would have preferred a fresh start based on new foundations; their preference was motivated by the dogmatic decrees already voted on, which they found unacceptable for their Protestant subjects. Up to that point, the first two periods had been most strongly influenced by the emperor, but from then on, the pope was determined to assume responsibility for the council, in particular the task of carrying it to fruition.

c) Third Period: 1562–63. Opening again on January 18, 1562, the council of Trent had nine more sessions, thus bringing the total to 25. Following the failure of the colloquium of Poissy, then the violence of the opening encounters of France's religious wars* (April 1562), the French bishops arrived on November 13, 1562, led by Cardinal de Lorraine. The number of conciliar Fathers assembled in session reached its maximum on 11 November 1563, with 232 voting members out of an episcopate estimated to be approximately 700 in total; the maximum number of members present at the two earlier periods had reached only 71.

On 4 December 1563, the Council of Trent came to a close with the approval of all the texts that had been previously accepted by vote. These measures entrusted the pope with numerous tasks, such as the preparation of a catechism and the revision of the instruments of a Catholic reform, breviary, missal, and index of forbidden books.

The theological work had been carried out by experts, for the most part members of religious orders. Among these, the early Jesuits, the companions of Ignatius of Loyola, distinguished themselves. They held their meetings in commissions that were open to the Fathers who wished to attend. As for the bishops, they would meet in “general congregations,” or in smaller groups, before the ultimate step of text ratification in solemn “sessions.” The work done by the theologians was considerable, especially during the quiescent periods such as 1547–48 and 1553, during which they accomplished work that became preparatory tools for the ensuing period of meetings.

2. The Doctrinal Work

The following question was raised from the outset (it became a doctrinal stake per se, or at least an ecclesiological one): should dogmatic matters be dealt with first, or should priority be given to reforms? The pope could hardly have accepted giving priority to reform, which would have been interpreted as a tacit acceptance of the conciliarist point of view according to which the council could act as an apparatus of the government* of the Church rather than limit itself to the defense and affirmation of the faith; the lack of accepted solution to the ecclesiological problem regarding the relations between pope and council had an impact on the whole sequence of events at Trent. Realizing that doctrine and reform were fundamentally linked, the council decided on 22 January 1546 that they should not be dissociated, but that the council's work should always start with the theological foundation.

a) *Revelation.* In their wish to be methodical, the legates decided first to examine the matter of revelation*, to make it “the foundation of what was to be discussed subsequently.” The first decree (*Sacrosancta*, DCO 1350–1355), dated 8 April 1546, is constructed in two parts. The second is simply borrowed from the decree of 1442 regarding the Jacobites, and is a list of biblical books* making up the canon* of Scriptures that had been passed down. The first part of the text lists the manners through which the “gospel” was passed down, a term deliberately generic. It distinguishes three steps: the promise* announced by the prophets*, the promulgation coming from the very mouth of Christ*, and finally the preaching* done by the apostles*. “The gospel is the source of every salutary truth and every moral rule.” Truth* and rule (*disciplina*)—meaning dogma and moral standards—are contained in the Scriptures, and they are also present in the traditions that can be called “apostolic.” These Scriptures and traditions have been passed down and been revered “with the same feeling of piety and respect.”

The council of Trent is therefore not opposed to Scriptures and tradition*. On 12 February 1546, cardinal Cervini had proposed formulations that made such an opposition possible: divine revelation is “transmitted partly by the Church (*partim*) through the Scriptures which are present in the Old and in the New Testaments and partly (*partim*) by mere tradition passed down from hand to hand” (CTV, 7–8). The Fathers refused that proposal (though the refusal was probably not seen by the compilers as the determining factor it was later said to be; see J. Ratzinger, “Ein Versuch zur Frage des Traditionsbegriffs,” in Rahner-

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In any case, the position of the council is not what the church later adopted when it came to establish the theory of the “two sources” of revelation. It is clear as well that the council did not want to describe, or even list, the ecclesiastical traditions that were, nonetheless, mentioned by the summatory Tridentine profession of faith of Pius IV in 1564. The council of Trent wanted to reject the Protestant insistence on *sola Scriptura* as the source of authority by emphasizing the common origin of the whole revelation, which is God* himself, and it invited the Church to “preserve the purity of the gospel.”

b) *Original Sin.* Once the foundation of revelation had been reasserted, the council of Trent tackled the dogma of the original sin*, the interpretation of which had so many repercussions on the debates with the reformers. That was the object of the decree of 17 June 1546, *Ut fides nostra* (DCO 1354–1359), and its anathemas. The decree recalled, against the Pelagians, that the original sin of Man is not the imitation of Adam*'s sin by everyone, but its hereditary consequence (*propagatio*), and as a result it cannot be overcome by human strength alone. However, the decree clarified, against the Lutherans, that this sin is not to be confused with concupiscence, which is only an inclination toward sin. Concupiscence subsists, even after baptism*, as a “source” of sin (*fomites*), and the Fathers acknowledge that it is even sometimes called “sin” by Paul, but divine grace* allows the believer to overcome it in a real fight (*ad agonem*). Trent did not pronounce itself on the nature of original sin, but it did reassert its existence according to the beliefs of tradition: the council thus avoided ratifying the opinions of any school of thought and did not decide who was to be favored, whether it be Thomists or Augustinians. Having opted against two extreme doctrines, Trent then devoted a canon to a defense of the baptism of infants (against the Anabaptist* thesis that only a baptism consciously sought by its recipient was spiritually effective), by following the common interpretation of Romans 5:12, “All have sinned in Adam.” The proposal to include a paragraph on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary* was found to be inopportune and was not passed (14 June 1546).

Taken as a whole, *Ut fides nostra* was christological in essence because each canon repeated the role of grace and of the merits of Christ “who reconciled us with God through his blood.” It was thus an anticipation of the decisive wording of the decree on justification*, which began to be debated immediately after the vote on *Ut fides nostra*.

c) *Justification*. The decree *Cum hoc tempore* was adopted during the 6th session, on 13 January 1547 (DCO 1366–87). Divided into 16 chapters, it is followed by 33 canons. After implicitly rejecting the first draft, (calling it a “sermon rather than a decree”), the legate Cervini asked Seripando, general of the Augustinians, for a new wording. Seripando had participated in 1541 in the interdenominational colloquium of Ratisbon (Regensburg), where an agreed position on justification was found between Catholic and Protestant theologians. Seripando thus introduced in his text a chapter on the double justice*, which had, as a matter of fact, been the very foundation of the Ratisbon accord. Cervini eliminated that chapter and he even took the opposite position in a second draft. Seripando, however, vigorously defended his own thesis of a distinction between imputed or extrinsic justice, which was Luther*’s opinion, and an inherent justice, identical to sanctifying grace, to which Seripando linked the doing of good works* (CT II, 431, 23–27). The majority of Fathers refused that division, which meant an obligation to resort to a new application of the merits of Christ (the sanctifying grace brings in fact the internal justice of man in an intimate relationship with that of Christ), whose sole cause is the justice of God. The discussion that ensued did not re-establish, however, the double justice, but at least its condemnation was not requested. The Fathers finally adopted the fifth draft of the text. From the starting points of reasserting the original sin and of bearing in mind the reality of free will—which is not completely wiped out, but whose strength is weakened and turned aside (*attenuatum et inclinatum*)—Trent spoke of a new birth, brought about by the “regenerative bathing” of baptism, thanks to which redemption and remission of sins are granted.

The description of the process of justification adopted by the council was as follows. It is brought about by the conjunction of two factors: grace, and man’s free will (*libera voluntas*). With Evangelical preaching, man starts preparing for this new life that he will get through baptism, and through baptism he receives a justification that “is not mere remission of sins but also sanctification and renovation of internal man through the voluntary reception of grace and gifts.” These gifts are received through the mediation of Jesus Christ in whom man is present (*cui inseritur*); these are faith, hope*, and charity (love*). Under a language of rather technical theology, Trent proposed therefore a real Christian anthropology*. The process being described pursues its course by asserting that the certainty of justification is never actually given to man (“unlike what the heretics conceitedly trust”); but it also asserts that this does not at all prevent increased

justice through observance of the commandments (Decalogue*) and perseverance. A few lines finally remind the theologians of the soberness to be observed regarding predestination*. Chapter 16 of the decree develops a theology of merit. “Our personal justice... is said to be ours because it is inherent in us, it justifies us, and it is also the justice of God because it is God who injects us with the merit of Christ.” As Franco Buzzi has put it (1995): “Against the Pelagians, the council wanted to remind us that our justice is that of Christ; and against the Protestants, that the justice of Christ has become ours.”

As with its formulation on original sin, the council aimed here to reinforce the major features of a Catholic theology of grace without having to engage in Scholastic disputes (even if chapter 7 uses the vocabulary of causes).

d) *Sacramental Doctrine*. On 3 March 1547 (7th session), Trent laid the first foundations of its sacramental doctrine (DCO 1392–95) before dealing with baptism and confirmation*—showing remarkable theological coherence given the political difficulties of the situation in which the debates were conducted; these were particularly difficult where the councilors were pursuing discussions on points of doctrine in parallel with the explorations of the Reformers. Dealing with the sacraments* in general, Trent had to ensure theological continuity with their preceding decrees: “In order to crown the salutary doctrine on justification, it seemed to be in order to deal with the sacraments... it is through them that all true justice begins, that it grows after having started, that it can be repaired when it has been lost.”

In a first step, the council reasserted the Catholic doctrine in reply to the negations of the Protestants, who, since Luther, had been asserting that there were not seven sacraments, nor had they been instituted by Christ. In very sober canons, Trent reasserted the septenary by the authority of its acceptance in tradition without, as modern theologians do, entering into the history of its formation. Without making any allusion to the distinction observed in medieval thought between “mediate” and “immediate” institutions, the council declared that the sacraments were instituted by the Lord himself. While the Protestants did not believe that baptism, confirmation, and ordination* imprinted any “character” (see sacrament section 5) d), Trent stressed the “spiritual and indelible mark” they leave, and it used, in canon 8, the famous expression *ex opere operato*, the meaning of which has already been given by canon 6: sacraments convey the grace they signify to those who do not make obstacle to them. Canon 12 proposed an illustration of that: a minister who is in a

state of mortal sin, but who observes what is essential in the conferment of a sacrament, does indeed confer it validly. The principles of the sacramental doctrine are then brought into play for each of the sacraments; in the following paragraphs, baptism and the Eucharist* will be discussed.

Trent did not propose strictly speaking any dogmatic account on baptism. In a new series of canons, it went straight to what is essential: “if somebody says that baptism is free, meaning that it is not necessary to salvation*, it is a case for anathema” (canon 5). Canon 13 stated its opposition to the Anabaptists by asserting that young children, even though they are incapable of a personal act of faith, are part of the body of believers, on account of their baptism; in other words, it makes them part of the Church. Trent devoted only three canons to confirmation, stressing that it is a true sacrament, and not merely a catechetical profession at the time of adolescence. The minister who may administer it is “ordinarily” a bishop; this qualification was included so as not to condemn the Greek Orthodox custom of accepting the administering of this sacrament by priests.

The theology of the Eucharist can be fairly said to have been a constant theme during the three periods of the council’s deliberations. It was first introduced in 1547—mainly among the theologians—and they returned to the subject in 1551. On 10 October 1551, Trent decided to hold off discussion of some points (reception of the Eucharist and small children’s receipt of communion) until the arrival of the Protestant delegation. These points were taken up again in 1562, when Trent specified that reception of the bread “is sufficient for salvation” and that receiving communion is not a “necessity” for small children.

In the 13th session, which began on 11 October 1551, Trent voted to adopt a lengthy text with 11 canons (*DCO* 1410–21), which recalled that the Eucharist—a sacrament so contested and controversial—was in fact established by the Lord precisely “because he wanted it to be a symbol of the unity* and the charity binding Christians to each other.” At the end of the text, in an appeal “from the depths of God’s mercy*” (*Lk* 1:78), the council begged Christians to unite around that symbol of concord. Nevertheless, they must agree on a sole interpretation: “After the consecration of the bread and the wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and true man, is really present, truly and in substance under the appearance of these realities felt by the senses.” The text rejected the ubiquitarian position of Luther (who had argued that the body of Christ cannot be present in the Eucharist since a body cannot be in many places at once; only in the sense that Christ, as God, is everywhere—ubiqui-

tous—can he be said to be present). For Trent, however, “there is no contradiction” between Christ being seated at the right hand of the Father* while his body is simultaneously present in the Eucharist. Chapter 2 described in sober terms the riches of the sacrament (memorial, nourishment, remedy, guarantee of our future glory*, sign of unity).

Chapter 4 declared that the change of substance in the Eucharist receives “justly and exactly [*convenienter et proprie*]” the name of transubstantiation in the Catholic Church. This is why it must be said that Christ, present in the Eucharist, is being eaten “sacramentally and really [*sacramentaliter ac realiter*]” as well as spiritually (canon 8). Furthermore, the council recalled that the cult* of the Blessed Sacrament legitimately offers to God the cult of latria (supreme worship) which is owed to him.

As far as the possibility of a “concession to the laity” in certain countries was concerned, it was left up to the pope to decide. This text, which the council adopted on 15 July 1562, also reasserted that the Church legitimately has the power to decide and to organize the administration of the sacraments, their “substance being safe” as it is.

There was still left to reassert the sacrificial character of the Mass; it became the object of the 22nd session’s text, on 17 September 1562 (*DCO* 1488–97). The theological difficulty raised by the Protestant position was twofold: it was necessary to clarify the connection between mass and the Lord’s Supper by maintaining that there is a unique sacrifice and by establishing simultaneously a connection between the Lord’s Supper and the cross. Did Christ offer himself in sacrifice* on Maundy Thursday? Having discussed this matter, the Fathers came round to the following position in a dense passage: “On the night he was handed over, the Lord wanted to leave to the Church, his beloved spouse, a visible sacrifice...in which would be shown the bloody offering that was about to be performed one single time on the cross, a sacrifice whose memory would last till the end of time, and whose salutary properties would be applied to the redemption of our daily sins” (chapter 1).

From its theology regarding baptism and the Eucharist, the council went on to deduce somehow its teaching on penance*, on ordination, and on extreme unction. As for marriage* (*Tametsi* decree), Trent worried a great deal about clandestine marriages and about the problem adultery posed for the principle of the indissolubility of marriage (*Mt* 19:9). And although it declared that this sacrament was instituted by Christ and that it conferred grace, Trent did not solve either the question of matter and form or that of the minister.

The theology of Trent is thus marked by two characteristics: the concern to give a clear answer to the Protestant Reformers, which was an ever-present background to the discussions; and a consistently cautious approach to all fundamental questions of theology. This prudent position was undoubtedly the cause of the debates on grace which went on to trouble the Church during the subsequent two centuries, but it also allowed the teaching of the council to become a doctrinal reference for the Church regarding a real Catholic reform.

- *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatum nova collectio* (CT) (1901–80), Freiburg. COD, 657–799 (DCO II/2, 1339–1624).
- ◆ H. Jedin (1951–1975), *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, Freiburg, 3 vols.
- G. Dumeige (Ed.) (1975 and 1981), *HCO* 10 and 11.
- A. Duval (1985), *Des sacrements au concile de Trente*, Paris.
- F. Buzzi (1995), *Il Concilio di Trento (1545–1563)*, Milan.

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See also Baptism; Conciliarism; Eucharist; Justification; Lateran V; Pope; Sin, Original; Protestantism; Revelation; Sacrament

Trinity

A. Theological History

The Trinity is the mystery* of a single God* in three persons*—the Father*, the Son, and the Holy* Spirit—recognized as distinct within the unity of a single nature, essence, or substance (*symbole Quicumque*, DS 75; Lateran* IV, DS 800; Dumeige, 9 and 29). Two errors should be avoided from the point of view of this paradoxical “monotheism*.” The first error is tritheism*, which means to privilege the number and represent three distinct consciousnesses in God, three centers of activity, three concrete beings (the “three little figurines” mocked by Calvin). The second error is modalism*, which is seeing nothing more in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit than three ways in which God presents himself to us. The Trinitarian mystery can be known only by revelation*. It distinguishes Christianity from the two great monotheistic religions, Judaism* and Islam. It is the source of the notion of the person, distinguished from that of nature. It leads to the idea that being* (or beyond being) in its highest form is gift, sharing, relation, love*. The Trinity is a fundamental article of faith* for every Christian.

The confession of the Trinity is a major paradox, not only because it holds that God is simultaneously “one” and “three,” but because the second of these three persons—Christ*—is at the same time a man. This introduces a new element of alterity in God, all the more so in that this man is inseparable from his “body,” which is the Church*.

A further paradox: the theologian claims that the dogma* of the Trinity is found in Scripture; this is not obvious. And in fact the idea of the Trinity, in its present form, took hold gradually, and at the cost of numerous controversies.

1. Scriptural Foundations

a) Old Testament. From the beginning of the Bible*, God appears as a mysterious being who does not exclude in himself a certain plurality, as noticed by the church fathers*: Genesis 1:26 (“Let us make man”), Isaiah 6:3 (Trisagion), theophanies* (identity and non-identity between the angel* of YHWH and YHWH himself). In the Hellenistic period there arose the personification of Wisdom* (Jb 28; Bar 3:9–4, 4; Wis 1–9; Sir 24; Prv 8) and of the creative or redemptive Word* (Gn 15:1; Am 5:1–18; Ps 32:6, 32:9, 147:18; Wis 28:14–25). The theme of the Word and Wisdom occur in John (Jn 1:1–18) and Paul (1 Cor 1:24 and 1:30), where it is associated with the redemptive cross.

b) New Testament. While suggested in the Old Testament, for the theologian the Trinity is explicitly revealed in the New Testament; but this revelation is indirect, and takes place in the context of a particular approach that consists in a new reading of everything in the light of Christ’s resurrection*. Pentecost (Acts 2), where Luke places the first official proclamation of

this resurrection (paschal kerygma), already takes on a Trinitarian dimension. Other narratives* also feature the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: the annunciation to Mary* (Lk 1:35); the baptism* of Christ in the Jordan (Mt 3:13–17); the words of Christ addressed to God as his Father, with the occasional mention of the Holy Spirit; the jubilation of Christ in Luke (Lk 10:21); the farewell speech in John (Jn 14–17).

c) *Matthew 28:19*. One of the most important texts for the history of the Trinitarian dogma is the baptismal formula in Mt 28:19: “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.” The three “persons” are coordinated in the formula (*and, and*) placing them on equal footing, but in a definite order, starting with the Father. The triple nomination goes together with a singular expression: “in the name of.” Elsewhere the order to baptize is associated with the order to teach and with a gesture of salvation* (baptizing) that will become a sacrament*, in a certain sense reproducing the figure three by a triple interrogation and a triple immersion (*see below*). The surprising nature of the formula inspired doubt in critics, but they could be told in reply that nothing justifies a challenge to the authenticity of the formula (Lebreton 1910; E. Cothenet, *Tr. et Liturgie*, 1984).

d) *The First Summaries of the Faith*. The New Testament contains an initial series of brief proclamations of the paschal kerygma that amount to professions of faith in a Trinitarian dimension (Sesboüé 1994). A second, enumerative series with Trinitarian content, sometimes includes two terms (1 Cor 8:6; 1 Tm 2:5f., 6:13), sometimes three (1 Cor 12:4ff.; 2 Cor 13:13, Eph 4, 4ff., and, naturally, Mt 28:19). Both series were freely adopted by the first Fathers in formulas that establish them, the kerygmatic sequence being attached to the second article of the Trinitarian formula (Sesboüé, *ibid.*).

2. The Second Century

a) By the end of the first century, Clement of Rome was using a ternary formula: “Do we not have a single God, a single Christ, a single Spirit of grace that was poured out upon us?” (*Epistle to the Corinthians* 46, 5–6: SC 167; *see* Ignatius, *Epistle to the Magnesians* 13, 1: SC 10; *see* Justin, *Apologies* I, 48; I, 61: Ed. Wartelle, 1987; *Dialogue with Trypho* 30, 3; 76, 6; 85, 2: Ed. G. Archambault, 1909). Irenaeus*, c. 180, proposed the first developed exposition of Trinitarian faith (*Against Heresies* I, 10, 1–2: SC 264) and a “rule of faith” that he explicitly associated with baptism

(*Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* 5–7: SC 62 and 406).

b) In its origins the rite of baptism was the usual means whereby faith in the Trinity was transmitted. According to the *Didache* (1st century), baptism should be done by a triple immersion in running water (with reference to the baptism of Christ in the Jordan; *Did.* 7, 1–3: SC 248). Triple immersion remained a constant in subsequent centuries. *The Apostolic Tradition* (SC 11 b), an early-third-century liturgical document, relates that before each immersion three questions are put to the person being baptized. Three times they reply: “I believe” and three times they are immersed (*ibid.*, 21 = DS 10). The content of the questions, grouped in a declarative account, corresponds to the ancient form of the Roman creed (DS 11). Thus is manifest the baptismal and Trinitarian structure of the “symbols of faith” confessed in every baptism, including in the East, where triple immersion is most clearly attested.

c) *Recourse to Theophanies and the Logos*. In the second century, apologists* were asked to explain their faith in the Trinity. Called upon by the Jew Trypho to explain how he could say that Christ is “another God” beside the one God, Justin gave a double reason. Referring to theophanies when God was understood to be manifest, he argued that this God could not be the Father: “No one, no matter how weak his mind, would dare to claim that the author and Father of the universe abandoned the supracelestial regions to appear on a corner of the earth, (*Dial. with Trypho* 59 and 127). Here a philosophical principle tacitly accepted by Trypho himself intervenes (*Dial.* 60): because of his own transcendence, God himself cannot appear. Justin concludes that the God who did appear was none other than the Son, Word (logos) of the Father, his envoy, his angel*. Thus the Son, going back to the Old Testament, is the visible manifestation of the Father, who remains invisible. This is what distinguishes him from the Father. This argument continued to be used until the Council of Nicaea* (Aeby 1958).

Justin’s second argument was to admit that there is in God a Logos that, paradoxically, knows two successive states: it exists as immanent word in God for all eternity (*logos endiathetos*), and as word “woven onto” (*logos prophorikos*), as Son at the time of the creation* (Justin, *Dial.* 61; Theophilus of Antioch, A Autolycus II, 10 and II, 22: SC 20). *Logos*, a word borrowed from Greek (perhaps especially Stoic) culture, here acquires a Judeo-Christian content (showing the influence of Philo of Alexandria), with the endlessly invoked reference to Prv 8:22. The Word is understood

as a living being, assisting the Father in the work of creation. This theology* belongs to middle-Platonism in so far as it recognizes in God a certain creative power from which the world comes into being, a power that the philosophers identified with the nature of God. But it is more deeply inspired by Christian preaching*, in that the Logos is understood as a personal being, identified with the Christ of the Gospels* (Daniélou 1961). This theology of the two states of the Logos, which was not retained and which Origen would rectify, includes some part of the truth in that it affirms a certain link between the generation of the Word and the “creation,” a link whose nature remained to be defined (this would be done by Athanasius of Alexandria in the following century).

d) *Trinity and Economy.* Irenaeus refused to speculate on the origin of the Son in God. Arguing against the Marcionites and the Gnostics, who teach about the existence of “two Gods,” he defended the thesis of the one God, the Father, while nonetheless upholding the existence of the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are like “two hands.” To this end he had recourse to the “economies.” The word “economy,” used either in the plural or singular, designates here and subsequently God’s plan with regard to humankind, and the multi-form workings out of that plan in the temporal sphere. In the fourth century it would be distinguished from “theology,” designating the mystery of God considered in himself.

3. Third Century

a) *Adoptionism, Modalism, Subordinationism: The Posing of the Problem.* At the beginning of the third century the confession of Christ as God was not self-evident even within the Christian community, which wondered how to reconcile such a notion with the monotheistic “dogma.” Two parries, subsequently disavowed, were attempted: 1) adoptionism*: denying that Christ is truly God, considering him a man adopted by God as his son (Ebionites, Artemon, Paul of Samosata). 2) modalism: denying that Christ is really distinct from the Father, considering him simply as a mode of God’s being. The Son and the Spirit are but two faces (*prosôpa*) of the one God, two ways for him to enter into relation with the world. This opinion was attributed to Sabellius (Rome, third century). “Sabellianism” subsequently denoted any opinion accused of insufficiently affirming the distinction of persons within the Trinity. In the early third century it was preceded by a primitive form of unitarianism according to which it was the Father himself who, in Jesus, had become incarnate and had suffered (patripatian-

ism). This opinion, held by the Monarchians (defenders of the divine *monarchia*: DECA 2, 1663–64), was not at all Trinitarian because it did not allow for any alterity in God. Third-century theologians were able to safeguard number in God against this and other more developed forms of modalism only at the cost of a subordinationism* for which they would later be reproached: the Son and the Holy Spirit are distinguished in the Father to the extent that they are in some way inferior to him (see Sesboüé 1994 on that non-heretical subordinationism, which is clearly distinguished from Arianism*).

b) *The Christian Paradox.* Hippolytus (early-third century) believed that God, is “one and yet multiple” (*Contra Haeresin Noeti*. 10). For Tertullian* († c. 225), “God is one (or unique), and yet he is not one (alone).” (*Adversus Praxeum* 5, 2). “It is proper to the Judaic faith to believe in one sole God, refusing to add the Son and after the Son the Holy Ghost. . . . What is the substance of the New Testament if not that henceforth the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are believed three to be compared to one only God? God wanted to innovate his Testament so as to be believed unique in a new way: by the Son and the Spirit.” (ibid., 31, 1–2).

Adversus Praxeum is the first treatise on the Trinity. Tertullian uses the word *trinitas* ten times in a theological sense (out of a total of 15 times; R. Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 1977). He too distinguishes two phases in the birth of the Word: the exteriorization, which is the *nativitas perfecta* (*Prax.* 7, 1), and a logically prior phase, in which God, imagining the creation, engenders in his spirit (*ratio*) a word/project (*sermo*), “stirring it in himself” (ibid., 5, 7).

c) *Orthodox Ante-Nicene Subordinationism: Origen.* Origen* (†254) was the first to affirm the eternal generation of the Son: “There was not a [time] when the Son was not” (*De princ.* I, 2, 9: SC 252; IV, 4, 1: SC 269). Countering Monarchianism and the first forms of modalism, he used the expression “three hypostases” (*treis hupostaseis: Commentarii in evangelicum Joannis* [CommJo] II, §75: SC 120) to affirm the existence proper of the Son and the Spirit. Against middle Platonism he maintained that God, because he is love, is not impassible (*Homiliae in Ezechielem* VI, 6: SC 352); however, he went along with its assertion that the image is, by definition, inferior to the model (*De principiis* I, 2, 13; see SC 253, 53, n. 75) and that he who gives is superior to he who receives (Plotinus, *Treatise* 38, 17, 2–4, 49, 15, 1–7). Another difference: God is absolutely “one and single” (*hen kai aploun*), whereas Christ is and becomes a “multiplicity” (*polla ginetai*)

for the salvation of other beings (*geneta*), of which he is the firstborn (*CommJo.* I, §119). The relation one/multiple is thus admitted into the very heart of the Trinitarian mystery. Whereas Plotinus related this only to the level of the “second hypostasis” (Plotinus himself does not speak of “three hypostases,” see Aubin 1992), in which only the Spirit (*noûs*) unfolds in a plurality of forms (Plotinus, *Treatise* 38, 17; see Hadot, *ibid.*, intr. 32–33 and 42), in such a way that the “One” does not have a connection with the “Spirit” (*noûs*), in Origen the Father does not go without the Son (see *SC* 279, 13), to the extent that the infinite* (*apeiron*), the “not-limited” (*aperigrapto*), does not go without the “limitation” (*perigraphè*), which is the Son (Daniélou 1961). This theology in which the Son remains inferior to the Father who is “greater than him” (see *Jn* 14:28) would be a problem for the tenants of the Nicæan orthodoxy—but it is fundamentally Christian, both because it preserves the connection between the Father and the Son and because it respects the existence of a connection between the Father and the “creatures” (*geneta*). Other aspects of his thought make him an interesting witness of ante-Nicene theology, for example his long-suspected effort to achieve a spiritual understanding of the generation of the Son (*Princ.* I, 2, 6: *SC* 252; *Dialogus cum Heraclide* 2–4: *SC* 67). By making room for a concept of *donation* in God, Origen’s theology (notably his thesis of the *epinoiai* of Christ: see J. Wolinski, in *Origeniana Sexta*, Louvain, 1995) perhaps situates us in the heart of the Christian mystery; as opposed to Hellenistic thought, in which the One does not know, and even if it overflows and gives, does not give of itself (Plotinus, *Treatise* 38; J.-L. Chrétien, *ArPh* 43, 1980).

4. The Arian Crisis and the Nicæan Council (325)

a) *Heterodox Subordinationism.* Arius (Arianism*) followed the lines of Origenist subordinationism, but subjected it to a radical modification. Origen considered the Son inferior to the Father but eternal like him because engendered by him. Arius believed that the Son is inferior to the Father because, as Son, he began to exist. Arius’s key affirmation was: “There was [a time] when [the Son] was not” (Thalia, cited by Athanasius, *Orationes contra Arianos* [*Car.*] I, 5; see G. Bardy, *Recherches sur Lucien d’Antioche et son école*, 1936). He argued that affirming the eternity of the engendered (*gennètos*) Son is in contradiction with the unanimously accepted affirmation of the unique “unengendered” (see *Urkunden* and 6: Opitz, *Athanasius Werke* III, 1934). Three other theses complete the Arian doctrine. 1) The absolutely immaterial nature of God, which excludes all generation according to sub-

stance, allowing solely for generation/creation by an act of will. 2) The superiority of the “Son” with respect to other creatures; the Son is a “perfect creature, and not like one of the other creatures” (*Creed*, *Urk.* 6, Opitz III, 13; see *HCO* 1, 253). 3) The cosmological function of that generation/creation: God created the Son so that he could, through him (see *Jn* 1:3), create all the rest (*Thalia According to Athanasius*, *Car.* I, 5; see *HCO* 1, 254 and Arian fragment cited by Athanasius in *Car.* II, 24). Thus, a three-phase schema is established: at the top, a solitary God who can have no equal; at the bottom, the creature; between the two, an intermediary, inferior to God but superior to the creatures, making a bridge between the two. The paradox of the Christian God as “one and yet not one (alone)” is abandoned in favor of the Greek notion of a God who is *only* one “who does not communicate with humankind” (Irenaeus, *Haer.* III, 24, 2; III, 11, 1: *SC* 211; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* VIII, 18: *Baug* 34, with reference to Plato).

b) *The Nicæa Council (325) and the Thesis of “God the Father.”* Against the heresy* of Arius the Nicene Creed declared: “We believe in one God, the almighty Father, creator of (the universe) visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, engendered from the Father [*ek tou patros*], that is, from the substance of the Father [*toutestin ek tês ousias tou patros*] as only Son, God of [*ek*] God, Light of [*ek*] Light, true God of [*ek*] the true God, engendered and not created [*gennèthenta ou poièthenta*], consubstantial* with the Father [*homoousion tô patri*]...” (*DS* 125). Contrary to the theses of Harnack (*Lehrbuch der DG* I, 1931, 250) and H. Küng (see A. Grillmeier, in J.-R. Armogathe, Ed., *Comment être Chrétien?* 1979), Nicæa did not represent a Hellenization of the evangelical message by the introduction of philosophical elements into the dogma, but a reaction against the influence of philosophy* on Arius’s thought, in order to return to Scripture, according to which God is, above all, Father (see Athanasius, *Car.*I, 30 and 34: *PG* 26, 73 A-B and 81–4). The need to give their true meaning to the words “father” and “son” (an altogether original juxtaposition that is appropriate only for God) motivated a response that combined precision with philosophical appeal: “that is of the substance of the Father” from which it follows that the Son is “true God [born] of [*ek*] the true God, consubstantial with the Father.”

c) *Homoousion (“consubstantial”).* Nonetheless, Nicæa initiated a new era of Christian discourse insofar as the term *homoousion*, foreign to Scripture, encouraged thinkers to conceive the relation between the Father and the Son in itself, independently of the

“economy.” The word literally means “of the same substance” (*homos* = of the same, common to two; *ousia* = substance or essence). It at least expresses the specific unity of a substance considered in the abstract (*ousia* as “second substance”), which is sufficient to establish, with a hint of tritheism, the equality of the Son with the Father. It can also mean the numerical unity of a substance considered concretely (*ousia* as “primary substance”). This is the meaning given to it in contemporary theology, in liaison with the reciprocal immanence of the two (the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son: see Jn 14:10; circumincession*). Other explanations are proposed (C. Stead, *Divine Substance*, 1977, Oxford; A. de Halleux, *Patrologie et œcuménisme*, 1990). Under the influence of Athanasius, the Council of Nicaea and its *homoousion* became the very expression of Christian faith, in a manner comparable to the message of the apostles themselves (H.J. Sieben, *Die Konzils-idee der alten Kirche*, 1979).

d) In the fourth century, besides a small number of strict Nicenes or *homoousians*, several currents can be distinguished: an extreme Arian trend, which claimed that Christ is “dissimilar (*anomoios*) from the Father” (Anomians, disciples of Eunomius); others who believed him to be no more than similar (*homoios*: Homoians, adepts of a mitigated Arianism, which is the historical Arianism); and a party formed around Basil of Ancyra in 358, who professed that Christ is “similar to the Father according to the substance” (*homoiousios*), which gave them the name Homoiousians. Some, who accepted the divinity of the Son but not that of the Spirit, were sometimes called Semi-Arians (Mayeur et al. 1995).

e) Athanasius*, eyewitness of the Council of Nicaea, defined the meaning of the *homoousion* from the reciprocal immanence of the Father and the Son. (Jn 14:10; 14:9 and 10:30). The two are “one” because the fruit of generation in God is not placed “outside God,” but in him (*Car.* III, 3–4). Questioning the Neoplatonic principle of the inferiority of the image to the model, he maintained that the divinity that passes entire from the Father into the Son, without implying any loss on the Father’s part, is indivisible and single, to the point that “it is said of the Son what is said of the Father, but for the appellation of Father” (ibid., III, 4). The Father having given all to the Son (Jn 16:15 and 17:10), it is in the Son that he possesses and acts, doing all “through him,” interpreted as the Son (Jn 1:3: *Car.* II, 41–42; III, 36). Elsewhere, in reaction to the Arian interpretation of Jn 1:3, Athanasius declared: “Even if God had judged better to not produce, he still would

have had his Son” (*Car.* II, 31). Here he touches on the link between the generation of the Son and the creation. This link being admitted, Athanasius clearly affirmed the independence of the Trinity with respect to the creation, and the gratuitousness of the creative act. But that act does not terminate on the periphery of God. Having introduced, in the name of the *genitum non factum* (*DS* 125) of Nicaea, an absolute distinction between the Son and creatures, between existence by creation (*genesthai*) and existence by generation (*genasthai*), Athanasius transgressed this limit by saying, in a second step, that those whom God first created, he later called “Son” in the sense that he engendered them (*Car.* II, 59; see I, 56).

f) *Other Councils.* Other councils dealt with the Trinitarian mystery, after the First Council of Constantinople* (381), which was devoted to the Holy Spirit (*DS* 150; see Decree of Damasus of 382, *DS* 155–77, and later the creed *Quicumque*, known as the Athanasian Creed, fifth/sixth century: *DS* 75), the Councils of Toledo (particularly the sixth and the 11th centuries), the Fourth Lateran* Council (1215), the two councils of union, Lyon* II (1274) and Basel*-Ferrara-Florence (1339–44: see notably *DS* 1330 sq.). In the 20th century, the Trinitarian faith was set out once again in Pope Paul VI’s *Profession of faith* (Dumeige, no 52) and the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992).

5. Continuation of Arianism up to Augustine

a) The Cappadocians (Basil* of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus) adopted the Athanasian interpretation of Nicaea, but in the Origenist perspective of the “three hypostases,” arriving at the formulation, “A single substance [or essence] in three hypostases” (Gregory of Nyssa; see S. Gonzalez, *AnGr* 21, 1939). Basil was the first to give form to this “neonicenism,” distinguishing that which is common (*to koinon*) and that which is proper (*to idion*) to the three (*Eph* 214:4; 210:4–5). Coming from a Stoic point of view, he used *ousia* only in its first, concrete, meaning. In another perspective, Gregory of Nyssa opposed *ousia* and *hypostasis* as the second *ousia* and the first *ousia* of Aristotle, *ousia* designating the generic concept of the divinity and *hypostasis* the concrete reality of the “persons.” In the eyes of the old Nicenes, and of modern commentators, this placed him under suspicion of tritheism. But he explicitly affirmed the numerical unity in God, in a language that held together propositions which were irreconcilable from the standpoint of reason* (see *Treatises*, *GNO* III/1). This theology reached its height with Gregory of Nazianzus, “the

Theologian.” On the eve of the First Council of Constantinople he gave a masterful exposition of the entire mystery in *Five Theological Orations* (Orat. 27–31: SC 250), explaining why the revelation of the Trinity was not made in stages (Orat. 31, 25–26). He inspired the entire Byzantine period, notably the theology of Maximus* the Confessor (†662) and John Damascene († c. 749).

b) Augustine (†430) dealt with the Trinity from his earliest writings. He first did so in an anagogical perspective drawn from Neoplatonism, speaking of an “entry into oneself” and, from there, an ascent toward God. He subsequently considered the Trinity in an analogical perspective (O. du Roy 1966). The major work here is *De Trinitate*. It is marked by Nicaea from the first page. Augustine asked the question: if the Father is God, if the Son is God, and if the Holy Spirit is God, how can it be said that there are not three Gods but one only God? (*Trin.* I, 5, 8). To answer this question he develops the “psychological analogy.” Starting from Genesis 1:26 (“Let us make man in our image”), he sees in man’s inner life (his “psychology”) the most important of the vestiges left in the creation by a single operation (*see inseparabiliter operari: Trin.* I, 5, 8), which, in its unity, bears the trace* of the Trinity. Among these vestiges of the Trinity he notes the triads *esse, nosse, velle* (*Conf.* XIII, 11, 12), *mens, notitia, amor* (*Trin.* IX, 2–5), *memoria, intellegentia, voluntas* (*ibid.*, X–XV). He argues that the “three powers” of the soul* are implicated in each other without being confused with each other. Unity is certainly developed there. But he acknowledges that the same does not hold true for the distinction: it is one and the same who remembers, knows, and loves. Augustine recognizes this at the end of *De Trin.*; it rings like an acknowledgment of failure (*Trin.* XV, 22, 42). He is just as mistrustful with respect to the word *persona* (*ibid.*, V, 9, 10; VII, 6, 11–12). After a systematic study of Latin vocabulary—and Greek (*ibid.*, V, 8 and 9, 10; VII, 4–6)—he shows that the word is inadequate to the mystery it is meant to express, and he accepts it for lack of better (*ibid.*, V, 9, 10; VII, 6, 11). The new language was to take hold in the West, which would particularly appreciate finding there a new way to speak of the Holy Spirit, identified in several different ways with love. But Augustine’s major contribution remains having generalized in the West a recourse to the notion of relation (*see below*).

6. Trinitarian Vocabulary during the Patristic Period

a) *Substantia and Persona*. Tertullian “established at the outset if not the sense at least the usage of *substan-*

tia” in the Trinitarian domain (Moingt 1966). The Father is the totality of the divine substance (*summa substantia, tota substantia*), communicated indivisibly to the Son who is its derivation (*derivatio totius et portio: Contre Prax.* 9), and to the Spirit. As for *persona*, this word designates that which is “numerous” and distinct in God, but does not yet signify it, metaphysically speaking. Tertullian’s contribution concerned the distinction between the unity of the substance and the Trinity of the persons, as he attempted different ways of expressing that which is common and that which is unique in God, and that which is distinct and that which is numerous (Moingt 1966). The expression “one single substance in three that hold together” (*Contre Prax.* 12) has an “economical” bearing: the Three are associated in the same work of creation (*see* Sesboüé 1994). Elsewhere, the expression “to be in cohesion” (*cohaerentes*) has an ontological dimension, testifying to a deliberate use of the word “person” (Moingt 1966).

b) *Ousia, Hypostasis, Prosôpon*. The Council of Nicaea used *ousia* and *hupostasis* interchangeably (*DS* 125). At the Council of Alexandria in 362 some people spoke of “three hypostases,” and others of a single one, and Athanasius accepted both usages (*Tomus ad Antiochenos* 5–6: *see HCO* 1, 271–72). The Cappadocians imposed the expression “a single *ousia* in three hypostases.” The word *prosôpon* (literally “mask,” “face,” and then “role”) designated the one in Scripture in whose name this or that word is pronounced (*ek prosôpou tinos*). In the fourth century it was favored by the Sabellians (*see the poluprosôpon* attributed to them by Basil: *Letter* 210, 3), but Gregory of Nyssa also began to use it against those he accused of “tritheism.” The word did not take on a strong meaning until Chalcedon* (451), once associated with hypostasis (*DS* 302).

c) *Trias, trinitas*. Applied to God, the word *trias* appeared for the first time in the work of Theophilus of Antioch (*A Autolycus* II, 15), and later in Hippolytus (*Contra Haeresin Noeti* 14). Tertullian’s *Adversus Praxean* (v. 213) inaugurated the use of *trinitas* in a discourse on God that began to connect the idea of number with the idea of unity, yet without expressing the Trinitarian mystery as such. It was often used in Latin translations of Origen, but in Origen’s Greek *trias* occurs only three times (H. Crouzel, *SC* 253, 58, n. 3; once in Clement of Alexandria: *Strom.* V, 103, 1: *SC* 278). Its use around 260 by Pope Dionysius (*DS* 112–15) may be a heritage of Tertullian. It is absent from Nicaea, Constantinople I, and Chalcedon, but was imposed after Athanasius who, having used it

incidentally in the orations *contra Arianos* (I, 17–18 and III, 15), systematically adopted it in the *Epistula ad Serapionem* (v. 360). *Trias* became common currency with the Cappadocians. Marius Victorinus composed a hymn to the Trinity (*O beata Trinitas*, SC 68, 634–53; see Augustine, *De beata vita* 4, 35). Augustine commonly used the expression *Deus-Trinitas*, which replaced the *Deus Pater* of Scripture and became a new way of speaking of God.

d) Perichoresis, circumincession (see Florence, *DS* 1331). The word *perikhôrêsis*, initially used in Christology*, did not enter Trinitarian theology until Pseudo-Cyril (in the sixth century) and Maximus the Confessor (in the seventh; see Prestige 1936) but the theme of the reciprocal immanence of the Father and the Son appeared from the early third century. The Latin equivalent of the more dynamic Greek word was *circumincessio* and later *circumincessio*.

e) Relations. As shown in Nicaea, Trinitarian theology rested primarily on the idea of relation, inscribed in Scripture itself by the appellation of God as Father, a name* which in itself implies that of Son. Tertullian already wrote: “The Father must necessarily have a Son in order to be a Father, and the Son a Father to be Son” (*Contre Prax.* 10). The theme is present in the (Gnostic) *Tractatus Tripartitus*, in Origen (see SC 279, 13–14), and in Dionysius of Alexandria (*Refutation and Apology* II, PG 25, 504 C). Arius rebuked those who invoked “related beings” (*ta pros ti*: see Aristotle, *Cat.* VII, 7 b 15; Arius: *Creed*, Urkunden 6, H. G. Opitz, *Athanasie Werke* I, 3, p.13). The theme was taken up by Athanasius and the Cappadocians: “Father is neither a name of substance, nor a name of action, it is a name of relation” (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* 29, 16: SC 250). Augustine, answering an objection of Eunomius, argued that beside the names attributed to God as accident and the names attributed as substance, there was a third possibility of attribution: as relation (*dicatur... ad aliquid*: *Trin.* V, 5, 6). Against anomianism, he distinguished in God the absolute names, which apply to the three persons and are used in the singular (such as the titles God, great, good); the relative names “*ad intra*,” which distinguish the persons from each other (such as the names Father and Son); and the relative names “*ad extra*” (*Trin.* V, 11, 12), which express an original relation between God and the creature and are at the foundation of the theology of missions (*ibid.*, IV, 20, 28; V, 16, 17; previously Athanasius: *CAr.* II, 14; see A. Michel, *DThC* 15, 1830–34). From Augustine, the theology of relation passed to Thomas Aquinas (Chevalier 1940).

f) Greek and Latin Trinitarian Schemas. It is commonly accepted that Eastern theology first focused on the multiplicity of hypostases before turning to the unity of the divinity, while Western theology went from the single substance to the search for a way to distinguish the persons within it. This systematization, popularized by Th. de Régnon (1892), remains useful (e.g. Halleux, *op. cit.*, 31) but should not be exaggerated (see the violent protest of A. Malet, 1956, *Personne et amour* 14–20). We may also distinguish a Greek Trinitarian schema, in which everything comes “from the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit,” and conversely goes “in the Holy Spirit, through the Son, to the Father,” as opposed to a Latin schema known as Augustinian. In the latter case the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are placed on the same plane, from which flows a single “activity” common to the three, which goes toward the creature, understood as exterior to the Trinity. The first schema sets forth the distinction of the persons and their implication in the economy of salvation, but may be used in a subordinationist sense. The second clearly establishes the equality of the three persons, but does not show the relation of the creature to each of them, or the originality of the invisible missions that do not terminate “outside of God” but lead to man’s participation in intratrinitarian life (see Athanasius, *CAr.* III, 22–4). (Recent theology works with a different conceptual pair: *Trinity of the economy of salvation* and *immanent Trinity*, see Rahner 1967.)

7. Synthesis in the Scholastic Period

a) *The Trinity in the West, 6th–12th Century.* From the sixth century onward the Trinity is mentioned in sermons, royal documents, donation charters, scriptural commentaries. After the Carolingian period, Trinitarian theology was affirmed during the pre-Scholastic period (11th–12th century) by Anselm* of Canterbury (†1109), Bernard* of Clairvaux (†1153), Richard of Saint Victor († c. 1173), who insisted on the love in God as a principle of alterity (*Trin.* III and VI), and P. Lombard (†1160), whose *Sentences* was used as a source in succeeding centuries (but who still did not distinguish between the *De Deo uno* and the *De Deo trino*, to the great regret of A. Michel, *DThC* 15, 1719). It reached its height in the West with 13th-century Scholasticism* (see a detailed survey of this vast body of literature in *ibid.*, 1702–62). It was led by two masters of the Franciscan school—Alexander of Hales (†1245) and Bonaventure* (†1274)—and by the Dominicans Albert* the Great (who introduced Aristotelianism* in the West) and Thomas* Aquinas (†1274).

b) *Thomas Aquinas*. Thomas Aquinas broached the question of the Trinity several times (see *ibid.*, 1741), but it is the synthesis in the *Summa Theologica* (ST Ia, q. 27–43) that left its mark for posterity. Breaking with the method of P. Lombard in the *l.I* of his *Sentences*, Thomas treated first, and separately, the question of the *De Deo uno*, a mystery that man can know by reason alone, and then the mystery of the *De Deo trino*, known only by revelation. He envisaged successively the emanations, the relations, and the divine persons.

- 1) *Emanations*. The first emanation is a generation by mode of knowledge. It is an act of intellect, immanent to the Father, placing the Word at the interior of the latter. The second emanation is a spiration, an act of will, that follows the operation of the intelligence and presupposes it, “because nothing can be loved that is not first known” (ST Ia, q.27, a.3). It is identified with the Holy Spirit. This systematization, the result of a long process of Christian thought, constitutes an unavoidable heritage of the Catholic tradition*. It is extremely rich, for example in the presentation of the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of the Father and Son, and as the principle in man of a filial movement that brings him from the condition of slave to that of “son” (e.g. CG IV, 21). However, developed in the perspective of Augustine’s psychological analogy it does not adequately take into account Augustine’s own reservations with respect to its modalist flavor (*Trin.* XV, 22, 42). God engenders in knowing himself and breathes forth (*spirat*) the Spirit in loving himself (e.g. CG IV, 23; ST Ia, q.37, a.2, ad 3: see H.-F. Dondaine, *Thomas Aquinas, Trinity*, 1962).
- 2) *Relations*. There are four real relations in God: the Father to the Son (active generation, or paternity), from the Son to the Father (passive generation, or filiation), from the Father and from the Son to the Holy Spirit (active *spiratio* or “breathing forth”), and from the Holy Spirit to the Father and to the Son (passive *spiratio*). But there are only three persons in God, because the active *spiratio*, common to the Father and the Son, does not constitute a fourth person. The relations identified with the divine essence constitute the divine persons, called “subsistent relations” (ST Ia, q.29, a.4). They exist in a mutual relation among themselves, but also in themselves and for themselves (DThC 13, 2151–53).
- 3) *The persons*. The person is defined, following Boethius, as an “individual substance of a ratio-

nal nature” (*persona est rationalis naturae individua substantia*, ST Ia, q. 29, a.1; IIIa, q.2, a.2), which implies: a) individuality, with its character of incommunicability; b) a belonging to the order of that which effectively exists, in equivalence with the instruments (as subject of the essence) and the hypostasis (as subject of accidents); c) rational nature, which gives the person his nobility and makes him a responsible subject. Here might be grafted the modern notion of “person” as a free being, being of relation, and subject of a history* (Hegel). Obviously the notion of person applies to God only by analogical transposition (ST Ia, q.29, a.3; q.13, a.5; *De Potentia*, q.9, a.1).

In the Thomist tradition the following elements are also distinguished: 1) personal properties (Lateran IV, DS 800)—paternity, filiation*, passive *spiratio*—constitutive of each of the persons; and 2) notional acts—the act of knowledge that constitutes the Son and the act of will that constitutes the Spirit—which are at the base of the emanations. The notional acts are in fact identified with the personal properties and distinguished from the essential acts common to the three persons. To sum up, according to Bartmann (1905), it can be said that there is: 1) one God, a single divine Being in a single act of essence; 2) two emanations and two notional acts; 3) three persons, three opposed relations, three personal properties; 4) four real relations; 5) five notions... And the author concludes: “The doctrine of the Trinity should revert to unity. Unity is our primary truth, the Trinity is a secondary truth” (*ibid.*; see Nicolas 1985, 3rd Ed. 1991).

Further, the following points belong to this heritage: 1) the thesis that in God all is one if there is no opposition of relation (Florence, DS 1330); 2) the principle of the unity of action of the three persons outside of themselves (see Augustine’s *inseparabiliter operari*); 3) the theory of appropriations*, by which attributes* or activities common to the three are “attributed” to one of the three to manifest certain of his properties; and 4) the theology of missions (i.e. the “sending” of the Father and the Holy Ghost) (see DThC 15, 1830–41).

8. Modern and Contemporary Periods

a) *The Reformation and Its Consequences*. The first reformers (Luther*, Melancthon, Calvin*) remained faithful to the traditional Trinitarian dogma, considered as the foundation of Christian salvation; however, they increasingly insisted on the “for us” of this mys-

tery. Luther, in his own particular perspective, gave new value to the great principle dear to the Cappadocians by which God is revealed to us *sub contrario*, that is, in contradiction with what human beings spontaneously expect of him (see Chrétien 1985). However, the abandonment of reference to the authority* of the Church, together with the influence of erudite humanism and the difficulty of finding in Scripture the classical Trinitarian formulas, soon favored antitrinitarian reactions (Michel Servet: *Christiana restitutio*, 1553, criticizing the “*tritoïstes*,” Fausto Socin [†1604] and the Socinians, whose ideas, transposed to England and the United States, produced Unitarianism*). Some authors accepted the hypothesis of a Trinity but detached it from the Christian revelation and gave it a personal interpretation: this was true of certain philosophers (*DThC* 15, 1783–90).

b) Kant*, in the 18th century, questioned the possibility of knowing “the thing in itself” independently of the a priori categories of the human mind, and showed the importance of freedom in the process of knowledge. He profoundly influenced the way the question of the Trinity was approached outside the Churches and by certain theologians. Kant himself did not broach the Trinitarian mystery, but Fichte, Schelling*, and Hegel* did so. Hegel, a former student of Lutheran teachers, sanctioned the idea of a certain becoming in God: the absolute Spirit (thesis: the Father) is more fully accomplished by self-denial (antithesis: kenosis* of the Son and creation of the world), in order to reassert himself in a greater way when alienation is at last overcome (synthesis: the Holy Spirit; Piclin, *Les philosophies de la Triade*, 1980). This perspective of novelty and progress was opposed to the logic of essences (or ideas) laid out by ancient Greece, but in accord with certain aspects of the paschal mystery (unlike the resurrection of Lazarus, the resurrection of Christ is not a return to the starting point but an entry into a radically new way of existing). However the thesis of the “becoming” of God was incompatible with the traditional notion of his perfection.

c) Early 20th century theology was troubled by modernism*, which rejected the idea of objective revelation and advocated an evolutionary notion of religious truth* in line with Hegel (*DThC* 15, 1799).

Schleiermacher* argued that the dogma of the Trinity did not exist outside of man. It was nothing but a way of describing and explaining certain phenomena of the Christian consciousness. An illusory, objective Trinity must be sacrificed in favor of the Trinity as revealed in the history of the human spirit. The so-called “semi-rationalist” reaction of certain Catholic theo-

logians (Hermès, Günther, Frohschammer) who attempted to show that the dogma of the Trinity can be partially demonstrated, provoked reprobation from the Catholic hierarchy* (ibid., 1792–97). In line with Schleiermacher, Harnack in Germany and Sabatier in France adopted the traditional formulas to expound their own notions of God and the Trinity.

d) Early in the 20th century Karl Barth*'s severe reaction against so-called liberal theology (see Schleiermacher, Harnack et al.), restored to honor the absolute primacy of God and revelation. This became the very heart of a new presentation of the Trinity not as a simple fact in itself, cut off from the world, but as God in the mystery of his self-revelation to the world. The one God made himself known according to three “modes” corresponding to the three “persons” recognized by faith (Barth accepts the word “person” even though he finds it inadequate). The Father is God as he reveals himself; the Son is God as the revelation offered to man in the act of reconciliation; the Holy Spirit is God as revelation received in man in the working out of his redemption.

e) *20th Century Trinitarian Theology before Vatican II*. The return to the primitive texts, interpreted in a new critical spirit, was initially felt as an attack by science on faith, but turned out to be beneficial for theology, with the works of d'Alès, Lebreton, Cadioux and others. In 1936 and 1937 H. U. von Balthasar* published two articles presenting Origen in a new light (*The mystery of Origen*, RSR 26, 514–62 and 27, 38–64), soon followed by H. de Lubac* and J. Daniélou, in the same perspective. In 1951, on the occasion of the 15th centennial of the Council of Chalcedon, K. Rahner* invited theologians to restore the trinitarian dogma to its rightful central place (*Theological Investigations*). Further, he launched the *Grundaxiom*: “The Trinity of the economy of salvation is the immanent Trinity, and vice versa” (ibid.; see Rahner, 1967). The “vice versa” was subject to debate (G. Lafont: *Peut-on connaître Dieu en Jésus-Christ?*, 1969).

f) From the 19th century onward the Orthodox tradition participated in this renewal with the works of A. Khomiakov, V. Solovyov*, S. Boulgakov, and in the 20th century with V. Lossky, P. Evdokimov, O. Clément, B. Bobrinskoy, Kallistos Ware, C. Yannaras, and J. Zizioulas (see Bobrinskoy 1986). Characteristics: attention to the mystery (*apophaticism*, advancing the uncreated energies as expression of God's transcendence in the line of Gregory* Palamas), stress on the eminence of Scripture and the Fathers, a theology rooted in liturgy* and ecclesial communion*

(Zizioulas). All of this went with a constant attention to the paschal reality, seen as already at work in human beings, as evoked in the liturgy with the *Hymn to the Cherubim*: “We who mystically represent the Cherubim, and sing to the vivifying Trinity the thrice holy hymn, let us divest ourselves of all earthly concerns” (*Liturgia* of John Chrysostom).

g) After Vatican II the classical division into treatises, inspired by Melchior Cano (*De Locis theologicis*, 1567) and imported into manuals of dogmatics* from 1680 onward, was maintained. Theological courses separated Christology from the study of the Trinity, but interaction among the treatises had become commonplace, and the Trinity even found a place in courses on morality. It was accepted from this time that the New Testament message is not reducible to the content of the Nicene *homoousion* (Cardinal Franzelin: see B. Waché, Mgr Duchesne, 1992). Greater importance was given to the first centuries and to theologies prior to Thomas, notably the church fathers and Anselm (e.g. M. Corbin 1992), and this engendered a renewed approach to the God of revelation. Besides the attributes of the *nature* of God, the believer tried to consider the object of God’s *free choice*, his “eternal counsel,” his “personal pleasure” as made manifest in Christ, in Scripture, and in the destiny of human beings. At the core of these manifold approaches, whose variety recalls the ante-Nicene period, we can discern a movement that seeks a greater attentiveness to the advances of a God who freely decided to “not be without man, but *with* him and *for* him” (K. Barth, *The Humanity of God*). This God the Father carried within himself the great mystery of the Son, the Lamb* foreknown from before the ages (1 Pt 1:20), today made manifest: “There was conceived in a time before the ages a union of the limited and the limitless, of measure and without-measure, of the term and the without-term, of the Creator and the creation, of stability and motion. This union came in Christ manifest in the last times, itself giving plenitude to the designs of God.” (Maximus the Confessor, *A Thalassios*, q. 60: PG 90, 621 B-C). This perspective in its way reconnects with the “Christian paradox” of a God who is at the same time one and so diversely multiple—a paradox received and transmitted, for better or worse, by Christians from the earliest days of their history.

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JOSEPH WOLINSKI

B. Systematic Theology

How can we speak in a true way about the God* whom Christian faith celebrates as “friend of men” (Ti 3:4) and “greater than our heart” (1 Jn 3:20)? How can we attest, following the Scriptures*, that he is three times differently the same in being “the Father, the Son, the Holy* Spirit” (Mt 28:19) and that this “repetition of eternity in eternity” (Anselm*, *Ep. de Incarnatione* XV; 33) is the superabundant effusion of that unique eternity upon every man? The Father, revealed in the death* and resurrection* of Jesus*, his “well-beloved Son” (Mt 3:17), is above our thoughts, even our highest thoughts. If he is not only beyond being but beyond all grasping by image or concept, such that nothing greater can be thought, this is not in order that he might remain withdrawn in some kind of superlative solitary perfection, but so that he might give himself freely, coming closer to man than man is to himself. Theology* seeks understanding of this coincidence of the more than essential distance and the more than lavish donation. Naming the Unnamed beyond all name, theology transforms its own weakness into a blessed wound from which springs forth the overflowing gift of which theology is not the source. Accepting that the infirmity of its reasons may appear to the unbelieving as a failing of truth*, it refuses all absolute knowledge and knows itself to be provisional.

For the one who sees that in the Thing itself “are

hidden higher reasons” (Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo II*, XVI; 117), no pretension to completeness is possible. Countless are the Trinitarian doctrines that have tried to show that the unity of God is beyond what we call one and multiple. Escaping all efforts at unification in a synthesis, they show the “manifold wisdom of God” [Eph 3:10] But if all the thought of faith is first apology (1 Pt 3:15), a defense of the resurrection against ideologies that call it an unrealistic utopia, how can we not be wounded when Feuerbach argues (*The Essence of Christianity*) that faith is the illusion of an unhappy conscience? Shall we answer these accusations of alienating projection by a “rational” proof of God’s existence*? Meant to be anterior to faith, it would be an idea that arose in our hearts of a Supreme Being who reigns complacently at the summit of being. This is precisely the theism that gave rise to atheism*. Then will we remember that God revealed himself, that he is a Trinity of persons* in the unity of a single nature, and that this paradox, this *summa concordia* of apparently contrary elements, dislodges our reason* from the temptation of placing itself above its origin? Certainly! The proof that “God shows his love for us” (Rom 5:8) lies in the death of his Son, whence flows the Spirit of filiation*. But is this respected by the conventional expositions? The following declaration can be read in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (§253–55): “We do

not confess three gods, but one single God in three persons: the ‘consubstantial Trinity’ [Constantinople* II]. The divine persons do not share the unique divinity; each of them is wholly God.... Each of the three persons is that reality, that is, the divine substance, essence, or nature [Lateran* IV]. ... God is unique but not solitary [Fides Damasi].” “Father,” “Son,” and “Holy Spirit” are not simply names designating modalities of the divine being, because they are really distinct from each other: “He who is the Son is not the Father, and he who is the Father is not the Son, and he who is the Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son” (Toledo IX). They are distinct from each other by their relations of origin: “It is the Father who engenders, the Son who is engendered, the Holy Spirit who emanates” (Lateran IV). Because it does not divide the divine unity, the real distinction of the persons from each other lies solely in the relations that refer them to each other: ‘In the relative names of the persons, the Father is referred to the Son, the Son to the Father, the Holy Spirit to the other two; when one speaks of these three persons in considering the relations, one believes nevertheless in a single nature or substance’ (Toledo XI). “Because of this unity, the Father is wholly in the Son, wholly in the Holy Spirit; the Son is wholly in the Father, wholly in the Holy Spirit; the Holy Spirit is wholly in the Father, wholly in the Son [Basel*-Ferrara-Florence].”

This language, borrowed from Greek philosophy*, is no longer audible to us because of the shift in meaning of the words. The citations underscore the absence of reference to the Fathers* and Scripture. Even more serious: this language does not speak of the paschal event of Jesus Christ, or of the Church* brought forth by this event. Obsessed with the compatibility of the one and the three, it forgets the believing subject and allows itself to be dominated by the notion of objective representation, so dear to the West since Thomas* Aquinas adopted Aristotle’s thought. It postulates the divinity as an Object with a capital O, confined in his solitary perfection. How far from the Fathers, who are so attentive to Scripture, and to the signs by which the founding event is displayed in existence! As an example we may cite Ambrose*’s *Sacraments* (VII, 20–3). Making a connection between the unity of the Trinity and the way baptism* is conferred, procuring forgiveness of sins* and divine filiation, it identifies the divinity of God in a concrete sign by which man participates in what he says. It makes the Trinitarian confession (*see* creed*) the symbol of the faith, incorporates the speaking subject into that which he speaks, marks the connection between the paschal event and the confession of the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit. At baptism, it is Christ* who comes down to a level more intimate

than man, to make him new after this submersion in water: “You came to the font. You entered. A priest* came to you. You were asked: ‘Do you renounce the Devil and his works?’ You answered: ‘Yes, I renounce.’ ... The name of the Father, the presence of the Son and the Holy Spirit were invoked, and you were asked: ‘Do you believe in God the almighty Father?’ You answered: ‘I believe.’ You were immersed in the water, that is, you were buried. A second time you were asked: ‘Do you believe in Jesus Christ our Lord and in his cross?’ You replied: ‘I believe’ and you were immersed. Thus you were buried with Christ, and he who is buried with Christ, with Christ also rises. A third time you were asked: ‘Do you believe in the Holy Spirit?’ You replied: ‘I believe.’ And again you were immersed so that the triple profession would destroy the multiple falls of the past. ... Thus, you received the sacrament* of the cross on which Christ was nailed. And so you are crucified with him, attached by the nails that were his. May they hold fast, those nails of Christ! May your weakness not pull them out! And then you came up from the font and you received white clothes to show that you are divested of your cloak of sin*, and you were clothed in the light of the resurrection.” This is the kind of thing with which the apology of the faith should concern itself, with producing texts like this, where the anamnesis of the paschal event is not separated from the exhortation to live accordingly. But how can we recover the plenitude of such texts without a deconstruction of the rationalist and representational strata that have covered and deformed them?

1. *The Nativity of the Son*

a) *Trinity and Supereminence of God.* The Trinitarian doctrine is not found as such in the Scriptures, despite the ternaries they contain that attest that the Christian God is “in an inalterable unity the same, but also in an inalterable diversity, three times differently the same.” It is “a document of the theology of the Church” (Karl Barth*, KD I/1, §8), an interpretation meant to guard against all reduction of the imminent newness of God, by using other words than those of the Bible* in order to come closer to the sense. In using Greek philosophy, which had no knowledge of the gift, so as to express that which surpasses it, there was an undeniable risk of concealing the word* of God beneath layers of interpretation. Thomist thought succumbed to it in the hope of reconciling faith and Aristotelian reason, though without undertaking a true critique of the latter. It divided the doctrine of God into two treatises: a *De Deo uno* with a hierarchical schema of natures in which perfection degrades as it gets far-

ther away from the *summus vertex*; and a *De Deo trino* that overdetermines this graduated hierarchy without changing it, adding the category of relation, which “multiplies the Trinity,” to that of substance, which “contains the unity” (Boethius*, *De Trinitate* 6; PL 64/1255 A), approaching the distinctions *secundum rem* of the three persons from the distinction *secundum rationem* of the perfections of the one being, positing a Trinity in itself before the economy in which God is for us. Should these defects be corrected, or should other notions be sought in order to develop the parallel that Thomist thought presupposes but does not thematize between the Trinity beyond the one and the many and the supereminence “beyond all negation and affirmation” (Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite, *Mystical Theology* I, 2; PG 3/1000 B)? Two points contradict this. If Thomas was not able to get beyond the modalism* that disjoins the being and the revelation* of God (see M. Corbin, *La Trinité ou l'Excès de Dieu*, Paris, 1997), it is because the paschal economy belongs to the divinity of God that, far from excluding his humanity and ours, includes them. This connection between the eternal and the economic distinctions is stated in the *Apocalypse*: “the mystery of God would be fulfilled” (Rev 10:7). Moreover, the sequence on the three moments of the naming of God—affirmation, overriding negation, supereminence—is both a meditation on the path of man toward a God who is endlessly “more divine” (Pseudo-Dionysius, op. cit., I, 1) and a repetition of the “word of the cross” (1 Cor 1:18), which transforms the weakness of the cross into a strength greater than the strong. This believing reversal of the illogical, which traces a logic that is more than logical, is explained thus: “Not only does God overflow with wisdom* and ‘of his comprehension there is no limit,’ but he surpasses all reason, all wisdom, all intelligence. Paul marvelously understood it when he said: ‘For the foolishness of God is wiser than men’ [1 Cor 1:25]. . . . Because it is the custom of theologians to reverse all positive terms so as to apply them to God under their negative aspect. . . . Applying the same method, the Apostle, according to the texts, praises the divine folly on the basis of what appears paradoxical and absurd in it in order to rise to the unutterable truth that surpasses all reason. . . . Thus divine things must be understood in a divine way. When one speaks of the unintelligence or the insensitivity of God, this negation must be understood as excess and not as deprivation. Thus . . . we call ungraspable and invisible Darkness the ‘unapproachable light’ [1 Tm 6:16] because it surpasses visible light.” (*Divine Names* VII, 1–2; PG 3/865 B– 869 A).

If associating the Trinity and supereminence leads us back to the paschal event, no one can dissociate the

Trinitarian doctrine from christological statements; and this impossibility, by repudiating all representative strata concerned about a foundation prior to the incarnation*, demands a deployment of the paradox by which to speak of supereminence is only to trace, by the Son and in the Holy Spirit, a path to the Father who “is greater than all” [Jn 10:29].

b) Economy and Theology. An important though little-noted contribution of Thomas Aquinas is the division of the articles of faith into two classes: truths accessible to natural reason, and inaccessible truths that, exceeding and overdetermining that reason, are nonetheless to be justified before its tribunal (*CG* I, III). In Trinitarian matters it leads to two treatises between which no demonstrable link is possible, because “*the creative virtue of God is common to the whole Trinity*, it belongs to the unity of essence, not to the distinction of the persons” (*ST* Ia, q.32, a.1). The italicized phrase comes from the confession that opens Augustine*’s *De Trinitate*: “The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit attest, by the inseparable equality of a single and identical substance, their divine unity; that in consequence they are not three gods but one God, even though the Father engendered the Son in such a way that the Holy Spirit not be the one that is the Father, that the Son was engendered by the Father in such a way that the Father not be the one who is the Son, and that the Holy Spirit be neither the Father nor the Son but only the Spirit of the Father and the Son, also equal to the Father and the Son, belonging to the unity of the Trinity. And yet it is not the Trinity itself that was born of the Virgin Mary*, that was crucified and buried under Pontius Pilate, that was raised on the third day and rose up to heaven, but only the Son. It is not this same Trinity that descended in the form of a dove on Jesus when he was baptized, or that, on the day of Pentecost, after the ascension of the Lord, amidst a heavenly uproar like unto a hurricane, came to rest in distinct tongues of fire on each of the apostles, but only the Holy Spirit. And it is not the Trinity who said from heaven: ‘You are my beloved Son’ [Mk 1:11] when Jesus was baptized by John, when the three disciples were with him on the mountain, or when the voice resonated saying: ‘I have glorified it [the name of God] and I will glorify it again’ [Jn 12:28], but only the Father speaking to the Son, though the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit work inseparably as they are inseparable. Such is my faith because such is the Catholic faith” (I, IV, 7).

The schema that governs this text has three adversative articulations that play between four poles: the substantial unity of the Trinity, the distinction of the Three, the diversity of the theophanic signs, the unity of the divine work. They are united two by two on two

parallel lines: above, the *ad intra* relations that precede history*; below, the signs given *ad extra* to reveal the divine persons. Between these horizontal lines runs the vertical line of the relation between man and God where all differences between the Three disappear. Not being distinguished by their relation to time*, they “work inseparably” and use effects created by their one being to teach that they are Three *despite* the inseparability of their being. Also, as it is not said that the relation of the voice to the Father, of the dove to the Spirit is not that of man to the Son—the Son of God and Son* of man in one person—Christ becomes the simple *sign* and not *the sign and the reality* of a greater God. Between signified and signifying, between being and revelation, there is a separation that symbolizes the impossibility of superimposing the horizontal lines and the vertical line. It preserves the pagan presupposition of a God enclosed in himself, and authorizes the notion of *vestigia Trinitatis in creatura*, psychological images disconnected from the paschal event.

In the West this schema seems self-evident, and a proper interpretation of the Nicene Creed (325): “We believe in one God, the almighty Father, creator of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father, born of the Father as only Son, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten and not created, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made, that which is in heaven and that which is on earth, who for us men and for our salvation, descended, took flesh, made himself man, suffered, was raised on the third day, went back up to the heavens whence he will come to judge the living and the dead. And in the Holy Spirit.”

The schema *De Trinitate* is not Augustine’s; it is monotheistic by its first affirmation, because “one God” does not designate the Trinity but the Father *fons omnium Trinitatis, Pantocrator*, king of the new universe. The second affirmation concerns first the Son, though its first element attaches this filial moment to the Father, but “one Lord Jesus Christ,” whose path among us the second element recalls. Wishing to be faithful to Scripture, the symbol safeguards their *lectio difficilior* by using expressions that are not in Scripture. That Jesus, son of God, is “of the substance of the Father,” that his generation is a true generation in the strict meaning of the word, implies that he is “begotten, not created.” The corollary of this negation is that he is “consubstantial* with the Father.” The word *homousios*, being composed of the adjective *homos* and the substantive *ousia*, has the same meaning as *hupostasis*, “that which is placed in existence.” The Son then has the same substance as the Father from which he comes by true birth.

There is another dimension to the gap between Augustine and Nicaea*. It appears in the development of the article on the Spirit at the First Council of Constantinople (381): “[We believe] in the Holy Spirit, who is Lord and who gives life; he emanates from the Father; with the Father and the Son he receives the same adoration and the same glory; he spoke through the prophets*. In the Church, one, holy, Catholic and apostolic. We confess one single baptism for the forgiveness of sins; we await the resurrection of the dead and the life of the century to come” (DS 150). The Spirit is connected to the Church, and the formulas concerning him do not employ the linguistic register of substance that is used for the Son. They are rooted in the liturgy* that gives thanks and glory* to God.

To objections that a gap exists between the Creed and the New Testament, one may reply:

- 1) The word *theos* is used of the Son only six times: Jn 1:1; 1:18; 20:28; Rom 9:5; Ti 2:13; 1 Jn 5:20. All the other occurrences of the word, the vast majority, designate the Father of Jesus, and none of them the Holy Spirit.
- 2) All the groups of verses in which the ternary Father, Son, Holy Spirit figure, in whatever order, coordinate these three names with the event of the paternal “loving kindness” [Ti 3:4]. Whatever the context, it is never omitted that the Church welcomes the Spirit of the promise* that configures with the Son, the only path to the Father. If any distinction is made it is not between a God *in himself* and a God *for us*, but between that which remains *hidden* and that which is *manifest*; the Father being hidden and the Son who reveals him in fullness being manifest by the Spirit who spreads his wealth in the Church.

After disqualification of all strata classifying the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit within a received notion of the divine derived from ancient philosophy, what can be done but to seek a schema more faithful to the Scriptures, whose extraordinariness the councils* wanted to safeguard? Here is the one given by Basil* of Caesarea: “When, under the influence of an illuminating force, we fix our eyes on the beauty* of the Image of the invisible God and, through it, we raise ourselves up to the ravishing sight of the Archetype, the Spirit of knowledge is inseparable from it, that in itself gives to those who love to see the Truth the strength to see the Image.” It does not have to be discovered from without; it is within one that it is recognized. Just as “no one knows the Father except the Son” [Mt 11:27] thus “no one can say ‘Jesus is Lord’ except in the Holy Spirit” [1 Cor 12:3]. . . . Thus it is “in him that he shows the glory of the Only-Begotten and

in him that he gives to true worshippers the knowledge of God. The path of the knowledge* of God goes from the Holy Spirit who is ONE, through the Son who is ONE, to the Father who is ONE. In the opposite direction, native goodness, sanctity [holiness*] according to nature, dignity follow from the Father through the Only-Begotten to the Spirit. Thus the hypostases are confessed without destroying the orthodox doctrine of the *monarchia*.” (*Treatise of the Holy Spirit*., SC 17 bis, XVIII, §47).

There is no longer a distinction between God’s *esse* and *operari*, but a single vertical line that goes from bottom to top as the path of knowledge, and from top to bottom as the flow of goodness. The Spirit and the Church are indissociable. The mission of the Spirit with regard to the Son is to illuminate from within that which Jesus said and did for us; it is placed in parallel with the mission of the Son with respect to the Father: that of showing his image. The Father is the source of this Triad; his monarchy is administered by “his two hands” (Irenaeus*, *Adv. Haer.* IV, VII, 4), the Son and the Spirit; this is not a matter of treating successively a common nature and the relations that diversify, but of praising a communication of which the Father is the principle of unity: “ONE God the Father, ONE the Only-Begotten Son, ONE the Holy Spirit. Each one of the hypostases is stated in isolation, and if there should be a need to number them together, one does not, by an unintelligent numbering, give in to a polytheist conception.” (op. cit., XVIII, §44) The eternal distinction of the hypostases not being numbered with the vertical arrows that articulate the temporal relation of man with the Father, Basil conceives the path of man in a Trinitarian manner, as a potential of living in the Spirit—the route that the Son traced “through his flesh” [Heb 10:20] to the Father.

c) Resurrection of the Son and Higher Promise of God. If the liturgy, in praying to the Father through the Son in the Spirit, accords with what is discerned in the Bible, does Basil’s schema open this connection between the Trinity and the supereminence—putting theism and atheism back-to-back as equally mistaken figures? And yet, if there is a unity between the economy that concerns our salvation* and the theology that celebrates the divinity, does the distance from God not disappear when his donation is underscored? Is God not made so dependent that his absoluteness would vanish in taking his being from a relation? To show that the coincidence between donation and distance preserves God’s providence (Rom 11:35) better than any representation of some foundation prior to the creation*, we have only to quote Basil’s narrative: “As I was praying with the people, and I was finishing in this

double way the doxology to God the Father, now “with” [*meta*] the Son, now “with” [*sun*] the Holy Spirit, now “by” [*dia*] the Son “in” [*en*] the Holy Spirit, some of those present accused us, saying that we had used foreign, contradictory expressions.” (op. cit., I, §3) The first doxology, held by the heresy* for a *subnumeration* supposing median terms on a line, speaks of *mediation* between God and man. The second is known as theology. Declaring equality of honor among the Three, the inseparability of their dignity, it extends to the Spirit (though with different words) what Nicaea affirmed of the Son. Is a doxology a representation? The justification of the *connumeration* of the Spirit transposing that of the consubstantiality of the Son, the reply is given in Basil’s explanation that the doxologies are not contradictory but complementary: “If one looks at the grandeur of the nature of the Only-Begotten and the supereminence of his dignity, one testifies that it is with the Father that the glory comes to him. If one thinks of the bounty that he goes out of his way to procure for us, or of our personal access to God, our entry into his familiarity, it is through him and in him that one confesses having received that grace. Thus one of the two phrases—with whom—is proper for proclaiming the doxology and the other—through whom—better for giving thanks.” (op. cit., VII, §16)

To speak of princely grace* and supereminent glory to render to the Son turned to the Father, is to read Paul’s indictment against the idolatry into which all men fell in Adam*: “For although they knew God, they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking” (Rom 1:21). It is to reap what the Easter event restored, to enter into the filial relation to the Father, who is beloved in all and more than all. Sung in the Psalms*, this relation is by turns supplication, thanksgiving, and praise*. Overcome by the Spirit who makes him cry out: “Abba, Father!” (Rom 8:17) the Christian makes his own the prayer* of Jesus. With him, he knows himself poorer than the bird that God nourishes. Though he needs many goods, he does not simply take them where he finds them. Acquiring them by his labor, he asks for them every day from the Father. And he receives his bread with no care for the morrow, and this bread truly nourishes him because it is received as a gift of God. It is bread and more than bread, taken in Eucharist* as the gift of a giver who makes it a sign of his bounty and promises even greater signs. It is a “our daily bread” (Mt 6:11), eaten with gratitude as a gift from a benefactor who is praised as such in the doxology, with the assurance that his communion* is better than all the goods flowing from this encounter. For the believer who does not seek the upper hand, whose inten-

tion goes toward the origin, the supplication for bread and the praise* of the Name* are not two separate things. In saying: “Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name” (Mt 6:9) he knows that his request is fulfilled because he recognizes in God his Father and acknowledges his holiness. He receives his prayer as a relation that can only be exercised in desiring more ardently, as a good among others, that which surpasses them and integrates them in his thrust toward the Other, with no separation between Eucharist and doxology, flow of goods and path of knowledge. Then *dia* and *meta* are united, because there is neither a more loving praise of the giver without thanksgiving for the gifts, nor Eucharist without a doxology confessing his *ousia* as an inexpressible stock of gifts ever more worthy of his bounty. Here the usual, representative meaning of the words *essentia* or *substantia* diverges from the original meaning given to them by the Fathers, for example, Gregory of Nyssa: “Supposing that someone approaches [a natural spring]. He will admire these infinite waters that endlessly spring forth and spread. But he could not say that he had seen all the water; how can he see what is still hidden in the bowels of the earth? No matter how long afterwards he remains close to the spring, he will always be at the beginnings of his contemplation of the water. Because the water never stops spreading and forever begins to spring forth. And so it is for the one who looks at the limitless divine beauty: that which he endlessly discovers manifests itself to him as being absolutely new and astonishing with regard to that which he has already grasped; and he admires that which, every second, is revealed to him and he never stops desiring more of it, because that which he awaits is even more magnificent and more divine than what he has already seen” (*11th Homily on the Song of Songs*, PG 44/997 C -1000 C).

When the paternal *ousia* is received as the hidden source of the more divine overflowing that reveals it, it follows that the more the Eucharist grows the more praise is rendered: “When the Apostle Paul offers thanks to God through Jesus Christ [Rom 1:8] and says he has received through Jesus ‘grace and apostleship to bring about the obedience of faith for the sake of his name among all the nations’ [Rom 1:5], or when he says that we have had access through Christ ‘into this grace in which we stand’ [Rom 5:2], he shows what are the gifts of the one who now dispenses to us through the Father the grace of good things, and now brings us, through himself, to the Father’s side.... But when we recognize grace at work, from him to us, do we subtract something from his glory? Is it not rather true to say that all enumeration of benefits is an appropriate theme of doxology?” (op. cit., VIII, §17) To unmask Arianism*, Basil could have simply invoked the

names of Jesus proper to his divinity: Only Son, Word*, Omnipotence and Wisdom* of God. But would he then have shown the venom of the heresy? So that the *khari*s coming from the Father by the Word did not make his flesh appear exterior to his *phusis*, but its overflowing, he added to the first class of names that express the glory, a second that make of grace a “characteristic of nature”: “Scripture does not transmit the Lord to us under a single name, nor under those that only reveal the divinity and the grandeur, but also under the characteristics of his nature. For it knows how to say ‘the name that is above every name’ (Phil 2:9) the name of Son, and to call him true Son, only-begotten God, power of God, Wisdom and Word. But elsewhere, again, because of the multiformity of the grace offered to us, which, in the richness of his bounty, he offers according to the infinite variety of his wisdom to those who ask him for it, the Lord is designated in Scripture by many other names: here pastor, there king, and elsewhere doctor and even spouse, road and door, source, bread, axe, stone. These names evoke not the nature but the multiform character of the energy granted by mercy... according to the particularity of each need, to those who ask for it.” (op. cit., VIII, §7).

The word nature being in the singular, it is not a question of the two natures of Christ, but of a blossoming of the nature in multiple benefits, of an outpouring of the *ousia* as overflowing plenitude of multiple *energeiai*. For such is the bond of *meta* and names praising the nature, of *dia* and names gathering the diverse energies. In this second class, destined to prove the supereminence designated by the first, emerges the name doctor (Mk 2:17), a name that presupposes illness and the possibility of remedy. An illness: the arrogance and falsity, envy and violence* that deformed the image of God when Adam tried to “seize equality with God by force.” A remedy: the deliberate lowering of the Son who “did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped” but emptied himself of the form of God where he abided to take the “form of a servant” (Phil 2:6–7), the disfigured figure of the Crucified, condemned in the name of the law*, “becoming a curse for us” (Gal 3:13). Revealing and destroying sin, revealed by the paschal exaltation, the kenosis* of God is celebrated in the words “the weakness of God is stronger than men” (1 Cor 1:25). Source of all conversion*, gracious dispensation of love*, it is the radiating center where, beyond all thought, service and royalty are united: “Every time that [Jesus] can receive a soul* tormented by the mean blows of the devil and cure it of the grave weakness of sin, he is given the name Doctor. Does such solicitude for us invite humble thoughts? Does it not provoke astonishment before the

great power and tenderness of the Savior, that he could bear to sympathize with our weaknesses and come all the way down to our weakness? Neither heaven nor earth nor the vast seas, the inhabitants of the waters nor the guests of the earth, the plants, nor the stars, the air, the seasons, nor the multiform harmony of the universe, nothing so proves his supereminent force than letting himself, God, he whom space cannot hold, impassively letting himself entwine with death, through the flesh, in order to favor us, by his own passion, with impassibility.” (op. cit., VIII, §18).

There is no lack of similar texts in the tradition*. For example, Gregory of Nyssa: “That God lowered himself to our baseness, this shows his overflowing power that knows no shackles, even in conditions against his nature” (*Catechetical Orations*).

And Maximus* the Confessor: “If he deliberately delivered himself up to death, wanting himself guilty in place of us who should have suffered for our [own] guilt, it is clear that he loved us more than himself, we for whom he delivered himself up to death, and—even if the expression is daring—that he who is more than good chose insults, at the moment required by the economy of our salvation, preferring those to the proper glory of his nature, as being more worthy. Surpassing the dignity of God and overflowing the glory of God, he made the return to him of those who had drifted away an outpouring and a greater manifestation of his own glory. Nothing is more proper to the principle of his glory than the salvation of men.” (*Letter 44*, PG 91/641 D sq).

And then there is Anselm, who conjectures about the “necessary reasons” for the incarnation: “Of the three persons of God, none ‘emptied himself of himself’ more opportunely ‘in taking the form of a slave,’ to subdue the devil and intercede for man who, by theft, had claimed a false resemblance with God; none more than the Son, splendor of the eternal light and true image of the Father, who did not believe that he in himself should wish to be equal with God [Phil 2:7] but by true equality and resemblance, said: ‘I and the Father are one’ (Jn 10:30) and: ‘Whoever has seen me has seen the Father’ [Jn 14:9]” (*Ep. de incarnatione Verbi* X).

This uses a variant of the name given in the *Proslogion*: “We believe that You are something such that nothing greater can be thought” (II; 101). It has long been the practice to read this as expressing the idea of the most perfect being. But it is a proposition of faith. It does not say that God is, nor *what* he is. It is simply a negation: it is impossible to conceive of greater than him or to circumscribe him, impossible to place oneself above him as if he were an object representable in being, impossible to confuse him with the idols of

which greater can always be imagined because they are the work of our hands (see M. Corbin, *Prière et raison de la foi*, Paris, 1992). Coming from revelation (Jn 15:13), it returns to it by negatively signifying it as the event, such that no fiction about an eventual salvation and or any new idea of a foundation in self can surpass it. A prohibition of the idol, it is the opposite of the overriding of our thought and it keeps from all grasp the more than positive donation signified by that other name: “You are something greater than can be thought” (XV; 112). Here is designated the superabundance of the Spirit flowing from the pierced side of Jesus (Jn 19:34), and the cross as that “something” of our history that exhibits our sin and traces a cross on our attempts to inscribe it within the horizon of our human possibilities. The same goes for the name of doctor. We must be saved from the idols that have falsified the face of God in us, cured of the illness that has presented him to us as a rival to dethrone, liberated from the alienating projection that has pushed us to deify wisdom or power. As a work of superlative power would have plunged us more deeply into that night, giving reason to the devil who would suggest that God wanted to “make them know his power” (Mk 10:42), there was no better remedy for our disdain than the non-power of the cross, the mad love, disarmed love, wiser than the wisest, stronger than the strongest. The impersonation of the good had lost us in Adam; nothing was more suitable for us to find ourselves than the appearance of evil in Jesus’s cross.

And yet it is but half the truth, because if nothing suited our illness better than the remedy of the cross, nothing better suited the bounty of God than that free promise of mercy*, for we who had such great need, and that overflowing love, “kept secret for long ages but now . . . disclosed” (Rom 16:25–26). This impossibility of thinking a bounty more divine than the humble tenderness that adapts its remedies to our illness, undoes our dreams of omnipotence, destroys all vision of graduated natures, destroys the notion of God that governs Arianism. The proclamation of a “God man, an Immortal who dies, an Eternal who is buried . . . a God who comes from a man, an Immortal from a mortal, an Eternal coming out of a tomb” (Hilary, *De Trinitate* I, PL 10/35 B) goes beyond intuition to cast doubt on a quantitative logic in which the signs “equal to” and “greater than” are excluded. In fact, when man wants to “seize by force equality with God,” he masks his illusion of being the strongest, his need to dominate, which comes from his fear of being dominated, under the alibi of a claim to equality. But that pride that would abase the other is vanquished by the humility that holds the proud one himself for the greatest; it is overcome by the love that empties itself (Phil 2:6) of

equality with God even unto the curse of the cross; a love that knocks at the door, saying: “If anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me” (Rev 3:20). Of course, for one who does not seek understanding in this place where praise opens the way, where “more divine” is the perfect image of “divine,” the one who wants to represent the distance in which God holds sway and to forget that to place an object before a subject is to deny the donation, it is scandalous to think that in taking personal pleasure in considering man, in washing his feet, God demonstrated and brought forth that which is most properly divine, that “love” (1 Jn 4:8) whose eternity is beyond time and eternity, that impassive charity whose freedom transcends the arbitrary and the necessary. But in blessing the Father who “chose us in him [Christ] before the foundation of the world” (Eph 1:4), Paul teaches that the being of God is more than necessary because it “belongs to his essence to be superabundant, to extend, overflow, and diffuse itself externally” (Barth, KD II/1, §28); that the being of God is higher than the necessary being of metaphysics, because it binds his glory to our remaking in charity. Paul learned it from Jesus who said: “There will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who need no repentance” (Lk 15:7).

Basil and Gregory of Nyssa expressed this coincidence-without-confusion of nature* and grace, by naming *parousia* the superabundance of *ousia*. Anselm did it by superimposing the kenosis on the eternal equality of the Son with the Father. On the cross the Good* beyond all good was revealed in its true form. All accept the equivalence between “God” and “resurrection” that appears in a saying of Jesus: “They are equal to the angels and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection” (Lk 20:36); and in a speech of Paul’s: “This he [God] has fulfilled to us their children by raising Jesus, as also it is written in the second Psalm, ‘You are my Son, today I have begotten you’ (Acts 13:33). They see that there is no higher salvation than the cross; not because they limit the divine power by not making the incarnation a possible among others, but because that power is the power of the love that gives being to the other, in overflowing communion, and because God alone can reveal what he wishes. They say that nothing is more proper to the glory of God than his free grace for us, that to receive the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit is neither projecting a supreme object—because God is God in overflowing the dignity of God—nor seeking a representation, but standing in a filial relation to the Father—so that what they say is advanced only as a support for a prayer that listens to

the Word. That is the only answer to the Arian modalist heresies that know only TWO or ONE but never the donation opening the communion where one is ONE while remaining TWO. Because, far from denying nature by the creation of a dependence, or adding itself to nature as an appendix, grace is its overflowing repetition. And, far from denying *meta* (with) that praises the equality between Father and Son, *dia* (by) that receives the mediation of Jesus is all the more interior to the Father in that it unveils his eternity and grants his overabundance. Basil writes it in the names of the being of the Son with the Father: “‘Whoever has seen me has seen the Father’ [Jn 14:9]: not the figure or the form of the Father, because the divine nature is pure of all composition, but the bounty of the will that, coincidental with the essence, is seen as similar and equal or, even better, as the same in the Father and the Son. Which means: ‘He humbled himself by becoming obedient’ [Phil 2:8]? And: ‘He [God] gave him [his Son] up for us all’ [Rom 8:32]? Which comes from the Father, the bountiful action of the Son for men” (op. cit., VIII, §21).

It is impossible to speak of the Father and the Son without hearing Jesus say that “the Father is greater” (Jn 14:28) and that he is “ONE” (Jn 10:30) with the Father. The essence communicating from the Father to the Son like an inexhaustible promise of bounty “coincides” with a will to tenderness, “which is sustained through all eternity in the manner of a form reflected in a mirror” (op. cit., VIII, §20). And the Son is perfect resemblance to the Father, eternal “image of the invisible God” (Col 1:15), in the work of his passion where his mad love is sign and reality of the paternal love. Whence these words: “Glory is common to Father and to Son, and it is with the Son that we offer the doxology to the Father” (op. cit., VII, §16). This has two meanings: it is with the Son that we give thanks and glory to the Father; it is to the Father and the Son, from whom all good things come, that we offer the doxology. This means that the relation of the Son to the greater Father is all the greater in that it is the path that carries us, and all the better dispenser of the Father’s good in that it is traced in his heart like the secret that abides in us and surpasses us.

2. The Effusion of the Holy Spirit

a) *The Baptismal Confession.* It still remains to celebrate the Holy Spirit in a way that honors the mediation of the Son, to receive that wound which opens our heart to the Good that passes all thought because it binds his future to ours. If it means a greater opening, we cannot forget that Thomas Aquinas named the spirit when he considered (CG IV, XXI)

- 1) The friendship inaugurated between God and ourselves, as the reciprocity of the love that bears God to us and us to God, as the indwelling of God in us and ourselves in God (Jn 14:23).
- 2) The sharing of the secrets of God as Spirit illuminates from within that which Jesus revealed in the Father's name (Jn 16:13), plumbs the depths of God (1 Cor 2:11), manifests the mystery, and brings forth in the believer a prophetic word.
- 3) The communication of the bounty of God: our creation (Ps 103:30), our purification, by the taking from us of our idols and filth (Ez 36:25), our vivification by a more than intimate presence (Wis 1:7), our sanctification in the truth (2 Thes 2:13), our introduction into filiation (Rom 8:17), our consolation in the contemplation* of God (2 Cor 3:18), our future resurrection (Rom 8:11).
- 4) Our free obedience of the commandments (Decalogue*) of God, the Gospel of grace (Eph 2:8) being that of liberty* (Gal 5:13).

“God’s love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit” (Rom 5:5), and this is the love of God for us and our love of God, the Spirit supplying us with that which springs forth from us. Thomas interprets (op. cit., XIX) its effusion as a coming “by its own substance” and “by its effects.” He approaches this synergy of grace and liberty with the texts in which Augustine recalls that Scripture often attributes to the cause what goes for the effect, God making himself our refuge when we take refuge in him. It is enough to say that God gives himself as the hidden principle of our path to him for it then to follow that, because the Spirit reminds us of what Jesus said and did for us (Jn 14:26), because he receives the good of the Son to share it with us and glorify him (Jn 16:14) by showing us that “Jesus is Lord” (1 Cor 12:3), since he makes us sons who assume the prayer of the only Son (Gal 4:6), he is named when the way of Jesus to his greater Father overflows to more intimate than our most intimate. He gives us to understand what the Father and Son say to call us to life; he inscribes “on their hearts” (Jer 31:33) the charity that is the “very substance of God” (Bernard* of Clairvaux, *Traité de l’amour de Dieu* XII, §35); and he is named when we say: “It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me” (Gal 2:20). Because to decenter oneself toward the Higher, “to love more ardently than one feels oneself loved before being able to love” (Bernard, *Sermon 45 sur le Cantique*, §8), is to live a relation given and ordered in the Spirit, to be taken under the shadow (Lk 1:35) of him who effaces himself under our own effacement. If then the Spirit is inseparable from Jesus, the “one mediator between God and men” (1 Tm 2:5), and if the

mediation of the Son is all the more interior to the Father in that it better manifests his bounty, the mediation of the Spirit is that of the *interiorization*, to depths greater than our depths, of what was done by the Father and the Son before we knew it. And to confess the Spirit of the Father and the Son is to receive the more than essential deity that makes itself the being of our being: it is to praise *Deus intimior intimo meo et superior summo meo* (“God more inward than my most inward part, and higher than my highest being”).

Basil often reminds us that we must distinguish the “objective” mediation of the Son from the “subjective” mediation of the Spirit, who is the inner light illuminating both the image that is offered and the eye invited to rejoice in it: “He, like a sun taking hold of a very pure eye, will show you in himself the Image of the Invisible and, in the wonderful contemplation of the Image, you will see the unutterable beauty of the Archetype.... As limpid, transparent bodies sparkle when touched by a ray, and of themselves reflect another gleam, so those souls which bear the Spirit also become spiritual and reflect grace on others.” (op. cit., IX, §23) The Spirit offering in himself to see ourselves the Son speaking of the Father, his mediation is all the more inseparable from the Father and the Son in that it gives us to become the only Son turned toward the Father. But, if the Spirit opens by faith the way to the Father that the Son sealed in his Passion, and the knowledge of the bounty incorporated and given in excess in God’s sending of Jesus, the line that, rising from the Spirit by the Son toward the Father, descends toward the Church must leave room for another figure. It draws the parallel between the two turnings of the Son toward the Father of whom he is the exegete and of the Spirit toward the Son whose path it illuminates, but does not show the difference between the two mediations or the direct connection of the Spirit to the Father from which it “proceeds” (Jn 15:26). But, if the Spirit given by the Father and the Son is their mutual love, their peace*, if his effusion opens us to the inner presence of the Father and the Son, to the mystery of *Deus intimior intimo meo*, if the Spirit that is given is not separated from the Church that receives it, it must be recognized as the overflow of the overflowing communion of the Father and the Son, or the overflowing communion of the Father and the Son overflowing on ourselves who believe, *exundantia plenitudinis [Christi]* (Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo* II, XIX; 131), and it is no longer possible to speak of a communion between the Three, because this *perichoresis* or *circum-incession** would play between the Father, the Son, and their communion itself. In the *connumeration* of the Three, a difference must be noted between sayings about the Father and the Son and sayings about the

Spirit. It can be found in Hilary* of Poitiers's discourse on the baptismal commandment in which "Name" is in the singular though Three are named:

The Lord said: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you always, to the end of the age" (Mt 28:19–20). What is there in the mystery of "human salvation that is not contained there, or left aside, obscure? Everything there is plenitude, as coming from the one who is plenitude and perfection: simultaneously, the terms are indicated, the realities posed, the problems situated, the nature explained. He commanded that baptism should be given 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,' that is, by professing faith in the Source, in the Only-Begotten and in the Gift. The source of all things, single, because there is only one God the Father 'from whom are all things,' one Only-Begotten, Our Lord Jesus Christ 'through whom are all things' [1 Cor 8:6] and 'one Spirit' [Eph 4:4], gift in all things. All things are ordered according to their virtues and merits; single is the power from which comes all things, single his offspring by whom are all things, single the Gift [*munus*] of perfect hope. And nothing will be found lacking in such a perfect accomplishment: in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are found infinity in the Eternal, beauty in the Image, and enjoyment in the Present" (*De Trinitate* II, §1; PL 10/50 C-51 A).

Expressions applied to the Spirit are reversed with regard to those that designate the Father and the Son. While the expression "in whom are all things" is used to designate the Spirit, we read:

- 1) "Who is in all things," which means the deity flows as communion where thanksgiving and praise originate.
- 2) "Present of perfect hope," which refers to the universal groaning for "the freedom of the glory of the children of God" (Rom 8:21).
- 3) "Enjoyment in the Present," which does not primarily express the mutual enjoyment of the Father and the Son, but our own jubilation in being given as brothers to the Son and in having a Father for whom we exist.

The Spirit is venerated three times over, as the overabundant Gift that the Father bestows us in giving us his only Son, and which the Son bestows, in freely giving us his given life.

b) The Restitution of the Glory. This profuse gift to all is treated in Hilary's exegesis* (op. cit., III, §9–16; PL 10/80 C-85 C) of the prayer pronounced by Jesus in

Jn 17:1–5, and this is all the more surprising in that the prayer does not mention the Spirit, but its fruits: love, joy, knowledge of the "Name," glory, unity. Here is the introduction: "Witness for us from our own [goods] of divine things the Son of God could, through the infirmities of the flesh, preach to us a God the Father, to us the infirm and carnal. In which he accomplished the will of God the Father, according to his saying: 'I have come down from heaven, not to do my own will but the will of him who sent me' [Jn 6:38]. Not that he himself does not do his own will but because in doing the paternal will he manifests his obedience, himself willing to fulfill the will of the Father." (III, §9) To defend the *nativitas Dei* which is communication of the *natura* and nature communicated, Hilary recalled Cana, and the multiplication of the loaves, and explained that in these miracles* of gratuitous, inexplicable superabundance, Jesus had no "need of us to adorn his ineffable works with praises, as if he lacked them" (§7). He cited the word of the cross that reverses folly into more than wisdom. Before reading the prayer of Jesus in the light of a paradox opening on superabundance, he emphasized that the Son manifests his free will to obey the will of the Father, not to "make us feel the omnipotence of God in the creation of things," but to announce to us that "God is the Father of this Son who speaks to us" (III, §22). Transcribing the first verse: "Father, the hour has come, glorify your Son that your Son may glorify you" (Jn 17:1), showing that it is a question of the passion and the resurrection, he notes a circularity: the Father will glorify the Son who will glorify him. This refutes the Arian heresy, which saw an inferiority of nature in the fact of being glorified: "There it is, the hour when he prays the Father to glorify him, so that he himself may glorify the Father. What is it? If he waits to be glorified before glorifying, asks for an honor before giving it, would he need that which he in turn is going to give?... The Lord said: 'Father, the hour has come.' He designated the hour of the passion, because it is when he was right there that he spoke this way. After which he added: 'Glorify your Son.' But how was the Son to be glorified?" (III, §10)

If the Son asks for an honor that he will render to the Father, how can he need that which he is going to give, not have it when he asks? The representative sense of the comparative "greater" attributed to the Father by Jesus and the immediate reversal of the "greater" for the Father in "smaller" for the Son have already been hinted at. But how can it be said without seeing how the Father glorifies the Son in that passion which contradicts his glory? It suffices to read the narratives* of Good Friday:

"When the centurion and those who were with him, keeping watch over Jesus, saw the earthquake... they

were foiled with awe and said, ‘Truly this was the Son of God!’” (Mt 27:54). “Creation frees itself of having to intervene in this crime, the stones do not keep their force and solidity, those who had put him on the cross confess him truly the Son of God. The effect goes with the supplication because the Lord had said: ‘Glorify your Son.’ He had testified that he is not only the Son by name but also by property as expressed by the word ‘your’”(III, §11). Thus, the Son is glorified by the Father when the man at the foot of the cross recognizes him as true Son, “by origin and not by adoption,” delivered by the Father as the most princely of gifts, united to the Father in a more than unutterable union, that of origin. This glorification by the Father is also the glorification by the Spirit (Jn 16:13), who makes the wondrous reception of the gift unfold in our hearts that were closed. Because there is no true gift but a gift received. Does that imply the inferiority of the envoy with respect to the one who, sending him, fulfilling him, glorifying him, is more powerful? Can Arius cite the word of Jesus: “The Father is greater than me?” Will he be answered by the classical distinction: Jesus is equal to the Father as Son of God, smaller as Son of man? But do we know what “greater” means when we say it of God to man? The majesty of God “surpasses all understanding” (Phil 4:7), including our images of height and grandeur. And do we know, of ourselves, about God and about man? We learn it on the “path” (Jn 14:6) that Jesus traced to the Father. There we discover better and better, with no possible halt, the desired truth. The usual reply should be extended by studying the whole of the accusatory verse: “You heard me say to you, ‘I am going away, and I will come to you.’ If you loved me, you would have rejoiced, because I am going to the Father, for the Father is greater than I” (Jn 14:28). By repeating “I am going away, and I will come to you,” what does Jesus announce if not the passion when, ascending to the Father, he encounters those who are his? By inviting them to rejoice, what does he promise if not the Spirit that is the fruit of his departure? He will no longer be present by their sides, but in a more noble way, *in* them, in the Spirit which he received from the Father in order to distribute “without measure” (Jn 3:34). The Gospels* could not have emerged without this Spirit that “will guide you into all the truth” (Jn 16:13), nor could the disciples recognize the free self-abasement of their master and discover in the Spirit that Jesus is “the same” (Heb 13:8) in his humility of a servant and his kingly elevation. The gospel being the fruit of the passion, he who declares that “the Father is greater” is Jesus on whom God has bestowed “the name that is above every name” (Phil 2:9), and who says: “I am in the Father and the Father is in me” (Jn 14:10). This

produces the paradox whereby nativity and glorification are superimposed: “The Father is greater since he is the Father, but the Son, since he is the Son, is not smaller. The nativity of the Son constitutes the greater Father; but the nature of that nativity does not allow that the Son be smaller. The Father is greater, since he is prayed to render glory to the man assumed; the Son is not smaller, since he regains glory at the Father’s side. This is how the mystery of the nativity and the economy of incorporation are accomplished. Because the Father is greater, since he is Father and now glorifies the Son of man; at the same time, the Father and the Son are ONE since the Son born of the Father is glorified in this Father after he has taken on an earthly body” (op. cit., IX, §56, PL 10/327 A-B).

This is to attest the reversal brought about on the cross. Instead of reiterating the sin of Adam by imagining himself “a greater” and wanting to dominate by seeking “equality with God,” in masking his wish to dethrone him, to make himself greater, under a claim to equality, Christ freely “made himself nothing” (Phil 2: 6–7). Loving us more than himself in loving the Father more than himself, he caused to radiate and overflow, in counter-image, the bounty of the Father and, in that kenosis in which love is again more lovable, in this free obedience that allows him to be greater because he is source, the Father recognized his true resemblance, allowed the overflowing of his own superabundance. Then, when Jesus prays to the one he calls “greater,” his equality of glory and his unity of nature appear. His glorification is that of the Father: “‘May the Son Glorify you.’ The Son, he who must render like in the fact of glory once he has been glorified, is not weak. But if he is not weak, what did he have to ask for? One asks only for that which is lacking. Is it possible that the Father might also be weak? Or had he been so prodigious with his goods that the Son must render them to him in glorifying him? But the one is lacking nothing, and the other does not desire, and yet they make a mutual gift to each other. To ask for the glorification to give, to render in return, this takes nothing from the Father and does not weaken the Son, but shows in both the same power of divinity, because the Son prays the Father to glorify him, and the Father does not disdain to be glorified by the Son. This shows the unity of power in the Father and the Son by reciprocity in the gift and restitution of the glory” (III, §12).

If the glorification of the Son implied his inferiority, due to a need, that of the Father would imply the same inferiority. But the Father “is not served by human hands, as though he needed anything, since he himself gives to all mankind life and breath and everything” (Acts 17:25). Therefore the Son lacks nothing and, far

from signifying a mutual need, the circularity of the glorification between Father and Son indicates a superabundance of desire beyond all need: “They will make each other a mutual gift.” Can such a superabundance not be at the heart of their communion? The Other being promise of more, can it not overflow on the others as gracious effusion of “the reciprocity in the gift and the restitution of the glory?” Yes, divinity is without need without change, it IS that which it IS, and its eternity is subject to “neither flaw nor improvement, neither advancement nor loss” (III, §13). But if the Father and the Son are glorified by each other, how do they recover what they never lost and receive that which is not lacking to them? The question prohibits all image of God as self-sufficiency enthroned at the summit of being. It refers to the immutability of the source that gives itself, to the more divine overflowing of a love equal to itself in its fidelity. The Son showed its blessings.

Such was the glory: the Son received from the Father “power over all flesh” (v. 2)... The glory is not added to God. None had “left him to return and be added. But through the Son he is glorified in the midst of us, the boors, the deserters, the wretched, the hopeless dead, the lawless creatures of the night. He is glorified in that the Son received from him power over all flesh, to give to it eternal life*. There they are, the works of the Son who glorified the Father. Thus, the Son, because he received all, was glorified by the Father; conversely the Father is glorified, because all is done by the Son” (III, §13).

If the Son is glorified by the Father when we recognize him as true Son, the Father is glorified in turn when the Son, receiving all from him, gives us the life that resides in the knowledge of the Father of “the one [he] sent” (v. 3). This glorification is not made in a “new construction,” as if God began his creation again from the start, but in the “sole knowledge of God,” in the discovery that the truth of the creation is a recreation that surpasses it, an entry into the divine filiation. It is in us that the Father and Son glorify each other in an overflowing of glory that adds nothing to theirs. But if life consists in recognizing the Donator, “present in the beginning and the end, above all and within all” (I, §6, PL 10/29 B), is it not the fruit of the Holy Spirit? Are we not those that the Father gives to the Son and the Son leads to the Father by decentering himself toward the Greater, in giving them the Spirit so that they will do “the same works” and “even greater ones” (Jn 14:12)?

Of course, faith in the Spirit was not Hilary’s main concern. Rather, he wanted to show that there is “neither interval nor solution of continuity in the confession of faith,” that Father and Son are “one single

something” though they are “two someones” (III, §14). But elsewhere he says that the Spirit is *res naturae* (VIII, §22, PL 10/252 C), “thing of nature,” “even affair” of God who wants to “prepare us for the gift that he is himself” (Meister Eckhart, *Spiritual Instructions*). The following explains this liaison of the Spirit with the overflowing of the *natura* in *gratia* of which we cannot speak in making the substances objective, except in a posture of reception: “All praise of the Father comes to him from the Son, because that in the Son which is worthy to be praised will be praise for the Father. He “accomplishes” everything the Father wanted. Son of God... he is nailed to the cross, but on the cross of the man, God triumphs over death. Son of God, Christ dies, but in Christ all flesh receives life. Son of God, he is in hell, but he, the man, is raised to the heavens. The more this is praised in Christ, the more will follow the praise for the one by whom Christ is God. These are the ways in which the Father glorifies the Son on earth, and by which the Son in turn, in the face of the ignorance of the nations and the folly of the world*, glorifies, in virtue of the works of his powers, the one from whom he takes to be himself. This exchange of glorification does not concern an advancement in divinity but the honor received at being known to the ignorant. For, in what did the father lack abundance, he from whom all things come, or what was lacking to the Son, he in whom God took pleasure in making his plenitude abide? The Father is then glorified on earth because this, his work that he commanded, is accomplished” (III, §15).

This reflection on the mutual gift of the Father and the Son radically poses the paradox: on the one hand, the exchange of glory is not an advancement in God; on the other, the more the economy of our salvation is praised in Christ, “the more follows the praise” for the Father. There is juxtaposition of an affirmation—greater praise comes to God because we are living—and an overriding negation: his divinity is without need. Distinguishing nature and glory, this juxtaposition is not an exteriority between economy and theology, because the nature is understood according to the praise as a more than unutterable promise of bounty, as a personal pleasure such that there cannot be greater, as inexhaustible source where we can drink our fill. In this attention, moments in apparent contradiction are the two wounds from which flows and is celebrated the supereminence, as new as eternal, of love accepting to receive something from us who receive everything from him. Though he is without lack, God awaits the fruit that, in the Spirit, we must bear. Because Jesus said: “By this my Father is glorified, that you bear much fruit” (Jn 15:8). The proof of this *summa concordia* is offered in the verses that amplify

the initial prayer: “‘Father, glorify me near to your glory which I had near you before the world was made’ (v. 5). What does he expect of the Father as glorification? That which he had by his side before the world existed. He had the plenitude of divinity. He has it, because he is the Son of God, but he who was the Son of God had begun also to be the Son of man: ‘the Word became flesh’ [Jn1:14]. He had not lost what he was, but began to be what he had not been. He did not lack what was his, but took what is ours. Thus he claimed for what he had taken a progress in that glory that he was not lacking. Also, because the Son is the Word, the Word was made flesh, the word is God, close to God in the beginning, because the Word was Son before the constitution of the world, the Son who now was made flesh prayed that the flesh would begin to be for the Father that which he, the Word, was; for that which was within time would receive the glory of what is outside of time and, transformed into the force of God, in the incorruptibility of the Spirit, the corruption of the flesh was swallowed up. This is why he prayed to God. This is what the Son proclaimed facing the Father; it is what the flesh begs for. And thus it is that all will see him on the day of judgment*, transpierced, marked by the cross, as he was prefigured on the mountain, as he was brought up in the heavens, as he is seated on the right hand of God, as he was seen by Paul, as he received the homage of Stephen” (III, § 16).

Without this unsurpassable prayer, for which Hilary lets the movement reign without seeking any explanation, we cannot say that Jesus became on Easter day that which he always was, nor reverse the contradiction between the absence of need and the surplus of praise aiming at a logic more than logical, that of the Love that IS. When Jesus beseeches the Father to reinstate him in the glory he enjoyed “at his side before the world was made,” it is an equal glory and a greater glory for which he asks. Equal because it is that of the love that surrenders itself, of the Lamb* “foreknown before the foundation of the world but...made manifest in the last times for your sake” (1 Pt 1:19–20), of the Christ in whom we are “chosen” “before the foundation of the world” (Eph 1:4). Greater, because the wounds of the Son shown on Easter evening like “royal finery” (N. Cabasilas, *Life in Christ* VI, §15, SC 361) are the wounds we inflicted on him, which he made a remedy, such that anything better adapted to our illness and more appropriate to the mercy of God cannot be conceived. It is “transpierced” that we will see him, in the great promise of his tenderness, the day when, through him and in the Spirit, we will have a transfigured flesh and will become for the Father what the Son is from all eternity. Thus, at Easter:

- 1) God is revealed as more divine, and this “even more” that remains more than can be thought, is his undivided divinity.
- 2) There comes what IS: the communion of God and man, which is not separate from, nor is it confused with, the communion of the Father and the Son, because it stands on this *totus homo totus Deus* (IX, §6, PL 10/285 B), who says more than God alone while saying his truth, more than man alone while saying his truth.
- 3) The man no longer being “closed on high” nor God “below” (K. Barth, *The Humanity of God*), the superimposition of the nativity and the resurrection of the Son unfolds in the Spirit in our deepest depths, as the being of our being “has not yet appeared” (1 Jn 3:2), but already identical to that which is coming: “That God may be all in all” (1 Cor 15:28.)

If the greater glory given on Easter morning to the Word made flesh is the restored glory equal to that of the Word turned toward God in the beginning, it is impossible to imagine that God would be first of all *in himself*, enclosed in his *phusis*, and then *for us*, the author of a *kharis* that does not commit his being. Of course a distinction is made between *phusis* and *kharis*, *natura* and *sacramentum*, by way of showing that God loves us freely, that his personal pleasure precedes us; but far from leading to the representation of a supreme Object, this distinction honors the manifestation of that which has been forever hidden (Mk 4:22). It disposes us to the coming of that which is, to the reception of superabundant goods that the Father reserves for us, he who has no other reason to let them flow than the overflowing of his gracious bounty. Impossible also to identify the hidden and the manifest by way of a loop that would be closure on an object, forgetting that the source never stops outpouring, ever more clear, in the hands that the word of Jesus hold open.

c) *God is Spirit*. Is it in conformity with the Scriptures to connect the Spirit of the Father and of the Son to the mutual gift they give each other, to call it the superabundant Gift of the superabundant communion of the Father and the Son, the Spirit of the passion opening us to the surplus of the Other who chooses us for abode? Hilary’s words on the Spirit assure us (II, §29–35; PL 10/69 A–75 A): “As to the Holy Spirit, it is not necessary to hold one’s tongue nor is it necessary to speak....The question of his being is not to be treated....If someone requires the sense of our intelligence, he reads as we do in the Apostle: “And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into

our hearts, crying ‘Abba! Father!’ [Gal 4:6]. . . . It follows from that that he is, that he is given, possessed, and that he is God . . . If now he asks through whom he is, for which and for what he is, our answer might displease him because we say: he is the one through whom and of whom are all things, and he is the Spirit of God, a gift made to the faithful” (II, §29). Three paradoxes are present here:

- 1) We must not talk about the Spirit because he is the unsurpassable witness of the Father and the Son, and we must not remain silent because some have not yet received. “Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God, that we might understand the things freely given us by God” (1 Cor 2:12). It should be noted that the Spirit escapes from the category of substance, which our utterance can never do without, and to make it an object before a subject would be denial of the Gift that it is.
- 2) “He IS because also he is GIVEN.” This brief phrase rejects all separation of *phusis* and *kharis*. Identifying “being” and “being given,” it joins the Spirit to the overflowing repetition of the *natura* in the *sacramentum*, as if naming the Spirit was receiving the very bond of the same essence and the superabundance, this “more remaining more” that is the eternal divinity, without separation between its being and its personal pleasure. We only speak of the Spirit in the Spirit, in the communion it establishes.
- 3) “It is given and obtained.” If it stimulates a move on our part, a “merit,” the Spirit gives us that which comes from ourselves. Creator, it makes us partners of the covenant*, in freedom.

These paradoxes are brought together as follows: “Some, I think, remain in ignorance and doubt because they see the third term, that is, the Holy Spirit, is frequently understood of the Father and the Son. But there is nothing there that should shock: the Father, like the Son, is just as much Spirit as Holy.” (II, §30)

The Spirit is named by the conjoining of the two words most appropriate to the Father and the Son, though their conjunction never be attributed, and this proves that it *is*, that it is given by them as their overflowing communion. Spirit not having a proper name but being signified by a thousand names, it is like the force driving toward the Other, or the decentering that constitutes the person in his unity. Creating and recreating us, it effaces himself before our free response, itself made of effacement before the Greater. But some refuse to speak of it as “enjoyment and gift.” They confuse it with that which is common to the Father and the Son, deny that their communion subsists and

is distinct from it, cite the word of Jesus: “God is Spirit” (Jn 4:24). How shall we answer them if not that they do not read the words in their context, as Jesus’s reply to a woman who sought a geographical place where she could worship God? “To say: ‘God is Spirit’ does not preclude speaking of the Holy Spirit and making it a gift. For he replied to the woman who wanted to enclose God in a temple, on a mountain, that everything is in God, that God is in himself, that the Invisible, the Incomprehensible must be worshipped in that which is invisible, incomprehensible. Thus is the nature of the present and of the homage signified by this teaching: God-Spirit must be worshipped in Spirit. That shows the freedom and the knowledge of the worshippers as well as the infinity of the Worshipped” (II, §31).

If God is such that nothing can contain him, present in all and overflowing all, the true worship that recognizes in him the Father of Jesus is made only in a place that corresponds to that excess of being and goodness, in the Holy Spirit who is distinguished from the Father and the Son who are God-Spirit, and whose unutterable superabundance responds to the inexhaustible communion of the Father and the Son. In the Spirit we worship the Father who gives us his Son and the Son who gives us to the Father; the Spirit who worships is not separated from the “freedom” and the “discernment” of the worshippers that we are: “The Holy Spirit is everywhere one, illuminating all the patriarchs, the prophets, all the choir of the Law, inspiring also John in his mother’s womb, and given to the apostles, to the other believers to make them recognize the truth that was granted” (II, §32).

In the Spirit, donation of the donation, God abides in us and by the reciprocity of this indwelling his donation is at the same time our response to the love that goes ahead of us and surpasses us: “Let us use that which is so freely given to us, let us ask to use of this very necessary present. The Apostle says: ‘Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God, that we might understand the things freely given us by God’ [1 Cor 2:12]. We receive it in order to know. [If our soul] has not drawn by faith the gift of the Spirit, certainly it will have a nature made to recognize God, but it will not have the light of knowledge. This gift made in Christ is accessible, single, and entirely ours; that which is nowhere lacking is given in the measure in which each one desires to receive it, and retained in the measure that each one desires to merit it. This is what is with us up to the consummation of the ages” (II, §35).

Just as it is not possible to see without light illuminating both the thing and the eye, so we cannot be that for which we are made if we do not draw, by the faith

that is its fruit in us, “the living water” (Jn 4:10) of the encounter. To draw this water is to make our own response to the gift through a desire that “asks, merits, and keeps.” Then are found prayer, filial relation to the Father, a posture drawing itself more upright, *epectasis* (yearning) (Phil 3:13) toward higher and higher goods “by beginnings that have no end” (Gregory of Nyssa, *Homily on the Song of Songs*). It is carried so deeply inward, so overwhelmed by that of Jesus, that the Spirit fills our hearts to overflowing and makes them overflow.

Must we question ourselves on the notions of essence and person? As the first word does not designate a metaphysical foundation, but the plenitude of love and life that is given, the “good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over” promised to those who follow (*Lc* 6, 38), it is better to make the second word a second auxiliary concept making up for the impossibility of thinking and saying what are the Three as three: “If we ask: three what [*tres quid*]? human words are at pains and totally impoverished. We do say three persons, not to say but in order not to say nothing.” (Augustine, *Trin.* V, IX, 10, Baug 15). “It is better to meditate on the heart of the faith: “God is love. God manifested his love for us in that God sent his only Son into the world so that we would live through him. This is what the love consists of: it is not we who loved God, it is he who loved us and sent his Son as propitiatory victim for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we too must love each other. No one has ever contemplated God. If we love each other, God abides in us, in us his love is made complete. By

this we know that we abide in him and he abides in us: ‘He has given us of his Spirit’” (1 Jn 4:8–13).

Is this a definition? So that we will understand behind “God” the Father of Jesus and our own, not a supreme self-sufficiency, John reminds us that God “sent his Son” and “gave of his Spirit.” So that we will understand behind “love” the free superabundance of the source, not an objectified principle, he tells how that love “manifested itself”: in the most wise folly of the cross. So that we will leave behind our errors of representation, he tells us that “no one has ever seen God.” To keep us from concluding from this that he is unknowable, he invites us to know him by obeying a new commandment. Thus, for a knowledge of God according to sight, which seeks to grasp his reality through image or concept, John substitutes knowledge according to love, which consists in our loving one another as Jesus loved us, and in allowing God to dwell in us as an ever more lovable Father, “to be born of God” (v.7) in the Spirit. Of these two kinds of knowledge, one claims to inscribe the secret within the vaster horizon of our possibilities and place itself above him: it is the root of all heresy. The other understands the prohibition of idols by the cross as the most beneficial event that could be. It receives it as the underside of the princeliest donation that could be thought. It reaches up with gratitude toward the source, obeys the timeless call of Jesus: “If anyone thirsts, let him come to me and drink” (Jn 7:37).

MICHEL CORBIN

See also Being; Christ/Christology; Father; Filioque; God; Holy Spirit; Word

Tritheism

a) Patristics. In anti-Christian polemics the accusation of Tritheism reveals a misunderstanding of the Christian Trinity*, by which the polemicists see only a troika of divine beings. And as a term in heresiology, *Tritheism* refers to a Trinitarian theology* that gives each of the three divine persons* an existence conceived in the same way as the existence of an individual. Taken to its logical conclusion, a Trinitarian theology of this kind so slackens the link between the divine persons that the accusation of Tritheism does no

more than draw the final conclusions. The various forms of Tritheism are all dependent on particular philosophical conceptions about what is common to the three persons (that is, their nature*).

In the third century, the opponents of Monarchianism (Modalism*) were accused of Ditheism or Tritheism. Indeed, Justin († c. 165) used the expression *heteros theos* when he spoke of the Word*. Even among the Cappadocians, certain passages lend themselves to an interpretation in terms of Tritheism. Basil*

(c. 330–79) in fact conceived the hypostases as subsisting essences defined by particular properties (*idiosyncrasies*) and suggested between the divine *phusis* (*ousia*) and the three hypostases, *treis hypostaseis* (*prosôpa*), the same relationship that exists between abstract human nature and the individuals in whom it proliferates (*Ep.* 236, 6, PG 32, 884; *Ep.* 214, 789; see *DThC* 5, col. 1671). In the sixth century, inspired by the philosophy of Aristotle (Christian Aristotelianism*), the neo-Chalcedonian Leontius of Byzantium († c. 543) tried to define precisely the meaning of the terms *hypostasis* and *phusis*. Under his influence the idea spread in the schools of Edessa, Constantinople, and Alexandria* that there were three hypostases in God*, each one requiring a concrete nature; whence came the conclusion that there were three natures in God, which was equivalent to professing Tritheism. Those who followed this doctrine found their theoretician in the person of John Philoponus († c. 565), a grammarian and philosopher from Alexandria. In his book entitled *Diatastes e peri henôseôs*, (*The Arbitrator; or On Union*, see Nicephore Calliste, PG 147, 424–28), Philoponus asserted that all existing nature was necessarily individual and that it could be realized only in and through a hypostasis, for the good reason that hypostasis and individual merge. And from this fact he concluded that since there were three persons in God, there were also three divine natures. According to the testimony of Leontius of Byzantium, Philoponus taught that in the Trinity there were three *merikai ousiai* and a common *ousia* (PG 86, 1233). Philoponus's Tritheist views were opposed by the monks of the period. Among the adepts of ancient Tritheism can also be named Stephen Gobar, who was writing in Egypt or in Syria under Justin II (565–78).

b) Middle Ages and Modern Times. Tritheism took on a new form in the 11th century under the influence of dialectics (Scholasticism*). His dialectic approach and his Nominalism* led Roscelin of Compiègne (1050–1125), professor of dialectics and later Canon of Tours, to the implicit affirmation of the existence of three Gods.

The works of Anselm* are our main historical source for this medieval Trinitarian heresy*. In 1090, while still an abbot, Anselm was alerted by the monk John to the doctrine of a “cleric in France,” whose essential points he reported to him in these terms, “If three persons are a single thing and are not three things in themselves, like three angels* or three souls*, in such a way that in their will and power they are completely identical, the Father* and the Holy* Spirit became flesh along with the Son” (*Ep.* 128, ed. Schmitt, III).

In his reply (*Epistles* 129; Schmitt, III) Anselm sketched a solution: if the cleric in question meant by the three *res*, three relationships, it was futile for him to have said what he did. If, on the other hand, he used the three *res* to name the three persons and each person was God, a dilemma ensued: either he wanted to establish three gods, or else he did not know what he was saying. Therefore, from the beginning, Anselm denounced Tritheism as a logical consequence of Roscelin's position, and later he drew up a fuller refutation that was unfinished, entitled *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbe* and addressed to those who “cultivate the Catholic and Apostolic faith.”

Anselm's second contribution was motivated by the unchanged attitude of Roscelin, who had not stopped spreading his heterodox views, although he had abjured his errors at the Council of Soissons (1092 or 1093) for fear of being killed by the people. The situation grew more complicated by the fact that in order to defend himself Roscelin tried to compromise Lanfranc in this doctrinal matter and claimed that Anselm himself had preached similar views. In his letter addressed to Fulcon, bishop* of Beauvais (*Epistles* 136, Schmitt, III), Anselm protested against these allegations by solemnly confessing his orthodox faith.

The main points of Roscelin's arguments are based on a postulation: each of the three persons must be a *thing* if one wants to avoid the absurd conclusion of the incarnation* of the Father and of the Holy Spirit. Roscelin therefore deduced from this the existence of three complete *res* in the Trinity, but he maintained however that the three persons had a common will and power (the first sketch of what the 20th century would call a “social” conception of the Trinity). The stumbling block in his dialectical approach was the ambiguous meaning of the term *res*. In his criticism Anselm made a distinction: if Roscelin meant by three *res* the three relations (*relatio*), his position could be accepted. But if *res* was understood in the sense of substantial or essential, it became logically impossible to avoid the absurd conclusion that there were three Gods, which compromised the simplicity and eternity of the divine nature. According to Anselm's interpretation it was therefore through drawing the consequence that Roscelin professed Tritheism.

After Anselm's death the polemic flared up again between Roscelin and his disciple Abelard*. The poisonous relations between the two antagonists is recounted in a letter from Roscelin addressed to Abelard, who, in his *De Unitate et trinitate divina* (PL V, 178, col 39), violently reproached Roscelin for his Tritheism.

A new form of implicit Tritheism reappeared in the nineteenth century in the theological system of Anton Günther, who was condemned in Pius IX's bull *Exi-*

miam tuam (1857). Günther proposed a conception of the human person—identified with his awareness of his ego and with his external actions—which, when applied to God, led Günther in fact to consider the three divine persons as three consciousnesses, and therefore, as three substances or three realities absolutely distinct from each other.

Of the two main trends of contemporary Trinitarian theology, one seems to have made all the concessions to Modalism which are possible without abandoning orthodoxy (Barth*, Rahner*); while the other seems to supply a version, which is also orthodox, of a thinking inclined towards Tritheism; an instance of the latter being seen in the extreme psychologization or personalization to which H.U. von Balthasar* subjects the divine hypostases.

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See also **Consubstantial; Modalism; Monotheism; Trinity**

Tropology. *See* Saint-Victor, School of; Scripture, Senses of

Truth

A. Biblical Theology

When the New Testament speaks of “truth” (*aletheia* in Greek; *veritas* in Latin) within a theological per-

spective, as is the case particularly with Paul and with the Johannine corpus, it is throwing a bridge between

the Hebraic-biblical basis and Greco-Hellenist thought. The rapprochement had already begun in the third century B.C. when the Septuagint translators chose to use the Greek *aletheia* to convey the words *emounah* (trust, loyalty) and above all *emet* (solidity, permanence) in the Hebrew Bible*, as Hebrew did not have a specific term to express the notion of truth.

a) *Etymology and Meaning of Aletheia.* A derivative of *lanthano/letho* (see the Latin *lateo*), which means “to be hidden,” preceded by the privative “a-,” the word *aletheia* designates a thing that is shown as it is, as well as the precision of the discourse (logos) that states it. Neither the everyday use nor the classical philosophical use of the term departed from this initial acceptance (E. Heitsch): during the classical era, *aletheia* signified truth in the sense of a non-dissimulation and openness of the manifest being (Heidegger*)—that is, a reality which rose above appearances, opinions, and prejudices—but also the precision of what is stated about that reality. On the subjective level, *aletheia* could also designate the “truthfulness” of a person*.

b) *Truth in the Hebrew Bible.* The Hebrew word *’emet* and the Greek *aletheia* do not cover the same semantic field, and in order to render the Hebrew term the Septuagint also had to resort to the words *pistis* (trust, loyalty), *dikaosune* (justice), and so on. The words *’emet* and *’emounah*, as well as the *amen* of the Christian cult, derived from the verbal root *’mn* (to be solid, resistant). As a result, truth, in Hebrew, was that which was solid, something one could rely upon with full confidence. The meaning of *’emet*—“which, more than any other derivative of *’mn*... has taken on the sense of ‘truth’” (H. Wildberger)—was structured around a certain number of definitive uses. For example: 1) Jeremiah (28:9) declares: “The prophet* which prophesied of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known, that the LORD hath truly [in truth, *’emet*] sent him”; to the false prophet Hananya he says: “thou makest this people to trust in a lie [or: ‘be lulled by illusions’]” (Jeremiah 28:15). It is therefore the future that causes truth to break forth, and the future is its touchstone. The opposite of truth is not so much illusion as disillusion (H. von Soden). Where truth is to be found, duration and permanence are also to be found (Proverbs 12:19). 2) The term *’emet* is not therefore applied only to words that are presented as being worthy of trust (2 Sm 7:28; 1 Kgs 17:24, 22:16). Exodus 18:21, for example, speaks of “men of truth” to designate energetic individuals who have played a felicitous role in the past and in whom one can place one’s trust in the

future. *Emet* asks not only to be known, but requires above all that it be put into practice (Gn 47:29; 2 Chr 31:20; Neh 9:33). Truth is therefore an action, which produces definite results, by means of which an individual can obtain the trust of his fellows. Truth can be found only within a human community. 3) When applied to people, *’emet* can take on the meaning of “loyalty” (Jos 2:14; Prv 3:3). But insofar as truth is constitutively linked to a future reality, *emet* often also means “trust” and is similar to *emounah*. 4) All these uses are based upon the proclamation of the “God of *’emet*” (Ps 31:6), as found in particular in the Book of Psalms*: “The work of his hands are *’emet*” (Ps 111:7); “All the Lord’s ways are faithful and *’emet*” (Ps 25:10; see also Ps 54:7)—that is, signs of his truth and his loyalty, on which Israel* can be built. But this God worthy of trust is not one God among others; he is the sole and true God (Jer 10:10). An astonishingly vast perspective is opened in Psalm 146, where the *’emet* of the Creator is realized through his action in favor of the oppressed and the hungry (v. 6f.).

On the whole, early Judaism* adopted the biblical concept of truth (see e.g. Tb 1:3; Ps 3:6, 14:1, 4; Ezr 5:1, etc.). The new element was that there was now a dualistic relation of antithesis between divine truth and mendacity, as in the manuscripts of Qumran, where the members of the sect, designated as “men of justice” (1QS IC, 5.6; XI, 16; 1QH VI, 29 and passim), are opposed to the “sons of iniquity” who do not belong to the group (1QS V, 2. 10, etc.; see also *Test Jud* 20, and so on). “To do the truth” is a formula that appears regularly in the manuscripts of Qumran (1 QS I, 5; V, 3; VIII, 2, etc.), even though it no longer refers to the totality of the Torah as a rule of action, but to the correct interpretation given by the sect, that is, to truthful doctrine.

c) *The Bible of the Septuagint.* The Septuagint translation inflected the notion of “truth” on several occasions. Indeed, if the Israelites attributed a fundamental importance to the close link between truth as *knowledge* and trust as *practical behavior*, the Greek language on the other hand kept the two notions separate, right from the lexical level, by expressing truth through *aletheia* and trust through *pistis*. It is significant, for example, that Psalm 26:3 (“I have walked in thy truth”) is translated in the Septuagint (25:3) by “I found happiness in your truth”: it was the gnoseological dimension of the concept that prevailed in this case (K. Koch 1965, with other examples).

d) *The New Testament.* The historical Jesus* did not make truth a theme of his proclamation. It was only after the resurrection* that the “truth of the Gospel” (Gal

2:5, 2:14) became an important element to be defended in the face of objections and errors of interpretation. Thus Paul and the Fourth Evangelist were the two primary witnesses of this new method of debate, which made increased use of the term, without however rendering a clearly structured idea of “truth.”

The “truth of the Gospel” in Galatians 1:5, 1:14 (*see also* 5:7) introduces a theme. It designates the logic of the gospel, which Paul develops all through his epistle in order to show that in liberating the pagans from the Torah he is not departing from the gospel. In 2 Corinthians, *aletheia* is used on several occasions in an absolute sense (2 Cor 4, 6:7, 13:8, etc.), but always in relation to the gospel, on whose victorious strength the apostle* can rely. *Aletheia* in this case signifies the functioning reality of God, as manifested in his Word*, and virtually presents the features of a power of salvation*: “Because we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth” (2 Cor 13:8). It is revealing that in Romans 1:18 the *aletheia* of God, held “captive” by the impiety of mankind, is immediately associated with “divine justice*,” whose saving action is displayed in the Gospels (Rom 1:16f.). Occasionally used in the sense of “veracity” (2 Cor 7:14; Phil 1:18) or within the framework of a homiletic formula (2 Cor 11:10; Rom 9:1), the word *aletheia* still carries for Paul (in Rom 3:7 and 15:8) the theological impact of the Old Testament *’emet*, implying loyalty to a covenant*. In this respect the truth of God is his loyalty to Israel, which he would show at the end of time by fulfilling his “promises* to the Fathers” and by saving all Israel (*see* Rom 11:25ff.). The Epistle to the Hebrews also seems to refer to 1 Cor 13:6, where *aletheia*, opposed to “injustice,” evokes a form of human behavior.

For John, *aletheia* is a central concept designating the revelation* of the reality of God through his Son Jesus, insofar as this is authentically communicated to the believer in the Holy Spirit; the notion here belongs to a Trinitarian structure. The specific emphasis of John’s Christology* intended for the theocentric line to be dominant in this case: as God’s envoy, Jesus “says” and “attests” the truth that he “had heard from God” (John 8:40, 8:45f.). This is why he “came into this world” (18:37). The fact that *aletheia* is preceded by the definite article (as is generally the case in John) indicates that it is not the content of a particular revelation that is at issue here, but the very reality of God: this reality, according to Johannine dualism (*see e.g.* John 8), is absolute reality, “because it is life and gives life”; whereas the illusory reality of this world is “a usurped reality which opposes God, being a vain reality, a bearer of death” (Bultmann* 1941). But the Johannine Jesus is not satisfied with merely bearing

witness, verbally, to this divine reality: he is, in his very person, the gift that the God of life offers to human beings. For this reason the Fourth Gospel on occasion, and in certain decisive terms, identifies Jesus himself with God’s truth (John 14:6 but also 1:14–17). The “Spirit of truth” (John 14:17, 15:26, 16:13) would reveal this reality to the disciples after Easter, as would, from different perspectives, the verses of the Paraclete. “The true worshipers of God” would worship the Father “in spirit and in truth” (John 4:23f.).

In the Fourth Gospel it is clearly the Greek concept of truth as an unveiling of reality that takes precedence—with, it is true, a specifically theological emphasis (Hübner 1980). The place of dualism—Johannine truth/lie (John 8:44f.)—in the history of religion remains controversial to this day (must it be connected to a biblical basis? To the Qumranian tradition? To Gnosis*?) In any case, the expression “doeth truth” (Jn 3:21; 1 Jn 1:6) is permeated with the Judaic spirit. The author of the First Epistle of John insists, moreover, that Christian ethics* are rooted in the truth revealed by Christ: it is the known truth that determines concrete action in love* (*see also* Eph 4:15).

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See also Covenant; Faith; Hermeneutics; Knowledge of God; Promise; Revelation; Veracity; Wisdom; Word of God

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

a) Antiquity and Middle Ages. It is not because of an error, says Paul, that Christian teaching was rejected by Jews and pagans, but because of stumbling blocks and folly (1 Cor 1:23). This does not imply, however, that early Christianity did not experience truth as a reality and as a problem. The reality was initially Christological. In Jesus* of Nazareth, Christian catechesis* confessed that the loyalty and constancy of God*, his *emet*, had taken on the face of a man; Origen* would say of Christ* that he is “truth itself,” *autoaletheia* (*In Jo* VI, 6). Because the life, passion*, and resurrection* of this man involved what was most important of all—salvation*—the Christological kerygma (“Jesus is Lord”) takes on the character of a fundamental assertion, and since the kerygma can be contradicted, of a fundamental truth. Truth assumes a double meaning: as the presence of God who reveals himself, and as the human testimony of that revelation*. The revelation is paradoxical (it was through its opposite that God manifested himself on Good Friday), and the testimony given contains no apodictic evidence, whether in regard to the messianic expectations of the Jews, or to pagan soteriologies. The apology was therefore a necessity to show how the hopes* of Israel* were fulfilled in the person of Jesus as were, symmetrically, the expectations of the nations. Addressed to the Jews, the apology would be based on scriptural hermeneutics*: proving that what Christians said was true was equivalent to proving that the “event of Jesus Christ” was the ultimate referent of Jewish Scripture. Addressed to the pagans, the apology would be based on a theology* of mythology (and of philosophy*) which saw “particles of truth” or “preparations for the gospel” in the religious traditions of paganism: proving that Christians were telling the truth was to prove that the idolatry* of the pagans was an implicit reflection of a destination determined for the covenant* and for the worship in spirit and in truth; it was to prove that a desire for God impelled paganism. The first *demonstratio christiana* surely owed its potential to the existence of a shared language, on the one hand, and to that of an “available believable” (P. Ricoeur), on the other. The words used by Christianity were endowed with meaning before they were used, whether in Judaism* (Messiah*/Christ, resurrection), in the paganism of late Antiquity, or in both (god, salvation); there was no lack of anticipated understandings. And even if there was some debate about the meaning that Christians attributed, or were forced to attribute, to certain words, that debate also shed light upon a vision of the world shared by

Christians and non-Christians alike (E. Miura-Stange, *Celsus und Origenes, Das gemeinsame ihrer Weltanschauung*, Giessen, 1926; see also E. R. Dodds, *Pagans and Christians in an Age of Anxiety*, Cambridge, 1965): a vision of a world in which, among other things, the message of salvation enjoyed a certain *a priori* credibility*. Anticipated understandings did not require comprehension; the language of Christianity was also a hard—*skleros*—language, (John 6:60; see J.-Y. Lacoste, *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 1994, 254–80, in particular 261–69), and broke with all the discourse which had prepared it, necessitating an original rereading of what would then become the “Old Testament”; and it contradicted all known rationality by demanding that one have faith* in a God who identified his cause with that of a crucified man. It must, however, be conceded to the apologists* that whatever the division separating Christian Christology* from Jewish messianic beliefs, and whatever the even more brutal discontinuity separating the Christian experience* from the pagan one, it was indeed a *sensible* discourse that Christianity offered. A language, therefore, which could be true.

From the first centuries until the scholastic era, the Christian history of truth might be summed up simply as that of an ever-increasing interpretation in theological terms of what was true. Truth was a matter of logos, but even more than that, it was a Christian matter, since Christianity was based upon the revelation of the divine Logos. Truth was a matter of communication and unveiling, and Christianity was defined as the holder of the secrets of God. Theology would never deny that other true discourses existed besides its own, nor would it ever forget the requirement of a justification of its pronouncements with regard to Judaism and paganism. But amid all the words and propositions that claimed to be true, it was primarily as an ultimate measure of truth that it would become preeminent; the language of theology would therefore acquire the epistemological privilege of confirming or invalidating the claims to truth that informed non-theological language.

There was no lack of theoretical methods for ensuring the reign of theological language by other means than the simple argument from authority*, by resorting to universally accepted concepts of truth. In the work of both Albert* the Great and Thomas* Aquinas, truth would be defined in theologically neutral terms: *adaequatio rei et intellectus*. And it was also in theologically neutral terms that medieval ontology asserted

that what was true was transcendental, a transcategorical name for being. The first theory was valid for all acts of knowledge, the second for all being. Certainly, both lent themselves to a theological use insofar as their refinement had been the work of theologians rather than philosophers, but both could be received as strictly philosophical. And truth only really became a burning issue when the idea of a division of the concept of truth arose, such that what was (said to be) theologically true need not be philosophically true.

More a product of Étienne Tempier's experts, who condemned it in 1277, than of the spirit of the Aristotelian and Averroist philosophers, the theory of the "double truth" constituted the first serious challenge to theological reasoning. Did there exist a "philosophical truth" that contradicted theological truth (in affirming the eternity of the world or the existence of one single collective soul for all of humankind) and that all the while left to theology the right to assert, at its own level, the creation* of the world and the existence of individual souls*? Neither Siger of Brabant, nor Boethius of Dacia, nor any of the thinkers involved in the censure of 1277 actually affirmed this (see R. Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles...* Louvain and Paris, 1977). But from the *maîtres ès arts* of Paris in the 13th century to the last Averroists in Padua, the history of philosophy was one of an ever-increasing tendency toward autonomy in relation to theology—and this autonomy was taking shape through a conflict between philosophical truth (strictly rational truth) and theological truth (truth founded upon the authority* of Christian revelation). A solution to the conflict was sought by separating truth from probability, as the dogma* of the Church was true by virtue of divine authorization, and philosophical (Aristotelian) terms, founded upon experience and induction, were considered merely probable. This distinction was not, however, viable. And it was perfectly logical that Paduan Averroism would draw further censure upon itself (condemnation of Pomponazzi at the Fifth Lateran* Council, COD 605–6); the principle of contradiction was valid for the relations of the theological and the philosophical. Truth could only be one.

b) Modern Times. It is not truly "modern" to doubt theological truths, since doubt was contemporary with the reception of Aristotle into the Christian world. But what is modern is the production of concepts of truth that in and of themselves cannot be the subject of any theological reception whatsoever. When he established the primacy of practical reason*, Bacon adopted a pragmatic concept of the truth: *quod in operando utilissimum, id in scientia verissimum* (*Novum organum* II, 4). The concept of "fact," moreover, would

help Vico to provide the elementary formula of a new ontology that was strictly worldly and historical in outlook: *factum et verum convertuntur*. And finally, if the concept of "experience," along with the idea of experimental verification, was not originally used to deny the existence of a theological truth but to found a new field of knowledge, the evidence acquired through this knowledge would eventually label theological realities as totally lacking in proof. The desire to safeguard the cognitive claims of faith was certainly often present, in Descartes* or Kant*, for example. But from Descartes to Kant the domain that philosophy abandoned to theology would diminish dramatically. Henceforth, theology would have to learn from philosophy the canons of true knowledge; its task was no longer merely to tell the truth, it would also have to prove the truth of what it said. The era of a new apologetic (whose name would change, as one would eventually speak of fundamental theology) had arrived, the task of which would be to display the truth of religion, of Christianity and (in some cases) of the outlook of a particular confessional family* such as Catholicism*, either by having recourse to the permissions granted by reigning philosophies or by resorting to medieval conceptual instruments (in baroque Scholasticism and Neoscholasticism).

The same period witnessed the birth of a new polemic whose aim was no longer to dispute the truth of theological discourse but to dispute its veridicality. From Fontenelle to Nietzsche* there would be a gradual refinement in the nature of the accusation, but its substance remained the same. Christianity speaks of faith, but it lives off people's credulity. Christianity speaks of truth, but in fact speaks only to serve, unconsciously, the interests of a social class (Marx*). An ascetic priest* might claim to live for his desire for truth, and to bring others to live for that truth, but his practice and his preaching are merely symptoms of resentment (Nietzsche). What remains to be said is that in reality theology is moved only by archaic impulses and memories (Freud*). The question of the possible truth of theology would no longer even be raised; it was no longer what theology might say that occupied philosophy, but *why* it said it.

Corresponding in a remarkable way to the "death of God" is a certain "death of truth," and the theories generally accepted during the 20th century have had certain traits in common: they are modest theories, where no transcendence is at stake, and all are careful not to appeal to a "primary truth." They achieve this in two distinct ways: 1) Semantic theory (Tarski 1933) provides a means of linking words and things in a precise way ("*p* is true"; *p*), but in no way determines the nature of things. According to the theory of coherence

(Neurath 1931 et al., *see* Puntel 1990), a term is true if it can be integrated within a system of terms already accepted as being true; and if theory can be used to render metaphysical or theological language illegitimate, such a use does not necessarily prevail as the only possible one. According to “critical rationalism*” (Popper), no term can be a candidate for inclusion in the category of true terms if no falsification whatsoever of it is conceivable—but it is a logic of scientific research that provides the criterion of what is falsifiable, and nothing implies a priori that the criterion is valid elsewhere than in the physical world. Similarly, the various analytical interpretations of truth (Ramsey 1927; Strawson 1949; Davidson 1967 et al.) make no metaphysical decisions, nor does an interpretation in terms of communication and intersubjectivity (Habermas 1973). 2) It would be up to logical positivism, however, in due time, to exclude from the domain of truth any term with metaphysical or theological pretensions; for only the tautologies of logic on the one hand, and empirically verifiable terms on the other, are true (e.g., Ayer 1935). Only that which can lend itself to verification is true; to say precisely what this “verification” implies, one would resort to exemplary procedures such as those used by science; and, since what is false provides its own auto-definition in terms of verification/falsification, one will describe that which is neither true nor false as being devoid of meaning.

Whether they were non-theological, atheological or formally atheistic, such theories called for a theological response. And indeed they would give rise to a lengthy debate in Anglo-Saxon countries on theological language*, a debate inaugurated by J. Wisdom (“Gods,” *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 1944/1945, 185–206), and which can now be considered closed. The answer to the question of verification was that theological givens called for an “eschatological verification” (J. Hick 1960 and 1978); another response was to emphasize the trivial nature of the concept of “facts” utilized by the positivists (“Facts, like the telescope and men’s wigs, are a creation of the 17th century”: A. MacIntyre). One response to the relegation of religious language to the domain of the “emotive” (e.g., Ayer 1935) was that the positivist definition of cognitive languages was unduly restrictive. One response to the theories that held that formalized language was the measure of all other languages was the practice of a Wittgensteinian strategy of defense and the illustration of “language games” used in the everyday speech of natural languages (e.g. D.Z. Phillips), or by an elucidation of the auto-implicative nature of religious language (D. D. Evans 1963, *see* Ladrière 1984, vol. 1). Theological language

was certainly a “foreign” language—but it was constructed, and well constructed, to correspond to experiences that were in their own way foreign (Ramsey 1957).

c) *For a Theological Theory of Truth.* The reason why theology should be measured against linguistic and logical theories of the truth is simple: theological language is a language, and there are no strategies of immunization which might exempt it—since it makes claims to truth—from being subjected to the tests elaborated to verify the coherence and pertinence of any language. Theology can, incontestably, be developed within a plurality of discourses of varying degrees of rigor, and one cannot require of homilies or baptismal catechism a strict obedience to the canons of a “scientific” theology: therefore it is possible (and for the theologian, necessary) to defend equally a scientific practice of theology (Torrance 1969; Carnes 1982, etc.) and the looser terms in which Christian faith expresses itself. Efforts at legitimization undertaken in the 1940s would, however, come up against an obstacle. Undoubtedly, theology can do no less than be true in a semantic/propositional sense. But it would be to misunderstand the specific style of its own language if the matrix provided by the biblical texts were to be neglected. And if one examines these texts, one is obliged to adopt a concept of truth that adapts to its diction in metaphors, parables* and stories, and even goes so far as to find therein its most accurate expression. The logic of truth must therefore be linked to a rhetoric of truth (thus, Jüngel 1980; McFague 1983; Soskice 1985, etc.), with a theological theory of the story (narrative* theology), with a theory of discourse through parables (Via 1967; Crossan 1975, etc.), and, in a more general fashion, with a theory of language through images (Biser 1970). From this time on, philosophical references of theology would not fail to change. More than formalized or formalizable language, and more than the “ordinary language” of analytical philosophy, the Heideggerian hermeneutics of speech has provided the greatest food for thought in recent theology (Fuchs 1968 etc.) Truth is not meant to be only a relation between words and things, or merely a relation of coherence between them; it is also the revelatory power of each specific word spoken through the mediation of the texts where it figures (*see* Tugendhat 1967): truth of an “event of the word”—*Sprachereignis* for Fuchs, *Wortgeschehen* for G. Ebeling—constituting the living center of theology.

Theological language is propositional, but the true problem of a theological theory of the truth resides in the impossibility of reducing the “revelation” that it professes to a mere system of propositions. And just as

the propositional theory of revelation—a theory that can now be regarded as obsolete—was destined to found itself on a propositional theory of truth, each non-propositional theory of revelation is necessarily founded on a congruent theory of truth. Wherever one means by “revelation” a historical process that is coextensive with universal history*, but which has already been realized in advance in the life, death*, and resurrection of Jesus, then the truth is thought of as a *last event* that is taken as a *last word* (e.g. Pannenburg, *Grundfr. Syst. Th.* 202–222). Wherever one means “revelation” as the work of a word* that frees human liberty* by opening it to an existence of belief that is “authentic,” one also thinks of the truth as an event, as the content of an “eschatological” experience (of a *last experience*) (Bultmann* etc.). In cases where one considers the revelation to be a divine self-communication corresponding “categorically” to an opening to God and to a “transcendental” expectation of God, the question of truth refers back to a “mystery*” with which all of human consciousness in the act of knowledge (Rahner*) is confronted. And finally, whenever the revelation is interpreted in terms of a unique global event whose “figure,” *Gestalt*, can be perceived in a mode analogous to that of a work of art (Balthasar* 1961), then truth must be considered to be the revealing feature of the entire event of Jesus Christ, taken in its integral dimensions.

A theological theory of truth must include the following items: 1) Theology is organized within the memory of a past that it considers closed (“the closed nature of revelation”), but whose meaning has been adopted and placed at the heart of a *Wirkungsgeschichte* (Gadamer 1960, notes 284–90) that is basically open and where no one, by definition, can lay claim to a final interpretation or a final perspective. Moreover, the foreclosed facts and texts whose memory is revived by theology constitute neither a fully unified story nor a continuous commentary of a truly homogeneous history. And the most normative documents known to theology—the Gospels*—use a plurality of testimonies that is irreducible (but that can certainly be coordinated) to deconstruct prismatically the founding events, which are accessible only through this refraction. The true word can thus be defined as faithful memory; the criterion of fidelity will not consist of a fetishistic respect for the signifiers, but in the (“hermeneutic”) service of meaning (*see* Lacoste, *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 1994, 268ff.); and since it will always be determined by the present-day views of interpretation, no theology will ever be organized into absolute knowledge. 2) The perpetual necessity of reinterpretation does not prevent theological terms from being purely and simply true (and contradictory

terms from being purely and simply false). This is the exemplary case of dogmatic terms. Since they are formed in natural languages, and not in formalized languages, the allocation of a value of truth goes hand in hand with the right to a constant reaffirmation of such terms (which will call for a hermeneutic task). However, in the (historical/cultural/philosophical) field of meaning where a dogmatic term was produced, and provided it can be translated into other contexts of meaning (but not *any* other), the term is simply true. A linguistic theory of truth is indispensable to a theological theory of truth. 3) The history of theology does not comprise a discontinuous succession of interpretations that are correct one moment and then rapidly grow obsolete; it must appear as a single continuous process of enunciation. Henceforth, the truth of theological speech can only be confirmed within a double framework, synchronic and diachronic; it is through a reading of the development of Christian doctrines that current theological discourse can truly express what it wishes to say, and that it can say it well. 4) The propositional and (more largely) discursive reality of theological truths cannot, however, offend the essential requirements of negative*, or “mystical” theology, insofar as it attributes a meaning to silence itself. Whether the language of theology is affirmative (“cataphatic”), negative (“apophatic”), or takes the path of “eminence,” in all three cases it is a practice of the discourse. However, the true problem of theology resides in the inexpressibility that constitutes what is both the first and ultimate property of God. What is beyond language and veridicality is not, however, beyond what is true: on the contrary, the inexpressible God actually proves that it is not simply in the act of speech that he confronts humankind, and that it is not only by themselves echoing these words that human beings pay the most appropriate homage to God; divine truth is also a truth to be honored in silence. 5) One cannot speak the language of truth without speaking that of evidence, which is defined precisely as the “experience of truth.” And if one wonders what evidence theology claims as its own, the answer must be in the terms of an analysis of the act of faith, reiterating that the God who reveals himself solicits intellect and will indissolubly—that his truth, therefore, will exercise no constraints upon human beings. Theology must preserve the memory of this absence of constraint, and integrate it into its theory of the truth, on the one hand, and into its practice of veridicality, on the other. Theology is truthful in suggesting a truth, which is not only truth-for-the-intelligence (the old theory of truth as an “appropriateness of the thing and the intellect” can no longer be applied), but also truth-for-the-will or truth-for-the-emotions. The “believable,” moreover, is not a defi-

cient mode in the rendering of truth: it is the truth as it is rendered when it calls for acquiescence. "To each fundamental mode of objectivity... belongs a fundamental mode of evidence" (Husserl, *see* Tugendhat 1967, §5). Classically, faith is distinct from "vision"—but its element is not, for all that, one of a lack of evidence.

The demands that burden faith and its theology thus demand a concept of truth as rich and complex as the complexity of their calls for truth. Theology undoubtedly has better things to do than contribute to the progress of epistemology. But it may be, in passing, an actual favor to any potential knowledge if there is an obligation to articulate the propositional meaning of truth, its phenomenological meaning, its ontological meaning, and its reference to an Absolute known as *veritas prima*. And when philosophy happens to suggest an existential concept of truth, and to affirm that "truth exists" (Heidegger*, *GA* 27, 158), such a suggestion cannot help but collect theological memories and bring to mind the New Testament's identification of the truth with the person* of Jesus. A theology of the truth must include a Christology of the truth.

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See also Faith; Hermeneutics; Language, Theological; Naturalism; Philosophy; Theology

Truths, Hierarchy of

The expression *hierarchy of truths* was formulated in number 11 of the decree of Vatican* II on ecumenism*, *Unitatis Redintegratio* (UR): "As they compare doctrines, they [Catholic theologians] will recall that there is an order or a "hierarchy" of truths in Catholic doctrine, by virtue of their varying relations with the foundation of Christian faith*." This declaration was greeted by Cullmann as very important (*see* "Comments on the Decree on Ecumenism," *ER*, 17 April 1965, 94): even if it was still subject to varying interpretations within and outside of Catholic theology, it enabled one in fact to discern the effects of a hermeneutic* principle of great ecumenical fruitfulness.

1. Historical Antecedents of the Idea

a) The formulation is new, but an idea of the organic nature of Christian faith and of an articulation of the truths of faith around a center could be found in the most ancient patristic traditions (Valeske 1968). The very notion of *regula fidei* implies a distinction between the fundamental truths of the Creed* and less important truths. For the Fathers*, all the truths of faith were organized around a center, the salvation* granted by God* through Jesus Christ. They also distinguished a hierarchy of heresies*, the most serious being those that compromised Trinitarian faith. In the Middle Ages, Bonaventure* and Thomas* Aquinas spoke of the distinction between *articula fidei* and *alia credibilia*. And at the very heart of the articles of faith Thomas discerned those truths of faith that had a direct relationship with the object of revelation* and those that had only an indirect relation by virtue of the relation with the preceding ones (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 106, a. 4, ad 2). Subsequently, theology would often speak of the "truths necessary to salvation" contained in Scripture and in tradition*, and would make a distinction between these and secondary truths. After the Council of Trent*, however, the insistence upon the normative character of the truths of faith, as stipulated by the ecclesiastical authorities*, would consign to oblivion the very idea of an order or a hierarchy among truths.

b) The notion of a hierarchy of truths not only had antecedents in the history of Christian thought but also

equivalents in other fields besides that of dogma*. In exegesis*, for example, it was usual to state that all the Scripture was of divine inspiration, whereas its discrete parts had diverging relations with a single center, which was the mystery* of God and of Christ* viewed in all its depth (Col 1:26; Eph 3:4). Or again, that all western Christian confessions gave priority to the first seven ecumenical councils, or that a number of theologians didn't hesitate to establish a hierarchy among them depending on how close their relation to the mystery of Christ and of the Trinity* actually was. Or again, that the sacramental septenary offered a perfect example of "hierarchy" within a single order of realities directly concerned with faith, insofar as the other sacramental acts were linked to the two "great sacraments*," which were baptism* and the Eucharist*. Finally, all the feasts of the liturgical calendar and the feast days of the saints were linked to the center or foundation constituted by the paschal mystery (Easter).

2. Attempts at Interpretation

From September 1985 the study group that brought together the Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches began organizing several consultations on the hierarchy of truths. This endeavor concluded in January 1990 with a study document whose aim was to "understand and interpret the intentions of the Second Vatican Council regarding the hierarchy of truths." Although it has not dispelled all the ambiguities, the document (GMT) published by the Pontifical Council for the Promotion of Unity among Christians (number 74, 1990) can help in discerning the Council's true intentions and avoid any misinterpretations.

a) *The Intentions of Vatican II.* Counter to a juridical understanding where all the truths of faith would be on an equal level by virtue of a formal point of view provided by an obligation to believe, the Council presented the content of faith as an organic whole within which each truth sustains a different relationship with the foundation of faith. In a *modus* that directly inspired the preparation of number 11 of UR, Cardinal Koenig expressed his wish that the truths of faith be the subject of an *evaluation* rather than an enumeration. The principle of the hierarchy of truth was proof

of a concept of truth* that favored its character of attestation over its strength of obligation. And it was possible to establish a hierarchy of truth from two perspectives: an objective perspective of the content of faith, and a perspective regarding its reception* by the Church*.

From an objective perspective. This concerns the various links (*nexus*) with the foundation of faith. “We must see the importance or the ‘weight’ of each truth in relation to the foundation of faith in the existential relation of Christians with their communities” (GMT 26). Dogmas constitute a structured whole, and each dogma refers to every other dogma and asks to be interpreted on the basis of its relation to the foundation of faith as well as mutual ties (Kasper 1987). From this point of view, a legitimate comparison can be made between the hierarchy of truth of Vatican II and the *nexus mysteriorum* or “analogy of faith” of Vatican* I.

From the perspective of reception by the Church. In this case one considers not only the various relations of each truth to the foundation of faith but also the Church’s *varying reception* of the same faith according to the era. The dogmatic perspective, which was peculiar to a given moment in history, must be understood from the point of view of its dynamic relation to the truth that it is trying to express (see Thomas Aquinas’s formula: “The act of faith does not terminate in a proposition, but in reality (*res*),” *ST* IIa IIae, q. 1, a.2, ad2). Despite its permanent value, the vocabulary of transubstantiation, for example, is not the only way of expressing the mystery of the “real presence” (Tavard 1971). And there are also several legitimate ways of explaining the relation of the Holy* Spirit and the Son within the Trinity (Congar 1982).

b) Erroneous Interpretations. The idea of the hierarchy of truths does not represent a simple return to the controversial question of “fundamental articles” rejected by the popes Pius XI (*Mortalium animos*) and Pius XII (*Orientalis ecclesiae*), something that was also abhorrent to the Orthodox tradition. For the Orthodox Church, “there exist no distinctions between principal truths and secondary truths, between essential doctrines and non-essential doctrines” (GMT 16). For the Orthodox, as for the Catholics, it is the Church itself that ensures the continuity of doctrine and not any given truth. For the Reformed Churches however, it is the fundamental truths that ensure the continuity of the Church. But if one takes into account the material content of faith (and not only the formal motif, that is, the authority* of God revealing himself)—which

seemed to be the intention of number 11 of the *UR*—one is forced to concede that there are, in the tradition, the beginnings of a theory of “fundamental articles,” if only in the consensus that can be established between the Churches with regard to the first seven ecumenical councils.

In any case the conciliar idea of the hierarchy of truths cannot be reduced to the old qualifications used to determine the importance of theological theses: *de fide definita*; *de fide*; *proximae fidei*; and *theologice certae*. On the contrary, by resorting to the idea of the hierarchy of truths, it seems there was a desire to go beyond a concept where faith was too narrowly considered within the juridical and disciplinary mode, that of the obligatory or the optional (Marlé 1986). It would also be erroneous to try to bring the principle of the hierarchy of truths closer to the distinction between the three categories of truths, as set out in the *Profession of Faith* required since 1989 from those who exercise a function in the name of the Catholic church (*DC* 1989, 378–79) and as stated (number 23) in the *Instruction of the Congregation on the Doctrine of Faith on The Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian* of 24 May 1990. (In this text, indeed, the classification of truths was established in the name of the degree of authority of the magisterium* and the degree of obligation for the believer.)

3) Ecumenical Impact Insofar as the churches strive for full communion* with each other, the principle of the hierarchy of truths provides a hermeneutic criterion that is extremely fruitful for ecumenical dialogue. While lacking the expression itself, a similar concern can be found in the Orthodox tradition and in the Reformed churches. “Orthodox theologians have suggested that the notion of the hierarchy of truths could help to distinguish the permanent and shared teachings of faith, such as the symbols [credos] proclaimed by the seven ecumenical councils and other confessions of faith, from teachings which have not been formulated or sanctioned by the authority of the councils” (GMT 16).

Similarly, it was in relation to the gospel, the core of faith, that the Protestant churches established a certain hierarchy among the truths of faith. The Catholic notion of the hierarchy of truths and the Lutheran concept of the “center of the gospel” are not identical, but they are close (see *Malta Report*, 25). There is at present a broad consensus among distinct groups of Christians over the issue of the free gift of salvation in Jesus Christ, but the place occupied by the doctrine of justification* in relation to the foundation of faith varies depending on the particular church. Thus in mutual dialogue the principle of the hierarchy of truths provides

a criterion, which helps to “make a distinction between the different concepts of the truths of faith which are points of conflict and other differences which should not exist” (GMT 28).

During bilateral or multilateral dialogues, Churches tend to reach a certain consensus on the fundamental truths. In any case they are better able to discern the divergences that depend on historical and cultural factors and the differences that concern the foundation of faith. It is certain, for example, from a Catholic perspective, that the fundamental concept of the Church and the nature of its instrumentality directly concern the bases of faith, while this is not the case with Protestants. The very future of ecumenical dialogue however hinges on the shared conviction that consensus is, after a fashion, “more fundamental” than fundamental differences (Birmelé 1986). On the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the *Augsburg Confession* on 25 June 1980, Pope John Paul II referred to a fundamental consensus between Catholics and Lutherans on the core truths of the Christian faith (DC 1980, 696).

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See also **Ecumenicism; Magisterium; Notes, Theological; Vatican II**

Tübingen, Schools of

The University of Tübingen in Württemberg was founded in 1477, restructured in 1534, placed under the Kingdom of Württemberg’s political authority* in 1811, and endowed with a faculty of Catholic theology* in 1817. It owes a major part of its fame to its two faculties of theology, Protestant and Catholic, from which arose at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries several movements, each of which became known under the name of *School of Tübingen*.

In order of appearance, the first was the one called the “Old Evangelical School of Tübingen.” It came into being under the influence of the philosopher and theologian Gottlob Christian Storr (1746–1805), who taught at Tübingen from 1775. Next came the Catholic School of Tübingen. Its birth resulted from the 1817 merger of the Friedrichs-Universität of Ellwangen (a Catholic establishment founded in 1812) with the Eberhard-Karls-Universität of Tübingen, and from the foundation in 1819 of the periodical *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, which is still in publication. A

full decade later, in the Protestant faculty, among the pupils of the dogma* and Church* historian Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860, professor in Tübingen from 1826) the New School of Tübingen was founded. Unlike the preceding one, it had a relatively brief life. It was considered dissolved even during Baur’s lifetime, in about 1858.

a) *Old Evangelical School of Tübingen*. As many university professors as influential people from the regional Church of Württemberg belonged to the Old Evangelical School of Tübingen, which was also known by the name of its founder, Gottlob Christian Storr. Apart from Storr himself, its most eminent members were the brothers Johann Friedrich and Karl Christian Flatt (1759–1821 and 1772–1843 respectively), Friedrich Gottlieb Süskind (1767–1829), Johann Christian Friedrich Steudel (1779–1837), Christian Friedrich Schmid (1794–1852), and above all Ernst Gottlieb Bengel (1769–1826). In addition to

the various monographs published by the professors in this group, for the most part this school set forth its positions in three periodicals: *Magazin für christliche Dogmatik und Moral* (1796–1816), *Archiv für die Theologie und ihre neueste Literatur* (1815–1826, from 1822 onwards under the title *Neues Archiv für Theologie*) and the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie* (1828–1840).

At its core, the Old Evangelical School of Tübingen's chief trait was a marked supernaturalism or biblicism, which meant in practice that it based itself on the Lutheran principle by which revelation* was concerned only with faith* and not with reason*. Consequently, it broke with both Enlightenment thought and with Protestant biblical criticism. Surprisingly, to support this fundamental thesis the school invoked Kantian criticism, which it drew on in its defense of divine revelation as the Bible*'s authority, placing the Bible beyond the realm of rationalization. However, that did not prevent the school from having recourse to this very rationalization to interpret the biblical texts, which gradually put it in a contradictory position with its own supernaturalism. Bengel and Steudel, therefore, slanted their positions toward rationalism*. The same contradiction was often to provoke criticisms, thanks to which this theological movement still enjoys a certain notoriety today. Hegel*, Schelling*, and Hölderlin, who were occasionally fellow students at Tübingen between 1788 and 1795, issued criticisms, and so did D. F. Strauß, who taught at the famous seminary (*Stift*) of Tübingen in 1832–35.

b) Catholic School of Tübingen. Contemporary editions and research by J. R. Geiselmann (1890–1970), St. Lösch (1882–1966), M. Seckler (1927–), R. Reinhardt (1928–), E. Klinger (1938–), A. P. Kustermann (1944–), and others have made it possible to trace the Catholic School of Tübingen's history precisely. It turns out that the idea of a "Catholic School"—one that followed a theological movement that was particularly oriented toward speculation—began to take root (if we omit certain occasional or polemical usages to which it might have given rise) only under the influence of A. von Schmid and the historical work of C. Werner, dating respectively from 1862 and 1866, and that the idea was not adopted by the Tübingen theologians themselves before 1898.

Unless it is taken in its broadest meaning the name Catholic School of Tübingen makes no sense. In fact, the school did not only furnish an umbrella title for the extremely mixed history of a faculty and its various adherents, but also permitted the grouping together under a common title of erudite efforts by numerous scholars who differed in many ways, including both

their intellectual orientation and their political attitudes toward the Church. Moreover, the title also covered theologians who, although they were in contact with the University of Tübingen, were not actual members of it—such as, for instance, Franz Anton Staudenmaier (1800–56), Anton Berlage (1805–81), Wenzeslaus Mattes (1815–86), and Franz Xaver Dieringer (1811–76). If this broad definition of the term is accepted, a number of points can be agreed upon from an historical, then a systematic viewpoint.

In its history's first phase, which ran from about 1817 to 1831, the Catholic School of Tübingen was strongly influenced by the Enlightenment—already, it is true, with that touch of German Romanticism characteristic of the Catholic sphere, which can also foster a criticism of the Enlightenment, provided in this case by J. M. Sailer (1751–1832), J. H. A. Gügler (1782–1827), I. H. von Wessenberg (1774–1860), and others. The chief representatives of this period were Johann Sebastian Drey (1777–1853, professor at Tübingen from 1817–46), Johann Baptist Hirscher (1788–1865, professor at Tübingen from 1817–37), Peter Alois Gratz (1769–1849, professor at Tübingen from 1817–19), Johann Georg Herbst (1787–1836, professor at Tübingen from 1817–32), Andreas Benedikt Feilmoser (1777–1831, professor at Tübingen from 1820), as well as Johann Adam Möhler (1796–1838, assistant at Tübingen from 1823 to 1826, then professor from 1826 to 1835). For these scholars it was just as much a matter of revising theology in conformity with the epistemological principles of biblical criticism and idealist philosophy* as it was of reforming the Church (its constitution, its pastoral practices, and its spirituality). To those aims should be added a tolerant attitude toward other confessions.

The second phase, covering the period 1831–57, began with J. A. Möhler's change of stance. He turned away from Enlightenment ideas to embrace a more classical ecclesiology*. Convinced that under all circumstances the Church remained faithful to its essence and that its reforms could, therefore, have only a purely external character, he was gradually led to reject the principle of a criticism conducted according to criteria derived from outside the Church or outside theology, as well as to reject any tolerant attitude toward the non-Catholic confessions' views. Möhler's evolution was going to decide the Catholic School of Tübingen's fate and would long affect the next generation, as much in its theological orientation as in its political position with regard to Rome*.

Among this new generation were Karl Joseph Hefele (1809–87, assistant at Tübingen from 1835–40, professor from 1840–69, then bishop* of Rottenburg), Johann Evangelist von Kuhn (1806–87, professor at Tübingen

from 1839–82), Martin Joseph Mack (1805–85, professor at Tübingen from 1835–40), Benedikt Welte (1805–85, professor at Tübingen from 1838–57), and Anton Graf (1811–67, professor at Tübingen from 1841–43). However it would be wrong to reduce all these theologians to the position of defenders of a “papist, Jesuit, curialist, and ultramontane system,” as has often been done in the heat of polemical debate. Thus Franz Anton Staudenmeier (J. S. Drey’s pupil and a coach at the *Wilhelmstift* of Tübingen from 1828–30, then professor in Gießen and in Freiburg) tried, just as did J. E. von Kuhn, to enter into open yet critical discussion with Hegel’s philosophy. Nonetheless, from the political angle, this second phase ended with an undeniable ultramontane victory.

The third phase, which should be sited between 1857 and 1900, began when K. J. Hefele and J. E. Kuhn distanced themselves from this ultramontane trend, not only on account of internal quarrels in the diocese of Rottenburg, but also because of the quarrels about the dogma of papal infallibility* at the First Vatican* Council. This development set the Catholic School of Tübingen against the Neoscholastic movement, which at this period had committed itself to a total rejection of modern thought and tried to subject all scholarly and cultural activities to the Church’s doctrinal authority. On the contrary, not only J. E. Kuhn, but also the professors of the third generation strove to maintain a balanced discussion with the knowledge of their times—especially Moritz von Aberle (1819–75, professor at Tübingen from 1850–66), Franz Xaver Linseemann (1835–98, professor at Tübingen from 1867), Anton Koch (1859–1915, professor at Tübingen from 1894), Franz Xaver Funk (1840–1907), professor at Tübingen from 1875), and Paul Schanz (1841–1905, professor at Tübingen from 1876). They met, however, with only a limited response. More serious still—because of their reticence with regard to the reforming tendencies in Germany—the Tübingen theologians did not participate in the theological conference held in Munich in 1863, which displeased Rome, nor did they figure among the representatives of German “reforming Catholicism.” In addition, on account of the promulgation of the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879), which introduced Neoscholasticism into all ecclesiastical establishments, the Catholic School of Tübingen found itself increasingly isolated.

The Catholic School of Tübingen approached the modernist* period on the horns of a dilemma, wishing, on the one hand, to adopt a positive attitude with regard to modernity, and attempting, on the other, to show its own orthodoxy and its allegiance to Neoscholasticism (a chair of Scholastic* philosophy was specially created in 1903). This rift revealed itself in 1911, when the

bishops insisted on a signing of the Declaration of Breslau, by which German Catholic professors of theology had to adhere to an antimodernist oath. After internal discussions within the faculty, the Tübingen theologians went along with the declaration only with reservations and after making important changes to the text. It is not surprising that, as a result, the school as a whole, as well as certain of its individual representatives, were thereafter suspected of modernism.

While it is already difficult to speak in the narrow sense of the term of a “school” of Tübingen in the 19th century, it is quite impossible to do so in the 20th century. It can only be said that numerous faculty members developed their great predecessors’ thought. Their chief contribution was to have highlighted the latter’s work—chiefly that of Drey, Hirscher, Möhler, Kuhn, and Staudenmaier—following the founding research of the theologians Josef Rupert Geiselman and Stephan Lösch. It was these historical works that made it possible for the School of Tübingen to enjoy the theological impact that it deserved. Certain of its members were thus acknowledged as precursors of the Catholic theology of the 20th century, which opened the way to the Second Vatican* Council.

As these studies show, it is not easy to give an unequivocal description of the Catholic School of Tübingen with regard to its theological positions and its intellectual orientation. Here one comes up against the difficulties already met in isolating the very idea of a “School of Tübingen.” Nonetheless, it is possible to point out certain traits common to all the School’s members, however varied might have been their stances on particular issues and their political attitudes towards the Church.

Contrary to Neoscholasticism, the School of Tübingen tried to conduct a constructive dialogue with the culture of its times. Its critical openness replaced Neoscholasticism’s apologetic attitude. That meant that it strove to reword the Christian message while preserving the absolute intangibility of revelation and its ecclesial deep-rootedness in theology. It managed to do this by having recourse both to tradition* and to the knowledge of its time, on both of which it cast the same selective and appraising eye. While appropriating fundamental concepts or principles from Christian tradition—the Enlightenment, Romanticism, Idealism, biblical criticism, Protestant theology, Traditionalism*, and still other movements—it managed in that way to follow an independent path that avoided the positivist approach to revelation, supernaturalism, and political idealization, just as it did the different attempts that aimed to reduce Christian truth to a purely natural and human scale.

The school’s achievement must be recognized in having given the historical phenomenon a central

place in Catholic theology. It succeeded there by basing itself, in the first place, on the organic view of history* developed by Romanticism, and in the second, on Hegel's speculative dialectics. It is true that it meant endorsing the hypothesis of a certain traditionalism and a certain occasional underestimation of man's role in history, but in this way the school also managed to show that it was proper to consider in terms of history (of salvation*) not only revelation as such, but above all its consequences in Church tradition. It thus gave a new and deeper interpretation of these matters, which was to prove itself extremely fruitful, as much on the dogmatic* as on the ethical, pastoral, and spiritual levels. This evolution was closely akin to a reevaluation of the theology of the Kingdom* of God, and therefore to a rehabilitation of the history of dogma, which became thereafter a central subject in theology.

Finally, the School of Tübingen strove to create a new system of erudite theology, thus opening the way to contemporary fundamental* theology. The origins of this movement are found in the progress of historical exegesis* in the increasing autonomy of certain theological disciplines (for instance, moral theology), and in the idealistic attempts made to organize all the particular branches of knowledge into a new systematic whole. It was history again—as an aspect of divine revelation—that was to furnish the principle of this system. Certainly revelation could not be grasped adequately except through a combination of the historico-critical method and the speculative-theological method. The former had to recognize an historically determinable singularity; the second had to integrate this singularity organically into an accessible whole on a super-individualistic level. This whole seemed to be both the content of revelation and the meaning of the whole of history: it was the establishment of God's Kingdom.

c) New Evangelical School of Tübingen. Among the scholars who considered themselves, or who were considered by others, to be members of the “New,” or “Critical,” or “Historical” School of Tübingen, only a few—aside from their founder F. Chr. Baur—occupied a chair of theology or taught in Württemberg. Therefore, this school had no institutional affiliation except during Baur's period of teaching as the chair of history of the church and dogma in the evangelical faculty of Tübingen (1826–60) and in its periodicals *Theologische-Jahrbücher* (1842–57) and *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (1858–1914). Among its at least temporary members stood David Friedrich Strauß (1810–74), Friedrich Theodor Vischer (1807–87), Gustav Pfizer (1807–90), Christian Märklin (1807–49), Wilhelm Zimmermann (1807–78), Albert Schweigler (1819–57), and Eduard Zeller (1814–1908), as well as

two thinkers who would later become its most virulent critics: Albrecht Ritschl (1822–89) and Franz Overbeck (1837–1905). Aside from these theologians, philosophers, and historians, Otto Pfeiderer (1839–1908), Kuno Fischer (1824–1907), Adolf Hilgenfeld (1823–1907), Carl Holsten (1825–97), Heinrich Julius Holtzmann (1832–1910), and Baur's successor, Karl Heinrich Weizsäcker (1822–99) felt close to the School.

This New School of Tübingen's characteristic trait was its consistent application of the historico-critical method to the study of primitive Christianity (especially the New Testament) in particular, and to the history of the Church in general. D.F. Strauß was to draw radical results from it, by approaching the Gospels* as a collection of myths* that might have developed around an historical, but now indiscernible, kernel. However, the majority of the school did not follow Strauß in such a destruction of tradition. On the contrary, it clung firmly to Baur's opinion, in which the historico-critical method was insufficient to reconstruct history without a speculative-philosophical apparatus capable of integrating the facts discovered into a global historical context.

This integration took place in the spirit of Hegelian dialectics. The evolution of dogma was viewed as the objective conscience that produces from itself such a global context, and the history of Church theology or faith was interpreted as the subjective conscience that corresponds to the history of dogmas and, together with that, materializes the spirit of humanity struggling to accede to an absolute awareness of itself. This School's relatively brief existence can be explained as much by this Hegelian influence as by the rapid devaluation of its historical discoveries. However, it exerted a considerable influence on theology, on historiography (through A. Schweigler), and on philosophy—especially neo-Kantian philosophy (through E. Zeller and K. Fischer). It is chiefly thanks to this School that the historico-critical method has managed to establish itself in exegesis and the history of the Church, and that historiography has managed to become aware of its systematizing work with regard to historical facts.

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HEINRICH SCHMIDINGER

See also **Exegesis; Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich; Hegelianism; Kant, Immanuel; Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von; Supernatural; Thomism**

Tutorism. *See* **Alphonsus Liguori; Casuistry**

Typology. *See* **Scripture, Senses of**

U

Ubiquity, Divine. *See* Omnipresence, Divine

Ultramontanism

Until the 19th century one did not speak of “Ultramontanism” but of “Ultramontanes,” a term that designated those defenders of that conception of the papacy that was current on the other side of the Alps and that Gallicanism opposed. The modern variant has taken on an abstract and ideological aspect revealed in various forms of behavior. The common factor in the different forms of Ultramontanism, contrasting with nationalist views, is the desire for an absolute fidelity at the heart of Catholicity, a concern that inspires the defense not only of Roman prerogatives or a pyramidal ecclesiology* but of a certain form of supranational Catholic (Catholicism*) identity. In this sense it represents a resistance to the rise of the modern states and a defense of an ideal of Christianity. In addition, its emotional conception of religion was destined to facilitate the Christianization of the masses. And from that angle, the continuity is greater than generally admitted between the “Romanism” encountered under the old monarchy and the Ultramontanism of modern times.

1. Romanism

Strongly encouraged by the papacy, the trend toward change and reform that followed the Council of Trent*

could do no other than favor the links that united local churches to the See of Rome. In a certain number of cases, especially in France, the presence or proximity of a Protestant minority incited the church* to emphasize its essential elements, and thus to accentuate its “Romanism.” Contrary to long-held opinions therefore, on the religious level the first part of the 17th century in France was undeniably “Ultramontane.” This explains both the Gallican reaction of Richer and the obstacles he encountered in expounding his ideas. It also explains the fact that all the reforming prelates (Du Perron, La Rochefoucauld, Solminihac) based their actions on strong relations with the Holy See and the nuncios who represented it. This same attitude was found among the reformers belonging to religious orders, or among the founders of new forms of discipleship: Bérulle*, Jean Eudes, Vincent de Paul, and Jean-Jacques Olier were “Romans” in the sense that they stressed the papacy’s greatness and authority* and encouraged its interventions. The Jesuits, and the education they offered, undoubtedly favored these views, but in the majority of cases such views found easy acceptance. Far from being a Gallican* bastion, the Faculty of Theology in Paris, where the elite of the

French clergy were trained, was a battleground during the whole of the 17th century between a “Roman” majority and a Gallican or Richer-influenced minority, which only won out thanks to pressures from the political authorities.

In its relation to the growth of Gallicanism, this “Romanism,” which has been studied unilaterally but not as a whole, seems to have been quite moderate in its theological expression and prudent in its political views. It expressed itself little, and often when it did so it was in an antagonistic climate, with the Jansenist crisis and Gallican polemics in the background. But its visible characteristics reveal it as a widespread and relatively homogenous movement.

a) It had a strong hierarchical conception that defended Roman prerogatives and tried to extend them (*De Monarchia divina ecclesiastica* by M. Mauclerc, 1662). Papal primacy together with the exclusivity of doctrinal judgment were clearly maintained. It often presented the privilege of infallibility* in a very broad manner, basing it on a form of inspiration rather than conceiving it as a protection against error (M. Grandin). On the juridico-ecclesiological level, the *Tractatus de Libertatibus ecclesia gallicanae* (1682), a refutation of the Four Articles of 1682 by A. Charlas, is the best example of this viewpoint. It also developed important theological aspects, of which the notion of dogmatic progress is not the least important.

b) Ultramontanism represented clerical and authoritarian Christianity, an aspect thoroughly studied in the works of B. Chédozeau (1990). By adopting the Index’s *regulae*, this movement rejected all translation: not only of the Bible* but also of the liturgy*, and even of theology (texts of the Council of Trent). It therefore adopted a position diametrically opposed to that of the “Jansenists,” who strove to facilitate the access of laypeople to the spiritual life.

c) Ultramontanism favored a festive and associative Christianity. The clear differentiation between the duties of a cleric* and those of a layperson was offset by the duty everyone had to the mission of the church. This commitment was demonstrated through membership of particular groups, congregations, associations, and companies, such as the famous Company of the Blessed Sacrament, and through the organization of a religious life centered on the group’s identifying activities: a chapel, a patron saint, a particular pilgrimage*.

d) Ultramontanism also embraced a fervent and charitable Christianity. Group life was the starting point of a work of personal and community sanctifica-

tion, by turns educational, moralizing, and charitable. We have knowledge of this dimension of Ultramontanism through the works devoted to the congregations and *The Europe of the Devoted*. This contained traces of an “Ultramontane” piety, that is, of a piety influenced by southern Europe. Marian devotion and membership in the “cordicoles” (Heart* of Christ) were encouraged.

e) Finally, it was an expansionist Christianity that combined strong opposition to any tolerance of error with an effort of conversion. We find in it a reconquering spirit vis-à-vis Protestantism*, but also a great concern with the “propagation of the faith.” It is no coincidence that the work of the Paris foreign missions should have come to birth in this milieu. We should certainly be careful about viewing each of the elements defined above as the characteristics of a homogeneous ideology. It is clear that the official adoption in France of the Gallican Four Articles, together with the extension of regalism and the progress of Jansenism* in the other Catholic countries, hampered the growth of this Romanism, sometimes forcing it to disguise itself, but without destroying it. It survived the suppression of the Society of Jesus extremely well and expressed itself in sometimes very violent attacks on the “Jansenism” of the Enlightenment. Rome misunderstood this and failed to support it (*see* Pius VI’s tour of Austria and Germany). All the same it was the French Revolution that, by discrediting the Gallican model and destroying the ecclesiastical structure, made an aggressive upsurge of Ultramontanism possible.

2. Ultramontanism

The advances made by anti-Roman theories during the 18th century were not accepted with complete passivity, and the defenders of papal authority, chiefly in Italy (Zaccharia, Cucagni, Marchetti, Anfossi, Ballerini, Cappelari), distinguished themselves in their more or less apologetic refutations, which would exert an influence over the movement in the 19th century. Moreover, the popes attempted to ensure their future by issuing specific condemnations of attacks against their jurisdiction (*Responsio super Nunciaturis*, 1789; censure of Febronius, 1764, of the Synod of Pistoia, 1794). But it was among the younger generation that the main trends emerged that were to express new forms of Ultramontanism. Attacking the principles of the French Revolution, in which they saw the end result of a negative movement launched by the Reformation and orchestrated by the Enlightenment, the traditionalists (Bonald, Maistre) declared the necessity of an unassailable authority, which they identified with the papacy. For its part, through their attachment to the liberal principles of

the Revolution, the group that had gathered around Lamennais opposed Gallicanism and pinned its hopes on a regenerated papacy. As for L. Veuillot's group, which mainly expressed itself in the pages of *L'Univers*, it stood closer to a classical and popular Ultramontaniam, which the trials of the Revolution had only enriched. The condemnation of Lamennais (1832), his defection, and especially the encyclical *Quanta Cura* (1864) caused the exodus of a whole section of the liberal Catholics, who then drew closer to a neo-Gallicanism with Episcopalian tendencies. The others joined forces with the Ultramontane movement and imbued it with a deep ardor. Encouraged ever more explicitly by the Roman circles, they launched an offensive in order to disavow, and then to condemn, the remnants of an ecclesiological Gallicanism: they abandoned local liturgies in favor of the Roman rite, and revised or rewrote textbooks of ecclesiastical history and of theology. On this matter, the encyclical *Inter multiplices* (March 1853) indicated the papacy's personal commitment, by disavowing all resistance to the centralizing movement. This intervention corresponded to a general expectation as well as to the personality and success of Pope Pius IX, whatever may have been the reservations of bishops and theologians, who had only a limited influence. This passion for Romanism, cleverly orchestrated and encouraged by pontifical entreaties, thus inspired what has been called a neo-Ultramontaniam, to distinguish it from the doctrine that was to be imposed with Vatican* I. It principally involved an extreme exaltation of the Roman pontiff, combined with a notion of infallibility that was close to that of inspiration. It was found in all the Catholic countries, and had a character of intransigence and intolerance of which *The Universe* provides a good example. Despite its constraints and limitations, the discussion of these themes at Vatican I permitted a degree of healthy exchange. The constitution *Pater aeternus*, by explaining the Roman pontiff's primacy and setting limits to his infallibility, adopted the chief demands of the Ultramontanes while integrating them into a process of theological reflection, which would be deepened in subsequent pontificates.

Four main aspects of 19th-century Ultramontaniam can be distinguished:

a) Ecclesiology. We can note an impoverishment in comparison with classical Ultramontaniam, particularly with regard to the "mystic" and supernatural conception, well evidenced by the supporters of the Roman school—Passaglia, Schrader, Franzelin, and Perrone—whose conciliar plans were rejected. The emphasis was placed on the theme of unity, but according to a juridical interpretation: the church is founded on the pope, who is the principle of its unity.

b) Spirituality. The term "Ultramontane piety" has been used to define a popular and festive religion that accentuated certain features of the baroque piety of the previous centuries. It sought to integrate local traditions, which had been earlier branded as superstitious and pagan, and promoted a new veneration of miracle-working saints (Saint Anthony of Padua) and the cult* of relics* (Saint Philomena). It also furthered devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, to the Sacred Heart, and to the Virgin, expressed with "warmth and display of feelings" (Gadille 1985), but also in a spirit of penitence (penance*) and of reparation. We see generally a greater interest in the supernatural*, often associated with marvels, and a massive recourse to indulgences* and papal blessings*. Similarly, pilgrimages to both historic and new sites enjoyed great success.

c) Morality. Liguorism (Alphonsus* of Liguori), which contrasted with "Jansenist" rigorism, spread very rapidly (*Justification de la théologie morale du B.A.M. de Liguori* by Th. Gousset, 1832), encouraged decisively by the fact of Bailly's theology being placed on the Index. Its influence favored more frequent recourse to the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, perceived as sources of spiritual strength and as nourishment for the apostolate.

d) Apostolate. Under very diverse forms, the commitment of laypersons and clerics, monks and nuns, revealed a global perception of Roman Christianity, which was both universalist and expansionist—a perception heightened by improvements in the means of communication.

Henceforth, Ultramontaniam can only be discussed in an analogical way, in order to designate "integralist" notions, more political than theological, which developed during the 20th century; or to describe, for instance, the challenges to the rejuvenated theology of the episcopate, which would result in Vatican II's constitution *Lumen gentium*.

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See also Gallicanism; Infallibility; Jansenism; Traditionalism; Vatican I, Council of

Unicity, Divine. *See* God; Monotheism

Unitarianism/Anti-Trinitarianism

“Unitarianism” refers to doctrines that challenge the dogma* of the Trinity*; accordingly, it is generally synonymous with “anti-Trinitarianism,” and the term “Unitarian” can be applied to all anti-Trinitarians, whatever their divergences, although it may give rise to ambiguities. Three main types of Unitarianism, each unrelated to the others, may be distinguished: the anti-Trinitarianism of antiquity; Socinianism; and the doctrine of the Unitarian churches of England and North America.

a) Anti-Trinitarianism in Antiquity. The modalist anti-Trinitarianism (modalism*) of the second and third centuries was condemned as a heresy* at the first Council of Nicaea* and at the first Council of Constantinople*. The various forms of modalism treated the Son and the Holy* Spirit as “modes” of the Father*, while monarchianism denied the existence of the Trinity in order to emphasize the unity of God* (monotheism*, tritheism*), and Sabellianism regarded the three Persons* as no more than “appearances” of the single deity. The subordinationist heresies (Arianism*) were also anti-Trinitarian.

b) Anti-Trinitarianism from the 16th Century Onward: Socinianism. The words “anti-Trinitarianism” and

“Unitarianism” have polemical connotations, making it possible to assert a connection between the ancient tradition* and a current of thought that arose from the Reformation, and thus to claim that this current of thought was a revival of Arianism. The connection was made by its opponents, who sought to insert it into the catalog of ancient heresies and to disregard its originality.

It was in this way that the term “Unitarian” came to be applied to Giorgio Biandrata (1516–88), who opposed Calvin* and contributed to the development of Unitarianism in the Italian-speaking region of Switzerland, as well as to Michael Servetus (1511–53), on the grounds that he rejected the Trinity. However, Servetus did so in the name of a speculative philosophy that owed a great deal to Plato, and still more to the *Poimandrès*, and he seems in fact to have been a Gnostic. Later writers sympathetic to Unitarianism, including Voltaire in the seventh of his *Lettres anglaises*, and Jacques-André Naigeon in an important article on “unitaires” in the *Encyclopédie*, preferred to assimilate Unitarianism to deism*, which had positive connotations for them. Thus, Naigeon called the Unitarians “hidden deists.” Unitarians themselves always indignantly rejected the reduction of Unitarianism to a form

of Arianism revived after 12 centuries of oblivion (as Voltaire put it), but the anachronistic and reductive attribution of deism does not fit either.

Indeed, Laelius Socinus (1525–62) and his nephew Faustus Socinus (1539–1604) had introduced a wholly new doctrine, rejecting the dogma of the Trinity in accordance with their own reinterpretation of Scripture. They found followers, some gathered in churches and some not, primarily in Poland but then also throughout the rest of Europe. Thus was born a movement—that is, a continuous historical phenomenon united in doctrine and activity—that still exists today, both in the Old World and in the New. Neither Voltaire nor Naigeon were wrong, for both equated anti-Trinitarians with Socinians, yet neither Laelius Socinus nor Faustus Socinus had liked the word Socinianism, which transformed them into the leaders of the movement. Faustus Socinus was content with his “position” as an adviser to the *Ecclesia minor*, the Minor Reformed Church, also known as the Polish Brethren, without ever claiming a leadership role for himself. Supporters of adult baptism*, the Polish Brethren had been founded by Gregory Paul in 1562. They enjoyed some initial success but were expelled in 1638 from their main center at Rakow, and were forced to leave Poland altogether in 1658, after the triumph of the Counter-Reformation there.

Nevertheless, Socinianism inevitably became the dominant form of Unitarianism, precisely because of its doctrinal innovation, however inaccurately that was to be interpreted by contemporaries and by posterity. In analyzing that innovation, we shall focus on two principal questions: the reinterpretation of the prologue of John’s Gospel; and the critique of the conception of Christ*’s Passion* conceived as a sacrifice.

- 1) John’s prologue has to be interpreted separately from the first chapter of Genesis, which was traditionally seen as its parallel. While Genesis 1 has an obvious significance as cosmogony, the prologue refers only to the beginning of the preaching* of the Word* by Jesus, without implying the eternal existence in God of a consubstantial* Son, existing before the creation*; nor does it imply that there has been an incarnation* of a divine principle. By rejecting Jesus’ unique possession of a double nature, this “hermeneutic rupture” (Marchetti) reduces him to being nothing other than a human being. The immediate advantage of this rupture is that it eliminates the difficulties associated with the communication of idioms, but it introduces new problems, notably concerning what precise function was fulfilled by a Christ who was no longer also God.

- 2) In 1578, on the occasion of the discussion with J. Covet that led to the writing of *De Jesu Christo servatore* (published 1598), Faustus Socinus challenged certain Catholic interpretations of the idea of “satisfaction” (Anselm* of Canterbury), as well as the Calvinist interpretation. According to these interpretations, God’s wrath* toward sinful humanity, in consequence of original sin*, cannot be appeased except by the sacrifice of an adequate victim. A God made into a man can counterbalance God the Father, but this role can only be taken by God’s own Son; and God thus enters into a dialectical relationship capable of redeeming created humanity by abolishing its sin. According to Socinus, however, the effect of such interpretations is to make the relationship between God and humanity into an economic transaction, which is unworthy of the divine glory because it is barbaric. God is not a creditor who can be appeased by the blood of his debtor, and it is difficult to understand how a human being could be capable of such an operation. Hence, it follows that Christ’s Passion was not a sacrifice offered to satisfy an angry God. Christ’s death was that of an exceptional human being, and it earned him exceptional merit: death was vanquished for the first time, and through this victory a human being was then, and only then, granted powers, as priest and as king, over those who believe in him. Of course, such a human being deserves special honor—not adoration, in the strict sense of that term, but rather piety and veneration. Clearly, this approach deprives both the Catholic Mass and the Lord’s Supper of the Calvinists of any value, real or even symbolic.

Nevertheless, while the Son of God is no longer regarded as the Second Person* of a Trinity, given in sacrifice to save all human beings, the God of the Unitarians is not simply the supreme principle of some form of rational Christianity, despite Naigeon’s conclusion in his article in the *Encyclopédie* that “there is only an imperceptible difference between Socinianism and deism, and only one step need be taken from one to the other.” While deism relies on reason*, Unitarianism relies on faith alone. Faustus Socinus insisted that “natural religion” did not exist, on the grounds that there were peoples, in Brazil for example, who had no notion of such a thing. Accordingly, salvation*—that is, immortality ensured by the human Christ—is a matter for Christians alone. Unitarianism is not a philosophy, but remains a form of religion, “a new type of Christianity” (Voltaire, “Divinité de Jé-

sus,” in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*). This is made clear in the *Religio rationalis*, written by Faustus Socinus’s grandson Andreas Wiszowaty (†1678). It is because Unitarianism is a religion that this particular product of the “radical Reformation” has been capable of surviving into our own time, notably in English-speaking countries.

c) *Unitarian Churches of England and North America*. Voltaire saw Isaac Newton and Samuel Clarke as Unitarians (but not Socinians), while others have applied the term to the puritan poet John Milton (1608–74) and to John Locke (1632–1704). However, it was Theophilus Lindsey (1723–1808) who founded the Unitarian Church in England (1778). He went on to write *Conversations upon Christian Idolatry* (1790), in which “idolatry” refers to belief in the Trinity. Around the same time, the chemist Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) also established a Unitarian community (1780–91, first in Leeds and then in Birmingham). Priestley argued against Anglicanism*, criticizing in particular the doctrines of the Trinity and redemption, in more than 70 volumes of religious writings (e.g., *History of the Corruption of Christianity*, 2 vols, 1782; *History of Early Opinions Concerning Jesus Christ*, 2 vols, 1786; and *General History of the Christian Church*, 4 vols., 1792–1803).

In 1794 Priestley emigrated to the United States, where he came into contact with “liberal Christians,” dissenters from the Episcopalian Church of New England (Boston) who also denied the existence of the Trinity. They included William Emerson and, later, his son, the writer Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82), William Ellery Channing (1780–1842), and Theodore Parker (1810–60). However, Unitarianism spread mainly among the Congregationalists rather than the Episcopalians, and came to be characterized above all by tolerance and absolute liberty* of belief. The sentimental moralism that grew out of American Unitarianism encouraged the development of philanthropic activities and led most Unitarians to take an active part in the campaign to abolish slavery.

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See also Anabaptists; Anglicanism; Arianism; Calvinism; Deism and Theism; Gnosis; Modalism; Monotheism; Tritheism

Unity of the Church

1. Definitions and History

Christians confess the church* as being one, holy, catholic, and apostolic (creed of Nicaea-Constantinople, 381). As unity is a fundamental characteristic of the church, the unity of the church occupies an essential place in theology* and ecclesiology*. It is an inalienable gift of God*; however, it is constantly threatened by schisms*. It is up to the church to give visibility to this unity and to attain it in history.

a) Beginning with the New Testament, the apostle Paul spoke of the Church of God in Corinth, Rome*, and so on (1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1; etc.), and the first assembly (council*) of Jerusalem showed both the diversity and unity of the church. Local churches were, in their plurality, representations or realizations in particular places of the one Church of Christ. The diversity of geographical, cultural, and historical contexts determined the life of the churches, their preaching* and spirituality, their community and cultural life, and their doctrinal and confessional identity. Ecclesial plurality became an ecumenical problem when diversity caused separation and division. The communion between the various churches was broken, and mutual condemnation no longer allowed one church to recognize another as a full and authentic expression of the Church of Christ. Theological stakes (heresies*) and nondoctrinal issues were the cause. In the Gospels*, Jesus* prays for the unity of his followers (Jn 17), and the New Testament epistles warn against the rivalry and tension that threaten the unity of the church (Rom 12:3ff.; 1 Cor 3:4ff., 12:4ff.; Phil 2:2ff.; Eph 4:3ff.; Jude 19).

b) The first schisms occurred in the early church over the date of Easter, over discipline and the ascetic life (Donatism*, Novatianism*), and then above all over issues of Christology* and Trinitarian theology (Arianism*, Monophysitism*, and Nestorianism*). Synods* and councils condemned heretics; and state power, for its part, intervened in order to preserve the unity of the church and that of the empire after 313 (antiheretic legislation).

c) Reasons of ecclesiastical policy and theological questions (*Filioque**, Trinity*) led to the great schism

between East and West in 1054. Efforts to reestablish the unity of the church during the Second Council of Lyons* (1274) and the Council of Florence (1438–39) failed and also came up against the problem of the primacy of the pope.

d) With the Reformation the problem of the unity of the church was amplified by the plurality of movements that broke off from the Roman Church (Lutheranism*, Anglicanism*, Calvinism*, etc.). Religious and political efforts (Diet of Augsburg in 1530, the peace of Augsburg in 1555, etc.) were unable to prevent the violent outbreak of a series of religious wars in Europe. Protestantism*, for one, was divided, despite various efforts to preserve its unity (Marburg Colloquy in 1529).

e) Despite Pietism* and the Enlightenment, it was not until the 19th century that there appeared the first movements seeking to reestablish the unity of the church. Their 20th-century successors would create the World* Council of Churches. The ecumenical movement insists on the necessity of renewal and the conversion of all churches as a prerequisite of the visible manifestation of the unity of the church. The Second Vatican* Council fully agreed with this sentiment (decree on ecumenism*, *Unitatis redintegration [UR]*, 6). The unity of the church can in no way be separate from the other essential features (or “marks”) of the church: its apostolicity (truth*, authenticity, and continuity of faith*), its catholicity (fullness of communion, universality of mission* and testimony), and its holiness* (service to and responsibility for all humanity). These various aspects characterize contemporary ecumenical endeavors.

2. Contemporary Conception and Models of Church Unity

As a gift of God, the unity of the church is anchored in the unity of the Trinitarian God and his work of salvation (Eph 4:4–6; 1 Cor 12:4–6; Jn 17:21). This conviction is the basis of the contemporary understanding of the unity of the church summed up in the declaration of *Faith and Constitution* (a body to which the Roman Catholic Church and all the other confessional families belong), which was approved during the General

Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Canberra (1991): "The unity of the Church to which we are called is a *koinonia* given and expressed in the shared confession of apostolic faith, in a shared sacramental life to which we gain access through a single baptism* and which we celebrate together in mutual recognition and the reconciliation of the ministries*; finally, it is expressed in the mission through which together we become the witnesses of the gospel of the grace* of God upon all and in the service of the whole of creation*. The goal of our search for full communion will be attained when all the churches will be able to recognize in all of the others the Church which is one, holy, catholic, and apostolic in its fullness. This fullness of communion will be expressed on a local and universal level in the conciliary forms of life and of action."

This declaration gave proof of a number of invaluable achievements on the part of the contemporary ecumenical movement:

a) Unity and diversity are not contradictory notions. To seek the unity of the church does not imply uniformity. The diversity rooted in theological traditions and differing cultural, ethnic, or historical contexts belongs to the very nature of ecclesial communion. This diversity does, however, become wrongful and divisive when it prevents shared confession and celebration of the gospel. The unity of the church does not require that differences be overcome, but that the nature of those differences be transformed: divisive differences must, through dialogue and shared commitment, lose their divisive dimension. Thus, the classical opposition between Protestants and Catholics in the understanding of salvation* has now lost its divisive nature, and the options of the different traditions are no longer mutually exclusive (without for all that being perfectly identical). One must note, however, that some see divisive differences in what others consider to be legitimate diversity; this is valid above all in the domains of ecclesiology, for example—that of the ministries, where Protestantism accepts and defends a diversity that is unacceptable to Catholicism*.

b) All the traditions agree in saying that the unity of the church requires full communion in the preaching of the gospel (the shared confession of faith), in the celebration of the sacraments*, and in the mutual recognition of the ministries, the means of grace through which God builds up and sustains his church. Division, for which there were many reasons, had always been historically expressed and concretized by a rupture at the level of these essential features. Preaching*, the Eucharist*, the ministries of other traditions, or even sometimes baptism were rejected as invalid even if in

other cases a number of common foundations had been preserved (reference to Holy* Scripture and to the confessions of faith of the early church).

c) More recently there has been an awareness that ethical divergences could also break the unity of the church. The implication of certain churches in situations of oppression or injustice poses to all Christian traditions a question of ethical heresy. Thus, in the early 1980s world organizations of Protestants excluded those member churches from white South Africa that supported apartheid.

d) The unity of the church could never be an exclusively spiritual or even abstract reality. It requires a certain visibility and demands a structural expression. From the beginning the ecumenical movement has debated what have been called "models of unity." After an initial period where some pleaded for a fusion or a return of dissidents into the fold of a hypothetical undivided church, three models in particular were proposed: 1) At the World Council of Churches there was enduring support for a form of *organic union* that, by putting an end to traditional confessions and identities, would be founded upon a shared confession of faith, an agreement on the sacraments and ministries, and the adoption of a uniform structural organization. For essentially cultural and geographical reasons, churches would remain different from each other. On the local level, however, they would indeed be united. All of these churches would be gathered into a universal council that would represent the final authority (*see* the vision of a *conciliary community* put forward by the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi in 1975). 2) Anglicans and Catholics both spoke for a *corporative union* in which specific identity would be maintained, and unity would be achieved through a shared episcopal constitution and the shared exercise of the episcopate. 3) *Unity in reconciled diversity* is based on the fact that almost all churches nowadays are organized into world communions (confessional families), and proposes reconciliation and full mutual recognition among the different traditions, which would retain their legitimate diversity even on a local level. However, this would not mean maintaining the status quo, for mutual recognition implies the transformation and conversion of traditional identities and their integration into an ecumenical communion of all churches. These three complementary models are still being debated but have also been applied in various places, depending on the opposing partners.

e) The spiritual dimension remains essential and is a prerequisite of all the other efforts toward church

unity. This unity will be attained wherever believers of diverse origins come together to pray and to worship, something that will prepare them for testimony and shared service in the world (ecumenism*), and from which a more structured unity of churches can in no way be dissociated.

3. *Dialogues between the Churches*

Examples of church unity are numerous and complementary. They touch all areas of the life of the churches. A particular place, however, is reserved for theological dialogue: over the last 30 years, this has enabled many traditional controversies to be overcome.

a) Dialogue can occur on every level (local, national, international), in a bilateral or multilateral form. Multilateral dialogue on a global level (*Faith and Constitution*) has managed to reach a broad convergence on *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry* (Lima Text, 1982, *BEM*). Bilateral talks have been held between almost all the confessional families that have commissioned them officially. The two forms are complementary: bilateral dialogue seeks to overcome the particular disagreements that have divided two specific traditions, and to obtain the necessary and sufficient consensus for mutual recognition and entry into full ecclesiastical communion. Multilateral talks define the general framework and guarantee the compatibility of the various bilateral meetings.

b) The first phase of the theological dialogue between churches has been largely accomplished at the present time. All traditions have had mutual exchanges, have become better acquainted, and have voiced their consensus, or their differences, on specific doctrinal themes. Given the reasons for division, the central questions have been those concerning Holy Scripture, salvation, sacraments, ministries, and church authority. There have been significant convergences, even if ecclesiological issues remain a stumbling block between Roman Catholics and Orthodox, and between these two traditions and the confessional families that emerged from the Reformation.

c) In a new phase, it will be necessary to move from a group of those who have reached consensus to a consensus of the whole. The doctrinal agreement generally obtained on an international level must be translated into a new form of communion among the churches concerned. The churches that emerged from the Reformation of the Western world have been able to accomplish the most significant progress in this respect. Among others, one should mention the Leuenberg Concord (1973) between Lutherans and reformed churches

in Europe; the Meissen (1988) and Porvoo (1993) declarations, between some reformed churches and European Anglicans; the Concord between Lutherans and Episcopalians in the United States (1993); and the agreement between Methodists, Lutherans, and reformed churches in Europe (1994). The dialogue of these churches with Catholicism and the Orthodox* church has brought about an improvement in the quality of communion, even if communion itself is not yet total, as mutual recognition remains partial.

d) All such dialogue will remain sterile if it is not received at all levels of the church's life. This reception is still too partial and must figure at the heart of subsequent endeavors. Moreover, a methodology must be developed to overcome the nondoctrinal factors that have contributed to division (ethnic, social, and cultural factors; issues of majority-minority; and so on) and that often remain a stubborn obstacle to church unity. The unity of the church has no finality in itself; it is based on the promise of Christ, who through the Holy* Spirit sustains his church and sends it out into the world. The full visibility of the unity of the church and its full accomplishment are matters for eschatology*. The contemporary ecumenical movement is progressing in stages. Progress varies according to location, region, and ecclesiastical tradition.

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See also Catholicism; Ecumenism; Family, Confessional; Orthodoxy; Protestantism; World Council of Churches

Universalism

Jesus*'s disciples, schooled in Judaism*, preached a religious universalism in fulfillment of the Old Testament. While the Jewish camp insists on its election and the Christian camp on its universalism, both have always had to cope with the tension between these two extremes.

a) Old Testament. Israel* frequently protected itself against the surrounding paganism*. Its consciousness of election, however, brought with it a complex relationship with the nations. Quite gratuitously (Dt 7:7f.), because "the whole world belongs to him" (Ex 19:5), God* had chosen himself a people*. He could go back on that choice if his chosen ones were to become proud and self-important as a consequence (Am 3:1f., 9:7). The universalism of the Old Testament is based on faith in a "very good" (Gn 1:31) creation*. Despite the fact of human sin*, the narrative* of the beginning (Gn 1–11) is shot through with blessings* (Gn 1:28, 9:1) and a covenant* with the whole of humanity (Gn 9:9–17). Admittedly, the myth of Babel (Gn 11) condemns human excess; but while Abraham, the ancestor of the Davidic dynasty, finds himself chosen by God, this is only so that "the tribes of the earth," Israel's vassals, may receive divine blessings (Gn 12:3).

The Old Testament's universalism is also rooted in the Ten Commandments, seen as the basis of a universal wisdom* (Dt 4:5ff.) and ethics*. Thus the prophetic oracles against the nations denounce the murderous policies of neighboring peoples (See Am 1:2–2:3). Israel must practice social universalism by helping the unfortunate (Prv 14:31) and the foreigner (Dt 10:19). So a royal ideology emerges: God is the supreme ruler. He pronounces just laws according to his will (Dt 10:17f.), from the Temple at Jerusalem*, whose magnificence attracts foreigners (1 Kgs 8:41ff.). The psalms of the Kingdom (Kingdom* of God) (Ps 47, 93, 95–100) celebrate his universal influence and call on the nations to submit to his power (Ps 96:1f., 96:7). Upon return from exile the Deutero-Isaiah (Is 40–55) exploited this vein of worship in particular.

There was a whole prophetic tradition that saw the end of time as a pilgrimage* of the peoples to Jerusalem (Jeremias 1956): God would summon the nations that had survived his judgment*, in the wake of the scattered Israelites; and all, in endless bliss,

would obey the king of the universe (see Is 2:2ff.; Hg 2:7; Zec 8:20–23; Is 60; Tb 13; Is 25:6ff.; Zec 14:6–19). However, as a result of the misfortunes that befell the chosen people, this tradition sometimes dwindled to a simple hope that the scattered Jews would come together and take revenge on their oppressors (see Is 45:14–19; Jl 4:9–17 disputes Is 2:2ff.).

How then could God's universal triumph be conceived without lurking thoughts of revenge (Ps 47:4)? Messianism* was not free of these urges toward domination (Ps 72:10f.). Nonetheless, there were ironic voices that celebrated a universalism that mocked nationalistic pretensions. A late prophecy of the Book of Isaiah (19:16–25) imagines an Egypt converted and blessed by God, on an equal footing with Israel and Assyria (A. Feuillet, *Mélanges J. Lebreton*, 1951). In the book of Jonah the pagans appear much riper for conversion* than Israel (E. J. Bickerman, *RHPPhR* 45, 1965). Malachi 1:11's tirade opposes pagans to Jerusalem's religious halfheartedness.

This openness found expression in the existence of "proselytes" (see Acts 2:11, 13:43). This word, invented by the Septuagint, did not imply a misplaced pursuit of converts, but merely the admission into the Jewish community of pagans who "came towards" it (this being the etymology of *pros-elytos*). In antiquity political, ethnic, local, and religious identities were closely linked (H. C. Brichto, *HUCA*, 1973). So religious conversion entailed naturalization (Will and Orrieux 1986), even if Israel sometimes exploited the motivations of faith* to integrate foreigners in spite of sociocultural obstacles (see Jdt 14:10: the circumcision of a pagan, in contravention of Dt 23:4).

In addition to these periodic assimilations, Israel accepted that some pagans had "the fear* of God" (Gn 20:10–17) and that YHWH could be honored by foreigners (2 Kgs 5:17ff.). What is more, the Old Testament pays attention to the wisdom, ethics, and philosophy of the other nations, to deepen its understanding of divine revelation* (Prv 8–9; Sir 24; Wisdom).

b) Ancient Judaism. After the exile the Jews were intermingled with the nations to a greater extent, above all in the Diaspora, and subject to Hellenistic domination. They began to question the universalism of their

traditions, and this gave rise to a rich Judaeo-Hellenistic literature that foreshadowed the inculturation of the Gospels*. Around the second century B.C., Jewish authors such as Eupolemus and Artapanus engaged in the literary rivalry in which every Eastern people attempted to prove to the others the antiquity of its civilization (see G.L. Prato, *RivBib* 34, 1986). *Sibylline Oracles* III recasts the ethical and eschatological message of the Prophets* for the benefit of the Greeks. The moral sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides (first century?) draw on both Stoicism and Mosaic law.

A great many of these writings appeared among the important Jewish community at Alexandria. In particular, it was here that from the third century B.C. the Bible* was translated into Greek in the version known as the Septuagint (ancient translations), which openly emphasizes God's universalism (see Am 9:12, LXX) and attempts to find religious terms comprehensible to the Greeks.

The symbiosis that was sought between Greek thought and the traditions of Israel focused on the shared elements on which a faith in the unicity of God could be based, and which would promote an ethics of quality. In this way it presented the message of the Bible as capable of being received by other cultures. Along with the Septuagint, Philo of Alexandria (born between 15 and 10 B.C.) remains a key witness to this dialogue, "of which, however, Christianity was to be the chief beneficiary" (R. Le Déaut, *DSp* 8, 1947).

The fathers of the church drew on this heritage for their apologetics, while the Jews were to discard it. In the year 70, Israel lost its Temple and its national institutions. In order to safeguard its identity, the People regrouped around the law and the languages of the Holy Land (Hebrew and Aramaic). It was no longer a time for openness, but for a strict awareness of election, and the Hellenistic heritage became more than anything a threat. Judaism even abandoned the Septuagint, which Christians took for their Bible.

c) *New Testament.* As the final messenger of God's kingdom (see Mt 4:17), Jesus speaks to everyone. The testimony of the Gospels is in agreement: his encounters were subject to no barriers, even where foreigners were concerned (see Mt 8:10; 15:28; Lk 17:18; Jn 4). In this respect, going against the rules of purity* that some made the condition of election, he opposed the sectaries of Qumran, dissociated himself from the Pharisees who strove for the purity of all the people (Mt 23), and resembled John the Baptist, who addressed all people without distinction (see Lk 3:10–14). Unlike the latter, however, Jesus showed a pronounced tenderness toward the excluded and marginalized.

God's universalism, revealed in Jesus, does not do away with election. The Lord's journeys beyond Israel remain rare, their narratives questionable (Legrand 1988). The keynote of the mission "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" appears authentic, even if transmitted by way of Judaeo-Christian particularist circles. Jesus wanted to reform his people who, under the guidance of the 12 disciples (see Lk 22:30), would become a shining beacon for humanity (Mt 5:14ff.) and enable God to unleash his universal salvation in a new pilgrimage of the nations (Lk 13:29). By comparison with this Old Testament symbolism, however, a radical new idea appears: salvation no longer resides in the safe conduct represented by membership of the chosen people, but in the faith that one displays in God's messenger, irrespective of one's origins (see Mt 8:11f.).

Jesus' fidelity to the election of Israel and to divine universalism met with rejection (see Lk 13:34f.); but for those who had been won over by his message (see Jn 6:68), Calvary (see Mk 15:39) and the Paschal experience (Lk 24:33ff.) represented a beginning, a new departure.

In this context the theme of universalism is linked to that of the Christian mission*. The first disciples came from a variety of social and religious backgrounds (see Jn 1:35ff.; Acts 6:1, 6:7b, 15:5)—hence the differences in their interpretations of Jesus' message (see F. Voüga, *ETR* 59, 1984) and of the relationship to be established between Christianized Jews and converted pagans.

The assembly at Jerusalem (C. Perrot, *RSR* 69, 1981) ran through various possibilities: the circumcision of pagan Christians, as new proselytes in the Jewish Church* (Acts 15:5); no circumcision, but a minimum of Jewish practices to seal the association between the two groups (15:19ff.); or their complete freedom as regards Jewish law (15:10f.). This last position won the day, through the influence of Saint Paul (see Gal 2). What, indeed, was the point of insisting that pagan Christians be naturalized as Jews, when by the grace* of Christ they were freed from their sins and enjoyed the gifts of the Holy* Spirit? At this point, however, the controversy revived. Could Judaism accept a universalism of this sort, which seemed to scoff at the story of the election? Gradually the church would become for the most part pagan-Christian (see Acts 28:28), benefiting from the opening that Judaism had made into Hellenistic culture.

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CLAUDE TASSIN

See also **Choice; Creation; Decalogue; Hellenization of Christianity; Inculturation; Israel; Jerusalem; Messianism/Messiah; Mission/Evangelization; Paganism; Translations of the Bible, Ancient; Wisdom**

Universals. *See* **Nominalism; Realism**

Universe. *See* **Cosmos**

Universities

The European universities originated in different ways. Some of the earliest, like Paris, were originally groups of peripatetic masters who gradually came together in the late 12th century. They centered themselves around one or more of the seven or eight existing cathedral or monastic schools in the town and formed associations that allowed them to claim the guild privileges of protection and exemptions accorded to groups of immigrant craftsmen or businessmen. The student groups were divided into "nations," at Paris comprising a French nation for Italians, Spaniards, and Greeks; a Picard nation, including students from the Low Countries; a Norman nation; and an English nation, which included German speakers. The masters had to obtain a license to teach, at first exclusively granted by the ecclesiastical authorities.

The term "university" denotes the corporate aspects of the *universitas* or corporation of masters and schol-

ars, virtually apprenticed to a master and generally sharing accommodation with him. Those Paris masters not licensed to teach theology specialized in "logic" or "dialectic," which, while pretending to leave theological matters to the theologians, simply transposed the theological problems into philosophical debates, the triune nature of the one God into questions about the extramental validity of concepts. To escape the jurisdiction of the chancellor of Notre-Dame and the bishop, some peripatetic masters, such as Abelard, were obliged to remain as close to Paris as they could to attract pupils, while staying outside the jurisdiction of the Paris authorities. The Parisian masters themselves successfully bid to escape local jurisdiction and put themselves under direct papal control in 1246.

At Oxford, the university was probably founded by English scholars forced by political tensions to return from Paris in 1167. Since the university did not grow

out of a group of existing schools, the ultimate authority remained the king, although successive monarchs delegated the ordinary exercise of jurisdiction to the bishops of Lincoln. As the privileges of the masters and scholars became abused, friction between town and gown led to reprisals between the conflicting parties, and a particularly severe dispute in 1209 led to the departure of the group that founded the university at Cambridge.

The law school at Bologna, already celebrated in the early 12th century, was established on a different model, and never developed into a proper *studium generale*, teaching the arts curriculum. Elsewhere the practical arts of the *quadrivium*, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, were abandoned in the early 13th century, and the role of the disciplines comprising the *trivium*, logic, grammar, and rhetoric, was modified by the elimination of rhetoric. The result was an institutional pattern with wandering masters licensed to teach anywhere as well as wandering scholars, and a single compulsory undergraduate discipline known simply as arts. Thereafter the universities trained for the practical disciplines in four graduate faculties: civil law, which made no distinction between lawyers and administrators, canon law, theology, and medicine. Much of the arts teaching, lectures, and repetitions, often in individual halls or in a university's constituent colleges as they came to be founded, was undertaken by graduate students preparing for doctorates.

The universities took over the training of priests from the cathedral and monastic schools. By the end of the 13th century there were 22 universities with the right, constitutive of a *studium generale*, to grant their own degrees and to confer on masters the right to teach anywhere. Five of these were on the Iberian peninsula, two in England, five in France, and 10 on the Italian peninsula. Paris was the most important center of teaching and study north of the Alps. It had attained a self-sustaining mass, offering the largest audiences to masters and the greatest concentration of masters and potential employers to students. Very nearly every one of the important scholastic theologians of the 13th century either studied or taught there.

While the monasteries continued themselves to train those who were destined to join their own community, having only intermittently agreed since the ninth century to train those not destined to become monks, the new orders of regulars—Dominicans, Franciscans—established their own *studia generalia* alongside or within the established universities, vying for chairs against nonregulars and against one another. It has been estimated that by 1200 there were probably between three and four thousand students in Paris, perhaps a 10th of the town's population, with about 150

masters, of whom 100 taught in the arts faculty, with 20 each in civil law and medicine, and eight in theology. From the beginning Paris had excluded civil law, having no desire to train students in the constitutional principles of the late Roman Empire. The result was to be particularly flourishing civil law schools in Orléans, Angers, and Bourges.

Quite early, universities were founded or exploited for political purposes. Reggio, Vercelli, Modena, Vicenza, and Padua arose independently of any official positive civil or ecclesiastical initiative and without charters, but in 1225 the emperor Frederick II founded the university of Naples to provide for training in the arts, theology, jurisprudence, and medicine on his own territory. In the 14th century Köln and Heidelberg were sponsored by the Roman popes on German-speaking territory to reduce the advantages enjoyed in Paris by the Avignon popes. Poitiers and Caen universities were offshoots of the English hegemony in northern France, and were intended to buttress it. Specifically sectarian institutions were established in the wake of the 16th-century schisms, and the politicization of the universities is reflected in the fact that in 1533 all the European canon law faculties voted without exception on the validity of the marriage between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon in accordance with the political interests of the territorial sovereign. The only ripple of dissent came from Paris, where 40 theologians voted against the ruling supporting the political policy of François I that Henry VIII's argument for nullity was stronger than that of his opponents against it.

As powerhouses of theological teaching the university theology faculties were naturally subject to the church's *magisterium*. Indeed, for centuries it was disputed whether they had delegated authority to exercise the magisterium and jurisdiction to enforce it by the imposition of ecclesiastical penalties. Paris, in particular, acted as if it did have delegated jurisdiction to decree on matters of faith, a mode of behavior in which it was followed notably by Louvain and Köln.

Heresy, in most countries a purely ecclesiastical *crimen*—although not in Spain, where the Inquisition was a civil court—was everywhere easily enough remitted to the secular authorities as the secular crime of blasphemy. As such it was subject to civil penalties, at certain times and places notoriously including the death penalty. There was therefore a serious question about the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction of theological faculties as well as a generally clear, although sometimes blurred distinction in theory, but frequent collusion in practice, between ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction and the penalties appropriate to each realm.

It was because the theology faculties regarded them-

selves as custodians of divine revelation that their conservatism was so pronounced and that, for instance, they defended the faulty Vulgate Latin text of the Bible, repudiating Renaissance efforts to establish trilingual colleges, where Greek and Hebrew permitted access to the original scriptural texts, and where vernacular translations of them might be made for the laity.

With the emergence of the larger nation-states of the late 15th century there arose the question of the transfer of ecclesiastical wealth to secular states, which deemed it appropriate to take over *de facto* responsibility for education. This was typically achieved in Ingolstadt, later transferred to Landshut and now the Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich. The university, originally founded by a bull of 1459, was not in fact opened until 1472, when a new brief was required. Using the statutes and procedures adopted by Vienna as a model, it was proposed to make the Ingolstadt church of Saint Mary's collegiate, and to make its canons into the university's professors. In this way ecclesiastical income could legitimately be used for secular university purposes. Unfortunately the endowment turned out to be insufficient.

A different pious bequest, supporting its beneficiaries to hear a stipulated number of masses for the benefit of the souls of the dukes of Bavaria, had to be used instead. Its sequestration was sanctioned by the bishop of Eichstatt in 1454 and by Paul II in 1465. One of two professors of theology was probably a prebend of Eichstatt. There were three chairs of jurisprudence, one of medicine, and six of arts. What had been accomplished at Ingolstadt was characteristic of what was happening more widely in the world of university teaching, as at Wolsey's Cardinal College at Oxford. The monasteries whose income was used by Wolsey for his foundation were suppressed by his exercise of full papal jurisdiction as the pope's *legatus a latere*. The ecclesiastically legitimized transfer of ecclesiastical wealth to secular purposes in accordance with the concomitant transference of sovereignty in late medieval Europe was taking place by the series of concordats and other arrangements between the papacy and the sovereign states. From the early 14th century, uni-

versities were typically founded by secular princes and, at their request, granted charters by popes.

Theologically, the attachment of the universities to the churches lingered until at least the late 19th century, when separate institutions of higher education for theologians were added to the Tridentine seminaries with an emphasis on pastoral training. In England it was not until 1877 that legislation loosened the connection between the universities and established church. In 1873 religious tests and declarations of faith for positions at Trinity College, Dublin, were abolished. In France the hostility of the movement to secularize education in the late 19th century resulted in the foundation of the Institut Catholique, and even today theology faculties, although often without formal sectarian affiliation, can retain strong sectarian coloring, as at Strasbourg or Saint Andrews.

The earliest U.S. universities began as theological colleges, but with syllabuses broader than those in Europe, including classical culture, logic, rhetoric, and mathematics, and never confining admissions exclusively to those of some determined denominational affiliation. At first, religion, if not theology, had played a more important part in American universities than in equivalent European institutions, but from the late 18th century onward the American university system veered toward the training of qualified professionals in colleges with an appropriate bias—religious, agricultural, military, or, from the mid-19th century, technological. They followed Newman's *Idea of a University* and developments in Germany in keeping research separate from teaching, the latter being considered the proper function of a university. The study and teaching of theology, except in the older anglophone universities of both sides of the Atlantic, is now on the whole undertaken in separate specialist institutions. Most of them have reformed the connection between teaching and research.

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Univocity. *See* Analogy

Utilitarianism

“Utilitarianism” refers both to a movement for social reform and to an ethical theory. Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) championed many legal and political improvements, and also developed the first modern utilitarian system. John Stuart Mill (1806–73) and Henry Sidgwick (1838–1900) provided significant corrections and a certain degree of philosophical rigor. There is, however, no single theory of utilitarianism, but rather a theme with common motifs.

Utilitarianism belongs among “teleological” theories, that is, those that base morality on the ends or consequences of actions*. A classic form of teleology brought together Greek thought and Christian theology*, founding an ethic* on ends inherent in human nature, a supernatural* last end, and divine law (Thomas* Aquinas). This was rejected by philosophers of the Enlightenment, and utilitarianism replaced it with a purely secular teleology of results. It is claimed that this substitution has proved to be a failure (Alasdair MacIntyre). “Deontological” theories (Kant*), in contrast, are founded on duty or law and hold that the morality of at least some acts is independent of their consequences. Consequentialism embraces all theories that accept consequences as determinative of the moral value of actions, and thus includes utilitarianism. The latter, however, has a more specific character, in that it evaluates consequences according to particular criteria. Classical utilitarianism took as the standard the amount of happiness produced and claimed that there is only one moral principle: to seek the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Accordingly, acts are right when they promote happiness, wrong when they produce the reverse. Happiness in this sense does not mean individual happiness, but the greatest amount of happiness altogether. According to Bentham, happiness means pleasure, without any distinction whatever. Mill sought to correct Bentham by introducing qualitative distinctions between pleasures. Most contemporary utilitarians have relinquished the pleasure criterion. Where earlier exponents interpreted utility or welfare in terms of states of consciousness (such as pleasure), more recent authors look to the satisfaction of desires or preferences. Contemporary utilitarianism still retains an essential feature of the theory, namely, that what is valued ought to be maximized. The question is, therefore, which action, among those that are

possible, produces the greatest amount of that which is valuable, whether that be the satisfaction of desires or the fulfillment of interests. Those actions may be considered to be morally required or defensible that promote happiness. This relationship is typically expressed in terms of “rightness” (of actions) and “goodness” (of what is intrinsically valued). “Act utilitarianism” applies these ideas to specific acts of individuals. “Rule utilitarianism,” on the other hand, focuses on the general patterns of behavior that are capable of promoting the welfare of the community. Right conduct, therefore, is that which accords with useful rules.

Utilitarianism has had a strong appeal, especially in English-speaking countries. Its attractiveness can be explained on several grounds. Utilitarianism does not make any appeal to tradition or to religion, or indeed to anything transcending human life. This can be seen as a great advantage in pluralist societies where there is no commonly accepted religious ethic. The basic good or ultimate end that it proposes, such as happiness or well-being, may be accepted by all as a reasonable aim. Utilitarianism provides a means to resolve moral problems by calculation of the consequences, a method that cannot but have an appeal in a technological culture. Utilitarianism makes it possible to provide a common currency for moral debate: whatever different individuals or groups may aim at, all can be reduced in every case to an amount of happiness. Different amounts of happiness can then be compared according to their respective weights. Thus, all moral disagreements are, in principle, capable of being resolved. Finally, utilitarianism looks to the happiness of all. The wide diffusion of the works of Peter Singer (1993) is evidence of the contemporary influence of utilitarianism.

However, the criticisms of utilitarianism have been many. Persons do, in fact, pursue happiness, but it does not follow that they *ought* to do so. Nor is it explained why we ought to promote the happiness of *others*. Strictly applied, utilitarianism could justify actions that we normally consider wrong, such as murder. Accordingly, utilitarians frequently add constraints to the theory in order to exclude such acts. Rule utilitarians argue that, even if such behavior might maximize aggregate benefits, we should follow

generally useful rules and thus abstain from it. However, critics claim that rule utilitarianism is in fact reducible to act utilitarianism, and so cannot provide any acceptable limiting rules. In consideration of such difficulties, a two-level theory, combining the two types of utilitarianism, has been proposed (Hare 1981). Further, on the scale by which values are measured, the satisfaction of one person counts for as much as that of any other: what one loses can be offset by what is gained by others. Thus, one person may be sacrificed for the good of others. By focusing solely on aggregating value, utilitarianism leads to injustice toward individuals. Utilitarianism has also been ambivalent concerning human rights. Those who follow Bentham are skeptical in regard to moral rights. Others, in the tradition of Mill, seek utilitarian reasons to support the idea of rights.

According to utilitarianism, values can be ranked in order on a single scale. Thus, utilitarianism must hold that all values are commensurable, and that there are no incommensurable values, not even human life. Utilitarianism as such does not provide a direct reason for not committing murder. Contingent desires or preferences may count against it, but there is no necessary contrary reason inherent, for example, in the wrongness of an attack on an innocent person.

There are still further difficulties. How can one calculate the long-term results of one's actions when these depend on, among other things, the free choices of other persons? Even if these choices could be foreseen, how can the different values that they embody be measured on a common scale? Utilitarianism calls for universal and impartial benevolence, and to many this appears both impossible and misguided. According to utilitarianism's doctrine of negative obligation, we are as responsible for what we allow as for what we do: a notion that some critics find unrealistic or even op-

posed to integrity. Dissatisfaction with utilitarianism has led to the development of important alternative theories (Rawls 1971).

Although utilitarianism is fundamentally secular, some of its proponents invoke religious parallels. Mill wrote that Jesus' golden rule reflected the spirit of utilitarianism. J. Fletcher, the popularizer of "situation ethics" in the 1960s, upheld the primacy of the biblical principle of love*, while translating it into a form of act utilitarianism. R. M. Hare claims that utilitarianism is an extension of the Christian doctrine of *agape*. Finally, critics claim to find some of the features of utilitarianism in proportionalism*.

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See also Authority; Justice; Relativism; Society



Valentinians. *See* Docetism; Gnosis

Validity

On the edge between theology* and canon* law, there were certain specific cases encountered in the early Church* where a sacramental act (for example a baptism*, Holy Communion* or ordination*) was carried out in such a way as to be considered invalid. Gradually, over the centuries, these particular situations were clarified on several levels: 1) The necessary conditions for the fulfillment of each sacramental action were established, both where the action itself was concerned as well as the intention required on the part of the person carrying out the action. 2) It was stipulated that, depending on the case, such actions would require a minister recognized by the Church (see theology of sacraments* and the debate between Augustine* and Donatism*), particularly in the case of ordination, or at the very least “the intention to do what the Church does” (a formula which appeared in theology at the beginning of the 13th century and then became official in the Catholic Church with the decree to the Armenians issued by the Council of Florence [1439, *DS* 1315]). 3) After the mid-12th century this line of thought was developed, in the West, to take into account the clarifications arrived at on the number of the seven sacra-

ments. 4) Finally, at the end of the Middle Ages and around the time of the Council of Trent*, theology and canon law, drawing in this case on the contribution of Roman law, gave an increasingly clear outline to the sacramentarian and juridical category of validity. In the case of marriage* an equivalent notion of nullity was used. As for the notion of “hierarchical acts,” it did not concern the domain of sacramental validity, but belonged to the sacramentarian theology of Pseudo-Dionysius* (*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 5) and of the theologians who were inspired by him (e.g., Thomas* Aquinas, *ST* IIIa, q. 65, a. 1).

Recent research into the history of Christianity’s ancient institutions (Vogel 1983) has endeavored to make a distinction between two issues regarding ordination: on the one hand, recognition by a Church that accepts it as a valid act, and on the other hand, the intrinsic conditions of the act. In 1976, with regard to episcopal ordinations that had been carried out in an invalid way by a Catholic bishop*, the Church of Rome officially stated that it considered the acts to be illegitimate, while refraining from making a declaration about their validity (AAS 68, 1976, 623).

The theology and discipline of Eastern Orthodoxy* would adopt a different perspective from that of the Latin West; thus, a distinction can be made (particularly following a response by the Patriarch Photius of Constantinople in *Amphilochia*, PG 101, 64–65) between a strict canonical attitude and ecclesiastical “economy”: in imitation of the divine benevolence, the latter attitude attenuates the rigor of the former, and aims to reassert the validity of the canon, while nonetheless demonstrating a benevolent and pedagogical exception to its rigid application. In practice, however, the concept of “economy” is interpreted in different ways by the various authors (Thomson 1965). Questions of validity, important for all of the sacraments, deserve special attention where baptism and ordination are concerned, as well as Holy Communion and marriage.

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See also **Canon Law; Donatism; Intercommunion; Sacrament**

Vatican I, Council of

1869–1870

Vatican I was the 20th ecumenical council of the Catholic Church (*see* Catholicism*), but it was the first one to take place in the Vatican. It was convened by Pius IX more than three hundred years after the 19th ecumenical council, the Council of Trent*. It opened on 8 December 1869, and was suspended on the 20 October 1870 after the Italian occupation of Rome*.

1. Preparing for the Council; the Events; the People Involved

a) The Controversies and the Roman Reaction: The Syllabus. The pontificates of Gregory XVI (1831–1846) and of Pius IX (1846–1878) were punctuated with the condemnation of systems that opposed each other in respect of the knowledge* of God and the relations between reason* and faith*: the semi-rationalism of G. Hermès (1775–1831) was condemned in 1835, and of A. Günther (1783–1863) in 1857; the fideism* of L. Bautain (1796–1867) in 1840; the traditionalism* of A. Bonnetty (1798–1879)

in 1855; and the ontologism* of A. Rosmini (1797–1855) in 1861. These problems were linked to controversies pertaining to the freedom of theologians (condemnation of J. Frohschammer [1821–93] in 1862) and to their method. Furthermore, by condemning the ideas of F. de Lamennais (1782–1854) in 1832, Rome challenged the liberal ideology, the anticlericalism, and a certain indifference that combined to contest the privileged position of the Catholic Church in modern societies. Finally, at the moment when, in France, Gallicanism* and Ultramontanism* were opposed to each other, and as Napoleon III was threatening the temporal authority of the pope, Pius IX published, on 8 December 1864, the encyclical *Quanta cura* and the *Syllabus*, the latter being a list of the 80 errors of the modern world.

b) Preparing for the Council. The pope announced the assembling of a council that would do for rationalism* what the Council of Trent had done for Protestantism*. The bishops were consulted, but did not

overwhelmingly adhere to the project of defining papal infallibility* and of adopting the *Syllabus* as a working ground. After some hesitation (due particularly to the Austro-Prussian war of June 1866), and persuaded by Mgr F. Dupanloup (1802–78), Pius IX announced the council on 26 June 1867. The commissions in charge of the relevant preparations then started to work in strictly guarded secrecy.

On 29 June 1868, the bull *Aeterni Patris* convened the council for 8 December 1869. On 8 September 1868, the Eastern bishops who were not united to Rome were invited to “rejoin unity” in order to take part in the council. The letter met with a contemptuous silence. The convening of the Protestants and of the Anglicans (Anglicanism*) was not done until the 13th: this invitation was perceived as a provocation, particularly in Germany.

c) *The Controversies Surrounding Infallibility.* On 6 February 1869 an article written by two priests who were friends of L. Veuillot (1813–83) appeared in the *Civiltà cattolica*, the unofficial organ of the Holy See: it expressed in particular the wish that infallibility be defined by acclamation. The considerable emotion caused by this article provoked various stands, from the violent reaction of J. von Döllinger (1799–1890) to the moderate response of Mgr V. Dechamps (1810–83), archbishop of Malines, and to the Ultramontane position of Archbishop H. Manning (1808–92) of Westminster. In September, at Fulda, the German bishops found the definition of infallibility to be inopportune. In France, aside from the work of Archbishop J.H. Maret (1805–84; *Du concile général et de la paix religieuse*, September 1869), which adopted a Gallican stand concerning the rights of the bishops, there was an article by A. de Broglie (in *Le Correspondant*) which judged that there was no call for a definition of infallibility that would cover the political acts of previous popes. On 11 November, in his *Observations sur la controverse*, archbishop Dupanloup pronounced himself for inopportune.

d) *Composition of the Conciliar Assembly.* Some 1,000 bishops were convened to the council; 750 participated. All parts of the world were represented: one third of the Fathers came from non-European countries, but all of them had either been born in Europe or had received a European training. Italy was over-represented (35 percent); a proportion of two thirds of the consultors, as well as all the secretaries and all the presidents of the commissions, were Italian. It is true that the secretary of the council, Mgr J. Fessler (1813–72), was Austrian, but the five chairmen, after the death of Cardinal K. A. von Reisach, were Italian,

and hostile to liberal ideas; they were inclined, however, to conciliation. The supervising congregation was made up of five, then of nine cardinals; it was assisted by five specialized commissions composed of experts. The doctrinal commission, with three Jesuit fathers, J. Perrone (1794–1876), J.B. Franzelin (1816–86) and C. Schrader (1820–75), dealt with the important subjects by using the *Syllabus* as their working basis. The other commissions (on ecclesiastical discipline, on religious orders, on the missions* and Eastern Churches, and on politics) prepared drafts. Few of these drafts made it to the discussions of the council.

2. *Unfolding of the Council and Principal Debates*

a) *From the Opening of the Council to the Suspension of Proceedings (22 February 1870).* The council opened on 8 December 1869. The elections to the commissions on 14 December revealed the existing division among the council fathers, which was emphasized by the maneuvering of the supporters of infallibility. The majority was driven by Cardinal L. Bilio (1826–84) and prelates such as H. Manning (Westminster), V. Dechamps (Malines), K. Martin (1812–79, Paderborn), L.-D. Pie (1815–80, Poitiers), J. Fessler (1813–72, Sankt Pölten in Austria). An “international committee” maintained cohesion in the minority groups around Cardinals J.O. von Rauscher (1797–1875, Vienna), F. of Schwarzenberg (1809–85, Prague), and C. Mathieu (1796–1875, Besançon). The members of that international committee were the primate of Hungary, Cardinal J. Simor (1813–81), and Bishops L. Haynald (1816–91, Colocza), J.J. Strossmayer (1815–1905, Diakovar), W.E. von Ketteler (1811–77, Mainz), G. Darboy (1813–71, Paris), Dupanloup (Orléans), and Maret (dean of the Sorbonne).

Distributed on 10 December, the draft of a dogmatic* constitution, *De doctrina catholica*, was poorly received: it attracted only criticism during the public discussion on 28 December. As early as 4 January 1870, Mgr Martin, speaking in the name of the Deputation of the Faith, recognized that a complete revision was in order.

In the meantime the council Fathers had to study a variety of subjects: the duties of bishops (residence, pastoral visits, and so on), a vacancy, clerical life, the catechism. They complained about the labyrinth of canonical questions presented to them without order or perspective. Beyond minor subjects, there were important ecclesiological problems regarding the structure of the Church, the respective roles of the pope, of the bishops, and of the Curia, the rights—and not just the duties—of the bishops. All this criticism stirred up a

reaction among the defenders of the pope's prerogatives; division deepened among the Fathers. There were discussions on the methodology, on the length of successive speeches where there was no link between them, and on the deplorable acoustics. The sessions were suspended on 22 February to allow for the refitting of the council's assembly hall. There were also changes in the rules in order to accelerate the debates, though a minority was against the fact that a debate might be ended at the request of ten fathers, and that a simple majority might be sufficient for the adoption of a constitution.

b) The Question of Infallibility. Not on the agenda at the outset, controversies called for the definition of the pope's infallibility. On 21 January a new draft dogmatic constitution was distributed: *De Ecclesia Christi*. The first ten chapters explained the nature of the Church: it was a mystical body and a visible society with its own government, independent from civil societies and with its own characteristics, immutability, and infallibility: a hierarchical society, it was governed by the pope, whose primacy is explained at length (chapter XI), and whose temporal sovereignty is asserted (chapter XII). The last three chapters treat the subject of the relations between the Church and civil society. The Fathers appreciated the nuances that were brought to the saying that 'there is no salvation* outside the Church'; and the fact that ecclesiology* does not amount solely to the matter of the pope; but the text is silent regarding the bishops, and appears to show an imbalance in favor of the pope. The press and the chanceries detected theocratic claims in this outdated notion of the relations between Church* and State. The recasting of the schema was entrusted to J. Kleutgen (1811–83), but the new formulation of the text was not made available before the final suspension of the council on 20 October 1870.

On account of contradictory petitions, Pius IX was at first hesitant, but then, on 6 March 1870, he announced that the question of infallibility would become part of the agenda, and on 27 April, he decided to anticipate the debate. The constitution *De Romano Pontifice* was distributed on 9 May. Waiting for that debate, the council took up again the study of the revised decree on the catechism; adopted on 4 May (by 491 votes to 56, with 44 *placet juxta modum*), it was never promulgated.

c) The First Dogmatic Constitution, Dei Filius (24 April 1870). Starting on 10 January, a sub-commission chaired by Mgr Dechamps, and attended by Mgr Pie, C.-L. Gay (1815–92), Mgr Martin, and the Jesuit Father Kleutgen, revised Franzelin's text, *De doctrina*

catholica: the first four chapters, devoted to religious knowledge, constituted a draft of a constitution distributed on 14 March.

Presented on 8 March by Mgr Simor, the draft constitution did not invite serious criticism. The prologue recalled the errors that had been made since the Council of Trent. Chapters I and II treated the matter of the existence of God and of the natural knowledge of God and revelation*; chapter III was devoted to faith and supernatural virtue*, to the gift of divine grace* and man's free will, to the signs of revelation and to the credibility inherent in the Church; chapter IV dealt finally with the relations between reason and faith, two distinct modes of knowledge that helped each other mutually. After a first vote, which consisted of 83 *placet juxta modum*, 35 Anglo-Saxon bishops managed to secure an emendation whereby, in order to avoid any ambiguity from an Anglican point of view, the formula *Sancta romana catholica Ecclesia* should be changed into *Sancta catholica apostolica romana Ecclesia*. At the solemn meeting of 24 April the 667 fathers voted unanimously for the constitution *Dei Filius*, which Pius IX ratified immediately.

d) The Second Dogmatic Constitution, Pastor aeternus (18 July 1870). The general discussion started on 13 May. The minority insisted on the theological and historical difficulties surrounding the definition; it also weighed the pastoral and political drawbacks, as well as the consequences for relations with non-Catholics. The majority justified the doctrine and the timeliness of its definition by arguing this was not a neo-Ultramontane position, but the traditional doctrine of Thomas* Aquinas and Robert Bellarmine*. The discussion was closed on 3 June.

The prologue, chapter I, and chapter II, which dealt with the institution and the perpetuity of primacy, did not raise any difficulties. Chapter III, on the nature of primacy and on the powers it implies, raised questions regarding the terms used for pontifical jurisdiction: *episcopalis, ordinaria, immediata*. But there were fears: of abusive interventions by Rome in the life of local Churches, with the bishops' opinions not being taken into account; of the creation of obstacles likely to prevent reunification with the Eastern Orthodox Church; of difficulties in reconciling the jurisdiction of the pope and that of the bishops (which is also *episcopal, ordinary, and immediate*). These fears were allayed with the following arguments: history shows that the intervention of the pope is exceptional, that it serves the Church well, and that the word *ordinary* is to be taken, not in its most common and usual sense, but in the canonical sense of *not delegated*. At the request of Pius IX, however, a formula was added that

excluded any restriction, inspired by Gallicanism, to the pope's *plenitudo potestatis*.

Numerous bishops saw the complexity of the notion of infallibility (chapter IV) and wished to reach an agreement between majority and minority, in order to reject the Gallican thesis (which subordinated the infallibility of a definition pronounced by the pope to a subsequent agreement of the episcopate), while avoiding the assertion that "the pope is the Church," or that he may take no account of the faith of the Church, of which the bishops are the authorized witnesses. In the name of the minority, Cardinal Rauscher proposed the formula of Antoninus of Florence, who made the distinction between the pope acting in his own personal name and the pope calling upon the universal Church; with this distinction, he would be infallible only in the latter case. Cardinal F.M. Guidi (1815–79), who was part of the majority, pointed out that the pope must inform himself by consulting the bishops regarding their opinions; he felt that this would allow the pope to be enlightened on the content of tradition*, but he was reprimanded by Pius IX.

On 11 July, in a long report of a highly theological nature, Mgr V. Gasser (1809–79) explained the changes made to the text: the rights of the bishops and the close union between pope and Church were safeguarded, but the recourse to the episcopate as a *sine qua non* condition for the pope's infallibility was excluded. On 13 July one quarter of the assembly expressed its disagreement. The negotiations resumed. The pope approved a letter by Mgr C.-E. Freppel (1827–91) clarifying the formula *ex sese irreformabiles*, in order to avoid any Gallican allusion to a recourse to the episcopate. On 16 July the addition *non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae* was adopted. Final initiatives taken by the leaders of the minority were in vain. Rather than voting *non placet*, 55 bishops informed Pius IX that they were abstaining and they left Rome. On 18 July the constitution *Pastor aeternus* was approved by the 535 Fathers present, except for two who eventually rallied to the opinion of the majority immediately after the ratification by Pius IX.

3. The Aftermath of the Council

The fall of Napoleon III's empire on 4 September 1870 following France's defeat in the Battle of Sedan against the Prussians allowed the Italian government to occupy Rome on 20 September (French troops had previously occupied the city). For want of an agreement with the pope, Italy annexed Rome and the adjacent provinces. Judging that the freedom of the council was no longer assured, Pius IX adjourned it *sine die* (20 October). In fact it never resumed session. When measured against the standard of the heavy agenda it

had been planning at the time of its announcement, and against the expectations it had raised, the council appeared to be a failure to many of its contemporaries, who were hardly convinced of the usefulness of the dogma* of infallibility. With the passing of time, however, it is easier to measure its importance.

a) *The Constitution Dei Filius*. According to R. Aubert the whole text of *Dei Filius* "constitutes a remarkable piece of work, which puts forward against pantheism*, against materialism, and modern rationalism, a dense and crystal-clear exposition of the Catholic doctrine regarding God, revelation, and faith." Against atheism* and traditionalism the council affirmed man's capacity to know God's existence and perfections, thanks to the natural lucidity of his reason; against deism* it stated that the assistance of revelation was necessary for the knowledge of God's existence to be indeed accessible to all, and without error. That doctrine unquestionably marked post-conciliar teaching by the Church. It does not, however, allow for the tackling of questions raised by the new religious sciences in the biblical and historical domains (exegetics*).

b) *The Constitution Pastor aeternus*. *Pastor aeternus* clarified the definition of primacy; it encouraged the strengthening of centralization in the Church, as well as the interventions of the Holy See. The serious discussions on infallibility allowed the Church's thinking in this area to evolve; the main error that had been aimed at was Gallicanism; and yet, at the end, the very terms of the definition excluded the excessive theses of the neo-Ultramontanists. The council put an end to the quarrels between Ultramontanists and Gallicans, and it strengthened the role of the Holy See in its missionary expansion. It allowed the bishops to discover the problems of Catholicism* on a world scale; the missionary bishops, above all, spoke out on their experience and curbed the evolution of the Propaganda congregation, which was too focused on the Near East.

Despite the fact that numerous disciplinary schemata planned for adoption did not reach the voting stage, the preparation involved and the study that ensued provided precious documentation for the reform of the code of canon law. The council, however, could not conceal the insufficiencies of an ecclesiology that was much too juridical and hierarchical (hierarchy*), and that remained in favor for decades.

c) *Papacy and Secularization*. At a time when it was losing its temporal power, the papacy saw its spiritual authority strengthened by the council. Already during the unfolding of the sessions, Pius IX's interventions

had left an increasing mark on the discussions and the decisions. The council fathers had indeed enjoyed a real freedom of dialogue, of expression and of vote during the council; they had, however, been submitted to external pressures coming from the press; and of course, those fathers who were in the minority had to bear the law of the majority, which was supported by the pope.

For the first time in its history, the Church assembled in council was free as far as governments were concerned. Left unfinished on account of the circumstances, the council did nonetheless condemn some grave errors, but it was unable to face up to a phenomenon much larger than heresies*, a phenomenon which some fathers had seen coming: indifference. The council was not sufficient in itself to prepare the Church to face up to the secularization of culture and of society, which soon became obvious, mainly in France,

through the modernist crisis and the antagonistic separation of Church and State.

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See also Council; Dogma; Existence of God, Proofs of; Infallibility; Modernism; Ontologism; Rationalism; Traditionalism

Vatican II, Council of

1962–1965

The second council to have taken place at the Vatican was the 21st ecumenical council of the Catholic* Church, and the first in history to have brought together bishops* of all races and from all continents: up to 2,650 Fathers assembled in St. Peter's basilica in Rome*. The council was opened by Pope John XXIII on 11 October 1962, and concluded under Paul VI on 8 December 1965, after four sessions.

1. Preparation of the Council and Composition of the Assembly

On 25 January 1959 John XXIII, who had been elected pope three months earlier, made the surprise announcement of three decisions: the convening of a Roman synod*, the convening of a council*, and the revision of the code of canon* law.

a) Preparation of the Council. Pius XI and Pius XII had not convened a council. The initiative taken by John XXIII was due to a profound evolution of the Church. This was marked, mainly in Europe, by a renewal of studies in the Bible* and in the Fathers* of the

Church (coll. Christian Sources, encyclical *Divino afflante*, 1943); by research into liturgy (encyclical *Mediator Dei*, 1947); and by Pius XII's reform of Holy Week and of the breviary. Alongside neo-Thomism a "new theology*" had grown, which paid attention to the problems related to morality, religions, and contemporary society. The encyclical *Humani generis* (1950) condemned the false interpretations that could potentially result from this. Catechetical and pastoral initiatives, together with the experience of *Action catholique* and of the missions*, favored a notion of the Church that was less juridical and less hierarchical (hierarchy*), more community oriented and more mystical* (encyclical *Mystici corporis*, 1943). The collection *Unam sanctam* went along with this transformation.

From January to June 1960 a vast consultation with all the bishops, with major superiors, and with Catholic universities obtained 2,150 responses (76.4 percent of the questionnaires that had been sent out). Ten pre-conciliar commissions were created: nine of them were chaired by the prefect of each of the dicasteries of the Roman Curia; the tenth being that of the apostolate of

the laity*. There were also three secretariats; one of them was devoted to the unity* of Christians; it was entrusted to the Jesuit A. Béa, who was created a cardinal. The central commission, chaired by the pope, coordinated the activities and prepared the rules. Eventually, 70 schemas were retained. On 25 December 1961 the bull of indiction, *Humanae salutis*, appeared: it outlined the objectives of the council. The pope promulgated the regulation on 6 August 1962, and on 11 September he delivered to the world a message of hope. The opening was to take place on 11 October 1962.

b) Composition of the Conciliar Assembly. Coming from 136 nations, and belonging to 93 nationalities, the 2,650 bishops (including 80 cardinals and 7 patriarchs) represented a great diversity of churches. Also present were 97 superiors of religious orders, with a right to speak. Vatican* I, with 750 members, had been mostly European; what was striking about Vatican II was its “global massiveness” (A. Dupront), with western Europe now representing no more than 33 percent of the Fathers present. In relation to the number of believers, Europe and the Americas were underrepresented, a fact which enhanced the weight of the young churches; out of 289 bishops in missionary countries, 151 were French.

A clear division emerged among the Fathers with the debate on the schema of *De Revelatione*. The supporters of a conceptual classical theology, alert to all the risks of “modernism*,” found themselves opposed by those who were attached to the biblical and patristic sources of tradition*, who were sensitive to historical evolution and wished to take into account the problems of a world that had undergone considerable change through secularization*.

Aside from the bishops’ experts—one of whom was J. Ratzinger, working with Cardinal J. Frings—more than 400 official experts in the council were appointed: H. de Lubac* and Y. Congar, at the pope’s request, along with K. Rahner*, J. Daniélou, G. Philips, P. Delhaye, P. Haubtmann, J. Courtney Murray, and others. Invited by John XXIII, 31 *observers*, subsequently 93, represented 28 other churches and denominations. Their presence in the *aula* was symbolic. With a similar status, some *guests* were invited personally by the pope: R. Schutz and M. Thurian from Taizé, O. Cullmann, and Jean Guitton, the first layman. Paul VI introduced some lay *listeners* (29) and some *lay and religious women listeners* (23).

2. The Great Debates during the Four Sessions

a) In Search of Unanimity: The Action of the Popes. John XXIII’s inaugural speech, on 11 October 1962,

caused a sensation, because of the spirit it succeeded in communicating regarding the work to be done by the council. The pope was opposed to the “prophets of doom,” who idealize the past and stigmatize the present; he preferred mercy* to condemnation and he invited the members of the council to make a distinction between the deposit of the truths of faith* and the form under which these truths are presented. The council should present its doctrinal work in a manner “that meets the demands of our time,” with a “teaching that is mainly of a *pastoral* character.” It was thus that the *aggiornamento* of the Church* became clear. On 29 September 1963 John’s successor, Paul VI, opened the second session by stating the four goals of the council: “knowledge or consciousness of the Church, its renewal, the reestablishment of the unity of all Christians, dialogue of the Church with the men of the present day.” The first encyclical of Paul VI represented a continuation of this opening speech and of John XXIII’s last encyclical (*Pacem in terris*, 11 April 1963): *Ecclesiam suam* (6 August 1964) was a “charter of the dialogue” between the Church and all human beings, basing itself on the revelation of God* to all. Such an overture was to be confirmed by Paul VI’s first three journeys (to the Holy Land in January 1964, Bombay in December 1964, and the United Nations in October 1965).

b) First Session (11 October–8 December 1962). Following the *Message of the council to all men*, voted upon on 20 October, the study of the schema on the liturgy* started on 22 October; it was written with renewal in mind. The outline of the text was approved with virtual unanimity on 14 November (2,162 votes to 46). On the other hand the schema *On the sources of revelation*, inspired by a narrowly classical and anti-Protestant viewpoint, ignored all the work done in the area of exegesis*. Although much criticized, this schema was not rejected, because the majority did not reach the required two-thirds (1,368 votes to 822). John XXIII averted the crisis by withdrawing the text, which was transmitted to a commission co-chaired by cardinals A. Ottaviani and Béa; the Secretariat for Unity, under the direction of a biblicist, was linked with the Holy Office. Following the quick examination of two mediocre schemas (on the means of social communication and on the union with the Eastern church), the council began studying the best text from the theological commission, *De Ecclesia*. With the pope’s agreement and the support of cardinals P.E. Léger and G.B. Montini (soon to become Pope Paul VI), Cardinal L.J. Suenens suggested putting in order the multiple schemas. Applied to the Church, the distinction *ad intra* and *ad extra* facilitated the classification of the subjects to be treated.

c) *Second Session (29 September–4 December 1963).* Following the precise speech given by Paul VI, the council devoted one month to the new schema on the Church, redrafted under the direction of G. Philips of Louvain. An agreement was reached to reverse the order of the chapters, the chapter on the people* of God being placed ahead of the chapter on the hierarchical constitution of the Church. On 29 October, and going against that group of Fathers who wished to magnify the privileges of the Virgin, the introduction of a schema on Mary* in the schema on the Church was secured (by 1,114 votes to 1,074). On 30 October the moderators appointed by Paul VI (cardinals G. Agagianian, J. Döpfner, L.J. Suenens, and G. Lercaro) asked four questions: on the sacramental character of episcopal ordination*, on the participation of every bishop in the episcopal college, on the supreme power of the college, and on the divine right it is entrusted with. In spite of the fears manifested by the “curialists” that the jurisdiction* and the primacy of the pope might be reduced, the votes were massively positive (ranging from 2,123 to 34, to 1,717 to 408). A fifth vote accepted the restoration of the permanent diaconate (deacon*) (by 1,588 to 525). These votes led to the complete revision of the schema on the government of dioceses; the Melchite patriarch Maximos IV protested against the predominance of the Roman Curia, and a sharp controversy erupted between Cardinal J. Frings and Cardinal A. Ottaviani regarding the Holy Office.

The schema on ecumenism*, presented by the Secretariat for Unity, prompted a constructive debate. The moderators deferred discussion on chapter IV (on the Jews), written by Cardinal Béa, and chapter V (on religious freedom*), defended by Mgr E. de Smedt.

On 21 November the pope enlarged the commissions, a measure requested by the majority, and he announced the abolition of numerous limits imposed by canon law on the powers of bishops. The constitution on the liturgy, approved with virtual unanimity (by 2,147 to 4), was promulgated on 4 December 1963, as well as the decree on the means of social communication.

At the end of this second session the “Döpfner plan” proposed to structure the work done by the commissions around six main texts, the other seven being more modest in scope. During the summer the encyclical *Ecclesiam suam* insisted on dialogue; the pope wanted to win over the minority by toning down the expression of episcopal collegiality* and reinforcing that of pontifical primacy.

d) *Third session (14 September–21 November 1964).* A concelebration by the pope and 24 bishops, repre-

senting a first application of the liturgical reform, opened this session, during which all the texts were examined.

Some of the debates were very productive—for instance on the Church (chapter on Mary and eschatology*), on revelation (the doctrine of the two sources was abandoned), on ecumenism, and on the pastoral responsibilities of bishops. Other debates were more stormy (for example on the Eastern churches). The texts on religious freedom, on the Jews, and on non-Christian religions were tackled too quickly. While the draft regarding lay people was accepted for further amendment, that regarding priests was considered too superficial and was rejected. As for the draft on people in religious orders, it was deemed too juridical and too Western in nature, and required revision. Schema XIII brought the “prophets” into conflict with the “politicians” on burning issues: birth control, limits on property rights, use of the atomic bomb, obligations of rich nations to those of the developing world; the text of the schema needed to be completely rewritten.

Wishing to reduce the opposition of the minority, Paul VI took some initiatives that were variously received, such as the insertion, in the constitution on the Church, of an *Explanatory Note* in chapter III on the connection between primacy and collegiality. On 21 November three texts were promulgated with a near-unanimity of votes: the dogmatic* constitution on the Church, and the decrees on ecumenism and on the Eastern churches. The pope announced measures that were favorable to collegiality, such as the creation of an advisory synod to be convened at regular intervals; he proclaimed Mary “Mother of the Church” and justified this title, which had not been retained by the council.

During the last intersession, and despite pessimistic forecasts, the commissions redrafted the texts. Starting with innumerable amendments, P. Haubtmann entirely reshaped the schema on the “Church in the modern world.” Once back from Bombay, the pope named new cardinals, and these reinforced the majority; following the foundation of the Secretariat for non-Christian religions (1964), he founded the Secretariat for non-believers; he encouraged the dialogue of charity with the Orthodox (Orthodoxy*).

e) *Fourth Session (14 September–8 December 1965).* Following the study of the declaration on religious freedom, redrafted by the American J.C. Murray, Mgr G.M. Garonne was entrusted with the schema on the Church in the world. On 28 October three decrees were promulgated (on the training of priests, on the renewal of religious life, and on the pastoral duties of bishops), as well as two declarations (on Christian ed-

ucation and on the relations of the Church with the non-Christian religions); the passage regarding the Jews raised some difficulties to the very end. On 18 November the council adopted the decree on the apostolate of lay people and the dogmatic constitution on revelation, revised by Father Betti and amended at the pope's suggestion. There were still four documents, which were promulgated on 7 December: the decrees on the ministry* and the life of priests (the pope excluded the topic of celibacy from the council's agenda); the missionary activity of the Church, with its doctrinal and ecumenical complements; the declaration on religious freedom; and the pastoral constitution on the Church in the modern world. The latter text, the longest, in keeping with the pastoral orientation desired by John XXIII, completed the work of the council.

On 4 December a farewell ceremony at the church of Saint-Paul-Without-The-Walls saw the bringing together, for the first time, of a pope with non-Catholic observers. On 6 December Paul VI announced the reform of the Holy Office, renamed the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. The following day the lifting of the reciprocal anathemas of 1054 was published, in Constantinople and in Rome. During the solemn closing session, on 8 December, in the presence of 81 governmental delegations and of nine international organizations, the council addressed specific messages to rulers, men of science and intellectuals, artists, women*, workers, poor and sick people, and the young. One day earlier, Paul VI had insisted on the religious worth of the council: it meant that the Church had meditated on its mystery and it expressed its sympathy for contemporary man, whom it wanted to serve.

3. Coherence and Implementation of the 16 Documents

a) *The Texts: Their Character and Their Authority.* Three types of documents were promulgated: four *constitutions*, among which two were dogmatic (*Lumen gentium* and *Dei Verbum*), one pastoral (*Gaudium et spes*), and one that was both doctrinal and practical, on the liturgy (*Sacrosanctum concilium*, which allowed the vernacular to be used in the liturgy instead of Latin); nine enforcement *decrees*; and three *declarations* (*Gravissimum educationis*, *Nostra aetate*, *Dignitatis humanae*). Vatican II broke new ground with these declarations, which have the authority of official teaching by the Church on a point of doctrine. Unlike all the councils since Nicaea*, Vatican II did not pronounce any anathema, but it denounced some errors. It did not formulate any formal dogmas*, but its decisive affirmations on the sacramental character

of the episcopate and on the collegiality of bishops (*LG III*) are close to dogmatic formulas. Two constitutions, on the Church and on Revelation, have a “dogmatic” character. The qualifier “pastoral,” which was given to the constitution on “the Church in the modern world,” represents another innovation: the problems of the world are approached in the light of Catholic doctrine, in a language that is accessible to contemporary people.

b) *The Church, “entirely from Christ, in Christ, and for Christ, entirely from men, among men, and for men” (Paul VI, 14 September 1964).* The mystery* of the Church, in the biblical and patristic sense of the word (*the eternal secret of God manifested and realized by Christ in history*), is at the heart of the work accomplished by Vatican II. The constitution *Lumen gentium* is “the backbone” of the texts, since the decrees each refer to one or more of its chapters: *Ad gentes* (missionary activity) in chapters I and II; *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (the Eastern Catholic churches) and *Unitatis redintegratio* (ecumenism) in chapter II; *Christus Dominus* (the pastoral responsibilities of bishops), *Presbyterorum ordinis* (the ministry and life of priests), and *Optatam totius* (the training of priests) in chapter III; *Apostolicam actuositatem* (the apostolate of lay people) in chapter IV; and finally *Perfectae caritatis* (renewal and adaptability of the religious life), in chapter VI.

The Church, which has no end in its own self, enjoys a double relation with Christ and with human beings, as illustrated in the links between the four constitutions. Those that deal with revelation and with the liturgy affirm that the Church receives everything from Christ, “mediator and fulfillment of all revelation,” and that Christ is at the heart of its prayer and its worship, as the sole high priest. The constitution on “the Church in the modern world” underscores its will to serve humankind: no human being is excluded from the relationship that the Church wishes to establish with all due respect for the freedom of every person.

c) *Aspects of the Implementation.* The reforms affecting the government of the Church (regarding the Curia, Holy Office, secretariats that had become advisory commissions, and bishops' synods) had started even before the closing of the council, and they came in rapid succession. The liturgical reform emphasized the place of the Bible* in the life and worship of the church, and it stressed the communal dimension of the Eucharist* and of the other sacraments*. New modalities were sought for mission, which was to be inseparable from dialogue with other religions: the exhortation of *Evangelii nuntiandi* (1975) was a decisive step. Ecu-

menical relations were numerous, in spite of some incidents and sometimes even backward steps. The ecumenical directorate of 1993 acknowledged what had been achieved, and the encyclical *Ut unum sint* (25 May 1995) called for a deeper engagement, and proposed a dialogue on exercising primacy. The first meeting with the representatives of other religions, who had come to pray for peace, was held in Assisi in October 1986. In 1993 Pope John Paul II paid a visit to the synagogue of Rome, and the Holy See recognized the State of Israel; these were important steps in the evolution of the church's relations with Judaism*. Finally, the same pope's numerous apostolic journeys were a way of defending everywhere the rights of human beings, the right to life, and to religious freedom.

Despite the traditionalist schism and protests regarding the slow pace of the expected reforms, the bishops' synod of 1985, which had been convoked to mark the 20th anniversary of the council, confirmed the orientations being taken by insisting on the *ecclesiology* of communion**. Hailed by all as an event that marked the end of the Constantinian era and of the Counter-Reformation, Vatican II opened up new avenues for the thought and life of the Catholic Church, which became engaged from that time onward in a necessary dialogue with all human beings, believers and non-believers. Vatican II was a decisive step in the march toward the third millennium.

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See also Collegiality; Council; Church; Exegesis; Gospel; Freedom, Religious; Liturgy; Ministry; Mission; Ecumenicism

Vengeance of God

In modern languages, the word *vengeance* means an act opposed to justice* and pity, an act that consists of instinctively responding to a wrong with immoderate and cruel actions. Attributed to barbaric states of society*, vengeance is unanimously condemned by present-day law. Some passages in the Bible, therefore (especially in the Old Testament), raise a problem. These passages prescribe vengeance legally (Ex 21:20–21 and Nm 31:2), invoke it in prayer* (Jer 11:20 and 20:10–12), and attribute it to God* (Lev 26:25; Dt 32:43; and Sir 48:7), who is described as an

Avenger (Na 1:2; Ps 94:1 and 99:8). Vengeance's kinship with anger (Lev 19:18; Ez 25:14–17; Mi 5:14, and so on) and certain of its particularly violent manifestations (Dt 32:41–42; Is 34:6–7, and 63:3–4; and Jer 46:10) make the notion of vengeance even more unacceptable. This explains the interpreter's need to elucidate its meaning.

The first question to clear up is the accuracy of our translations. Modern-language Bibles translate the verbal and nominal expressions from the root of the Hebrew *nqm* (used in one-fifth of the passages) as “to

avenge [oneself]" and "vengeance." Only in certain specific cases is an analogous meaning given to the root *g'l* (Is 59:17 and 63:4), especially in the syntagm *go'él ha-dâm*, usually translated as "avenger of blood" (Nm 35:19–27; Dt 19:6; Jos 20:5–9; and 2 Sm 14:11).

In reality, the root *nqm* expresses only the act of compensating, of responding to the wrong suffered by inflicting a punishment. The parallel terminology belonging to the field of retribution, such as *shlm* (Dt 32:35–41 and Is 34:8), *gml* (Is 59:17–18; Joel 4:4; and Ps 103:10), *shwv [hi]* (Is 66:15; Jl 4:7; and Ps 79:10–11) brings out that fact clearly. Likewise, the terms *ekdikeô*, *ekdikêsis*, used for preference in the Septuagint, or else the *vindicatio* ("vindication") of the Vulgate, do not necessarily have a negative connotation, for they refer, in fact, to the rendering of justice or the request for it, as in the English term "to claim compensation."

Therefore, it is sometimes possible to translate *nqm* as "to avenge [oneself]" (Jgs 15:7 and Ps 44:17), but in numerous cases it is necessary to emphasize the meaning of "right the legal wrong" (Dietrich), by choosing therefore equivalences such as "to punish" (the guilty), "to compensate" or to "indemnify" (the victim), "to remedy" (a wrong), "to get satisfaction," etc. This method of translation seems especially necessary when the subject of the verb *nqm* is God, a model of justice (Dt 32:35–36 and 32:41–42; 1 Sm 24:13, Is 59:17 and so on).

However, the problem of the legitimacy of vindictive retaliation, condemned by legally advanced societies, still remains. We know that the Scriptures* condemn arbitrary and excessive vengeance—such as Lamech's, avenging 77 times (Gn 4:23–24). Improperly called the law of the talion or of retaliation, the law, in fact, prescribes that public authorities should inflict on the guilty party a punishment "in proportion" to the crime committed (Ex 21:23–24 and parallels). However, "vindication," which consists of meting out a fair legal punishment for the crime, is not always possible; it often happens that the victims do not get satisfaction from the competent authorities and that they are consequently tempted to seek their own justice by answering like with like, with the risk of choosing the way of hatred and unjustified violence.

Then the thought occurs that the just man does well to renounce vengeance, leaving it up to God the "king, judge, and warrior" (Peels 1995) to take charge of imposing the law that has been flouted (Gn 50:19; Lev

19:18; 1 Sm 24:13–14; Ps 37:1–11; Prv 3:31–35; Sir 28:1 and so on). The "day of divine vengeance" (Is 34:8, 61:2, and 63:4; Jer 46:10; and Hos 9:7) thus alludes to the Lord's eschatological judgment, feared by the wicked but awaited by the victims as a day of reparation and salvation* (Is 35:4, 59:17, and 61:2; 1 Thes 4:6; 2 Thes 1:5–10; Heb 10:30; and Rev 6:10 and 19:2).

The Scriptures thus promise man the justice that provides for the rigorous punishment of the guilty and, on the other hand, refuses to answer violence with violence (Sir 28:2–8). The latter attitude, which suggests the possibility of pardon, is fully realized in the New Testament teachings (Mt 5:38–42; Rom 12:17–21; 1 Thes 5:15; 1 Pt 3:9 and so on). The perfect model of such an action against the guilty is God himself, whose immense patience is recognized (Wis 12:19; Mt 5:43–48). It is the sign of God's goodness and an opportunity for sinners to repent (Wis 11:23, 12:2, and 12:8–10; Lk 13:6–9; Rom 2:4, 3:5–6, and 9:22–23; 1 Pt 3:20; and 2 Pt 3:9 and 3:15), until, at the end of time, he will bring about the just restoration of rights abused (Lk 18:7–8; Rom 12:19; 2 Thes 1:8; and Heb 10:30).

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Eschatology; Judgment; Justice; Law and Legislation; Punishment; Violence; War; Wrath of God

Veracity

The concept of veracity has been the source of much hesitation, and it might even be doubted whether it really is a philosophically univocal concept: veracity can be considered to be both a pure and simple conformity to truth* as well as an intention of truth, the “good faith” to which it is sometimes reduced. “This word [veracity] designates, most of the time, the good faith of the person who is speaking” (Lalande, *Vocabulaire...*). This ambiguity can be partially overcome through lexical distinctions, for example between *verum* and *verax* in Latin, between *truthfulness* and *veracity* in English, and between *véridicité*, *vérisimilitude*, and *véracité* in French.

The meaning of “veracity” as pure and simple “good faith” can be found in Kant*, for example: “Veracity in declarations is also called loyalty, and, if these declarations are also promises, uprightness and general good faith” (*Doctrine of Virtue*, §9, III). We would undoubtedly use the notion of sincerity more readily than that of veracity where promises are concerned: the theory of acts of language has taught us that a promise is either sincere or insincere, a threat is either serious or feigned, and a declaration is either veracious or mendacious. Moreover, in the more precise definition of veracity that Kant gives a little further on, he limits veracity to declarations: “Because he is a moral being (*homo noumenon*), man cannot make use of himself, as a physical being (*homo phaenomenon*), as if he were a simple tool (word machine) not connected to an internal purpose (the communication of thought); on the contrary, he is subject to the condition of agreeing with himself in the declaration (*declaratio*) of his thoughts and is obligated to himself to seek veracity.” (ibid.). Veracity, then, plays a double role: to use contemporary language, it represents both a condition of success, of *felicity* in acts of language (such as assertions and promises); and a transcendental basis for communication, which leaves open the possibility of a reinterpretation of veracity in an “ethic of communication” (K.O. Apel).

For Descartes*, however, veracity is invested with a very different role than that of a moral regulation of exchanges of language, for divine veracity is at the basis of truth. It is in fact because God* cannot and does not want to deceive me that I can be certain of the reality of matter (*6th Meditation*). Divine veracity can then

be invoked to revoke any possible doubt, as in the case of the atheist mathematician who, if he is unsure of God, will never know of a “true science” (“and since one supposes that the mathematician is an atheist, he cannot be certain not to be deceived by the things which seem perfectly obvious to him,” *Réponses aux secondes objections*, A-T IX, 111). This veracity is a consequence of God’s perfection; supremely perfect, God cannot know how to deceive: “For as God is the sovereign Being*, he must of necessity also be the sovereign good* and the sovereign truth, and consequently he abhors that anything should emanate from him which might tend towards falseness...and since we have within a real faculty enabling us to know the truth and distinguish it from what is false...if this faculty did not tend toward the truth, at least when we use it in a proper manner...it would not be without reason that God, who gave us that faculty, could be considered to be a deceiver.” (ibid. 113). Thus this perfection is a consequence both of God’s divinity and of his kindness toward us. God is veracious because he is good.

Veracity, if it is a result of the goodness of God and constitutes therefore more of a restraint upon malice, of a “good deed,” than a standard of exactness, can henceforth be understood, no longer from the angle of ethics of communication (Kant) or as an ultimate guarantee that the sensible will not deceive us (Descartes), but within the dimension of ethics* *simpliciter*. Moreover, for Thomas* Aquinas, truth is a virtue*; not a theological virtue, or even—as one might expect—an intellectual virtue, but a moral virtue (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 109, 1 ad 3). In this respect, truth and veracity are the same: “One might imply by truth that which causes us to speak truly, that which, in consequence, makes man truthful. This truth or veracity [*veracitas*] must be a virtue, for to speak the truth is a good action, and moreover, virtue is that which confers goodness upon those who possess it, and which makes their acts good” (ibid.). Truth is a “part of justice*” where veracity’s role is that of a condition for an equitable life in community: “As man is a social animal, one man naturally owes to another that which is essential to the preservation of human society. Humans could not live together if they did not believe in each other, in a reciprocal exchange of truth. That is why the object of

the virtue of truth is a thing which is, in a certain fashion, due" (ibid.). The "virtue of truth" extends far beyond Kantian "good faith," and divine veracity is simply its fulfillment: by being veracious, God exercises his justice* (which allows him to punish us if we deliberately choose to lie). Thomas Aquinas pointed out two obstacles to truth, two types or systems of stabilized discourse that, while they do not adopt the perverse form of lying, are nevertheless diminishments of virtue: conceit and irony (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 112–13). Conceit is opposed "by excess" to the virtue of veracity, and irony opposes it "by default," and we can therefore conclude that veracity as a condition and practice of the virtue of truth is linked to moderation. La Bruyère translates *eironeia* as "dissimulation," the word corresponding to *cavillatio* (pleasantries or mockery); Thomas would simply use the Ciceronian derivative, *ironia*.

But is there not a risk of confusing moral truth and veracity? Leibniz*, in particular, was aware of this difficulty and in an attempt to preclude it proposed the following convention, which simply makes the equivalence presented by Aquinas more explicit: "Moral truth is called veracity by some and metaphysical truth is vulgarly perceived by metaphysicians as an attribute of being, but it is a perfectly useless attribute.... We should remain content with seeking truth in the correspondence of the propositions in one's mind with the things they are concerned with" (*New Essays* IV, 5, §11). The aim in this case was to avoid a confusion between veracity, identified with moral truth, and truth,

understood as the semantic predicate of correspondence, limited to a propositional level. However, the expression "moral truth" remains ambiguous. Does it mean truth as a moral virtue, in the Thomist sense, or rather, truth in the moral domain? It would seem that veracity was more often identified with the moral aspect of truth (see "'Veracity' Has Always Had a Moral Significance," Lalande's *Vocabulaire*).

Taken in this sense, Leibniz's cautiousness sanctions a modern divorce of veracity and truth. But insofar as theology* cannot be indifferent to the nature of human veracity, or endorse a pure and simple naturalist statement of fact that would reduce veracity to the status of a guarantee of a well-regulated communication, it cannot be content with ratifying this divorce. It is because veracity is a debt of truth that lies are more than a ruse of communication.

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See also **Truth; Virtues**

Vestige (Vestigium). See **Trace (Vestige)**

Vetus Latina. See **Translations of the Bible, Ancient**

Vienne, Council of

1311–1312

The council that assembled in Vienne (on the Rhône in south-central France), the 15th ecumenical council of the Catholic church, had been requested for several years by Philip IV (the Fair), king of France; he had wished, first of all, to put Pope Boniface VIII on trial, and he also wanted to get rid of the Knights Templars, whose territory he wished to absorb himself. The Council was the consequence of a new balance of power between the French monarch and the papacy, following the violent conflicts that had opposed Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. The new pope, Clement V (the former archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand de Got, elected to the papal throne in 1305), wished to reconcile with the French monarchy.

The papal bull convening the ecclesiastics to the Council was issued in August 1308, following negotiations with the king, and one year after the arrest of the Templars, who had been forced to confess. The Council's official goal was the resolution of the Templar question; but the recapture of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church* were also mentioned in the bull of convocation. Under pressure from Philip the Fair, the pope began making a selection among the convened prelates; a new distinction was introduced between bishops invited by name to take part in the Council's debates (they were mainly French) and the others, who had to be "represented". According to E. Müller, only 170 prelates took part in the Council, which opened on 16 October 1311. Most of the work was accomplished not in the plenary sessions (reduced to three), but through special commissions whose conclusions were submitted to the pope, who heard them in consistory.

The most important committee was in charge of examining the Templar question; it had at its disposal the acts of episcopal and pontifical commissions from preceding years (1308–11). According to the majority of committee members, it was not possible to condemn the Templars before hearing their defenders. While the work of the Council progressed, however, the fate of the Templars was actually settled by Clement V, through secret negotiations with the advisers to the king of France. On 3 April 1312, in the presence of Philip the Fair, who had come to Vienne with his sons, his brothers, his court and an army, the pope pro-

nounced, with the Council's approval, the dissolution of the order, not by judicial sentence (following a regular procedure and condemnation), but in virtue of his apostolic authority*. As for the Templars' assets, they were transferred a few weeks later to the knights of the Order of the Hospital (bull of 2 May 1312), whose reform was forthcoming.

On 3 April, Clement V announced also the organization of a crusade, to be financed by the collection of a 10 percent tax that Philip the Fair had pledged to support. The Council's work on the crusade had been prepared by the drafting of several reports. According to the *Liber de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae* by Raymond Lulle, who was present at the Council, they first had to disarm the infidels by using force; once rendered powerless, the infidels would then be converted through rational theological discussion. With this type of tactic, it was obvious that knowledge of the Oriental languages was necessary, so the Council decided to put in place the teaching of Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac within the Curia Romana, as well as in the Universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca.

The Council of Vienne was also induced to take a position on the controversies that were tearing the Franciscans apart regarding the evolution of their order. Since 1309, Clement V had had several reports prepared on the observance of the rule within the order, on the persecutions inflicted upon the spirituals by the superiors of the community, and on the doctrinal orthodoxy of Pierre de Jean Olivi (or Olieu), the leader of the Provençal spirituals (*see* Bonaventure*). Two commissions were created in Vienne: the first, made up of 14 members who were not part of the order, was entrusted with examining the question of poverty (the *usus pauper*); the second one, made up of seven members, had to give a verdict on Olivi's writings.

The conclusions of the first commission were favorable for the spirituals: its report presents, in fact, certain analogies with some of the writings of the spiritual Ubertin de Casale. On 5 May 1312, the pope declared that the inquiry conducted by the Council's commission had shown that the spirituals' lifestyle was licit and respectable, and the following day, he promulgated the constitution *Exiui de paradiso*; it defined the appropriate manner for the observance of the rule and

declared the vow of poverty to be an essential element in Franciscan life. This constitution (which is sometimes omitted in the collections of decrees originating from the Council of Vienne) did nothing, however, to resolve the internal problems of the Franciscan order.

The report of the commission charged with the examination of Olivi's doctrine is lost, but the conclusions expressed by four commission members on five incriminated propositions have been found: the censors expressed the opinion that it was possible to give these propositions an orthodox explanation. Promulgated on 6 May, the constitution *Fidei catholicae* condemns nonetheless three theses that had been attributed to Olivi, though without naming their author. The first point discussed concerns the exegesis* of the spear attack on Christ* while he was on the cross: according to the constitution, it was *after* Christ's death that his side was pierced by a soldier's spear. The second point discussed is at the source of the Council's definition on the union of soul* and body: according to the constitution, "whosoever dares henceforth declare, defend or assert with obstinacy that the rational and intellectual soul is not in itself and essentially the shape of the body must be considered a heretic." Finally, as a third point, the constitution states as "more probable" the theological teaching according to which children, as well as adults, receive divine grace* at the time of baptism*.

As far as the reform of the Church was concerned, a commission presided over by the pope was entrusted with the task of examining the reports and the petitions that had been requested at the time the Council was convened. In their reports, Guillaume Le Maire, bishop of Angers (1291–1317), and Guillaume Durant (or Durand), bishop of Mende (1296–1330), criticized the Curia's takeover of benefices, which restricted the bishop's role in his diocese. Thus, it was important to reform the Church "in its leader and its members" (according to G. Durand's *De modo generalis concilii celebrandi*). The question of the exemption of religious orders, in particular the mendicants, was also the object of a vast episcopal offensive in which Gilles de Rome, archbishop of Bourges, notably took part. Furthermore, the prelates complained about the intrusion of lay* people in the affairs of the Church and their encroachment on ecclesiastical jurisdiction*.

Finally, at the request of the German bishops, the Council of Vienne gave its verdict on the fate of the Beguines* and the Beghards. A first decree (*Cum de quibusdam mulieribus*), essentially of a disciplinary nature, condemned the Beguines' lifestyle; it ruled that they could not be considered "nuns" because "they did not take a vow of obedience, did not renounce their assets and did not follow any approved rule"; it also denounced those among them who, "pushed by some

folly of the mind, debate and hold forth ideas on the Holy Trinity* and on the divine essence," spreading, "on the subject of the articles of faith* and on the sacraments* of the Church, opinions that are contrary to the Catholic faith." The same decree authorizes, however, the lifestyle of "the pious women who live honestly in their hospices, whether or not they have taken the vow of chastity" and who wish to "do penance* and serve God* in a spirit of humility." A second decree (*Ad nostrum*), exclusively dogmatic in nature, condemns eight errors attributed to the Beghards and the Beguines, which are placed in the same category as the "heresy* of the Free Spirit," and which were in reality taken from the condemned theses of the Beguine Marguerite Porète (†1310). The proposition according to which "man may already obtain, in this life, the final beatitude*, as he will obtain it in the hereafter [*in vita beata*], depending on his degree of perfection" was particularly denounced.

As S. Kuttner has written (1964), the promulgation of the decrees at the Council represented only one step in the process of the "fabrication" of conciliar law (canon* law). The wording of the decrees was reread, amended, and corrected before what the pope considered to be the legislative work of the Council was ready to be disseminated. A postconciliar commission was therefore entrusted with the task of revising and finalizing the decrees, particularly because Clement V wanted to include, as part of the council's juridical corpus, texts that had not been completed before its closure. Thus, it was not until March 1314 that the pope approved the body of (revised and completed) decrees. They were supposed to form the seventh book of the Decretals, following the *Sexte* of Boniface VIII. The death of Clement V, on 20 April 1314, further delayed the project. His successor, John XXII, made a few more corrections to the decrees, before sending the collection of "Clementines" to the universities on 25 October 1317.

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See also **Beguines; Ecclesiastical Discipline; Life, Spiritual**

Vincent of Lérins. *See* **Dogma**

Violence

A. Biblical Theology

a) Extension. Violence—*Châmâs* in Hebrew (the word appears 60 times in the Old Testament), *bia* or *hubris* in Greek—not only kills, it is also an outrage against dignity and truth*. It is coupled with sexual abuse (Gn 19:5, 9; Jgs 19), but even more often with falsehood (Ps 5:10, 10:7, 27:12; Is 53:9; Sir 28:18; *see* Ex 21:12ff.). The devil is "a murderer from the beginning" and "the father of lies" (Jn 8:44). The law is one (Jas 2:10f.) and essential violence is the absence of law, the anomie that destroyed the creation when "the earth was filled with violence" (Gn 6:11). Violence is most often discerned through its effects (*see* Hebrew *shâchat* [225 times]: to corrupt, mislead). The triangle of blood, sex, and words is the true site of violence (Ez 16, 23:37ff.); Wisdom 14:23–27 reveals idolatry* as its source (*see* Decalogue*). The idol, a substitute for death*, wants blood ("Moloch": Lv 18:21, 20:2–5). Under the name of "the Beast," it is the unnamable that overwhelms human beings and exacts adoration. The Beast brought the "woman drunk with the blood of the saints, the blood of the martyrs of Jesus" (Rev. 17:6); it will devour her (17:16). Violence destroys itself.

b) Law, Prophets, Other Writings. The Yahwist establishes the genealogy of violence. It multiplies, from Cain seven times avenged (Gn 4:15) to his descendent

Lamech, 70 times avenged. Then comes the cosmic unleashing (Gn 6). The "sacerdotal" Torah stresses the symbol of blood. Man, created in the image of God*, is given power over the animals*. Since his nourishment is exclusively vegetarian (Gn 1:29f.), this power is exclusively of gentleness. Genesis 9 demonstrates it *a contrario*: God gives mankind, through Noah, a regime of non-gentleness: man will be the "terror" of animals, will eat their flesh, but not their blood. This rite commemorates the original status that is contradicted by the new status. It is commemorative, and also anticipatory.

In the prophets* the child king will reconcile the animals with each other (Is 11). Disarmament and the covenant* with the animal world coincide (Hos 2:20). Thus oriented, mankind can both understand itself as overcome by violence and understand violence as overcome by something more fundamental. This clarifies the aporia of sacrifice*, a violent act demanded by the law, often rejected by the prophets. The biblical God takes upon himself a provisional or "economic" violence.

He orders the extermination of enemies in the war of conquest (Jos 6:21, 8:2, 8:23–39, 9:24, 10:22–26), because their way of life will contaminate his people* (Ex 23:33; *see* Gn 15:16; Dt 20:16f.). Elijah slaughters

the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18:20–40; *see* 2 Kgs 1). Children insult Elisha; he curses them and they are killed by bears (2 Kgs 2:24). The history of Israel* is not limited to these extremes, no matter how often they appear. The biography of David is arranged according to an unstable division between retaliation and clemency, the latter based sometimes on calculation and sometimes on a true sense of God (1 Sm 24:20, 25:33; 2 Sm 16:12; but 1 Kgs 2).

The supplicant victim of violence—whether speaking individually or collectively—expresses himself in violent terms. He asks that his enemies be humiliated (Ps 6:11, 31:18f., 40:15, 71:13), chastised (Ps 17, 28:4f., 35:4–8, 55:16–24, 58:7–11, 63:10ff., 69:23–29, 125:5, 139:19–22, 140:10ff., 143:12 and so on), or he cries out for vengeance (Ps 109:18ff., 137, 149:7 and so on). He asks that the king crush or enslave enemy nations (Ps 2:8f., 21, 45:6, 110:1, 118:10ff.); that God terrify or destroy them (Ps 9:21, 10:15f., 79:6, 83:10–19, 97:3). The principal lesson is that the supplicant, overwhelmed by violence, will not be liberated by his own force alone.

c) Conversion of Violence. It is precisely at the site of violence that its opposite springs up. In a state of peril Israel hears itself told not to make a move: God alone will vanquish (Ex 14:13f.; 2 Chr 20:15–20; Is 7:4, 7: 9, 8:6f.). Expressions of patience, or even non-resistance (Ps 37), mingle with the violent supplications. Of course when man renounces the use of his sword he counts on God's sword (Ps 44:4). Other notions are asserted: let evil* destroy itself (Ps 7:16, 9:16, 34:22, 37:14f., 57:7, 140:10). Or again: the earth itself vomited up the inextinguishable, the infanticides, the idol-worshippers of Canaan (Lv 18:25, 18:28). In Wisdom (5:20, 16:17, 16:24) the theme is extended to the entire cosmos and all of history, to shed light on the last stage.

d) New Testament. The New Testament shows with the cross of Jesus* the paroxysm of violence and of its opposite. This opposite is the other violence, that of the Spirit of God. It marks Jesus' hyperbolic precepts of perfect justice* (Mk 9:42–49; Mt 5:29f.), of non-resistance against the wicked (Mt 5:39), of the necessary ruptures (Mk 8:34f.; Mt 8:21f.; Lk 9:61). The invisible "strong man" is to be mercilessly crushed (Mk 3:27; Lk 11:22). Jesus brings "the sword" (Mt 10:34). Whereas in Matthew 11:12 the violence is that of the enemies of the Kingdom, in Luke 16:16 it is rather the force that brings down the ancient barriers (Schrenk 1933).

For Luke, those close to Jesus await liberation and a

new royalty for Israel (Lk 1:68, 1:71, 1:74, 24:21, Acts 1:6). James and John count on compulsion from heaven, as in the days of Elijah (Lk 9:54), an idea rejected by Jesus. Despite the confrontations (*see* Mt 12:30, 12:34f.; 23; Lk 11:44), the narrators are careful not to attribute any provocation to Jesus. Driving the merchants from the temple* (Mk 11:15ff.; with a whip: Jn 2:15) is a symbolic gesture, not an action with a concrete aim (*see* Mk 11:12ff., 11:20–24). In the Passion*, the Jesus/Barabbas (zealot) alternative clearly opposes the solution of violence to that of Jesus. When the time came, Jesus gave himself up to death without resisting (Mt 26:53; Jn 18:36), but without persuading his disciples to join him (*see* the swords of Lk 22:36ff., 22:49ff.). He acquiesced entirely in that obedience, interpreted by the entire New Testament as the fulfillment of the Scriptures*.

The victory of the violence of love dissipates the counterfeits of gentleness, which are a trap for Christians. This is why the Pauline* vocabulary retains the violent terms of the Old Testament literally: the cross is the victory over the enemy that is death (1 Cor 15:25ff.; *see* Ps 110:1); it kills hatred (Eph 2:16), Jesus takes prisoner the images of death (Eph 4:8 citing Ps 68:19; *see* Col 2:15), he will destroy them (1 Cor 15:26), the apocalyptic animals of Daniel 7 will be under the feet of the Son* of man (*ibid.*, Ps 8:6f.), death will be swallowed up (1 Cor 15:54f.; *see* Hos 13:14; Is 25:8 LXX; Ex 15:4 LXX). This style is related to an apocalyptic* idiom (2 Thes 2:8), in which all the Old Testament images are carried to an extreme: the "Word* of God" makes war in "a robe dipped in blood" (Rev 19:13; *see* 14:20): it is "the time . . . for destroying the destroyers of the earth" (Rev 11:18).

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See also Animals; Decalogue; Legitimate Defense; Ethics, Sexual; Evil; Hell; Scapegoat; Vengeance of God; War

B. Moral Theology

Violence means the use of illegitimate physical force to inflict an illegitimate physical wrong; it is thus distinguished from legitimate force and all rightful punishment. It may also imply a psychological wrong (such as sexual harassment, mental cruelty) and a non-physical use of force (such as economic repression). Violence may be directed against an individual or a community (such as apartheid). In the 20th century any discussion of violence must finally also deal with the reality of the excess of evil such as was manifested by the Holocaust.

Violence can be understood in the following ways: 1) physical aggression of an individual (murder, rape); 2) acts without physical reality producing a psychological and spiritual wrong; 3) social violence (slavery, racism, sexism); 4) genocide; 5) all use of instruments of mass destruction. In any one of these forms of violence it is the same negation of man by man that is expressed, amid a reality whose only characteristic is hardness. As Levinas writes of war*: "Trial by force is the test of the real. But violence does not consist so much in injuring and annihilating persons as in interrupting their continuity, making them play roles in which they no longer recognize themselves, making them betray not only commitments but their own substance, making them carry out actions that will destroy every possibility of action" (*Totality and Infinity*).

The Christian moral tradition* prohibits on principle all violence. The most ancient texts warn against abortion* and infanticide (e.g. *Didache* 2). In the patristic period a unanimous opposition to suicide gradually developed: prohibitions already formulated by Plato (*Laws* IX, 872 *Sq*) and Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics* III, 11; V, 15) were definitively expressed by Augustine*: "he who kills himself is a murderer" (*City of God* I, XVII; see Landsberg 1951). As for war and military service, the consensus evolved from condemnation to limited permission (but here the motives are religious rather than moral); and yet does the prohibition against killing weigh strictly on the Christian soldier? (Tertullian*, *Cor.* 11; Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 1, 6). The social legislation of Constantine (280?–337) and his successors reflected the Christian concern with protecting women, children, and slaves from all domestic violence (Cochrane 1940, 1944).

Christian exhortations against violence appeal to the teachings of Jesus* and find a pledge in his sacrifice*, interpreted as the repudiation of all violence: this is the argument used by Thomas* Aquinas to prohibit all

clergymen from bearing arms (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 40, a. 2). In the final analysis such appeals are based on the doctrine of *imago Dei* and the insistent affirmation in the Old Testament that all life belongs to God*. Along with the Bible*, Christian thought recognizes the complete vulnerability of human beings. Man is placed in the hands of man. Violence is therefore inevitable. The human society in which violence is transmitted is nonetheless itself a created good* redeemed in Christ*: "The life of the saints is social," says Augustine (*City of God* XIX, V). And more fundamental than violence is the double sin* that makes it possible: the refusal of the individual to live according to the mode of availability and the desire to take advantage of the availability of others in order to do them wrong. What the Christian moral tradition condemns is not wrath, because that is only an emotion, but the disposition to wrath. Because it is an outrage against the human community, wrath is counted among the seven "deadly" sins (Gregory the Great, *Magna moralia* 31, 45; Thomas Aquinas, *ST* Ia IIae, q. 84, a. 4).

Contemporary theological thinking on violence is concentrated in several areas. 1) An awareness that sexual crimes have more to do with wrath than desire has made it possible to study the relations between "sexualized violence" and the systemic violence practiced against women and minorities. 2) The fact of the Holocaust, which arose in a nominally Christian culture, has reinforced the challenges already brought to an officially non-violent Christianity (Nietzsche). Furthermore, by forcing a deeper consideration of the essential or inessential status of violence in Christianity, these challenges have given rise to renewed analyses of the theory of redemption (R. Girard), as well as numerous reconstructions of the relations of Jesus* and his "movement" to politics (Yoder, Schuessler-Fiorenza). 3) Theological study is inevitably subject to the influence of the increasingly common thesis that all order is equivalent to violence (Derrida), or inextricably linked to it. Thus, Arendt (1963) observes that political liberty requires violence to establish itself, while Levinas asserts (1984) that ethics* emerges when I realize that the *Da* of my *Dasein* is but a violent usurpation of the place of my fellow human being. Even if these viewpoints echo Christian themes, they leave a crucial theological question unanswered: is it possible to conceive of a restoration of a true (therefore non-violent) order that saves human beings from violence, or is salvation* only thinkable in terms of a flight from the net of an order that must remain intrinsically violent? Weil has said

that the fundamental human choice is between violence and the dialogue of those who live in community (*Logique de la philosophie*, Paris, 2nd Ed. 1974). The contribution of Christianity to this debate lies perhaps in the rediscovery and articulation of a concept of power that brings into play order and charity in total compatibility. And since the churches* do not possess order without having to possess a right (even if it is a “right of grace*,” H. Dombois), the question of a strict repudiation of all violence in ecclesial use of power and force cannot fail to be urgently significant amid the everyday concerns of Christian life.

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See also **Death; Peace; War**

Virgin Birth. See **Mary**

Virtues

Virtue is an admirable or praiseworthy trait of character*. Different societies identify certain virtues as being especially important or desirable, and link particular configurations of virtues and vices to specific social roles. These traditions provide the starting point for much of the systematic moral reflection.

1. Virtues in Antiquity

For Plato and Aristotle, the question was what counts as true virtue. According to Plato, virtue is essentially insight into what is truly good (*Meno* 81a–e; *Laws* 643b–44c). This knowledge enables the individual who possesses it to act appropriately, because through it he is able to bring the different components of his soul* into a proper relationship. Because the virtues are forms of knowledge, they are essentially one (*Phaedo* 67c–70a); subsequently, this was known as the unity of the virtues.

Aristotle grounds his account of the virtues in a philosophical view of human flourishing, in terms of which he systematized popular accounts of the virtues and developed criteria for distinguishing true virtues from their similitudes. Virtue should be distinguished from both passions* and faculties; virtue is a hexis—that is to say, an enduring state of character—which consistently produces certain kinds of action, characterized by the right mean: a virtue is a “midpoint.” This does not refer to an intermediate state between extremes of feeling, but an appropriate balance among competing claims, as determined by practical wisdom*, or prudence* (*NE* 2, 1106b 35–07a 25). All the virtues are connected, because they reflect the judgments of practical wisdom, but they are nonetheless distinct qualities (*NE* 6, 1144b 30–45a 6). Thus, Aristotle defends the connection of the virtues, but not their unity in Plato’s sense.

Although the theories of virtue offered by the Stoics differ in some respects, they generally agree that the basis of virtue lies in the intention* to act in accordance with reason*. They have been criticized for promoting detachment and a lack of feeling as ideals of virtue. However, closer examination suggests that they reject, not emotion as such, but excessive or inappropriate passions that are contrary to reason.

2. The Christian Conception of Virtue

a) *The New Testament.* The earliest Christian writings contain very little systematic reflection on the virtues, but they do reflect the influence of the popular ideals of the time. In particular, the so-called “house-table codes,” or lists of the virtues appropriate to the different members of a household (Eph 5:21, 6:9, and parallels) were probably influenced by Stoic models. However, as a result of the primacy of love in the New Testament, faith*, hope*, and love*, which Paul makes into the ideals of the Christian life (1 Cor 13:13), were considered to be of much greater importance. Subsequently, these three virtues were identified as the paradigmatic theological virtues, which are bestowed by God*, in contrast to the classical cardinal virtues, namely prudence, justice*, fortitude, and temperance, which are the highest humanly attainable virtues.

b) *The Fathers and the Early Middle Ages.* Considered in terms of long-term influence, the most important Christian theory of the virtues in antiquity, at least for the Latin West, was that of Augustine*, whose account combines Stoic and Neoplatonic elements with the Christian tradition of the theological virtues. Like Plato and the Stoics, Augustine argues that the virtues are all fundamentally expressions of one quality, but in his view that quality is charity (*De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, BAug 1, 15, 25). As such, true virtue can be bestowed only by God. What characterizes charity is the ability to place all human affections in their right order, loving God above all and loving creatures only insofar as they can be referred to God. Thus, even though the seeming virtues of non-Christians are genuinely praiseworthy and beneficial to society, they are not true virtues, because they are directed toward the wrong ends (*Civ. Dei* BAug 33, 12, 14).

However, Augustine’s account was perhaps less influential in the short term than the lists of vices and virtues developed by Cassian (c. 360–435) and Gregory* the Great. Cassian wrote primarily for monks (see monasticism*), whereas Gregory was more concerned with the laity*, but for both of them the most important task facing the Christian is to extirpate his sins*. To aid the penitent, the abbot or pastor needs

some practical knowledge of the qualities that correct the vices. Thus, throughout the Middle Ages, there were at least two ways of organizing the virtues: by classifying them into cardinal virtues and theological virtues, or by contrasting them with the seven deadly sins. This helps to account for the fact that little systematic attention was given to the virtues until the 12th century. Nonetheless, pastors and preachers continued to refer to virtues and vices, together with such related topics as the gifts of the Holy* Spirit and the Beatitudes*. As a result, by the time Scholasticism* emerged, there was a considerable tradition that invited reflection and analysis.

c) *Thomas Aquinas.* It is often assumed that Thomas* Aquinas’s analysis of virtue follows Aristotle’s in every respect, except where he adds distinctively theological claims. This assumption is increasingly criticized today, for the structure of Aquinas’s treatise on the virtues (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 49–67) is very different from Aristotle’s. Furthermore, Aquinas takes Augustine’s definition of virtue, rather than Aristotle’s, to be paradigmatic, and develops his own account in the context of a Neoplatonic conception of the good*, as mediated through Augustine, Pseudo-Dionysius*, and a number of other patristic sources. At the same time, Aquinas’s account, like Aristotle’s, is developed within the framework of a carefully elaborated psychology that draws heavily on Aristotelian elements.

Aquinas follows Aristotle in holding that the virtues are semi-permanent dispositions of the intellect, will, and passions, which incline a person to act in some way (*Ia IIae*, q. 55, a. 1). In other words, a virtue is a *habitus*. However, it is misleading to translate this as “habit,” since it should not be understood as a tendency to act in a stereotypical and unreflective way. These dispositions are necessary for a rational creature to be capable of action; for example, one’s linguistic capacities must be qualified by proficiency in a language if one is to be able to speak (*Ia IIae*, q. 49, a. 4). So understood, the virtues include intellectual as well as practical capabilities (*Ia IIae*, q. 56, a. 3; q. 57, a. 1; q. 58, a. 3). Such virtues are morally neutral, although they are good in the sense of being perfections of the agent. However, those virtues that shape the passions and the will—and the intellect insofar as it is practically oriented—are necessarily moral (*Ia IIae*, q. 58, a. 1). Because these faculties are distinct, each has its distinctive virtue. Prudence enables the agent to choose in accordance with the good; justice orients the will toward the common good; and temperance and fortitude shape the passions in such a way that the agent desires what is truly in accordance with the good, and is pre-

pared to resist obstacles to attaining it (Ia IIae, q. 59, a. 2; q. 60, a. 3–5). In this way, Aquinas incorporates the traditional schema of the four cardinal virtues into his moral psychology.

Despite his very broad definition of virtue, Aquinas insists that only moral virtue, in its perfect form, can lead to actions that are good without qualification (Ia IIae, q. 65, a. 1). Not only will acts of perfect virtue be good in every respect, they will also be done for the right reasons, that is, out of accurate knowledge of, and abiding desire for, the true human good. Thus, Aquinas takes Augustine's definition of virtue, rather than Aristotle's, to be paradigmatic: "Virtue is a good quality of the mind, by which we live righteously, of which no one can make bad use, and which God brings about in us without us" (Ia IIae, q. 55, a. 4).

The last clause, Aquinas adds, applies only to the "infused" virtues, which God bestows on us without action on our part (*see* Ia IIae, q. 63, a. 2). These virtues have union with God as their direct or indirect aim, in contrast to the "acquired" virtues, which are directed toward the attainment of the human good as discerned by reason. As such, the infused virtues include not only the theological virtues, but also forms of the cardinal virtues, which are specifically different from their acquired counterparts because they are directed toward a different end (Ia IIae, q. 63, a. 3, 4). No one can attain salvation* without the infused virtues, both theological and cardinal, but those virtues that are acquired by human effort, and that aim toward human well-being, are genuinely good, albeit in a limited way (Ia IIae, q. 62, a. 1, 2).

3. *Modern and Contemporary Theology*

a) *Vicissitudes of the Notion of Virtue.* Philosophers and theologians continued to discuss virtue until practically the end of the 18th century (*see* Jeremy Taylor 1613–67, *Holy Living*, in *Whole Works* IV, London 1822, or Jonathan Edwards*, *Charity and its Fruits*, in *Works* VIII, New Haven 1989). After this period, however, Kantianism and utilitarianism* came to dominate moral philosophy*, and interest in the idea of virtue faded, whether because the ideal of individual autonomy rendered it incomprehensible, or because the traditional discourse on the virtues seemed too simple to modern minds.

Then things began to change. Elizabeth Anscombe, for example, argues (1958) that, since the idea of a moral law* makes no sense, now that most educated persons have rejected the idea of a divine legislator, we should revive moral philosophy on the basis of an Aristotelian account of the virtues. Alasdair MacIntyre argues (1981) that contemporary morality is made up

merely of fragmentary survivals from earlier traditions, and for that reason it is impossible to define the principles of any ethics*. In MacIntyre's view, coherence in moral discourse requires the context of a particular tradition*, which is given concrete content by the virtues that it commends and the vices that it rejects (*After Virtue*). P. Foot and P. Geach have also helped to introduce the virtues onto the agenda of contemporary moral philosophy.

There has since been continual discussion of virtue and related topics, including character*, judgment, and the moral significance of the emotions. There have been many lively critiques of the moral ideas of industrial societies. Other advocates of the ethics of virtue have preferred to criticize the incoherence of moral theories, rather than attack the difficulties inherent in the general concept of morality. According to these "antitheorists," the modern conception of moral theory can offer us nothing, and should be abandoned in favor of the notion of virtue and related concepts. For some of them, reflection on the virtues offers a way to acknowledge the irreducible pluralism of contemporary moral values. Others seek within the ethics of virtue a means to escape from modern procedural ethics, often by making themselves the defenders of an Aristotelian conception of prudential judgment.

Christian ethics has also been renewed by a return to the idea of virtue. Protestants, whose conceptions generally owe a great deal to MacIntyre, focus in particular on the virtues that are distinctive to the Christian community, as that is shaped by the fundamental narratives* of Scripture*. Within Catholicism*, the Thomist revival of the first half of the 20th century has permitted a new understanding of Aquinas's moral theology and his treatment of the theological virtues. This work has been one of the sources for the contemporary renewal of Catholic moral theology.

b) *Current Issues.* Questions of meaning are at the forefront today. What do we mean by "virtue," and how is the concept of virtue related to such notions as habit and disposition? It does not seem that specific virtues are tied to particular kinds of action (in such a way that there are determinate acts that are always associated with, or are always contrary to, specific virtues). Yet, if that is so, the way in which specific virtues are conceptualized is not clear.

One of the main issues concerns the role of moral rules in virtue. No one is willing to reduce virtue to obedience to rules, but there is considerable debate over how their relationship is to be understood. For some, such rules are at best rough guidelines that can and should be supplanted by prudential judgment as soon as one has sufficient practical wisdom. Others

are willing to allow an independent place for obedience to rules in the moral life, although such obedience is linked to specific virtues such as justice or conscientiousness. For still others, moral rules foster practices that themselves foster the virtues. This issue has been of special interest in moral theology, since it may be thought that the ethics of virtue might offer a way out of the debate between traditionalists and advocates of proportionalism* over the force of moral norms.

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See also Aristotelianism, Christian; Character; Ethics; Kant, Immanuel; Platonism, Christian; Stoicism, Christian; Thomism

Vision, Beatific

The Beatific Vision (*visio beatifica*) refers to the act of understanding by which the blessed will know God* clearly and directly "face to face" (1 Cor 13:12). Since this expression seems to neglect the realism of the resurrection* and the cosmic aspect of eschatology*, its scriptural roots must be remembered before its theological elaborations are shown, and before asking how the vision of God "as he is" (1 Jn 3:2) harmonizes with his radical invisibility (1 Tm 6:16), for, "God, no one has ever seen him" (1 Jn 4:12; see Ex 33:20–23).

1. Biblical Foundations

a) In Paul, the term "knowledge" (*gnôsis*) plays a major role in the account of eschatological hope*: "We see at present in a mirror, like an enigma, but then it will be face to face [*tode de prosôpon pros prosôpon*]. At present my knowledge is limited, then I shall know as I am known [*tode de epignôsomai katôs epegnôsthen*]" (1 Cor 13:12). Paul extends his thought on a vision of God, described in the tradition of Israel* as a

vision "face to face" (Gn 32:24–30; Ex 33:11, 34:29; Dt 34:10; Ps 23:4; Mt 18:10; Rev 22:4).

Faith* in the resurrection had become spiritualized since the intertestamentary period, when the vision of God came to be understood as the essential element of happiness. Job 19:25ff. is translated by the Vulgate: "For I know that my Redeemer lives and at the last he will stand upon the Earth. And after my skin has thus been destroyed, yet in my flesh I shall see God, whom I shall see for myself and my eyes shall behold and not another." Similarly, Hosea 6:3 is understood in this sense by the Septuagint, which translates: "On the third day, we shall rise again, we shall live before him and we shall know the Lord."

b) For John the evangelist, knowledge is an essential element in the realization of the promised happiness. In the priestly prayer, Jesus says to his Father: "Life eternal is that they know you, the only true God, and the one you sent, Jesus Christ" (Jn 17:3); this knowledge will be fulfilled in the vision of God: "At the time

of the [eschatological] display, we shall be like him [God], because we shall see him as he is [*katôs estin*]" (1 Jn 3:2).

c) The intellectual aspect is present in the symbol of light, associated with the light of life, to tell about the new existence of the children of God, to the point that this light can encompass the whole eschatology. Judgment is the throwing of light on what was hidden; the reward is a flowering in the light of good*; condemnation is the manifestation of evil*. The image can also serve to tell about purification. Thus, Eastern theology* (which does not mention purgatory*) explains through the symbolism of light all that has been said about what lies beyond death*, without needing to specify places in order to evoke the state of those souls which are on the way toward the Beatific Vision (see Congar 1951).

2. Patristic Developments

a) Heirs to the disagreement between the hope of the vision of God and the affirmation of the invisibility and incomprehensibility of God, the first Fathers* stressed the mediation of the Word* made flesh (Clement of Rome [c. 90], *1st Epistle* 59, 2; 36, 2; *2nd Epistle*, 6, 6). Refuting the Gnostic temptation, Irenaeus* of Lyons (c. 130–202) favored the term “vision” to tell of the Christian condition (*Adversus Haereses* IV, 20, 7) and stressed both the Trinitarian aspect of the present Christian life and its flowering in eschatology (ibid., V, 8, 1). Clement of Alexandria (150–211; see School of Alexandria*) insisted on the value of a “gnose” [knowledge] which ends with the contemplation* of God beyond the current vicissitudes (*Stromata* 6:12; 7:10). According to Origen* (185–255), eternal life is a knowledge (*gnosis*) that is realized through the soul’s close bond with God (Commentary on John 1, XVI, §92; *De Principiis* II, XI, 3 and 7).

b) In the circle of influence of Neoplatonism, the Cappadocians emphasized the contemplative aspect of union with God. Gregory* of Nyssa (c. 331–94) showed the way to knowledge of God (*theognôsia*) by which, like Moses on the mountain (*De Vita Moysis*), the believer arrived at the summit of contemplation. What cannot be acquired except in a limited and fragmentary way will be acquired definitively in eternal life, when nothing will be able to separate the soul from God. For the Cappadocians, contemplation is tied to Trinitarian theology, with varying degrees of emphasis; Gregory of Nyssa favored contact with the *Logos*, while Basil* of Caesarea (330–79) emphasized the role of the Holy* Spirit (*De Spiritu Sancto* IX, 22).

c) In the West, Ambrose of Milan (339–98) transmitted the Eastern doctrine. Augustine (354–430) favored desire and the emotional aspect of charity (*Confessions*, X). Desire is assuaged by the possession of God known and loved, and happiness lies in the joy that springs from the truth* (see *Confessions* x, XXXIII, 33–34). The climate of the possession of the truth remains affected by the primacy of love* (see “the ecstasy of Ostia,” *Confessions*, IX, X, 24).

d) Opposing Eunomius, who claimed that God was knowable through natural reason* in the same way as he knows himself, and in order to protect the notion of God’s transcendence, Theodoretus of Cyrus (393–466) and John Chrysostom* (344–407), the latter in his *De Incomprehensibili*, distinguish between the vision of glory and the vision of the essence of God.

This distinction would give rise to Hesychasm*, developed in monastic circles and founded on the works circulated under the name of Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022) concerning the Light of Mount Tabor. To protect the contemplative Hesychastic tradition, Gregory* Palamas (1296–1359) would develop a patristic distinction between the inaccessible divine essence and the energy to be found in the radiation of his glory, a doctrine which has become traditional in the East but has been rejected in the West. It has analogies with the Talmudic distinction between *shekînah* and *kabâd*, God’s majesty and his dazzling presence.

3. Theological Questions and Scholastic Solutions

Faithful to its patristic sources, Scholastic theology favored the vision of God in its meaning of eternal happiness.

a) Acknowledging that vision is first of all a sensory act in life, Thomas* Aquinas (1225–74) agreed that by extension the term meant all knowledge. Knowledge through vision is superior to any other, because it is a direct contact with the object. It puts into the shade conceptual or symbolic mediations and the processes of abstraction or reason. The immediacy of vision presumes that one recognizes the presence of God, who no longer lets himself be known in an indirect but in a direct way (Saint Thomas 1a, q. 12; *CG* III, 50–63).

The notion of vision is extended to its strongest meaning. It is a question of a clear and manifest knowledge of God, in the sense that the manifestation of God neither dazzles nor blinds. Such a vision is therefore proper to the blessed—which excludes all reality in the present time. Mystical experience is not identical to vision. This attitude gives priority to knowledge and therefore the act of intelligence, which has priority over the other component elements of

beatitude*: love, union, and joy. For this reason, there is a difference between the theology of Thomas Aquinas and that of Bonaventure (1218–74), which remains very close to Augustine’s formulation.

b) The theology of the Beatific Vision is based on three questions.

- 1) Can the human soul attain to the vision of God? For one thing, “no one has ever seen God” (Jn 18), invisible by nature, “inhabitant of an inaccessible light” (1 Tm 6:16); for another, the human mind can only attain God through the mediation of reason, that is, through analogy* (Wis 13:1; Rom 1:21). Since God infinitely surpasses all creaturely conditions of being and functioning, he could not be accurately represented in a human mind by an intelligible form corresponding to his own conditions of being and functioning. Therefore the affirmation of the Beatific Vision is indissolubly linked to the theology of grace* or of divinization or deification, that is, to the transformation of the capacity to know and to love by means of participation in the divine nature (*hina genesthe theias koinônoi phuseôs*, 2 Pt 1:4).

Is such a transformation possible without the destruction of human nature? Theology answers affirmatively because the human mind is open to the infinite. The human mind is capable of acceding to the whole being, to *being* in its full scope. This ability makes it capable of receiving something more than what is naturally possible. Scholastic theology specified this point by using the idea of obediential power, a power of being passive when faced with an initiative that comes from elsewhere. Scholastic theology distinguishes between the proper object and the appropriate object of human intelligence. The proper object is the essence of beings reached through abstraction, and the appropriate object, the being of existents. This distinction makes it possible to acknowledge the natural desire to see God (*ST* 1a IIae, q. 3, a 2).

- 2) The second question is how the Beatific Vision is brought about. By essence, God is inaccessible; since he is by nature invisible, he cannot be grasped in a sensory way. Therefore, God gives himself in a new way, which is neither a theophany* nor an incarnation*, but a heightening of the intelligence. The vision is created outside of the senses and the imagination through an act of an intelligence raised so as to participate in the divine life (Thomas Aquinas, *In Sent.*, IV, d. 49,

q. 2, a.1; Debated question, *de Veritate*, q. 8, q.1; *CG* III, 51; *ST* Ia, q. 12, a. 5 and 9). This elevation of the intelligence is made possible by a gift of God, which theology has synthesized around the notion of the light of glory (*lumen gloriae*). God is presented as light; he is the subsisting truth, sovereignly intelligible in itself. The light of glory represents a participation in the uncreated light, which raises the intelligence as far as the divine light and prepares it for the Beatific Vision.

The existence of this created light is founded on the Scriptures, in Psalm 35: “In thy light we shall see the light” (v. 10). This line, which was given a Trinitarian interpretation by the Fathers (Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto* XVIII, 47), was given a psychological interpretation by Thomas Aquinas and his commentators: it signified the elevation of an intelligence that was rendered capable of seeing God. In human knowledge there are mediations—indispensable images. Now, there is no image capable of suitably representing the essence of God, for every image is finite and limited. But here the divine essence plays the role of noetic mediations. In the light, which is God himself, the blessed see the essence of God; through God’s mediation the vision of God himself is possible.

Because of this light, human intelligence is capable of seeing God. The light of glory raises the intelligence from the natural to the supernatural level; it disposes the intelligence toward union with God and it cooperates in the act of vision. This gift verifies what is said about grace in general, a vital act of the elevated human mind. It is not inert passivity but an act in which the natural intelligence is perfected. In fact it receives an extra force and virtue, a special union with the uncreated light and the fulfillment of faith. This question concerns the supernatural* (Lubac* 1946).

- 3) The third question is about the object of vision. Is God seen in a comprehensive way? Is there not only a real grasp of the truth but also a global and total penetration? On this point, Latin theology diverges from Eastern theology, which distinguishes between the glory of God and his nature (Gregory* of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, and Theodoretus of Cyrus), a tradition developed in Orthodox mysticism* (see Meyendorff 1959).

Western theologians have rejected that distinction between God’s glory and his nature, such as it was introduced by Almaric de Bene. For Scholastic theology,

the Beatific Vision gives knowledge of God's nature or essence. Thus, God is seen completely, but not totally (*totus Deus sed non totaliter*); a distinction is made between vision and understanding. God is seen in all that he is; it is therefore a true knowledge of God. But God is not encountered in a way that exhausts all possible knowledge. God is not seen to the extent that he is visible; but it really is him who is seen. God is known as infinite* being, but knowledge of him remains human, characterized by the finite; it is not infinite.

The interpretation of the medieval doctrine gave rise to controversies based on the theses of Baius (1513–89), according to whom the desire to see God might have been natural and effective for man before the original fall. Thomas Aquinas's commentators (Bañez [1528–1604] and John of Saint-Thomas [1589–1644]) restrict themselves to speaking about obediential power and, following Cajetan (1468–1534), maintain a strict separation between the natural and the supernatural order. This interpretation has been criticized by the moderns (see Lubac 1946, 1965; Laporta 1965).

4. *Beatitude and Life Eternal*

The theology of Gregory* Palamas, founded on the question of the light of Tabor, opens out onto questions of the supernatural, of divinization through grace, and of glory. For Palamas the divine energy is uncreated; through this energy all Christians become participants in the divine nature. For that to happen, an elevation of the natural faculties is required. This elevation is itself an uncreated divine operation, and therefore divinization produces nothing created in the deified soul. The Western theology of grace as entitative *habitus* is unknown in the East, where the balance between the affirmation of the reality of the vision and its beatifying nature is not organized in the same way.

These controversies led the Roman Magisterium* to intervene in the matter of the Beatific Vision. The Council of Vienne* (1331) condemned the doctrine of the Beghards (and Beguines), who asserted that here below the just could already attain final beatitude and know God (DS 474–75). Pope Benedict XII (1334–42) condemned the position attributed to the Armenians, who separated God's essence from his manifestation. In addition, in the Constitution *Benedictus Deus* (23 January 1336), Benedict XII corrected the preaching of his predecessor; he specified that the blessed enjoy the vision of God from the moment of their death, a doctrine adopted at the Council of Florence (DS 693).

Although the Magisterium's definitions free us from certain equivocal statements, linked to Millenarianism* and the vagueness of the theology of purgatory, they raise fundamental anthropological questions—

particularly the fact that the vision has absolutely no need of the body's participation. This spiritualistic conception is in disagreement with biblical anthropology*. In effect, Scholastic theology does not mention the corporeal and emotional aspects of beatitude except as the effects of the vision of God in the transfigured affectivity and corporeality at the time of the Last Judgment; and this does not respect the dynamism of the biblical texts, in which the human person cannot not be reduced to its intellectual dimension. For that reason, the notion of the intuitive or beatific Vision, being too reliant on a spiritualistic anthropology, is not at the forefront of revisions of Christian eschatology in 20th-century works which base themselves on a better knowledge of the Scriptures (O. Cullmann) and on the central place of faith in the resurrection (Rahner, Pannenberg, Moltmann, Kasper, Martelet, Moingt).

The theological idea of vision might be renewed under the influence of modern philosophical debates about intuition, providing an opportunity to stress the mind's transcendence in relation to cognitive processes identified with the exercise of reason (H. Bergson, J. Maritain). The aesthetic aspects of revelation are better served by such an approach (H. U. von Balthasar*).

The phenomenological study of vision (M. Merleau-Ponty) plays a role in theology, for it stresses the importance of alterity (P. Ricoeur, E. Levinas); it makes it possible to give Christian mysticism a non-fusional aspect that respects human freedom, and to augment the distinction between God and the one who contemplates him. Similarly, the rise of psychoanalysis and the importance of the theme of desire renew the debate about the desire to see God (D. Vasse 1969).

Vatican* II's revisions have given a new sense to the communal dimension of beatitude: "Receive the [dead] in your kingdom where we hope to be fulfilled by your glory, all together and for ever, when you will wipe away every tear from our eyes; when we see you, you our God, such as you are, we shall be like you eternally, and without end we shall sing your praises, through Christ our Lord" (Eucharistic Prayer no. 3).

Such a wording links up again with the concern to inscribe the vision of God in the life of the Trinity, a concern previously expressed by the Fathers (see Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adversus Haereses* v, 8, 1) and explored by the mystics (in the Rhineland*-Flemish tradition in particular).

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See also Beatitude; Eschatology; Eternity of God; Life, Eternal; Resurrection of the Dead

Vitoria. *See* Thomism

Voluntarism

1. Definition

“Voluntarism” made its appearance in the historiography of the Latin Middle Ages at the end of the nineteenth century, as an antonym of “intellectualism.” It is a concept made up by commentators, however, and does not appear in texts. It is used to designate different theses that draw from a common inspiration: the affirmation of the primacy of will over the intellect.

2. Timeframe

The most propitious time for the application of the concept was the Latin Scholasticism* of the 13th and 14th centuries. The polemics that sprang up at the end of the 13th century, especially those opposing Franciscans and Dominicans, clearly presented the alternative, which had been latent, of the primacy of the intellect or the will. The Franciscan thought (Bonaventure*, Duns* Scotus) was then mainly voluntarist, in opposition to the intellectualism of the Dominicans (Albert* the Great, Thomas* Aquinas, Thomism*, naturalism*). This voluntarism continued in the nominalist trend of the 14th century, notably with the Franciscans William of Ockham and Gabriel Biel (nominalism*). These controversies arose in a climate

of opposition to Aquinas’s thought, which was evidenced by the condemnations of 1277, in Paris as well as in Oxford. It was also made clear in the “Correctorium Fratris Thomae” by the Franciscan William de la Mare, a work that the general chapter of Minors imposed in 1282 as a necessary supplement to all readings of the *Summa Theologica* in the Franciscan Order. In fact, this correctorium opposed Thomas Aquinas’s intellectualist theses. Also witness to the opposition of the two orders on this subject was the dispute that opposed—directly or indirectly—Meister Eckhart and Gonzales of Spain around 1302 (*Quaestio Magistri Gonsalvi continens rationes magistri Echardi utrum laus Dei in patria sit nobilior eius dilectione in via?*).

3. The Spirit of Medieval Voluntarism

Thomas Aquinas was the preferred target of voluntarism, but it is more the influence of Greco-Arabic peripatetism on Latin Christian thought—particularly strong in the 13th century—that was attacked through his intellectualism. Voluntarism established itself especially in reaction to the theological adaptation of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, carried out during the 13th century. This adaptation took two forms. Either

Aristotle's theoretic happiness was assimilated with the supernatural beatitude* of Christians and placed outside the reach of man's natural faculties (such as, at the faculty of arts, of pseudo-Peckham's and Arnoul of Provence's commentary of *The Nicomachean Ethics*). Or, Aristotelian happiness and Christian beatitude, while remaining distinct, were thought of on the same model; both mostly concerning the intellect, and both essentially consisting in the knowledge of God*. Philosophical happiness, however, was nothing but an imperfect beatitude: the difference resided in the obtaining (grace* is necessary for beatitude) and in the type of knowledge of God that was reached ("in a mirror" or "face to face"). This perspective, that of Thomas Aquinas, of Boethius of Dacia, and of Masters of Arts such as Gilles of Orleans and Peter of Auvergne, was linked to the declaration of the will's inferiority to the intellect. The supreme perfection of man must principally concern his most noble faculty.

Voluntarism denounced the risks of such an alliance with heathen thought (philosophy*). The first risk was that of naturalism, since this alliance encouraged conceiving beatitude on the model of philosophical happiness, naturally accessible to man. On the other hand, voluntarism denounced the renewal of heathen thought in questions that brought into play that which is the most characteristic of Christian faith: beatitude and liberty*. Divine liberty, which is expressed in creation* and grace, and human liberty, which opposes ancient determinism, were threatened by intellectualism.

4. Theological Stakes

The affirmation of the primacy of the will over the intellect particularly referred to two questions: the foundation of creatures' liberty, and the nature of the beatifying process.

a) *Liberty.* With regard to the foundation of the liberty of creatures, voluntarism generally admitted that knowledge was a condition for acts of will, since one wouldn't desire what is not known; but it reacted against all intellectual interpretations of this dependence by stating that the intellect was not the determining cause of the specificity of the will's act. If intellect enlightened will and allowed it to determine its act, it was in the manner of a servant and not of a master. Will itself exercised the choice that decided its object (at least where completed things were concerned), and it was completely free to follow, or not, the intellect's judgment. In other words, the representation of a finished thing as a good* is not restricting for the will, and free will was based on will's indetermination, and not on judgment's. Thus, voluntarism tried to preserve the conception of will as a self-determining faculty, at

least when it came to choosing the means. In extreme forms (John Duns Scotus, *Opus Oxoniense* IV, d. 49, q. 9 and 10; and Ockham, *Quaestiones in librum quartum Sententiarum*, q. 16), voluntarism even admits that will is not determined to an end, that it can turn away from beatitude, conceived as well *in particulari* as *in universali*, and that it remains free to turn away from it up to the vision of God. The intention that inspired this theory on will is clear: it was about subtracting will from the determinism that characterizes nature.

This voluntarist concept of liberty was supported by Alexander of Hales, John of La Rochelle, Albert the Great, Bonaventure, Matthew of Aquasparta, Henry the Great, Peter John Olivi, Giles of Rome, John Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and Gabriel Biel. It had roots in Anselm* of Canterbury (who already saw will as an *instrumentum seipsum movens*—see *De conceptione virginali et peccato*, c. 4), Bernard* of Clairvaux, Hugh of Saint Victor, and Philippe le Chancelier, all of whom confirmed the independence of the will from reason* and based human liberty on this independence.

b) *The Nature of the Beatifying Process.* In discussing this question, diverse arguments helped establish the primacy of will over intellect. Will could be thought of as superior to the intellect, as a *power*: 1) In so much as it was a self-determining power and that it escaped natural determinism, which still somewhat subjected the intellect to its regard—which is what made the nobility of the will and based its claim of being the subject of the process through which superior creatures meet God. Also, voluntarism often relied on a comparison of "acts." 2) Respective to both will and intellect, but also in the prospect of union with God. The question then is to know which act would best unite us with its object, and whether one can think that love* transcends the limits of knowledge. Voluntarism states that the voluntary act unites us more perfectly and more immediately with God than the act of "intellection," because will is drawn toward its object as it is and not toward an object known by a finite intellect: in other words, the will's act of love goes beyond the act of "intellection" because the latter reflects more the limitations of the knowing subject than the perfection of its object—a fault that does not affect the act of will because it is linked to the object in its actual reality. Thus, voluntarism rejects the unlimited confidence that intellectualism gives to intellection.

Among the sources of the voluntarist concept of love must be mentioned Bernard of Clairvaux, to whom the formula *ubi deficit intellectus ibi proficit affectus* is attributed; William of Saint Thierry, who proclaimed the superiority of love in accessing God (since

only love allows us to know God intimately); and Hugh of Saint Victor. For the beginning of the 13th century, Thomas Gallus (Thomas of Vercelli) must be named. Both relied on the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius* (for example *De divinis nominibus*, c. 4).

3) The discrimination of faculties was also done from the point of view of the *habitus*: since charity is the highest form of theological *habitus*, according to Paul (1 Cor 13:13), the faculty that brought it is also the noblest, and therefore it is responsible for the superior creatures' highest operations. 4) At other times, it was from the point of view of the object that discrimination was done: either because God is desired as a good, or because good, an object of will, is seen as nobler than the real object of intellect, following a concept that can be traced back to Plotinus, for whom Good was above being and intelligence (see Christian Platonism*). All these reasons led to situating the beatifying act in will and not in intellection.

During the 13th and 14th centuries, the most famous supporters of this voluntarist concept of beatitude were Alexander of Hales, Matthew of Aquasparta, Richard of Middleton (Mediavilla), Henry of Gand, Giles of Rome, John Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and Gabriel Biel. Bonaventure's case is delicate: to the extent that his mysticism* claimed the primacy of love over knowledge (*Itinerarium mentis ad Deum*, c. VII), his theory of beatitude showed a concern for considering them equal (in *IV Sent.*, d. 49, p. I, q. 5).

5. The Voluntarist Theory Applied to God

Applied to God, the notion of voluntarism principally serves to analyze the question of divine liberty. Here also, there is the concern of taking will away from any form of predetermination. In this case, however, one would not define voluntarism by the primacy of will over the intellect because the indeterminateness of divine will does not depend on a distinction between intellect and will in God. Quite the contrary: the voluntarist concept of the divine developed in a privileged manner among authors who rejected all distinction, including that of reason, between divine attributes*, which is perfectly clear among the nominalists of the 14th and 15th centuries and in Descartes*. The question in any case is not about the relation between will and the intellect in God, but on the relation between God and good: is the good imposed on divine will and intellect, or is it God who decides? One can measure, in such a case, what inadequacies the mention of voluntarism may have.

The most widespread expression of the idea of voluntarism applied to God consists of stating that divine action *ad extra* is not normalized by terms that would preexist divine choice: good and evil do not impose

upon divine action, but result from it. It is not because one thing is just and good that God wants it; on the contrary, it is because God wants it that the thing is good and just. Therefore, divine will is the source and the measure of good and evil, and there is no objective morality in contingent things. This is the most widespread figure of voluntarism as applied to God. In a way, the origin of this concept of values goes back to Abelard*, who had already stated, concerning the punishment inflicted on children who had died without baptism*, that it was not unjust in that it was wanted by God. The source of discrimination between good and evil is divine will, which is for us the norm of justice* (in *epist. Ad Rom.*, L. II, c. V). It remains that this statement belongs to a conception of divine action that subjects it to the principle of the better, and whose viewpoint consequently opposes voluntarism. Instead, one should search out the origin of voluntarism applied to God in John Duns Scotus, for whom the good in the domain of contingent things was also as contingent as the things themselves and came under divine will. (God, however, cannot not want his own necessary and perpetual goodness.) This form of voluntarism developed next with the nominalism of the 14th and 15th centuries, in solidarity with the negation of all distinction other than the real: the lack of distinction between divine intelligence and divine will guaranteed that will was not subjected to any rule external to itself. For William of Ockham, Gabriel Biel, and John Gerson, this independence resided in the fact that divine will was not determined with the just and good; on the contrary, it is what God wants that defines the just and the good, divine will having no other rule but itself. William of Ockham stretched this thesis up to its extreme consequences when he claimed that, *de potentia absoluta*, God could have commanded man to hate him, which would have made this act a right act, even meritorious (in *I Sent.*, d. 17, q. 3, a. 5). The theory reappeared with Descartes, who stated that good was as such because God wanted it.

The same inspiration is at the heart of a concept of omnipotence according to which divine thought and action are not subjected to a possible that would precede them, nor even to the principle of contradiction. Far from bowing to an intelligible object and to principles of intelligibility, divine omnipotence* is their source. This conception, much less widespread than the previous concept of voluntarism and still more improperly called "voluntarism," blossomed in the Cartesian theory of the creation of eternal truths, but it was already furtively supported at the beginning of the 13th century by the Dominican Hugh of Saint Cher.

•Abelard, *In epistolam ad Romanos*, I. II, c. V, PL 178, 869.
Anselm, *De libertate arbitrii*, Schmitt I, 201–26; *De conceptu virginali et originali peccato*, Schmitt II, 135–73; *De con-*

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See also Love; Charity; Intellectualism; Liberty

Vulgate.

 See Translations of the Bible, Ancient



Waldensians

The Waldensian movement appeared toward the end of the 12th century. From the outset, it claimed the freedom to live Christianity according to the model of the primitive Church* and dismissed the mores of the Catholic Church of the time. Its followers were for the most part members of the laity*. They asserted the necessity of living frugally like Christ* and the apostles*, hence the attribution to them of the name the *poor of Christ*; they were also called the *poor of Lyon* because of the geographical origin of the movement. As for the term Waldensian (in Latin *valdenses*—the word is not found in any document originating from within the community), historians have proposed two hypotheses to explain its meaning and origin. According to one, the name comes from its founder, the Lyon native Valdesius (whose name is recorded in his profession of faith* of the diocesan synod* of Lyon of 1180), or Vaudès (Gonnet 1980), or Valdès (Thouzelier 1982); the name Valdo is merely an Italian version of Vaudès or Valdès. The first name Pierre, with which it is associated from the second half of the 14th century onward (recorded in an exchange of letters between the Waldensians of Lombardy and those of Austria), reflects the intent to make a historical connection between the Waldensian movement and the apostolic age; further, the Waldensians are said from the outset to have claimed their apostolic succession*, basing it on Scripture*. All of this constitutes a Waldensian myth* that no longer has currency. The second hypothesis is based on toponymy: the adjective *valdensis* is

said to mean inhabitant of the “vaudes,” which designates a certain configuration of the landscape (*see* Bosio 1995).

If we follow the first hypothesis, which is the one that has most stimulated the imagination in the past, we are also forced to accept the “history” and its *topoi*, namely, that Valdesius or Vaudès was a rich merchant who one day decided to change his life. Among the numerous versions of his conversion* story, two particularly attractive ones converge on one point: poverty.

The first version relates that Vaudès was converted after hearing the legend of Saint Alexis sung by a troubadour. According to the *Golden Legend*, Alexis, son of a rich and noble Roman prefect of the fourth century, decided on his wedding night to give up the comfort of married life and to flee to Asia Minor, where he distributed all his wealth; poor with the poor, he in turn asked for charity. He later returned unwillingly to the house of his father, who did not recognize him; he thus continued to receive charity in his own home. The second version has it that Vaudès, a rich merchant with two daughters, fearing for his eternal salvation* because of his great wealth, decided to consult a theologian, who reminded him of the parable of the rich man (Luke 18:18–30). Following literally the advice given by Jesus* to distribute his wealth to the poor, Vaudès left his possessions to his wife, placed his daughters in the abbey of Fontevault, and left his home; thereafter, “naked as the naked Christ,” he set about preaching repentance, drawing after him a group

of the poor of Lyon, or Waldensians. Here legend ends and history begins.

A delegation of Waldensians, probably headed by Vaudès himself, went to Rome in 1179 to ask Pope Alexander III to approve the movement. The welcome was fraternal and positive, but the following year in Lyon Vaudès had to subscribe to a profession of faith as proof of his orthodoxy. And as he did not comply with the prescriptions of canon* law prohibiting the laity from preaching without authorization, Vaudès was excommunicated by the archbishop of Lyon and banished with his disciples. The Waldensians were subsequently condemned by the Council of Verona (1184), which excommunicated them and declared them schismatics, and then by the Fourth Lateran* Council in 1215 (Gonnet, *EFVI*, 50–53 and 158–60).

These events were at the origin of the Waldensian diaspora, to which were joined a few years later the poor of Lombardy, who shared the same convictions. This diaspora, starting out from the Lyon region and from Lombardy, spread throughout continental Europe, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic and from the Alps to the Danube. “This prodigious extension of the Waldensian movement toward the east constitutes one of the major events of the thirteenth century” (Audisio). A. Molnar points out that in Bohemia from the late-14th to the early-16th century, the Hussites (*see* Hus) shared on many points—poverty, proclamation of the word of God, rejection of oath taking and of the death penalty—the world-view of the Waldensians; the Czech historian even goes so far as to speak of a “Waldensian-Hussite international,” which Audisio disputes, calling it “more a project than a reality.”

In France, the Waldensians reached the south, as well as Alsace and Lorraine; in Italy, they turned toward the center (Umbria, the Abruzzi) and toward the south (Calabria and Puglia), where they established agricultural settlements that survived into the middle of the 16th century despite the persecution they suffered under the Inquisition.

This expansion in space and over time led to a large variety of sociological and doctrinal characteristics from one group to another. The Waldensian movement was in fact characterized by the dynamics of the different groups that made it up, who were united by a deep desire to restore the Church to the purity of its origins. Because of all this diversity, some historians now prefer to speak of Waldensian movements in the plural, in order to show the plurality of the theological and ideological positions running through them (Merlo).

The Waldensians practiced a religious propaganda that was transmitted from person to person, in cities and in the countryside, always clandestinely because of the Inquisition. The itinerant preachers, who were

called *barba* (“uncle” in Piedmontese) in the 15th and 16th centuries, were generally merchants, artisans, or peasants. Among them at the beginning were also women*, a few defrocked priests*, and a few monks. Their culture was essentially biblical. Preaching* was done in the language of the audience rather than in Latin; the ministry* of the word was carried out on the basis of translations of the Scriptures, such as the “Bibles*” of Vaudès of Lyon or the Waldensians of Metz, or the German translation of the Tepl codex.

From the point of view of “ecclesiastical organization,” the Waldensian groups met once a year in general “chapters” in the various countries in which they were located. On this occasion, they would take up collections designed to ensure the subsistence of preachers and of the poor.

In the beginning, there were no notable distinctions among the members of the Waldensian brotherhood, defined in 1218 as *societas* rather than *congregatio*; later, a first division separated ministers and simple believers, then the ministers themselves were divided into bishops, elders, and deacons*: a rudimentary hierarchy of *primi inter pares* analogous to what is set out in the epistles of Paul, with at its head a *mayoralis* to whom all owed obedience.

Doctrinally, the poor of Lyon were placed in the same category as the heretics of the Middle Ages, and this was true from the time they were banished from their city of origin; this is evidenced by the general excommunication of 1215 pronounced by Lateran IV, including within a single anathema all those who, although having different faces, were linked by their tails (*see* the foxes of Jgs 15:4) because of their common aversion to “holy orthodoxy and the Catholic faith.”

“*Excommunicamus...et anathematizamus omnem haeresim, extollentem se adversus hanc sanctam orthodoxam et catholicam fidem...condemnantes haereticos universos, quibuscumque nominibus censeantur, facies quidem diversas habentes, sed caudas ad invicem colligatas, quia de vanitate conveniunt in id ipsum*” (G. Gonnet, *EFVI*, 161): “We excommunicate...and anathematize every heresy* that rises up against this holy, orthodox, and Catholic faith, condemning all heretics, whatever name they are given, who have different faces, but tails linked to one another, for their vanity comes together in this very way.”

Despite changes and adaptations, the inevitable syncretism with other heretical credos, and the numerous attempts at concealment or Nicodemism, the unchanging bases of Waldensianism stood firm on three pillars: poverty, preaching, and the Gospels. Of these “three piers” (Audisio), it was preaching that brought about

the break with Rome, since the ministry of the word, for the Catholic church, could be exercised only by the clergy.

While three fundamental elements characterized the Waldensian movement at the beginning, four major attitudes ran through it throughout the late Middle Ages. In summary, they were: 1) the rejection of the hierarchical structure of the official church and its salvific power; 2) the devaluation of sacraments* celebrated by unworthy priests (Donatism*); 3) hostility toward cemeteries, buildings for worship, and even chasubles, incense, holy water, images*, and the sound of bells, as symbols of the official church; 4) the rejection of any practice or ceremony without justification in the Scriptures, particularly in the New Testament (the center of which was represented by the Sermon on the Mount), such as holidays in honor of saints or of the Virgin, processions, fasting, adoration of the cross and its symbolic representation, indulgences*, prayers for the dead, and the existence of purgatory*; more concretely, the rejection of lying, oath taking, and any act of violence*, including the death penalty. (On confession and the Eucharist*, see Audisio 1989.) In political and social terms, all these rejections led to the wholesale rejection of the *Constantinian status* of the church. The hostility of the Waldensians toward every form of religious or civil compromise led to their being outlawed from society until the years 1530–60. The signal of change came from the synod of Chanforan (a Piedmont village), where the leaders of the movement decided to become a church on the model of the Reformed churches. Between the formal adhesion to the Reformation (Chanforan) and the implementation of these decisions, thirty years went by, in the course of which the Waldensians changed radically. Indeed, they abandoned evangelical poverty, they accepted oath taking, they authorized private property for ministers, and they rejected confession and their other pious practices. At Chanforan, the Waldensian movement died (Audisio); the *Valdese* church, which took its place, no longer had anything in common with what Waldensianism had been: “With Chanforan in 1532 in principle, and in practice around 1560, Waldensianism died out. Practically everything that made up the religious characteristics of this dissident movement—and that defined its specificity in Europe, with respect to both the Roman Church and the Churches of the Reformation—disappeared. I repeat, religiously speaking, being a Waldensian and being Reformed is contradictory. One could only be one or the other. From this point of view, Waldensianism was drowned in the Reformation. It is appropriate to speak of death” (Audisio).

These remarks seem categorical, but Audisio (“practically everything”) nevertheless leaves a gap through

which one might slip in an attempt to show that being Waldensian and Reformed is not as contradictory as he claims, at least on two important points: the *sola scriptura* (the insistence that Scripture is the sole source of authority for Christian doctrine) and the assertion that Christ is the only bishop* of the Church.

Whereas Waldensian historiography from the 13th to the 15th century is essentially based on documents coming from the Inquisition, from controversy, and from chronicles, there was a flowering of confessional historiographies starting in the 16th, and particularly in the 17th century: Protestant (Miolo and Lentolo along with two anonymous writers, Perrin, Gilles, Morland, and Léger) and Catholic (Rorengo, Belvedere, and Charvaz). On both sides, the historiography took the form of apologetics.

All those who had in one way or another opposed the prerogatives of Rome before the Protestant Reformation, in the dogmatic and ecclesiastical realm or simply in matters of morals and politics, were considered as martyrs of the true faith, as *testes veritatis* (Crespin) or as *reclamatores* (Flacius Illyricus). The 18th century produced only the *Histoire des Vaudois* of Jacques Brez (1796), written along Voltairean lines with the aim of condemning all forms of religious intolerance. It was not until the late-19th century that the first scientific study of *Histoire vaudoise* appeared, in which history triumphs over mythology (Emilio Comba).

The colloquia of Aix-en-Provence (1988) and Torre Pellice (1992) illustrate the tendencies of 20th-century Waldensian historiography, situated between two extreme approaches: the first, ultra-apologetic, is represented by Giorgio Tourn, who has attempted to rehabilitate the legends about the existence of Waldensians before Vaudès himself, placing them in a schema in which the “theology* of history” is to be understood in the sense of a “theology realized in history”; the second is the approach of Gabriel Audisio, which can only be defined as nonconformist, going so far as to doubt the legitimacy of the term Waldensian, and for whom the synod of Chanforan represents the death of Waldensianism. From the religious point of view, according to him, no continuity is possible between Waldensianism before and after Chanforan. As a consequence, the *Valdese* church, which claims to be its legitimate descendant, is, in his view, anything but its heir.

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See also **Beguines; Catharism; Heresy; Hus Jan; Protestantism**

War

A. Biblical Materials

1. The Conduct of War in the Ancient Middle East

In Mesopotamia (*Gilgamesh* I ii 7–17) as in Palestine, the earliest armies originated from militias composed of the property-owning members of the village, tribe, or other form of community. In societies that did not yet possess state structures, the challenge was to bring such small contingents together in times of danger so

that they would be capable of forming a force adequate for waging war (Jgs 5:14–18; 1 Sm 11; Am 5:3). Once states had been formed, permanent corps attached to the "king's household" appeared alongside the militias. Such corps could be formed from vassals, mercenaries, or slaves (1 Sm 8:11f.; Dt 17:16). David started out as the "captain" of a band of outlaws (1 Sm 22:2;

see also Jgs 11:3 on Jephthah), but once he had become king in Jerusalem* he had a guard made up of foreigners, “the Cherethites and the Pelethites” (2 Sm 8:18 and 20:23). These professional soldiers were generally better equipped and more effective than the militiamen were. After his flight across the Jordan, David and his “servants” defeated the “men of Israel” (*‘am yisra’el*) commanded by Absalom (2 Sm 18:7). In the narratives* on the premonarchical period, we frequently find militias attempting to compensate for their operational inferiority by means of ruses (Jos 7ff.; Jgs 1:24ff., 7, and 9:43ff.).

Groups of soldiers were organized along administrative lines rather than on a tactical basis, with divisions into units of 10, 50, and so on. A commander could deploy his troops on the terrain before a battle, but once the attack had been launched there was no way in which he could make any further intervention. The soldiers’ action consisted in throwing themselves into the mêlée while making as much noise as possible, in the hope that the enemy would take fright and flee (see Jgs 7:16ff.). When this did not happen, each side regarded itself as victorious (e.g., at the battle of Qarqar, between Salmanasar III and the Syrian alliance, in 853 B.C.). Not many soldiers died in battle: there were fewer than 100 fatalities in the battles of Thutmose III. Hot pursuit of a defeated army could end in a massacre, but everyone knew that a runaway who got rid of his equipment could run faster than a fully armed soldier. From the time of the Hyksos up to that of the Persians, chariots were used mainly to instill terror in the enemy’s footsoldiers (see Ex 14:7; Jgs 1:19, 4:3, 5:22); they had limited effectiveness in battle, particularly on uneven or waterlogged terrain (Ex 14:25 and 15:21; Jgs 5:20f.). Away from the battlefield, the chariot was no more than a symbol of prestige (2 Sm 15:1). In general, wars broke out only in good weather (2 Sm 11:1), when the rains had made the terrain practicable and the first harvests made it possible to feed the troops.

2. The Theology of War

a) Was Israel Unique? In 1951, G. von Rad suggested that an institution that he called “holy war” (an expression that does not appear in the Bible) lay behind the biblical texts. He believed that this was a unique type of warfare, specific to ancient Israel. This suggestion has been subjected to far-reaching reconsideration in recent years. On the one hand, much has been made of the fact that the texts are *literary* reworkings, often undertaken at a later date, of archaic practices, some real, some imaginary. On the other hand, and even more importantly, we can now take account

of the fact that all the elements that von Rad took to be characteristic of the “war of YHWH”—rituals of convocation, rules of purity*, consultation of a divine oracle, the symbolic presence of God* inside a palladium of war (the Ark), God’s intervention in combat, divine terror paralyzing the enemy, the offering of spoils to God after a victory, and so on—were by no means specific to Israel, but can also be found in other war narratives from the ancient Middle East, notably those of the Assyrians (see Weippert).

b) Content. The underlying conception is always the same. Only the gods who established the order of the world are capable of preserving and modifying it. The king is charged with executing the divine will by protecting order against chaos. His mission is therefore to combat anything that poses a threat, internal or external, to the creation*, whether it be human enemies or wild animals: thus, both war and hunting become royal obligations (but also prerogatives) *par excellence*. Hence, it is natural for gods to intervene in war (Ex 14:14; Jgs 5:4ff.) and for a king and his soldiers to obey the requirements of ritual (Jos 7; 1 Sm 13–15; 2 Sm 2:1 and 11:11). Victory in turn is always attributed to the divinity. Only the divinity, who accompanies his or her protégé, the king, onto the battlefield, is capable of unleashing the panic that scatters the enemy, as witness the way in which Rameses III’s victories, whether over foreign armies or over bands of wild animals, are represented on the walls of the temple of Medinet Habu. All these features are especially clear from the second half of the second millennium B.C.: the iconography of Syria and Palestine shows that this was a period of increasing “militarization” of the pantheon (Keel and Uehlinger 1992).

Israel too developed in this context: the Israelites’ self-definition as *‘am YHWH* should be understood, not as “people of YHWH,” but, first and foremost, as “militia of YHWH” (Jgs 5:2), women, children, and the old being excluded from it (Lohfink 1971). Israel, in this sense, was understood to be an army in the service of YHWH; J. Wellhausen was quite right to say that for Israel the military camp was “the cradle of the nation” (1894). YHWH’s primary function was to wage “YHWH’s wars,” a function dreaded even by his enemies (Jgs 5; 1 Kgs 20:23).

c) Rereadings and Reinterpretations. After the fall of the northern kingdom to the Assyrians in 720 B.C., neither Israelites nor Judeans were in any position to wage war any longer. They compensated for what could have appeared to be YHWH’s defeat on the battlefield with intensive literary activity, producing narratives in which the very birth of Israel was described

as the victory of a warrior god over a powerful enemy (Ex 14). In this literature, now known as “Deuteronomist,” the existence of Israel in the land is attributed to a founding act of violence*, which, however, is historically fictitious: the conquest of Canaan under Joshua’s command. The writers of these texts emphasize the radical character of this conquest (Jos 11:16–20) and YHWH’s nature as a warrior; they even exaggerate the latter, somewhat paradoxically, since they were writing at a time when Israel no longer had either a state or an army. In this warlike utopia, God’s actions are so powerful and so decisive that they come to be sufficient in themselves, so that human actors are reduced to passivity (Ex 14:13f.; Jos 10:10; Jgs 4:15; 1 Sm 7:10). From this there followed what may be called the “pacifism” of the “holy war” in Israel.

d) Oppositions. The Deuteronomist theology* was originally formulated in response to the Assyrian invasion, but, from the outset, its radical emphasis on YHWH the warrior aroused some opposing voices. In the tradition of the classic prophets*, there are several passages in which excessive violence (Is 7:9b; Hos 1:4) or the illusory character of military power (Is 31:1; Hos 1:7) are denounced, and hope is expressed for the disappearance of war (Is 2:4 and 11:6–9; Hos 2:20; Mi 4:1–4; compare Jl 4:10). In Amos’s oracles against the nations (Am 1:3–2:3), one can even discern the beginnings of the idea of “war crimes.” In the context of war, which itself seems to be attributed to fate, the prophet denounces precisely those acts that, no longer being explicable by strategic necessities, arise from gratuitous cruelty: the putting to death of entire populations (1:3), large-scale deportation (1:6), the disemboweling of pregnant women (1:13), and the profanation of corpses (2:1). The latter two crimes symbolize attacks on life beyond the limits of a human lifetime (Amsler 1981). The Deuteronomist legislation on war (Dt 20) contains not only prescriptions directly inspired by the brutality of the Assyrians (20:10–18), but additions aimed at humanizing war (20:19f.) or making it impossible to wage war in practice (20: 5–9).

The theological current that was at the greatest distance from the Deuteronomist perspective was the “priestly” theology. Its version of the birth of Israel does not present the departure from Egypt as a battle, nor does it conceive the entry into Canaan as a war of conquest. Indeed, in the priestly version violence is part of the corruption of the creation (Gn 6:9–13). Accordingly, in the covenant* concluded with Noah—that is, with the whole of humanity—God himself renounces war, in order to inaugurate a world based on justice and no longer on violence. He provides a sign of this intention by suspending a bow (the quintessen-

tial weapon of divine war) in the clouds. Visible to every human being, the rainbow is to serve as a permanent reminder that God has put away his weapon and that they too are invited to conceive their lives without recourse to war (Gn 9:12–17; see Zenger and Batto). As for the writer of the Chronicles, with his particular interest in the Temple, he introduces into the ancient narrative a new view that is resolutely opposed to war: God did not permit David to build the Temple because he had shed blood in battle (1 Chr 22:8).

3. The New Testament

The New Testament texts, pervaded as they are by the expectation of an imminent eschatological dénouement, display a correspondingly lesser interest in the state and its institutions: as a result, war is not among their concerns. Luke’s Gospel*, the only one to make any allusion to war, seems to regard it as no more than a distant phenomenon (Lk 14:31) that has little impact on the conditions of Christians’ lives, even in the case of Christian soldiers (Lk 3:14). The warrior heritage of the Old Testament tradition appears, if at all, only in Jesus’ saying, “I have not come to bring peace, but a sword” (Mt 10:34). The Pauline* corpus contains metaphors drawn from war and from sporting combat alike, but they have more to do with Paul’s polemical style of rhetoric than with any expression of opinion on war (Merkelbach 1975). Large-scale scenes of war are staged in Revelation, but the focus of the text is on the sacrificial Lamb (Rev 5:6; and see 12:11).

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See also Animals; Apocalyptic Literature; City; Creation; Decalogue; Israel; Peace; People; Priesthood; Violence

B. Moral Theology

There have been three positions on the subject of war in the history of Christianity: pacifism (there can be no true Christian justification of war); the theory of just war (there are criteria for the moral justification of war); and realism (no limit can be placed on war beyond reason of state). The theory of just war, which holds that it may be a duty to defend political order (city*) and justice* by war, has contributed to the formation of the international law* of war.

a) Patristic Era. The church* did not face the question of participation in war until the fourth century. Before then, Christians had largely stood apart from social responsibility. There is clear evidence, however, that Christians served in the Roman army from before 200, although bishops* and theologians appealed to the faithful to avoid military service and bloodshed (e.g., Athenagoras in the second century, Clement of Alexandria [c. 150–c. 215], Tertullian*, Origen*, Lactantius [c. 240–c. 320]). Pacifists appealed to love of enemies (Mt 5:44) and the concern to avoid bloodshed.

Augustine*, like Ambrose*, held that one should not defend himself against violence on his own account, but that one may have a duty to defend the innocent. This is why, according to Augustine, the wise man may wage a just war (*De Civitate Dei* XIX, 7). Augustine's arguments for the tragic necessity of warfare rested on the conviction that injustice is worse than death (*Contra Faustum Manichaeum* XXII, 74). The foundations of the idea of just war are all to be found in Augustine's writings (see, e.g., *Ep.* 47, 189). The soldier may rightly obey the commands of public authority* to fight in a just cause, the evils of war being limited to those that are necessary to remedy injustice.

b) Middle Ages and the 16th century. Thomas* Aquinas gives three criteria of just war: 1) the authority of the sovereign that decides upon it; 2) the existence of a just cause (some wrong is to be put right); and 3) the existence of a right intention* that aims to promote the good* and avoid evil* (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 40). There are classes of people that are not to be involved in fighting, including priests* and members of religious orders.

Aquinas's successors developed these ideas with the aid of arguments drawn from natural law, *ius gentium* (the law of nations), and the gospel, and articulated a theological and legal casuistry* of war. Their theories defined who legitimately had authority to wage "private wars" as well as those decided upon by the state (see church* and state); what the nature of the just cause was; and what just means could be used in war: thus, they recommended the humane treatment of women, children, and prisoners.

This tradition culminated in the work of Vitoria (c. 1483–1546) and Suarez*. Vitoria criticized certain aspects of the Spanish wars of conquest in South America, arguing strongly against some of the justifications offered by the conquistadors, and condemning their lack of humanity. Controversially, he thought it possible that both sides in a conflict could rightly consider themselves to be defending a just cause (*De iure belli* 2, 4). Suarez combined thorough analysis with a keen awareness of practical realities. A just cause is, in principle, "a grave injustice that cannot be avenged or repaired in any other way," yet Suarez adds that an apparently slight matter may be serious since it may lead to greater harm (*De bello*, diss. XIII, 4 in *De fide, spe et caritate*).

Grotius (1583–1645) stood in the same tradition of synthesis of theology and law. Since war is analogous to judicial proceedings, those who undertake war are subject to legal restraints. The only legitimate cause is injury received; the grounds for a war must therefore be either legitimate* defense, or recovery of property, or punishment of wrong (*De iure belli ac pacis* II, I, 2). Grotius distinguishes (ibid., III, 8, 6–12) between conduct actually permitted by international law, and the requirements of moderation laid down by natural law* and the gospel (for instance, in sparing captives—*temperamenta belli*, that which makes war more temperate). Grotius consistently rejects the view that war lies outside the constraint of law, as merely a matter of reason of state. His new synthesis of natural law with *ius gentium*, which he interpreted as the customary law of nations, did much to provide foundations for international law.

The use of force has rarely been held to be a legitimate means of promoting the Christian faith*, despite the Crusades. Claims of a holy war have recurred from time to time, justified perhaps by invoking the Old Testament or the will of God*, for example in Innocent III's view that the pope may authorize war to punish sins* and overcome heresy*, or the view of John Knox (c. 1514–72) that there is a religious duty of revolution to oppose idolatry*. The main theorists of just war never accepted such views, but they never wholly repudiated the use of force when justice requires it. For Vitoria, for instance, it is legitimate to wage war in order to ensure unhindered passage for missionaries (*De Indis* 3, 2).

c) 17th–19th Centuries. The pleas of Grotius for the legal restraint of war largely fell on deaf ears in the international community. Shifts in the political and philosophical climate meant that the just-war tradition fell into disuse from the 17th to the 19th centuries. A divinely given framework for political morality was replaced by a construction of social morality beginning from individual rights. An important implication was the increased role of legitimate defense as a justification for war. When self-defense, based on the individual right of self-preservation, became the foundational element of justice, it led eventually to the concept of total war, because the right to self-preservation can effectively legitimize any action to that end. Another rationale for total war suggests that the more horrible war can be made, the more human beings will be discouraged from undertaking it—an idea that later became important for deterrence theories (see Tolstoy, *War and Peace* III, 2, 25).

d) 20th Century. The law of war had to wait until the Hague Conventions (1899, 1907) for systematic codi-

fication. These conventions eschewed the problem of just cause, concentrating on restraints on the conduct of war. The effect of these conventions was somewhat undermined by technological developments, especially in aviation, that transformed the conditions of war in the 20th century. Attempts to renew them in the Geneva Conventions of 1949 concentrated on the humanitarian aspect of law—that is, on the treatment of prisoners of war, the wounded, and civilians—rather than on the conduct of war. The traditional concerns of *ius in bello* were not brought up to date in international law until the Geneva Protocols of 1977. Meanwhile, the United Nations Charter (1945) had modified the law of just cause to restrict independent states to any but defensive resorts to war.

The revival of the theory of just war began significantly only with World War II. Until then, the churches' reactions were divided between pacifism and realism. The just-war tradition survived mainly as a more-or-less conventional list of seven criteria of justice. Five of these concern just recourse to war (*ius ad bellum*): war may be waged only by legitimate authority; there must be just cause to go to war; there should be right intention (such as to restore peace); war must be the last resort; and there must be a reasonable prospect of success. The other two criteria concern the just conduct of war (*ius in bello*): there should not be any direct attack on those not materially assisting the fighting (the principle of discrimination); and the costs of war should be in proportion to the benefits expected from it (the principle of proportion).

The aerial bombardment of cities raised sharp doubts about the concept of total, unlimited war (Ford 1944). Further pressing questions were raised by nuclear arms and deterrence; the weakness of the just-war tradition, combined with war-weariness, led many to espouse one form or other of pacifism. In relating just-war criteria to modern war, the principle of discrimination most evidently required clarification. According to P. Ramsey (1913–88) (1968), the principle requires not that noncombatants should be completely immune from any danger, but that they should not be directly attacked (the principle of double-effect intention allowing that civilians may suffer unintended hurt). Further, in relation to aerial bombing, it is not necessary to distinguish precisely between combatants and noncombatants, since one can distinguish attacks on civilian populations generally from those on armed forces. Ramsey holds that this principle of discrimination is morally exceptionless. On the realist side, W. O'Brien (1981) and R. Harries (1986) interpret the principle with greater flexibility, as an aspect of the principle of proportion. The debate is complex, for example in handling the awkward question of the moral

relationship between the use of nuclear weapons and nuclear deterrence. Those who have most strongly insisted on the primacy of discrimination (W. Stein 1961, J. Finnis, G. Grisez 1987) have tended toward “nuclear pacifism” (no nuclear weapons should ever be used), a view often hard to distinguish from pure pacifism (e.g., J. Yoder 1984). Many others have striven to reconcile the tradition with the complexities of deterrence theory and the concern for international security (e.g., J. Hehir 1976, D. Hollenbach 1983, F. Böckle 1984). Vatican* II, and the US Catholic bishops (1983), both allow nuclear deterrence a provisional legitimacy, as an interim arrangement. The realists stress the gains of deterrence, while others emphasize the urgency of disarmament. Others again point out that it is the hope of total security that has fueled strategies of deterrence, and that more limited political hopes need to accompany more limited possibilities for war (Ramsey; O. O’Donovan 1989).

The contemporary renewal of the idea of just war has concerned more than nuclear deterrence. In the case of international law itself, there has been strong moral pressure to limit the means of war, and this has had some effect on armaments policies. Relationships between international authority and individual states also call attention to questions of just authority and the right of intervention (as in the Gulf War, 1991). With the collapse of the Soviet empire and the fading of the Cold War, questions of national self-determination claim greater attention. The morality of insurgency and counter-insurgency warfare raises acute questions, which should be addressed from both *ius ad bellum* and *ius in bello* perspectives.

The just-war tradition has lost none of its relevance, provided that one accepts its central contention, and believes that it is possible to impose moral and legal limits on justified war. Maritain (1882–1973) observed that morality is the claim of reason to direct life (cited in Ramsey 1968). War is in its own way a rational activity, and is therefore potentially subject to the claims

of natural law and the gospel—or so the tradition has claimed.

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See also Authority; Law and Christianity; Peace; Revolution; Violence

Wesley, John. *See* Methodism

Wholly Other

The idea of God* as “wholly other,” *das Ganz Andere*, appeared in 1917 in *The Idea of the Holy*, a book by the neo-Kantian philosopher R. Otto. It was adopted and abundantly orchestrated in the “crisis theology” of the young Karl Barth* and his friends. Its distant origins lie in ancient assertions of the transcendence of God, or of the One, as the other (*thatéron* in Plotinus), or the entirely other (*aliud valde* in Augustine*). Its immediate origin, with respect to “dialectical” theologies, is the “infinite qualitative difference” that separates God

from man in Kierkegaard*. Nicholas* of Cusa provided in advance a significant nuance by also using, with reference to God, the concept of “non-other” (*non aliud*). The idea of God as being “always greater” (Rahner*), or of the dissimilarity always being greater than any resemblance (Przywara, re-reading Lateran* IV on analogy*), is sometimes close to the concept of God as “wholly other.”

JEAN-YVES LACOSTE

See also **Analogy**

William of Auxerre. *See* **Scholasticism**

William of Champeaux. *See* **Saint-Victor, School of**

William of Conches. *See* **Chartres, School of**

William of Ockham. *See* **Nominalism**

William of Saint Thierry. *See* Bernard of Clairvaux

Wisdom

A. Biblical Theology

In the Bible*, “wisdom” is the practical capacity to use methods, in trade (Ez 28:4f.), handicrafts (Sir 38:31), navigation (Ez 27:8f.), the art and profession of the scribe (Prv 22:29; Ps 45:2; Sir 38:24), and strategy (2 Sm 16:23), as well as in politics and other domains. Wisdom serves to resolve everyday problems in order to achieve one’s purpose in life. It is neutral: the term is applied to the competence of the craftsman whether he makes idols (Is 40:20; Jer 10:9) or accessories for the cult* of YHWH (Ex 28:3, 31:3, and 31:6; 1 Kgs 7:14), and it is even used to describe criminal scheming (Ex 1:10; *see* Acts 7:19 and 2 Sm 13:3) or the plan of salvation* (Rom 11:33). Since law* was seen as being both the medium that encompasses all the domains of life and the method that leads human beings to God*, there was increasingly a tendency in Israel* to identify the law of Moses with wisdom (Dt 4:6; Sir 24:23; Bar 4:1). Biblical wisdom is exemplary in its sobriety and has little to do with the unfathomable. Nevertheless, the people of Israel, who had at least as much wisdom as any other people, could not help but wonder what relationship could bring together God and the sum of his manifestations. Their God, who was more and more firmly recognized as unique (monotheism*), had always spoken and acted as if he was very intimate with this world*, yet remained other than this world. In uniting this sum of manifestations under the name “wisdom,” a number of texts animate the concept, giving it the vivid characteristics of a being born from God (Prv 8:22–31; Sir 24; Bar 3:9–4:4; Wis 6:12–8:21). These texts were to catch the attention of those who wrote the New Testament.

1. Old Testament

a) *Vocabulary.* The Hebrew terminology is fairly diverse: *chakam*, “the wise one” (which appears 138

times), is endowed with “wisdom,” *chokmah* (153 times) or *tevounah* (42 times); *binah* (36 times), “penetration” or “discernment”; or *da‘at*, “knowledge” (with God as object in Is 11:9; Hos 4:1 and 4:6; Wis 2:13 and so on). *Sakal* and other related forms, such as *sakal* (*hi*), which appear 58 times and have a less certain meaning (Gn 3:6; Is 52:13; Dn 11:33, 12:10), evoke light, expansion, and success. Wisdom functions through advice or plan (*‘eṣah*; 88 times), or through calculation (*machashavah*); is transmitted through education (*mousar*; 50 times), and is related to secrets (*sod*; 21 times) and mystery* (Aramaic *raz*, as in Dn 9:9).

b) *Location and Transmission of Wisdom.* Wisdom is especially associated with the family home and the entourage of chiefs, as well as with the king’s court, his army, and his advisers. Some women* are presented as exemplars of wisdom within the political order (1 Sm 25:33; 2 Sm 14:2) or the economy (Prv 31:10–31). God possesses his own wisdom, and applies its technical genius in the work of creation* and of salvation. However, for a long time the domain of wisdom remained separate from that of religion, and wisdom is explicitly acknowledged as existing outside Israel (Jer 49:7; Is 19:11; Ez 28:3; Ob 8; Dn 2:18 and so on; and *see* universalism*). Yet, after all was said and done, the Torah was a written text, and the priesthood could not exercise any of its function without wisdom. The importance of the scribes within the social fabric increased continuously, and it was through them that human beings were made aware of the Law and the Prophets*; hence their link with wisdom. The main product of the scribes was the Bible itself, and it was they who frequently remodeled the text.

c) *Literary Genres.* The forms specifically associated with wisdom and practiced in the schools include

proverbs, enigmas, parables*, macarisms (“Happy is he who...”), numbered lists, and alphabetical poems. Other forms, such as satire, or songs for funerals, weddings, or grape harvests, were brought by the scribes from folk sources into literature, and were used by the major prophets under the monarchy. In the Law and the Prophets, God speaks to humanity, but in these texts human beings speak on their own behalf; hence the difference in tone, for example in those psalms* that are typical of “wisdom literature” (such as Ps 1, 34, 73). The wise man does not decree law, but records observations on the good life, on the principle that doing good* makes for happiness. He also celebrates the good life, as, for example, in the Song of Songs, in which God, without being named, is praised in his double aspect as masculine and feminine (couple*). The wise were concerned with life and means of protecting life: a long time was to pass before their reflections on death* became prominent.

d) Mutations. Wisdom was praised for being unchanging, and yet it had a history. The monarchy was a time of crisis for wisdom. The king was the living symbol of wisdom, and several books were conventionally attributed to Solomon, but he was also the symbol of the dangers of wisdom. Withdrawal and reliance on adequate means took the place of the achievement of liberty*, and Israel was absorbed into the nations (giving rise to paganism*), instead of opening up to them. The sources diverge in two contradictory directions. The narrative of Adam and Eve’s sin (Gn 3) can be interpreted as describing the king being tempted (temptation*) to use knowledge in order to efface the difference between good and evil*: the king’s human wisdom is set up as a rival to God’s wisdom. The Book of Proverbs reminds its readers of the revelations imparted to Israel simply by using the name YHWH (56 times in Prv 10:1–22:29) and is “universalistic” to the point of closing following the Egyptian narrative of the wisdom of Amenemope (Prv 22:17–23:14). Deuteronomy is the first text in which the law of Moses is identified with wisdom. It follows that wisdom becomes a central “character” in a narrative that, rather than being limited to phases in the creation of the world (Prv 8:22–31), pervades the whole of history, whether undramatically (Sir 24 and 44–50) or with its own tragedies (Bar 3:9–4:4; Wis 10 and so on). The literary genre of ironic wisdom, which was widely known outside Israel as well, reveals wisdom being defeated: in Job’s case, traditional wisdom (see H. Rowley, *BJRL* 41, pp. 167–207), and, in the case of Ecclesiastes, any kind of wisdom at all.

These aporias prefigure apocalyptic* literature, which is the most paradoxical category among biblical

texts since it combines two domains that were originally completely separate, wisdom and revelation*. This is both a scholarly and anthologizing genre, and many of its enigmas cannot be deciphered without help from the interpreting angel*. The secrets plumbed by this new wisdom are inaccessible, and yet they are communicated; they range from the beginning to the end of history, and back again. The central mystery is the suffering of the just, whether taken as individuals or as a group. It is possible to reconstruct some of the stages in this mutation. Ironic wisdom (Prv 30:2ff.) had already led the wise close to the dying (Job; Ecclesiastes); the poems of the Servant are saturated with the vocabulary of wisdom; the apocalyptic genre was already well-developed when, during the reign of Augustus, the martyrdom* of the just man, victim of his own faithfulness to God and God’s law, is described in the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon as “the end of the wise” (Wis 4:17). Here we see the return of the ancient hope of the wise. The conclusion of the same book presents the departure out of Egypt as a “mobilized” renewal of the creation (Wis 5:17–23, 16:17b, 19:6) in order to raise the bodies (see soul*-heart-body) of the just from death (see resurrection* of the dead). This is an encyclopedic (Wis 7:16–21), eloquent, thoughtful wisdom that welcomes the impossible.

e) Is Wisdom a Living Being (Hypostasis)? The primary mode of transmission of wisdom was the tradition passed on from earlier generations: it seemed natural that wisdom would induce its disciples to turn to their ancestors and instructors, and to earlier ancestors and instructors, and so on back to the primordial origin of all truth*. Through poetic means, Proverbs 8:22–31 and, later, Wisdom 7:25 suggest that Wisdom emanates eternally from God, but is not merged with the world. Its opposite, Folly, is also personified, but the symmetry is not exploited, while reflection on Wisdom goes further, as Wisdom accompanies human beings, or the people, up to the end. Wisdom has spoken, taking itself as the subject of its own discourse, and for this purpose it borrows forms from mythology, such as the lists of virtues or “self-preachings” of the goddess Isis (see A.J. Festugière, *HThR*, 42, pp. 209–34). Following the translation into Greek of Ecclesiasticus and, even more importantly, the Wisdom of Solomon, the opportunity arose for Hellenism to insert the rudiments of philosophy into the biblical tradition: thought became less naïve, but was no less audacious. Wisdom, an entity distinct from God, and as intimate with human beings as with God, is never addressed as a divinity or as a mediator that can intercede for human beings. Instead, it is sought from God as his supreme gift, and it sums up in itself all the other entities through which

God manifests himself: Name, Presence, Glory*, Cloud, Angel of YHWH, Spirit (Wis 7:22–25a), Holy* Spirit (Wis 9:17), Word* (Wis 9:1). Christian biblical theology, immobilized by a legitimate fear of projecting the revelation of the New Testament onto the Old Testament, and distrustful of ideas expressed in poetic forms, has often responded nervously to the audacity of such texts. Nevertheless, it has not been able to ignore this way of handling the problem of monotheism*, these poetic traces of an inquiry into the nature of God. To do so would be to ignore the effects that this approach has had upon several traditions that cannot be reduced to the New Testament alone (*see* G. W. McRae 1970), as well as to project onto the Old Testament the image of a stiff and conceptually impoverished monotheism, on the pretext of maintaining the difference between the two.

Within Judaism*, there have been debates on, for example, the *shekīnah* or “habitation” of God upon Earth or in a chosen place. This notion has been maintained within monotheism without, however, being reduced to functioning merely as literary ornament (Urbach 1979).

2. New Testament

a) *Vocabulary.* The terminology of wisdom (*sophia*, “wisdom,” 51 times; *phronimos*, “sensible,” 14 times; and related terms) is more diverse than that of its opposites. Syntagms include: “wisdom of God” (Lk 11:49; Rom 11:33; 1 Cor 1:21, 1:25, 2:7; Eph 3:10); “foolishness of God” (1 Cor 1:25); and “Christ Jesus, whom God made our wisdom” (1 Cor 1:30).

b) *Jesus.* The Gospels* take to an extreme the proximity of God, the possibility of joining with him in the most common forms of life, indeed everything that was to be expressed in later times in the word “incarnation*.” In this way, it takes on the heritage of biblical wisdom, as may be verified on a number of levels. Wisdom is attributed to Jesus* as a characteristic (Mt 13:54; Mk 6:2; Lk 2:40 and 2:52; *see* Mt 12:42). Above all, wisdom permeates the language of the gospels, and is expressed in maxims (e.g., Mt 5:13a, 5:14f., 5: 18, 20:6, 22:21; Lk 15:27; Jn 8:7; Mk 4:25), many of them preserved in the form of proverbial phrases (paremic), such as “salt of the earth,” “light of the world,” “eleventh hour,” “render to Caesar,” “killed the fattened calf,” “the first to throw the stone,” “the wheat from the chaff,” or “not an iota” (N. Gueunier, *CILL* 1991, 17/4). These phrases have not yet disappeared from our language.

In itself, this style is evidence that close attention is being paid to contemporary life; and this is confirmed

by the general tone of the teaching. The Gospels contain references to domestic, agricultural and military experience (Lk 14:28–32); above all, and to a greater extent than in any other biblical texts, there are references to the handling of money (nine different monetary denominations are mentioned). This is a revealing trait: the purpose is less to evoke simple moderation than to recommend shrewdness, from the praise for the foresight or calculation of the architect (Mt 7:24), the householder (Mt 24:43), the organizer of the wedding feast (Jn 2:10), the guest (Lk 14:7–11 and 21:9), the judge (Lk 18:4), and the litigant (Mt 5:25f.), to the praise of the steward who does well to be dishonest (Lk 16:1–12). The same trait is confirmed, most notably, in the parables*, which subject their listeners to radical tests, overturning the usual notion of wisdom with an effect already observed in the Old Testament. Daniel praised God for giving wisdom to the wise; Jesus praises him for hiding it from them and revealing it to the simple (Dn 2:22f.; Mt 11:25; *see* Lk 10:21f.). In Mark’s Gospel in particular, parables contain secrets that challenge the intellect and cause the appearance of resistance in the heart (Mk 4:12), since they are concerned with the “secret of the kingdom” (Mk 4:11). This phrase, along with the enigmatic character of the parables, brings a genre that originated in wisdom literature closer to the apocalyptic. Jesus “teaches” (Mk 9:31) his disciples that his crucifixion and resurrection* are necessary; according to Luke, it is foolishness (Lk 24:25) as much as hardheartedness that causes this truth not to be understood.

In the synoptic gospels, wisdom structures the events of salvation (Mt 11:19; Lk 7:35 and 11:49; *see* Mt 23:34f.), but Jesus’s filiation* is still not assimilated to that of wisdom, which precedes history. This assimilation is prefigured nonetheless. The Gospels come closest to wisdom literature when Jesus gives himself as the source of truth*, a source that itself issues from the Father* in the beginning. Such language is not to be found anywhere in the Old Testament except in precisely those passages where Wisdom is taken to be a living entity. Such precedents can be recognized in Jesus’ use of the word “I” and in his command, “Come to me” (Mt 11:28; *see* Lk 6:47 and Prv 9:5; Sir 24:19; Is 55:1ff.).

The apostolic writings frequently recommend that the disciples speak and act wisely (Rom 16:19; 1 Cor 6:5; Col 4:5 and so on), as Jesus did (Mt 10:16). James’s epistle in particular has all the flavor and meets any definition of a piece of wisdom literature.

c) *Pauline Theology.* In the Pauline* corpus, theology is rooted in the scandal* of a form of wisdom that defeats the wise and is opposed to any known wisdom (the same scandal as that of the parables, according to

Mk 4): this wisdom is therefore “foolishness” (1 Cor 1:17–2:14, 3:18f., 4:10). However, revelation makes it possible to recognize it as wisdom (1 Cor 2:6f.), linking it to the notion of mystery*. It is “foolish” (Gal 3:1 and 3:3) to turn away from it. Romans mounts a confrontation between the two failed forms of wisdom that preceded the Gospel: the interaction of the idolatrous pagans (1:22) with those who “call yourself a Jew” but have transgressed God’s law and have not transmitted his light (2:17–21), forms a plot in which sin (2:24, 11:22) is intermingled with salvation (11:30ff.). Paul sees God working through this plot with the greatest skill, detecting both a mystery that “I want you to understand” (11:25) and the unfathomable wisdom (see 11:33f.) of “the only wise God” (16:27).

The early Pauline writings mention only in passing the place of Christ* in that which founds and precedes history (1 Cor 8:4ff.; 1 Cor 10:1–4 has a precedent in Philo’s *Legum Allegoriae* [“Of the Laws of Allegory”] II, 86: wisdom and “rock” according to Ex 17:5f.; see senses of Scripture*). The Christology of Colossians 1:15–20 draws on ancient poems about preexisting Wisdom, principally Proverbs 8:22–31. Ephesians 1:8f., 1:12, and 3:10 present Christ and the church in the eternal perspective of a single act of God; hence the use of the vocabulary of wisdom (1:8, 1:17, 3:10). One polemical function of this vocabulary is to oppose Christ to the Torah as the seat of wisdom (Col 2:8, 2:16–23). The author of the preamble to Hebrews (1:1–4) cannot have been unaware of Wisdom 7:21 and 9:9.

d) *Johannine Theology*. In the prologue to John’s Gospel (1:1–18), the theme of wisdom acquires an unequalled breadth (Word*), incorporating its dramatic aspect. The fourth gospel highlights and accentuates the emphatic use of “I” (Jn 5:40, 6:37, 7:37). John 6:57—“whoever feeds on me”—has a precedent in Sirach 24:21: “they that eat me.”

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See also Apocalyptic Literature; Book; City; Filiation; Idolatry; Incarnation; Knowledge of God; Law and Christianity; Monotheism; Mystery; Paganism; Parable; Person; Reason; Revelation; Universalism; Word

B. Moral and Systematic Theology

Three factors conspired to ensure that in early Christianity wisdom was both a fully theological notion and a convenient term to designate virtue or the sum of all the virtues*. 1) It was possible to speak christologi-

cally of wisdom, within the framework of a theory of the divine wisdom, on the basis of the New Testament exegesis of such texts as Proverbs 8. The apologists* who elaborated the identification of Christ with the

Word* of God (Justin, Theophilus, Athenagoras) found support for their approach in the hypostatization of Wisdom. This combination of titles still prevailed as a commonplace at the height of the Arian controversy (Arianism*). However, when the Logos tradition extended itself into a fully Trinitarian conception (Trinity*) of the divine work of creation*, Wisdom was sometimes differentiated from the Word and treated as a name of the Holy* Spirit (as in the writings of Theophilus of Antioch and Irenaeus*). 2) The sociological assimilation of Christians to disciples of a philosophical school allowed them to conceive their doctrine as a form of wisdom which, following a common definition, they understood as “knowledge of what truly is” (Justin). The religious tone adopted in some philosophic schools reinforced the association: the notion that wisdom is God-given was by no means unique to Christianity. A more differentiated account of the relation between wisdom and philosophy* was given in the school of Alexandria*: following a Stoic* definition adopted before him by Philo, Clement affirms that philosophy is the love of wisdom, and wisdom the knowledge of things divine and human, together with their causes. Wisdom is therefore the queen of philosophy, as philosophy is the queen of the propaedeutic studies. Moral philosophy is the point of contact between prophetic wisdom and the pagan traditions of philosophy; but pagans are closed to prophetic inspiration by their self-love (*Strom.* 1, 5; 6, 7). 3) The polemical engagement with Gnosis* required a definition of intellectual perfection that rescued it from the sectarian claims of certain groups of initiates and integrated it (*see* Jas 3:17) into the life of the Christian community.

Clement of Alexandria was especially responsible for developing the ideal of a Christian knowledge*—“gnosis” in its positive sense—that embraces wisdom on the moral as well the theological level. According to classical definitions, wisdom has to do with first causes and intellectual essences; it includes knowledge of God and of human nature; it presupposes rectitude of soul*, rectitude of reason*, and purity of life (*Strom.* 2, 5; 6, 7). Moreover, it is achieved only by divine grace* illuminating the mind. Above all, it is taught by the incarnation* and by the witness of the prophets*. Hence, wisdom represents a specific category under which the notion of Christian maturity is explored. It has a common boundary with faith*, and it is by faith that one accedes to the status of disciple and is led through wisdom toward perfection. On the other hand, it has a common boundary with gnosis, which is perfection itself: knowledge is intuitive and immediate, while wisdom is discursive and exploratory; it is the harmonious totality of experience, while wisdom is di-

alectical and progressive (*Strom.* 7, 10). More generally, “wisdom” can also be used as a generic term under which any aspect of intellectual virtue can be discussed; it can even be used for purely practical arts (*Strom.* 2, 5; 6, 17).

The polemic context of early Christian theology did not allow the Pauline* critique of worldly wisdom (1 Cor 1–2) to be forgotten; and it retained its topicality for a long time, since it was still being exploited in the later patristic era, in the sharp polemic between Christians and pagans over educational ideals. Thus, Gregory* of Nazianzus distinguishes between false wisdom—rhetorical training for public life—and true wisdom, represented by the peaceful and holy life of a Christian bishop (*Or.* 16, 2; 25, 2). The route of true wisdom lies through the counsel of the Delphic oracle: “Know thyself” (*Or.* 32, 21). For John Chrysostom*, rhetoricians and writers are the objects of Paul’s criticisms, together with the “education given without” and its “sophisms” (*Hom.* in 1 Cor 7:1; in 2 Cor 3:1). Augustine* (*Trin.* 10–13) undertakes an extended attempt to map the ascent of the soul, assigning the crowning place to wisdom. Again, the Delphic maxim is the point of departure. Heeding the invitation to “know ourselves” allows us to pass from *notitia*, an uncertain and, so to speak, impressionistic knowledge of appearances, to a reflective and self-critical *cogitatio*. This then allows us to make a further distinction between an active activity and a contemplative activity of human reason. On the one hand, there is *scientia*, which has to do with the organization of the material world; on the other there is *sapientia*, which is concerned with eternal things. However, the active element and the contemplative element are not distinguished in Augustine’s mind in the same way as practical and intellectual activity are. *Scientia* is also intellectual, since it is engaged in our knowledge of the history of salvation*; *sapientia* is also practical, because it is inseparable from love* of God and neighbor. Knowledge and will, as images of the second and third persons of the Trinity*, are absolutely consubstantial and coeternal; *scientia* does not imply any preeminence of love, nor *sapientia* any preeminence of knowledge.

In eastern Christian theology, the transition from the “practical” to the “theoretical” life also plays a large role in the ascent of the soul, but the unity of the two levels is secured by positing a third form of life, the “mystical” life (mysticism*), which achieves the dialectical unity of the two preceding it. Thus, there is an emphasis on the unity of the intellectual and the affective, which is achieved in the “core” of the soul. In the writings of Maximus* the Confessor, wisdom, the sum of the intellectual virtues, is united with “victory,” the sum of the practical virtues, to radiate “glory” (*Qu. ad*

Thal. 54). In the traditional list of virtues, as handed down from Evagrius, love is the highest of the practical virtues; gnosis, “theology,” and “blessedness” come after it, and represent the mystical stage beyond it. For Maximus, even this hierarchy is unsatisfying: he puts love at the head of his list, but defines it in terms of its relation to knowledge: “the person who loves God values gnosis of God more than anything” (*Cap. car.* 1, 4). Elsewhere in his writings, under the influence of Isaiah 11:2 (read backwards, as often in the tradition), the stages of ascent take a more intellectual turn, and wisdom becomes the last stage, “the clear contemplation of universal truth” (*Qu. ad Thal.* 54).

In medieval Latin theology, the privileges accorded to the will presented new problems. If moral significance attaches uniquely to the affective or voluntative aspects of the soul’s activity, how is the unity of the practical and the theoretical to be conceived? The quite different results to which this approach could lead may be seen by comparing the respective positions of Bonaventure* and Thomas* Aquinas. For Bonaventure, who bears witness to the revival of Pseudo-Dionysius*, wisdom is attained in an ascending series of transformations: it is successively “uniform,” “multiform,” “omniform,” and, finally, “nulliform,” this last stage representing the point at which the intellect is superseded by the affections in a mystical contact with God (*Itin.* 7; *Hex.* 2, 8). By contrast, in the writings of Aquinas the sharp distinction of the faculties of the soul into *intellectus* and *appetitus* allows him to consider the intellectual virtues as half-virtues (with the exception of *prudentia*, which bridges the divide between the moral element and the intellectual element). While these virtues imply the capacity to function, they do not ensure the “use” of this capacity, because they do not perfect the will (*ST Ia IIae*, q. 57, a. 1). Among the intellectual virtues, *sapientia*, *scientia*, and *intellectus* (the list is from Aristotle, but happily overlaps with Is 11:2) form a class apart: intellect is immediate, wisdom and science are discursive; wisdom consists in understanding the whole, science in understanding specific spheres of knowledge; the “sciences” are therefore plural, while wisdom is one.

Yet, having thus divided the sphere of the intellect from the sphere of moral virtue, Aquinas reunites them again. The intellectual virtues have, as it were, a second life in the existence of the believer: he or she has been touched by grace, and they appear henceforth (under the tutelage of Is 11:2) as “gifts of the Spirit.” Intellect is the gift by which one apprehends the truth about the end of man. It is accompanied by wisdom, the gift by which one knows that the end is to be clung to. This time, wisdom is distinguished from science in the Augustinian manner, as the knowledge of eternal

realities, as distinct from knowledge of temporal things (*ST IIa IIae*, q. 8, a. 6). As the gift of intellect corresponds to theological faith, so the gift of wisdom corresponds to the theological virtue of love, or charity (q. 45). In this setting, Aquinas restores what he seemed to have lost in his earlier analyses: the coinherence of the intellectual and the affective. Accordingly, wisdom implies a “sympathy or co-naturality with divine things” that has its cause in the will.

By establishing a sharp contrast between a purely moral will and a wholly dispassionate intellect, medieval theology indisputably played a leading part as one of the causes of the collapse of wisdom and the loss of its status as a central moral category in the early modern period. In this context, moreover, the Pauline critique of wisdom exercised a certain subversive attraction. Skeptical humanism (Erasmus*, Charron, Montaigne; see Christian skepticism*) found in it a good reason to distrust not only formal systems of learning, such as Scholasticism*, but the very idea that wisdom could represent a pinnacle of any kind. The only true wisdom was the distrust of pretended wisdom, and it was to be acquired, not through a long process of maturing, but in a moment of disenchantment that involved something of a return to simple piety. This doubtful attitude to wisdom is not entirely absent from the theology of the Reformers; yet it would be wrong to see it as one of the strong points of their theory of the knowledge of God. Following the example of Luther* in his commentary on Romans 11:33 (WA 56), the Reformers could easily adopt the familiar approaches of the church Fathers* and of Scholasticism in order to discuss wisdom. However, using alternative categories meant that it was not often necessary to do so. As for the casuistry* that motivated the clearest efforts that the Catholic Reformers made on moral questions, in order to face up to the self-understanding of modern humanity, it is at least certain that it was incapable of restoring life or giving life to a doctrine of the virtues and therefore to a Christian doctrine of wisdom.

The definitive ousting of wisdom can be attributed to the influence of the Enlightenment. Henceforth, a more egalitarian and less moral ideal of reason took its place as a personal ideal, while the progress of human beings toward their true humanity, which the idea of wisdom had served to formulate, was reduced to an “education” relegated to childhood, where it became an undertaking for the art of tutors and schoolteachers.

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OLIVER O'DONOVAN

See also **Anthropology; Character; Intellectualism; Prudence; Soul-Heart-Body; Virtues; Voluntarism**

Wittgenstein, Ludwig Josef Johann

1889–1951

Ludwig Wittgenstein was born in Vienna to a family of Jewish descent that had converted to Christianity. Although his father was Protestant, he was raised in his mother's Catholic faith. If any religion was practiced at the Wittgenstein's home, however, it was that of art, and the book of choice was Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Idea*.

Before going to Cambridge to study logic with Bertrand Russell, who early on saw in him a worthy successor "apt to make the next decisive step in philosophy," Wittgenstein studied science and technology in Vienna and in England. In 1914, he voluntarily enlisted in the Austro-Hungarian army, where he would receive several medals and become an artillery lieutenant. In 1918 he began writing the only work published during his lifetime, the *Tractatus Logico-philosophicus*. The work knew a growing influence in Austria, with the members of the Circle of Vienna, and then in Britain, even as Wittgenstein considered his work done and retired from philosophical study. After the war, he renounced his personal fortune and became successively a teacher, a gardener at the Convent of Hütteldorf, and the architect of his sister's famous Viennese home, before returning to philosophy after the appeal from his English friends (notably F. P. Ramsey) and becoming a fellow at Trinity College and a professor at Cambridge University. There, interspersed with solitary visits to Ireland and Norway, he led the life of a nonconformist academic, fascinating most of those

who talked to him, publishing near to nothing, but profoundly influencing 20th-century philosophy with his teaching (often gathered by his students) and the texts he left after his death.

In 1914, Wittgenstein discovered the summary of the Gospel written by Tolstoy. From then on, the soldiers called him "the one who reads the Gospels*." The notebooks he filled during the war reveal a constant religious torment, and the renunciation of his paternal inheritance could have been decided under the influence of Matthew 19:23f. and Luke 14:13. His "Conference on Ethics," held in 1929–30 (pub. 1966), contains a formula that echoes Psalm 23: "I fear no evil," an experience that seemed fundamentally religious to him. Much indicates that Wittgenstein, as he told one of his friends, without being a religious man, couldn't help but see all problems from a religious point of view. (For a more precise listing of testimonies about Wittgenstein's religious preoccupations, see Malcolm 1994.) There are two periods in Wittgenstein's philosophy: the period of the *Tractatus* and the period that would lead to his writing the *Philosophical Investigations*.

a) *The Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. The *Tractatus* differentiates that which can be said, by way of propositions that are pictures of facts (the natural sciences* being the most elaborate form), and that which can only be shown. How the world is, can be said; that

the world be, on the other hand, can be shown, but not said. That there is a world is not a fact in the world; it cannot be represented by facts, images, or statements, that is what facts show. The factuality of a fact is not in itself a fact. It is a formal characteristic of a fact. The shape of all facts is the limit of the world of facts and does not enter the realm of the expressible. This is what Wittgenstein calls the “mysticism*,” *das Mystische* (*Tractatus*, 6.44, 6.45, 6.522). And, as stated in the last and most famous of the *Tractatus* propositions, “whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent.”

According to Wittgenstein himself, the *Tractatus* contains two parts: there is that which is said and that which is silent. The second part was the most, if not the only, important one for him. In fact, and herein lies the *Tractatus*’s paradox, Wittgenstein speaks well, even if little, about God*, of the inexpressible, of mysticism: only to exclude them from the expressible. They constitute the limit of the world, that is to say its general form, the possibility of the domain that is the world. To be the form of a domain is also to be its meaning; meaning and essence are identical. Since Wittgenstein identifies God and the meaning of the world, one can say: the meaning of the world = the form of the world = God. It is not a question of negative* theology, the apophatic conception of an inexpressible God, whose negative formulas would be the least-bad approximation. On the contrary, God is the world to be as it is, which cannot be said, but which is shown in the world as it is. God is higher up and does not reveal himself in the world (6.432).

The representation above corresponds to the first reading that can be done about the meaning of the world in the *Tractatus*: that which is reached by understanding logic as the reflected picture of the world, as transcendental (6.13). The second is an ethical reading (worth), also transcendental (6.421). Neither logic nor ethics* deal with the world; they are the transcendental conditions of the world. They provide two possible methods of projection for finding meaning to the world. For logic, the meaning of the world is its form, God. For ethics, it is the willing subject. But nothing can be said of will (6.423) because the subject as will is not a fact. In other words, the ethical attitude situates me outside of the world, outside of facts. In the ethical attitude, the world becomes another world: “The world of a happy man is a different one from that of an unhappy man” (6.43).

How can the statism of the logical entry in the *Tractatus* be reconciled with what an ethical entry says, from will, which seems to suppose the possibility of radical change? Seemingly, Wittgenstein meant that by recognizing his absolute dependence on facts, their own factuality, man becomes independent from des-

tiny, freeing himself from time* and from the fear of death*. It is as he noted in his *Notebooks*—at a time when his life was constantly in danger—“to do God’s will.” (8.7.1916) Good will desires nothing and simply gives its assent to whatever happens. This means seeing the world *sub specie aeterni* (6.45) or, which is the same, living in the present (6.4311).

b) Philosophical Researches. In the 1930s, Wittgenstein started to reconsider his thoughts on the *Tractatus*, especially on the pictorial theory of linguistic signification that he had supported. The result is often referred to as Wittgenstein’s “second philosophy.” It led to the *Philosophical Investigations*. His reexamination of the *Tractatus* also bore on the few remarks that dealt with religious attitude. In this second phase, Wittgenstein came to think that language could not be separated from the notion of usage. Philosophy’s task is then the patient description of “language games.” These belong to the field of human activities from which they cannot be abstracted. These activities make up forms of life and culture. In *Lectures and Conversations*, the place occupied by the notions of sin*, redemption, judgment*, and grace* in the way a human community lives, as well as in their irreducibility to theoretical explanations and scientific predictions, becomes the main theme.

The resurrection is an example. “You may be surprised that no one said, facing those who believe in resurrection, ‘After all, it is possible.’ Evidently, in this case, the role of the belief is more of the following type: Imagine that a certain image is said to have the role to remind me constantly of my duties, or that I don’t stop thinking about it. There would be an enormous difference between the people for whom this image would constantly be in the foreground, and others who would make absolutely no use of it.” (*Lectures and Conversations*, 111). The resurrection is not a hypothesis that scientific control could make more or less credible, and it is not the subject of historical enquiry. To believe in the resurrection, is to do certain things not done by those who do not believe in it, it is to have an attitude comprehensible only if one adopts this belief. The resurrection is not a factual possibility. In no way does this signify that the belief is nothing, that it is not necessary for a believer to state the truth of these religious beliefs. Contrary to what is sometimes hinted, Wittgenstein in no way adopts the modernist affirmation by which faith would subsist even if all the historic events it calls upon in the creed were fictional. Faith consists precisely in not holding the historical events it calls upon as possibly being fictional. Religious beliefs are not the psychological crutches of a generous moral attitude, and of an attitude that could

even be adopted without religious beliefs. To believe in the last judgment, for example, makes one's ethical attitude completely different from what it would be if one did not have that belief.

For Wittgenstein, religious beliefs are inseparable from the sense given to the concepts used to express them, and these concepts cannot be detached from the attitudes we adopt, nor indeed from what these attitudes consist of. This means that a religious attitude does not consist of referring to something in the world, God, to organize one's life. If it were the case, religious beliefs could be true or false, and could be epistemologically justified. Since it is not the case, the true rationality of religious belief cannot be shown without stating that the apologetic is derisory (*Lectures and Conversations*, p. 114), whether it is positive (God exists) or negative (God does not exist). Not only are religious beliefs immunized against any rational criticism seeking to destroy them, they also render vain any attempt at rational justification; their rationality resides in the fact that they permeate all of the believer's actions and decisions, and not in what they would have that would be founded or "foundational."

The philosophical problem of religion is not about knowing whether the word "God" has a sense. Nor is it about knowing whether religious beliefs are confused or systematically superstitious. Looking into such problems means having already missed what constitutes religious belief, its belonging to a practice. Wittgenstein said of the Scottish ethnologist James Frazer, "What narrowness of spiritual life in Frazer! Hence: how impossible for him to comprehend a life different from the English life of his time" (*Remarks on the Golden Bough*; see Winch, 1958). To judge the outside of the forms of life, of human phenomena, like those studied by Frazer, from conceptions considered superior, amounts to missing what makes them practices inside which people think, feel, and decide. The forms of life are made of linguistic practices, of implicit presumptions, of behaviors felt to be appropriate, of "instinctive" reactions. A religion examined from the outside is unintelligible, because a human phenomenon does not depend on validity criteria that are exterior to it or that could be abstracted from it. A man struggles not to die in the fire without having to make an induction that will lead him to decide to flee; to believe that he will die and to fight to the death are but one and the same thing. Believing in God and, in some circumstances, to behave in a certain way, or to abstain from doing certain things, are not two different things. Thus there is something primitive in the religious attitude, in the sense that the explanation stops when witnessing the role this attitude plays in the forms of life, without giving it an external justification.

This concept of religiosity has at times been mistaken for a form of fideism*. Wittgenstein does not promote, however, the opposition of faith and of reason*, let alone the humiliation of reason by faith. Religion does not need to be founded on or against theoretic evidence, since it constitutes a practice. This thesis, which can be called "Religious Wittgensteinism," found its main proponent in D. Z. Phillips (also in Kerr 1986), who opposed it to any "evidentialism" (looking for a rational justification of faith), as well as to any "realistic" conception of faith (according to which religious belief would correspond to a real object, such as the belief in the reality of miracles*). Religious Wittgensteinism is in fact a relatively original theological path between rationalism* and fideism. On this path, religious beliefs need not correspond to facts. Still, they should not be considered mythical simply because they are not scientifically founded, nor should they be considered nonrational or intrinsically irrational (to believe because it is absurd). It would be meaningless to ask a believer if he thinks his beliefs are true; better to ask him (if not to witness) what role they play in his life. A person who believes that life continues after death does not act as one who thinks life stops at death. The prayer for healing a sick child, for example, is not an attempt to influence divine will; it is the manifestation of the resolution to resist despair and bitterness; or a proof of trust in God during hardship, in spite of human vulnerability (Phillips 1965), a trust which is understood as a gift from God. What is meant by "king," "castle," or "knight" in a game of chess, as well as the effective practice of chess, does not correspond to anything that would exist outside the game itself; religious practices need not correspond to realities for which they would bear witness. The meaning of religious terms (faith, sin, resurrection, love* of one's neighbor and so on) is not to be sought outside religion.

Nothing indicates that Wittgenstein thought that a form of life that includes the defense of theological and metaphysical doctrines, such as theism, was in itself intrinsically absurd, but he seems to have thought not only that religion does not consist in stating doctrines and defending them argumentatively, calling forth the evidence of an independent reality, but also that such considerations are not at all necessary. To this religious Wittgensteinism, one could object that believing in the existence of God can hardly be reduced to an existential engagement in the shape of a communal practice impossible to consider from the outside and which becomes meaningful only inside its own (religious) concepts. Because "if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain" (1 Cor 15:14).

How could faith do without a significantly vigorous form of religious realism? How could it only be the social coordination of a practice without losing its sacred character and being reduced to a human phenomenon like any other, such as artistic practice, or even the practice of the game of chess? Such questions, however, should not divert from a serious examination of Wittgenstein's position toward faith and religion, because it is not without advantages: to do away with skepticism toward faith, it does not need to reestablish theoretical religious truths, but simply to acknowledge the forms of life that are guided by faith.

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See also **Existence of God, Proofs of; Fideism; Language, Theological; Religion, Philosophy of**

Woman

A. In the Bible

Until recent times the question of the role of women in biblical tradition was ignored or reduced to a few negative or idealizing clichés, but it is now enjoying an unprecedented level of interest.

a) Minor Status. The most direct evidence in the Old Testament reveals a status accorded to women that is typical of a patriarchal society*. Dependent on male power (father* or husband), women were legally and socially speaking minors in a society that practiced polygamy and allowed them to be repudiated without compensation (Dt 24:1). Only motherhood brought them any social standing. Their economic situation was likewise precarious. As widows they did not in-

herit their husbands' estates (Nm 27:8ff.): hence the law of levirate (the deceased's brother was obliged to marry his widow if she had no sons: Dt 25:5–10), and the oft-repeated exhortations to assist widows, in the same way as orphans and foreigners (*see* especially Dt and the prophets*: Is 1:17, 23; Jer 7:6; Ez 22:7 and so on). Nonetheless, the role of the feminine in the Bible* goes beyond these circumstances.

b) The Symbolism of Origin. Looming over all the female figures of biblical history*, the first three chapters of Genesis have had a powerful effect upon the representations of woman and the feminine in cultures influenced by the Bible. The resources of modern exe-

genesis* give access to the subtleties of a highly elaborate symbolic text, and also make it easier to identify improper interpretations that exploit these texts for misogynistic purposes.

So it may be noted that the book* of Genesis contains a specific narrative* of the creation* of woman (Gn 2:18–25) which supplements the first chapter's declaration of the simultaneous involvement of the masculine and feminine in the identity of a humanity made in God*'s image (Gn 1:27). The creation of woman finds its place and its necessity in Adam*'s experience of solitude (Gn 2:18). Woman is declared to be man's "counterpart" (*kenègedô*) and his "helper" (v. 18b: *'ézèr*), necessary not in the first instance in order to perpetuate humanity, but in order that man's life should be ontologically viable. Coming after man in the narrative sequence, woman is here defined in terms of her "being for the other," which is not unreminiscent of the being of God himself—a frequently overlooked subtlety of the text, as is that of the narrative of transgression in chapter 3. The episode of the serpent has been stubbornly interpreted as confirming the image of woman as a dangerous temptress, responsible for man's misfortune. In fact, however, what is portrayed here is above all a maternal figure, in keeping with the text's etiological viewpoint. While dealing with the evil* that strikes all generations, the narrative actually foregrounds the female element of the couple* because it is more directly concerned with the transmission of life and its inheritance. At the very heart of the Bible (Sir 25:24) there is adduced an interpretation of this narrative which takes it as the basis for a negative vision of woman. This interpretation is questioned, however, not only by the letter of the text, but by the end of the speech to the serpent (Gn 3:15), which outlines the prospect of a story of combat, and bears a promise*. Woman will share in this through her descendants' mysterious victory over the descendants of the serpent. Revelation 12 confirms this prospect with its reference to "a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars" (v.1; see Is 7:11) in the person of a woman victoriously confronting the "ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan" (v. 9).

Finally, it should be observed that the final structure of the first pages of Genesis prefaces the more concentrated narrative of chapters 2 and 3 with an opening chapter that evokes the relationship between man and woman in decidedly calm and optimistic terms (Gn 1:1–2, 4a).

c) The Women of the Bible. The text of the Bible preserves the memory of women who, in spite of unfavorable legal and social conditions, played a major part in

the history of Israel*, saving the people from mortal dangers. The books of Judith and Esther and the story of Susanna attest to the recognition accorded, at a late period, to exceptional women. But the feminine is encountered elsewhere, too, in the course of biblical history. Right from the time of the patriarchal narratives, matriarchs have a decisive if unofficial role in the sequence of events (e.g. Rebecca, Gn 27:1–29). Bathsheba, at the time of the kingdom, obtains Solomon's promotion (1 Kgs 1:11–40). While foreign women (e.g. Jezebel, 1 Kgs 21:25) are made the object of warnings or, after the exile, are to be repudiated (Ezr 10:2; Neh 13:23, 26), some are presented in a remarkably positive light, for example Rahab (Jos 2:1–21, 6:22–25), Ruth (book of Ruth), and the Queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1–13). Even if political activity was in the hands of men, even if—unlike in neighboring religions—women had no function in the ritual worship of Israel (only the role of prophetess is attested), biblical tradition thus marks out another register of history, guided by God and specifically incorporating feminine roles.

d) Other Representations of the Feminine. Besides the female figures who punctuate its story, the Old Testament contains, in two separate movements, two other essential representations of the feminine. The first is linked to the covenant*, which presents God's love* and faithfulness in terms of a relationship of marriage in which the people receives a feminine identity. This imagery is used negatively to express the infidelity of Israel. It becomes resolutely positive in the prophetic texts that refer to the new covenant and the sacred figure of Zion, the New Jerusalem*, adorned with justice* (Is 62:1ff.). The Song of Songs, which proclaims the pure song of human love, giving full weight to the feminine voice of the beloved, was seen by a long interpretative tradition as a prophecy and expression of the perfection of Israel, the beloved bride of God.

Biblical meditation on wisdom* also favors the feminine on an unprecedented scale. At the margins of the wisdom texts that display a popular and traditional misogyny (Prv 21:19; Sir 25:23), a personification of Wisdom takes shape from the time of the return from exile—a mysterious female being, present at the creation of the world (Prv 8:22–31), guardian of God's secrets (Jb 28:1–28), and one who gives order to the world (Wis 7:21 and Prv 8:30 [LXX]). The depiction of the "excellent wife" in Proverbs 31 may in this context be accompanied by a symbolic resonance. Whatever external models (the figure of the Egyptian goddess Maat, for example) may be influential here, this is a powerful and daring figure, which made its

presence felt in Israel's thinking over the last centuries before the Christian era.

e) "*Jesus born of a woman*" Reference to the feminine is instantly engraved at the heart of the New Testament since Jesus* is confessed the Son of God, "born of woman" (Gal 4:4). With the female figure of Mary*, humanity is directly involved in the event of salvation*: she represents an essential aspect of the Incarnation, which the Old Testament prophetic tradition illuminates in retrospect. John 19:26f., which describes Mary at the foot of the cross welcoming John as a son, has been read as symbolic of the spiritual motherhood that she receives: becoming the mother of those who are begotten in Christ's Passion*—in other words of the Church*—she appears as the new Eve.

This symbolic and theological prominence of woman seems to have been echoed in the daily life of the first generations of Christians. New Testament texts attest to the place of women in Jesus' entourage, and their elevation in Christian circles: in particular Luke 8:2f.; Luke 10:38–42 (the episode of Martha and Mary); Luke 23:27ff. (the occasion of the Passion); and equally John 12:3ff. (the anointing at Bethany) and Matthew 27:19 (the episode of Pilate's wife). It is notable that Jesus pays very close attention to the condition of women. He highlights the hypocrisy of a legislation that condemns women to stoning while shutting its eyes to the sins* of the men (Jn 8:1–11). He welcomes prostitutes in the same way as the righteous (Mt 21:31f.). Women are the first witnesses of the Resurrection* (Mt 28:1–9 and par.; Jn 20:11–18). Others are involved in the beginnings of evangelization (Acts 12:12, 16:11–15, 18:2 and v. 18, corroborated by Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:19; and 2 Tm 4:19). Nevertheless, their role does not supplant that of the men who surround Jesus and who are appointed as apostles* of the Gospel*.

Unquestionably, the texts present a specifically feminine register. This may be defined negatively with reference to the restrictions that still characterize the condition of women in the New Testament, as asserted

in some Pauline texts (1 Cor 7:1ff., which warns against the constraints of marriage*; 1 Cor 14:34, which insists that women should be silent in assemblies; Col 3:18, which reiterates the instruction that women should be submissive). However, the feminine can also be viewed in a positive light through other Pauline texts, which either propose a fundamental equality between men and women (1 Cor 11:12, "as woman was made from man, so man is now born of woman"), or lay the foundations of an ecclesiology* in which, alongside a masculine apostleship in the service of the Church, the feminine vocation of all in the Church is affirmed. The femininity of the Church, of which 2 Cor 11:2 and Rev 22:17 speak, is no longer limited to one gender: rather it denotes the character of the relationship which humanity as a whole receives as a vocation for its life in relation to God.

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See also Adam; Anthropology; Church; Couple; Ethics, Sexual; Family; Marriage; Mary; Ministry

B. In the Church

Christian anthropology* emphasizes the common humanity and dignity of men and women by virtue of their creation in the image of God* (Gn 1:27), their salvation* by Christ* (*anthrôpos* rather than *anêr* ac-

cording to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed) and their calling to live in mutual love* (*agape*). Innovative as they were, however, these perceptions did not abolish androcentrism, either among the societies in

which Christianity arose, or in those which it has encountered up until the present day. This system of values and representations, according to which women are far more dependent upon men than men are on women, did not lose its credibility until the 20th century—and even then only in Western societies, in which women have from that time enjoyed “natural” and (at least in legal terms) unrestricted access to the whole public sphere. In contrast, the Christian tradition’s pronouncements on the respective roles of men and women are inseparable from a social outlook in which women have only an exceptional and limited access to the public sphere.

a) Women in New Testament Communities. According to the testimonies of the very first Christian communities, women enjoyed the gifts of the Holy* Spirit just like men—a sign of the fulfillment of the covenant* (Acts 2:16–18, cit. J1 3:1–5)—and prophesied (Acts 21:8–9; 1 Cor 11:5). The baptismal confession of faith* of Gal 3:28 establishes parity between men and women, at least in eschatological terms. Women were very active in the missions to the pagan Christians (in Rom 16, for example, Paul mentions nine women as against nineteen men among his collaborators). Was there, then, an “initial community of equals,” which little by little succumbed to a “repatriarchalization of the Church*” (Schüssler Fiorenza 1983)?

In reality, what Paul imperiously proposed at the very outset was an androcentric interpretation of Genesis. In 1 Cor 11 (which has been dated as early as the year 52) we read that “the head of a wife is her husband” (1 Cor 11:3), which is clarified in vv. 7b–9: “man... is the image and glory of God, but woman is the glory of man. For man was not made from woman, but woman from man. Neither was man created for woman, but woman for man.” This symbolic scheme would facilitate the gradual adoption by Christian churches—domestic churches—of the Judeo-Hellenistic *ethos* which set down the duties of the inhabitants of a household in a threefold code: the wife should submit to her husband, the children to their parents, and the slaves to their masters. Christianized by reference to the Lord, this code was presented more and more as the norm (Col 3:18–4, 1; Eph 5:21–6, 9; 1 Pt 2:18–3, 7; Ti 2:3–10); and in its ultimate form, androcentrism would be founded on the Old Testament, without reference to any prescription of the Lord’s: “Let a woman learn quietly with all submissiveness. I [Paul] do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man; rather, she is to remain quiet. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgres-

sor. Yet she will be saved through childbearing—if they continue in faith and love and holiness, with self-control” (1 Tm 2:11–15).

The most plausible explanation for the reception of these rules seems to be that there was a need to reassure potential pagan converts as to the consequences of the conversion of slaves and women, while a further desire for respectability saw women consigned to silence in assemblies. Apologetic and missionary motives thus played their part in the exclusion of women from any ministry of the Word* and from authority* (Nuremberg 1988), and it was moreover for similar reasons that this exclusion was questioned in the 20th century.

b) The subordination of women to men excluded them from public ministry, with the exception of the diaconate. 1 Tm 2:12’s prohibition on women preaching (echoed by 1 Cor 14:34, perhaps an interpolated verse) and holding authority over men is the best-documented source for their exclusion from the priesthood and the episcopacy. However the diaconate—which in Antiquity involved neither ministry of the Word, nor sacramental ministry, nor jurisdiction*—was open to them, especially in the East (Gryson 1972; Martimort 1982). Within the Church before the division of Eastern from Western, there is no trace of any controversy over women’s access to the responsibilities of community government (no more than in ancient Judaism*). The possibility seems never to have been envisaged, and it appears that only the Montanists (according to Epiphanius) practiced it: Epiphanius counters them by referring to 1 Tm (*Adv. Haer.* 49, 3; GCS 31, 243–444).

On the other hand, exegetical commentaries and liturgical and canonical documents take issue with women’s desire to teach or to baptize. Origen* calls the prophecy of the Montanist women unseemly (*Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistolam I ad Corinthios* 74; *JThS* 10, 1909, 41–42). The *Didascalia Apostolorum* (Syria, third century) forbids widows to preach for the same reason (the heathens would mock them), but adds that they should not baptize because there is no evidence that Christ entrusted this responsibility to women (ed. Funk, 190, 8–17). The *Apostolic Constitutions* forbade women to preach (III, 6, 1–2, SC 329, 132) or to baptize (III, 9; SC 329, 142–144); but recognizing that “the Lord prescribed or conveyed nothing to us,” they refer the matter “to the order of nature and propriety.” The *Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles* (Egypt, fourth century) are the only source, and in a rather unclear text, to attribute to the Lord the exclusion of women from the ministry of the Eucharist* (24, 1–28, 1; ed. Schermann 31, 10–33, 6).

It is noteworthy that Epiphanius takes up an argument which is also to be found in the *Didascalia* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*: if Mary*, the most perfect of women, was not a priest*, then the role cannot be suitable for any woman (*Adv. Haer.* 79, 3, 1–2; GCS 31–3, 477–478). This argument is taken up again by Innocent III (decr. *Nova Quaedam* 1210), and John Paul II (*Sacerdotalis Ordinatio* 3) repeats the judgment. John Chrysostom*, however, only considers public teaching to be forbidden to women (in Ti 4; PG 62, 683).

In the West, according to Ambrosiaster, the basis of the exclusion is to be found in the subjection of women to men (in 1 Cor 14:34–35; CSEL 81–82, 163, 3–164, 7; in 1 Tm. 2:11–14; CSEL 81–83, 263, 18–264, 8). For Jerome it is a question of conforming to the natural order (in Ep. 1 Cor 25; PL 30, 762). According to Pelagius, Paul does not allow a woman to teach “in public, since it is in private that she should instruct a son or a brother” (in 1 Tm 2:12; PLS 1, 1349).

The Latin Middle Ages approached the question in academic terms. For Thomas* Aquinas, women cannot validly be ordained because they have no *eminentia gradus*: they are in a state of subjection by nature, which is not the case for male slaves (in *IV Sent.*, dist. 25, q. 2, a. 1 resp. and a. 2 resp.). According to Bonaventure* (in *IV Sent.*, dist. 25, a. 2, q. 1, concl.), the Mediator appeared in the male gender and so only men may naturally represent him. Duns* Scotus, on the other hand (in *IV Sent.*, d.25, q. 2), considers that beyond the Church and St Paul there must be a decision on the Lord’s part, or else the exclusion of women would be immoral.

The Reformation continued to exclude women from public ministry, in fidelity to 1 Timothy. According to Luther*, “the Holy Spirit has excluded women, children, and the incapable [1 Cor 14]: women must not teach the people. In short, what is needed is a capable and carefully chosen man. . . . To women it is said ‘You must be submissive to men,’ and the gospel does not abolish this natural order, but rather confirms it as the divine order and the order of the Creation.” (WA 50, 633, 11–24). Calvin*, too, excludes women in the name of orderliness: “Responsibility for teaching or preaching is a distinction of the Church, and is therefore contrary to subjection. For how improper it would be if she [woman] who is subject to one member were to have distinction and authority over the whole body. . . . Preaching and teaching are not fitting occupations for a woman” (*Comm. Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1854, on 1 Cor 14:34).

c) In the age of early and medieval Christianity, the destiny of women was family and private life; nonetheless, their status as virgins allowed some nuns to play

a public role. Patristic and medieval commentaries on Genesis provide the key to the specific status of women: created after Adam, from him and for him (as an aid to procreation*), Eve was subordinate to him—though inasmuch as she received her soul* directly from God, she was his equal (Børresen 1968).

It should be pointed out, however, that this equality was subject to certain reservations. For Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* II, XIX, 102, 6 [SC 38, 113]), certainly, and perhaps also for Augustine* (*De Gen. ad Litt.* III, 22; CSEL 28, 1, 88–90), woman was a complete image of God in his spiritual essence; but Ambrose*, Ambrosiaster, and their medieval commentators—heirs to the spiritual exegesis* of Philo, for whom Adam represented the *noûs* and Eve the *sensus* (*Op.* 66, 134–35 [Works 1, 186, 230–32]; 165 [ibid., 1, 252] and *Quaest. in Gn.* 1, 33; 37–38; 43; 45–47 [ibid., 34 a, 100; 104; 108–112])—remained cautious (Børresen 1985; Dassmann 1995), as did Thomas Aquinas (*ST* Ia, q. 93, a. 4, ad 1: “As regards certain secondary characteristics, the image of God is to be found in man in a way which is not evident in woman”).

This equality has been a historical factor in the emancipation of women (the freedom to marry and to choose a husband; the prohibition of polygamy, of repudiation, and then of divorce); but in terms of the same anthropology it went hand in hand with a subordination from which only virgins, whose life was directly turned toward God, were exempt. In practice the only Christian women to play a public role were nuns, or those equivalent to them.

Some abbesses are recorded as having jurisdiction over the clergy by virtue of the right of feudal patronage (for example at Conversano, Las Huelgas, Quedlinburg, and Fontevrault, where the abbess was also in charge of the adjoining male monastery). Beyond this canonical oddity, the number of female mystics who have had a profound influence on the life of the Church is impressive: Hildegard of Bingen, Julian of Norwich, Julianne of Mont-Cornillon, Bridget of Sweden, Catherine of Siena, Teresa of Ávila, and Theresa of Lisieux—the last three were proclaimed Doctors of the Church, Catherine and Teresa by Paul VI in 1970 and Theresa of Lisieux by John Paul II in 1997—as well as many founders of congregations.

Despite the exceptional development of the cult of Mary, the mother of God, in the Catholic and Orthodox churches, ordinary women remained in the background, sometimes tragically so (as with the persecution of witches), but generally in anonymity: among the saints canonized by popes from the 10th to the 19th century inclusive, only 16 percent were women, in-

cluding hardly more than ten mothers, most of these of royal origin (P. Delooz [1969], *Sociology and Canonizations*, The Hague, 270).

d) Contemporary Issues. At the end of the beginning of the 21st century, androcentrism has lost much of its credibility. We owe this to the feminist movements, but even more so to the introduction of universal education for girls on the same basis as boys, and the progress of medicine (the victory over infant mortality and death in childbirth; effective contraception; unparalleled longevity), which has left women free to take salaried work in a postindustrial society. The new social and financial condition of women has brought about a partnership with men that goes to the heart of the family unit, altering the condition of men at the same time; this equality between men and women is now enshrined in legislation.

The positive aspects of this historical evolution, hailed as a “sign of the times” by John XXIII (*PC* 41), have influenced Christian institutions and theology*. On a legal level, the *CIC* (1983) makes lay* men and women equal in almost every respect (only the posts of reader and acolyte are reserved for men); and on a theological level, John Paul II rejected androcentrism in *Mulieris Dignitatem* (1988). In this context the most important task for Christian anthropology is not to develop a discourse on woman, but to offer at one and the same time considered images of masculinity and femininity, of fatherhood and motherhood, and constantly to reinforce men’s and women’s capacity for alliance in Christ in the face of natural limits and of sin*.

In this new social context all the Protestant churches of Europe, reinterpreting the principle of *Scriptura sola*, decided in the course of the second half of the 20th century to call women to the priesthood (Reformed Church of France, 1965; Church of England, 1994). The Orthodox Church refuses to take this step—insofar as the question is put to it, which is very little.

Modern popes (Paul VI [1976], *Inter Insigniores*, AAS 69, 1977, 98–116; John Paul II [1994], *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*, AAS 86, 1994, 545–548) have held the question to be a non-negotiable doctrine. According to John Paul II the non-ordination of women as priests and bishops “is part of the deposit of faith” (AAS 87, 1995, 1114), since the ordination of women has never been practiced—anywhere or by anybody—within the Catholic church, from its inception to the present day; though the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith has specified further that this is “in the present instance an act of the ordinary pontifical magisterium*, not in itself infallible” (*DC* 92, 1995, 1081; see Torrell 1997).

The adoption of inclusive language (i.e. systematically including masculine and feminine forms) in the liturgy*, the translation of the Bible, and the designation of God have become controversial subjects within English-speaking Christianity. The Catholic church regards such language as desirable in the liturgy when the congregation are referring to themselves, but refuses to employ it in the translation of the Bible: to do so would erode its historicity, which is precisely what prevents all its expressions from being considered as archetypes (as in the mythical narratives*).

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HERVÉ LEGRAND

C. Feminist Theology

1. Origins

Feminist theology arose in the 19th century at the same time as women's struggles to improve their legal, social, and economic conditions. Toward the end of the century, the woman suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton, an American Presbyterian by then aged over eighty, assembled a team of collaborators to produce a commentary on everything relating to women in the Bible*. The result of this endeavor was *The Woman's Bible* (1895 and 1898), a bestseller which is still in print. Her celebrated speech at the women's convention at Seneca Falls (19 July 1848) and the declaration of principles adopted on that occasion were the direct ancestors of 20th-century work in feminist biblical criticism—hence the title of the recent *Women's Bible Commentary*, recalling her initiative. Feminist biblical commentary aims to show the limits and the richness of the canonical books. In themselves and in terms of the use to which they are put, these texts may have the effect of persuading women of their inferiority, particularly from the standpoint of their supposed incapacity to represent God* or Christ*. They therefore bear a share of responsibility for the perpetuation of androcentrism; but if carefully read they also offer the means to transform the present situation and make the future better. Feminist theology makes a special study of the feminine images that Scripture employs to express God, and seeks to apply them to the divine Sophia/wisdom* in order to overcome the traditional reluctance to associate the feminine with the divine.

2. Reactions to Vatican II

a) *Mary Daly*. Mary Daly acted as a catalyst to the reactions aroused by Vatican* II, and thus played a defining role in the development of feminist theology in the 20th century. The conciliar documents barely mention women, except in the message of 8 December 1965 (a model example of the traditional view of their role). In reaction Daly published *The Church and the Second Sex* (1968), whose title echoes the work by Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986; *Le deuxième sexe*, 1949). Daly was to abandon Christianity with the publication of *Beyond God the Father* (1973), but not before she had drawn attention to the obstacle that Christianity's essential symbolism represents for feminists, as a result of the image it offers them of themselves, and its assumptions about their relationship with God. "If God is male, then the male is God." Daly cast light on the prejudices (theoretical and practical)

engendered by traditional ideas of feminine "nature," showing how little importance she accorded to the past. She ended by viewing the women's movement as a community in "exodus," gathering together women whose sense of transcendence sought expression in ways other than those possible within Christian institutions.

b) *Biblical Theology*. Phyllis Tribble (1978) compared Genesis 2–3 to the *Song of Songs*, and traced the evolution of the metaphor of the "bowels of compassion" as applied to the God in whose image men and women were created (Adam*). She also attacked (1984) the misogyny of the Bible, and of Church tradition and customs.

Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's book *In Memory of Her* was a landmark in feminist theology. Its central idea is that women in the Church can draw on Jesus* and the practices of the early Church to conceptualize their own history in terms of its present-day openness to feminist transformation. The section on "the God/Sophia of Jesus and women" was developed further in *Jesus, Miriam's Child, Sophia's Prophet*. Her work is marked by a hope that one day authority* in the Church will no longer be the preserve of men. The two studies of the Bible published under her direction (1993, 1994) go much further than Cady Stanton's program. Laying bare the diversity of the biblical texts' ethnic and cultural sources, they insist on the need to go beyond the boundaries of the canon* in order to reconnect tradition with lived experience. These works also testify to the importance of Jewish and Islamic feminism and their efforts to achieve the ultimate goal of feminist theology: a theology* that excludes nobody. E. Schüssler Fiorenza's theory of the "equality of disciples" is, however, contested by other writers (e.g. Migliorini Miller 1995), who emphasize the importance of gender difference for an understanding of the Christian revelation as "nuptial mystery."

c) *Theology and Ethics*. The work of Rosemary Radford Ruether, almost contemporary with that of Daly and Schüssler Fiorenza, is constructed around the question of whether a male savior can save women. In her view, Jesus's kenosis* brings about an iconoclastic reversal of all religious status, and the Christian community continues in this direction, so that we encounter Christ "in the form of our sister," as for example did those who were present at the martyrdom* of Blandina. She has also launched the

“women’s Church” movement, on the model of the base communities of liberation* theology (itself hardly feminist until very recently). This movement has impelled women to take an interest in the liturgy* and spirituality. Recently, Radford Ruether and Sallie McFague have studied creation*, redemption, and the sacraments*, while others have addressed almost all the key points of theology, including moral theology. Much remains to be done, however.

3. The Maturity of Feminist Theology

A hundred years after Cady Stanton, feminist theology is adult, and is engaged in a lively debate as to the respective importance that should be accorded to reason* and experience, as well as the traditions of the churches. Liberation theology has begun to take an interest in women (the great majority of the poor are women with children) and will perhaps help to clarify the meaning of the doctrines and symbols associated with Mary*, the mother of Jesus. Orthodoxy* has also made a contribution to feminist theology, particularly thanks to the work of E. Behr-Siegel (1907–) on female ministry.

One may be struck by the variety of these investigations, which strive to renew theology. Feminist theology is well aware that the triune God transcends any sexual existence and remains in the last analysis mysterious to us, but it aspires to find a theological language that does not favor either sex. It also aims to renew the various theological disciplines so that the Church may become an institution in which men and women can be reconciled to each other and be mutually enriched by their differences.

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ANN LOADES

See also Exegesis; Inculturation; Language, Theological; Liberation Theology; Mary

Word

A. Biblical Theology

“Word,” Greek *logos*, as applied to Christ without complement, appears in the Bible* only in the prologue to John’s Gospel, in John’s First Epistle (1:1 “the word of life”), and in Revelation (19:13 “The Word of God”). There is thus a clear contrast between the later development of this theme and its comparative rarity in the scriptures.

a) Origin of the Prologue. Opinions have varied. The prologue (Jn 1: 1–14) may have had its origin in Gnostic movements (gnosis*), although they probably post-date it. It may represent an older and perhaps pre-Christian hymn to the Logos, which was modified before being affixed to John’s Gospel. There have been diverse reconstitutions of this hymn (Bultmann*, Haenchen, Käsemann, Schnackenburg, Lund, Boismard, and Brown). Again, the prologue may be a reinterpretation of Genesis 1 (Borgen) in the context of wisdom* literature, composed either in a Judeo-Hellenistic milieu (Philo) or in a Palestinian one. The prologue may have been added at a late stage in the redaction of the Johannine* corpus, in the late first century and probably at Ephesus.

b) Biblical Reinterpretations. Several targums (ancient translations of the Bible), principally the Palestinian targum of the Pentateuch (MS Neofiti 1, ed. Diez Macho, 1968–79), attest the diffusion of the theme of the Word* (Aramaic: *memra*) at the beginning of the Christian era. The form of words in Genesis 1, “God said,” was thus transposed into the nominative (“the word of the Lord”) and became a grammatical subject, not only of verbs concerned with speaking (“to say,” “to call,” “to bless”), but also of verbs to do with actions (“to create,” “to complete,” “to separate”). As in the poem known as the “poem of four nights” (targum of Ex 12:42), the personified Word* of God presides at the judgment* and fulfillment of history, alongside the royal Messiah and the mosaic Prophet*.

The *Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching* by Irenaeus*, a later text that retains traces of Judeo-Christian traditions*, accords the divine Word the status of a son of God (filiation*) already in existence at the time of the creation* (§43). The Neofiti manuscript

targum of Genesis 1:1 itself appears to have been influenced by speculations about the “beginning,” understood as a “principle” or “first-born.” These titles, which may have been inspired by Proverbs 8:22, are also found in Colossians 1:15 and Revelation 3:14, where they are applied to the person of Christ. Bultmann (1967) has demonstrated the influence of the wisdom tradition over John’s prologue, not only through the personification of Wisdom (Prv 8–9; Jb 28; Sir 24; Wis 7–9), but also through the narrative of the vicissitudes related to the reception of Wisdom (Bar 3:9–4:4; 4 Ezr 5:9; 2 Bar 48:36).

c) Interpretation of the Prologue. John’s prologue christianizes the divine Word by linking it to the concrete person of Jesus*. This entry into history is expressed in a narrative mode and functions as a prelude to the whole of the Gospel account. There is an obvious allusion to Genesis 1: the Word is presented as an actor in every creative labor, without any exception and without any dualism; the separation of light from darkness is recounted in the spirit of Genesis 1:4. In verse 1, the relationship of the Word to God is characterized in terms of “proximity to” (*pros* + accusative, to be translated literally as “near to” or “turned toward”), as well as in an affirmation of divine identity (“the Word was God,” John 1:1) that was to become the basis for later developments of the doctrine of the Trinity*. By contrast, both pagan humanity (“the world”) and the people of Israel* refuse to welcome the Word.

It is in this context that the Word becomes “flesh” by fully assuming the destiny of a specific human being, Jesus of Nazareth. Some scholars (Lagrange, Loisy, Hoskyns) consider that the whole of the prologue is to be applied to the historical Christ; others (Dodd, Feuillet, Léon-Dufour) take the view that, while the author’s intention is to designate Christ, verses 1–11 evoke the Word as preceding its entry into history. In that case, the two references to the Baptist in verses 6ff. and 15—which are often interpreted as additions, on the hypothesis of the primitive hymn—are taken to indicate the historical grounding of the event.

As a result of this humanization, those who adhere to

the incarnate Word accede to the condition of children of God (1:12f.); although a minority view, supported by Boismard, is that this identification applies to Christ himself, with reference to the immaculate conception. Those who adhere to the Word receive the revelation* of glory (the Son's relationship to the Father*). Strictly speaking, then, the incarnation* of the Word amounts to a manifestation of the invisible God (1:18).

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See also Christ/Christology; Creation; Incarnation; Johannine Theology; Trinity; Wisdom; Word of God

B. Historical and Systematic Theology

a) Contemporary Views. The term *logos* in Greek covers both written and spoken word; in theology*, it covers both Scripture* and the second person of the Trinity*. The same is true in German (*Wort*) and English ("Word"), but this is not the case in French (*Verbe*). For Luther*, Christ* is the "meaning" of scripture. For Emil Brunner (1889–1966), *Wort* is the proper translation of *Logos*, since it expresses the act of God* in his self-revelation, and not merely an abstract truth. Karl Barth*'s hostility to natural* theology and mysticism* led him to argue that encounter with Scripture is the only means of knowing Christ as Word* of God, while only Christ will enable us to comprehend the word of Scripture. Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (1933) writes that Christ as Logos is the truth* of God, distinct from the word of man, truth presented to us *in* and *as* the word of proclamation.

In modern Catholic thought the notion of Christ as archetype (another sense of *logos*) is more prominent. Taking a strongly Platonic view, Hans Urs von Balthasar* (1959) sees him as the realm of ideas and values translated into history*. Karl Rahner* maintains that the perfection of God entails constant self-expression, which is consummated only in the incarnate Christ. Neither identifies knowledge of Christ entirely with the hearing of scripture, but E. Schillebeeckx seems to approach the Protestant notion with his argument that theology is the critical hermeneutic* of a continuing dialogue between man and God.

b) Pagan Usage. In Greek, *logos* implies both spoken word and the principle of reason*. Heraclitus

(sixth century B.C.) conflates both senses with his demand that we listen to the *logos* in order to understand the world (Fr. B1 Diels-Kranz). Claiming Heraclitus as a precursor, the Stoics conceived the *Logos* as a demiurgic principle by which God produces from himself the ingredients of the cosmos* (Diogenes Laertius VII, 134–36). Human beings have their own *logoi*, and the intellect of each human being is a seed of the divine *logos*. The thought in the mind (*logos endiathetos*) is contrasted with the uttered word (*logos prophorikos*) in both God and humanity (Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Mathematicos* VIII, 275).

Plato does not use the word *logos* in a sense relevant to Christian theology, but in *Timaeus* (28) he speaks of the Demiurge and his eternal paradigm, and the word *eidos* is used for the archetypes of particular species. The *logos* as written word is an object of suspicion, since such words are imperfect images of reality and writing fixes thought (*Phaedrus* 274 c–277 a). It was the desire for divine authentication of human concepts that led such later Platonists as Alcinoüs (second century A.D.?) to equate the ideal archetypes with the thoughts of God (*Didascalía* 9). Through their own *logoi*, human beings participate in divinity (*Timaeus* 90).

The Neoplatonists posited *logos* as the means by which forms inhere in concrete subjects. Some of them, such as Proclus, followed Plato's *Cratylus* in the search for a "natural" expression of the divine through words or images. Plotinus (204/205–70) weds Platonic and Stoic beliefs. The universe is pervaded by a providential *logos*, the eternal radiation of the Intellect and World-Soul (*Enneads* III, 2.16). Individual *logoi* are particular and temporal manifestations of that Soul

(III, 3.1), and dictate both physical growth and moral choice. Being the definitions (*horismoi*) of their subjects (II, 7.3), they combine their ingredients, although they do not create them. Individual *logoi* are like seeds, and the *logos* of the universe is a principle of order and of law reigning over it (IV, 4.39). This *Logos* is related to Soul as energy is to its source (VI, 7.5.); it can even be called the eternal offspring (*gennema*) of the Intellect. Soul may be called the *logos* of Intellect, but *logos* is not a name for any of the “three hypostases.”

c) *Later Judaism.* In rabbinic thought, *dabar* (“the word”) is not personified, although Wisdom* is identified with the Torah (Sir 24:18). In the targums, *mem-rah* can signify God’s order or divine revelation*, as well as those anthropomorphic manifestations of God that are distinct from his true essence. Notwithstanding Philo, there may be no Platonic influence on the rabbinic and cabalistic reification of the written word.

d) *Patristic.* In the second century, Christ is the “Word who proceeds from silence” for Ignatius of Antioch (*Magnesiensians* 8), while in *De Pascha*, by Melito of Sardis, he is the *logos* that fulfills the Law. Consubstantiality with the Father* does not imply coeternity. Theophilus of Antioch (*Ad Autolyces* II, 22) and Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* V, 3, 16) follow the Stoics and Philo in distinguishing the eternal reason of God from his Word brought forth for creation. Tertullian* (*Adv. Praxeas* 5–7) renders the Greek *logos endiathetos* by the Latin *ratio* (“reason”) and *logos prophorikos* by *sermo* (“word”).

Irenaeus* affirms the eternity of the Logos against the Gnostic myth of a fall of Wisdom (*Adv. Haer.* II, 28, 6). Justin assimilates the Logos to the revelatory and creative “second God” of middle Platonism (*1 Apol.* 22, 60), but the primacy of Scripture over reason is affirmed in the *Dialogue with Trypho* (3–8); and even the “*Logos spermatikos*” of *2 Apol.* (13, 3–5), which teaches pagans, works chiefly through the dissemination of the prophetic word (*1 Apol.* 44). Appearances of “the Lord” in the Old Testament are preliminary manifestations of the embodied Logos.

Origen* was the first to affirm the eternity of the Logos, on the grounds that God must always have a world. The eternal world consists of forms and species created in the Word (*De Princ.* I, 4, 5), who remains, however, subordinate to the Father (e.g., *Comm. John* II, 2). The Logos reveals the character of God to the *logikoi* (“rational beings”—*Comm. John* I, 16 and I, 24). The latter partake of him by nature (*De Princ.* I, 3, 6), but are not strictly consubstantial with him. Origen emphasizes the procession of the Word (*Comm. John* I,

25), the source and substance of scriptural revelation (*Philokalia* 5, 4). In the incarnation*, the Logos transmutes human nature into his own (*De Princ.* II, 6, 4), and he brings about the same effect in us by his teaching (*Contra Celsum* IV, 15).

Jesus*’ teaching office is stressed in the treatise *De Incarnatione* by Athanasius*, but it is his role as the creator of humanity that makes redemption possible. In relation to man, therefore, the Logos is archetypal; in relation to the Father, he is consubstantial*. He is not, as Arius held, a creature of the Father’s will, but that will itself (*Contra Arianos* II, 9). He is the Wisdom of God, as Proverbs 8:22 implies, but this is not a created wisdom (II, 16 *Sq.*). As the image of God (Col. 1:15), he is all that the Father is (III, 5). The Word is defined as Wisdom, Truth, and source of all other essences (*De sententia Dionysii* 25).

Gregory* of Nyssa resists any notion that the Logos is more intelligible than the Father; he maintains that the nature of all three persons of the Trinity is equally inscrutable (e.g., *Contra Eunomium*, *Ad Ablabium*). He rejects Platonic forms, but says that creation has its own *logos* (*Contra Eunomium* 937 *a*); thus, the incarnation of the eternal Word reveals and perfects the *logos* of man.

For Cyril* of Alexandria (*On the Creed* 13), *logos* can describe the incarnate Word and emphasizes the initiative of God. For the heretics Arius and Apollinarius, the *logos* replaced the human intellect of Christ.

e) *Later Developments.* Augustine* defines *verbum* in *De Trinitate* (I, 9, 10) as *notitia cum amore*, knowledge accompanied by love*. In contrast to Athanasius, he correlates the Son* with understanding and the Spirit with will or love. Nevertheless, he observes (*De Trin.* VII, 2–3) that Christ is called *Verbum* only “relatively,” not in himself, and that wisdom belongs equally to all three divine persons. According to *Hom. John* I, the failure to see the world as the creation of God’s word explains the errors of pagans, especially their inability to recognize the fulfillment of the revealed word of Scripture in the cross (*see scripture**, fulfillment of). The translation of *logos* as *verbum*, not *sermo*, stresses his timelessness rather than his historical activity, but in *De Trin.* (XV, 11, 20) the *logos prophorikos* is the incarnate Christ.

John the Scot Eriugena (ninth century) follows Origen in his *Periphuseon* by maintaining that a realm of eternal forms subsists in the Word. Anselm* may have Augustine in mind when he argues that God’s eternal self-conception necessarily entails an eternal self-expression (*Monologium* 32). As an image of the Father, the Word is inexpressibly distinguished from him (38–39); in relation to creation, “spoken” by the

Word, he is the *principalis essentia*, the fundamental essence (33). Christ's role as creative Word enables Augustine (*De Vera Religione*, 36), Anselm (*De Veritate*), and Thomas* Aquinas (*Quaest Disp.* 1256–57) to say that truth is that which God ordains. Aquinas quotes John Damascene (*De Fide Orthodoxa* I, 13) to support the view that the word is the inner concept (*interior mentis conceptus*, *ST* Ia, q. 34, a. 1; see Ia, q. 27, a. 1–2), but, against Anselm, he refuses to equate the speech (*dicere*) characteristic of the second person with timeless understanding (*intelligere*). As with Augustine, the term “Word” denotes the person (i.e. relation) not the essence (described by *Filius*); other terms (such as “image”) are of equal validity (e.g., Ia, q. 34, a. 1–2; q. 35).

f) Perspectives. The extensive theological vocabulary that allows us to ground the word of God in the very being of God also allows us to accede to the inherent possibility of what Christianity calls revelation. To speak of the word is to speak of liberty*: the human being who wishes to be “within the hearing of the Word” (Rahner) perhaps hears only God's silence. To speak of the word is also to speak of an event, and of a doubling: initially, the minor details of Middle-Eastern history, in which the “word of God” has ceased to be a matter of anthropomorphism* because God, the Word, has taken on the appearance and the voice of a human being; and then, in the contemporaneity granted by faith (Kierkegaard*), the events of the word that the “new hermeneutic” (E.

Fuchs, G. Ebeling) has instructed us to think and live. Perhaps there is more: if the word of God is given and perpetually restated in the Scriptures, read with faith and commented upon with authority, the word of human beings may itself become the vehicle of the Word of God. The whole Christology of the Word calls for a theology of the human word.

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See also **Christ/Christology; Father; God; Jesus, Historical.**

Word of God

A. Biblical Theology

The word of God* is inscribed, according to diverse modalities, in a history. Taking the measure of that history, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (1:1f.) declares: “Long ago, at many times and in many ways, God spoke to our fathers by the prophets, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son, whom he appointed the heir of all things, through whom also he created the world.” This word resounds from the beginning to the end, relayed by envoys who can be designated generally as prophets. Here we will confine

ourselves to occurrences of the theme through the two biblical Testaments.

I. Old Testament

1. The Expression “Word of God”: Usage and Variants

a) Prophetic Books. Though the prophets mentioned in Hebrews are not the only ones who spoke, they are

the ones who testified directly that God is the source of their word. The formulas encountered in the prophetic books bear witness. For example, the audience may be addressed by “hear the word of the Lord” (*devar YHWH*: e.g. in Am 3:1, 4:1, 5:1, 7:16). The words of the prophets may be punctuated by “the word of the Lord” at the beginning or the end (e.g. 162 times in the book of Jeremiah). Overflowing the limits of particular oracles, the formula “the word of the Lord that came to [a particular prophet]” may cover the whole of a prophetic book (Hos 1:1; Jl 1:1; Mi 1:1; Zep 1:1; see Jer 1:2f). In the book of Ezekiel the general formula of Ezekiel 1:3 is relayed by the frequent affirmation that “the word of the Lord came to me” (48 times). Thus it is no surprise to encounter 240 times the expression “word of the Lord” in the Old Testament, designating either a particular word or the whole of a prophet’s activity. Outside the religious context the envoy introduces his message with the words “thus said” followed by the name of the one who sends him (Gn 32:4ff.; Jgs 11:15; 2 Kgs 18:29); similarly, the phrase “thus said the Lord” introduces many prophetic oracles (with the verb *’amar*: 13 times in Amos, 128 times in Jeremiah, and 124 times in Ezekiel). When God speaks in the first person his word may be punctuated by a simple “...said the Lord” (Hg 1:8; Mal 1:2, 2:16, 3:13). In this case the prophet is completely effaced before God.

b) The Law. Prophetic formulas are rare in the Torah (see Gn 15:1). In Exodus 9:20f., “the word of YHWH” is none other than the word spoken by God to Moses, who is to transmit it to the Pharaoh (Ex 9:13–19). The pharaoh’s attendants react to this word either by obeying it or disdaining it. In Nm 15:31 “the word of YHWH” is a way of designating the commandments (see Dt 5:5). From this perspective the expression “the words of YHWH” in Exodus 24:3 designates the Decalogue*. Outside of these few texts, anonymous narrators have God intervene as the one who addresses himself directly: to man and woman* (Gn 2–3), to Noah, the patriarchs, or Moses and Aaron, and especially Moses, who is God’s interlocutor at the time of the Exodus from Egypt, the crossing of the desert, and the conclusion of the covenant*.

c) Writings. In the rest of the Bible* God speaks less directly. The Book of Proverbs collects mainly the words of sages, while often referring to YHWH. This divine name does not figure in Ecclesiastes nor in the Song of Songs.

Though it is true that the different parts of the Old Testaments are unevenly qualified as “the word of YHWH,” Jews and Christians consider the book as a whole to be the word of God.

2. *Bearers of the Word*

As we have seen, those who transmit the word of God are the prophets. Next to the prophet who knows himself to be God’s envoy should be placed the priest whom people consult and who transmits YHWH’s reply (e.g. in 1 Sm 14:17ff.; 14:36f.; 22:11–17). And then come the sages (even if they may sometimes repudiate the phrase “the word of YHWH”: Jer 8:9). According to the division of functions articulated in Jeremiah 18:18, instruction is entrusted to the priest, counsel to the sage, and the word to the prophet (see Ez 7:26): these distinctions should not be made too rigidly, because these are really three types of word, each referring itself to God. And in fact the word of God is placed in parallel with instruction in the Book of Isaiah (1:10, 2:3; see Mi 4:2). The word is not limited to the oracle: it is expressed by all those who, guided by the Spirit of God, have written anonymously according to the norms of their times.

3. *Attributes of the Word*

The word of God is at once single and diverse, even contrasting. Through the prophet, God expresses himself differently according to the times, circumstances, and phases of history. The prophets employ various literary forms—promises*, reproaches, accusations, announcements of chastisement, calls for conversion*—and distinct literary genres correspond to the diversity of functions in the community. The word of God transmitted by the prophet is above all an event that asks to be received by listeners; it is not imposed by constraint. The word of the prophet can be refused, in which case it is the word of God that is refused. Ezekiel had been so informed: “The house of Israel* will not be willing to listen to you, for they are not willing to listen to me” (Ez 3:7). Even though it comes up against human liberty*, the word of God is efficacious. The prophet Elijah confesses: “I have done all these things at your word” (1 Kgs 18:36). This effectiveness of the divine word is proclaimed by Isaiah 55:11: “So shall my word be that goes out from my mouth; it shall not return to me empty, but it shall accomplish that which I purpose, and shall succeed in the thing for which I sent it.” In this text the word of YHWH acquires a sort of autonomy so as to give an enhanced sense of his intervention in history, while nevertheless maintaining the divine transcendence. It is presented as a power that nothing can resist. Already the Deuteronomist reading of the history of Israel makes of the word of God a power working in the heart of events. A late text of Deuteronomy proposed a unification of the multiple laws under the name of “the Word” (Dt 30:11–14). In the same spirit Psalm 119 reiterates the formula “your word,” a word that is the

object of desire and hope. It is notable that this autonomy of the Word is personified, as with Wisdom*, whose discourse is addressed to all so that everyone might find life (Prv 1–9). When speaking of the creation* of the world by God, Genesis 1 is satisfied with ten occurrences of “God said,” to signify the omnipotence* of the divine word, for which saying is doing. The word becomes a substantive in Sirach 42:15 (“through your words”) and Wisdom 9:1f. (“through your word,” “through your wisdom”). The expression “word of God” may also belong to the theme of the fulfillment of the oracles and promises in the Torah (Nm 11:23, 23:19), as well as those in Deuteronomist history (Jos 4:10, 21:45, 23:14; 1 Kgs 8:24; 2 Kgs 24:2) and the prophetic books (Jer 17, 15:33, 14). The divine word is revealed there in all its power, giving life or causing death.

Thus, the word of God has numerous aspects. It can illuminate the present moment, reinterpret the past, and announce the future. It covers what theology* calls revelation*.

II. New Testament

The expression “word of God” is rare in the Gospels*, more frequent in the Acts of the Apostles, Paul’s epistles, and the rest of the New Testament, but the Christian message is also designated as the “word of the Lord” or “the word of Christ*,” and more rarely as the “word of Jesus*.”

1. Scripture and Word of God

Scripture is recognized as the word of God, but not in the sense of an immediate equivalence. In an episode of debate with the Pharisees (Mt 15:1–9; Mk 7:1–13) Jesus brings into opposition the commandment of the Decalogue* concerning the honor due to parents (Ex 20:12; Dt 5:16) and an interpretive tradition that turns away from obedience to it. In such a case Scripture is no longer the word of God—it is not truly recognized as the word of God unless the divine will it expresses is respected. In John 10:35 the context is again controversial. Jesus is there seen opposing Scripture, designated as “your law,” and the word of God it contains but the understanding of which escapes those being addressed. Similarly in John 5:37ff., Jesus says to those who “search the Scriptures”: “You do not have his [God’s] word abiding in you, for you do not believe the one whom he has sent.” The reading of the Scriptures should lead to acceptance of the one who realizes God’s plan; it is only on this condition that they are the word of God.

In Luke 5:1 the multitude listens to the “word of God,” of which Jesus makes himself the preacher: the

occasion is unique in the Gospels. Here the expression may designate the Scripture that Jesus interprets, and from which he read in the synagogue of Nazareth (Lk 4:16–30). It is also possible that Jesus is being presented here as the model of the Christian preacher.

2. Word of God and Christian Message

In the Acts of the Apostles the “word of God” (the phrase appears 11 times) takes on a specifically Christian content because the apostles, filled with the Holy* Spirit (Acts 4:31), speak this word with assurance, a word that includes the testimony of Jesus’s resurrection* (Acts 4:33). Like the word of the Old Testament this word is endowed with its own energy: “the word of God continued to increase” (Acts 6:7, 12:24, 19:20), just like the word of the Lord in Acts 13:49.

Devoted to the service of the word of God (Acts 6:2; *see* Lk 1:2), the disciples must announce it (Acts 13:5, 17:13), teach it (18:11), so that it will be heard (13:7, 13:44) and received (8:14, 11:1). The same applies to the word of the Lord (13:44, 13:49, 15:35, 16:32, 19:10). However, the principal content of the “word of God” is God’s plan, known from the Scriptures, where the death* and resurrection of Jesus come to be inscribed. The expression already had this Christian meaning in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 8:21, 11:28).

In Paul, as in Luke, the “word of God” designates the Christian message and underscores its divine origin. 1 Thes 2:13 is the best example: “And we also thank God constantly for this, that when you received the word of God, which you heard from us, you accepted it not as the word of men but as what it really is, the word of God, which is at work in you believers.” In the manner of the prophets, Paul is the preacher of this word that comes from God (Gal 1:15, *see* Jer 1:5; Is 49:1). What Paul preaches is the work of salvation* realized by God in Jesus Christ, which he calls the kerygma (Rom 16:25; 1 Cor 1:21, 2:4, 15:14) or the gospel.

With regard to Israel (Rom 9:6), Paul asks himself whether the word of God failed. The numerous citations from the Old Testament in Rom 9:7–17 show that he refers back to Scripture, but more generally to the salvific will of God and the fulfillment of the promises. Nevertheless, the apostle knows that the word of God is realized in time and that it must first be announced (Phil 1:14; Col 1:25) without being falsified (2 Cor 2:17), because the word comes from God and must keep all its paschal force.

In Paul the word of God is relayed by “the word of the Lord” (1 Thes 1:8), which has its own autonomous energy that follows its course (2 Thes 3:1) even when Paul is in chains, because “the word of God is not bound” (2 Tm 2:9).

3. From the Word of Jesus to the Logos

According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus reveals himself as a prophet (Jn 4:19, 9:17) through his words and acts, even as the Prophet (Jn 1:21; 6:14; 7:40). However, from John 3:31ff. the role of Jesus is distinguished from that of John the Baptist by a clear opposition between the terrestrial origin of the latter and the celestial origin of the former: "He who comes from heaven is above all . . . he whom God has sent utters the words of God" (v. 31, 34). The mission of Jesus finds here its best definition; it is not that of a simple messenger, but reveals Jesus' intimacy with God.

To perceive all the dimensions of Jesus' mission is to have some understanding of its divine condition. As Jesus says: "For I have not spoken on my own authority, but the Father who sent me has himself given me a commandment—what to say and what to speak" (Jn 12:49, *see* 14:10). The verb "to speak" (*lalein*, which appears 59 times in John), also known to other evangelists, particularly Luke, conveys the status of Jesus as the word of the Father. "The Father loves the Son and has given all things into his hand" (Jn 3:35).

Totally submissive to the Father, Jesus speaks of his own word in the first person and, through expressions such as "whoever hears my word" (Jn 5:24, 8:43, *see* 18:37; "listens to my voice") or "keeps my word" (8:51–52, 14:23, 15:20, *see* 1 Jn 2:5), with the frequent parallel "keep my commandments" (Jn 14:15, 15:10), he invites his listeners to adopt an attitude of faith* and obedience. In this, the word of Jesus effects a judgment* and has eschatological bearing, because keeping the word has a close relation with eternal life* (Jn 8:51). The most solemn affirmations of Jesus, in particular those that begin with "I am," reveal a connection with eternal life by way of a symbolism rooted in the Old Testament. By his testimony relayed from the

Father, Jesus reveals that God is truthful (Jn 3:33) because the promises of God are fulfilled in him.

From this identification of Jesus and the Word, as well as the bond between Jesus and the Father, the Fourth Gospel confesses Jesus as the Logos, the Word* made flesh (Jn 1).

Conclusion

The word of God, designated and transmitted by Scripture, overflows it. The expression may refer to the public reading of the Bible within the liturgy* (1 Tm 4:5); it may also evoke the creative word of God (in 2 Pt 3:5; *see* Gn 1). More often it encompasses God's plan for Israel and humankind, within which is inserted the testimony of Jesus Christ rendered to the end times (Rev 1:2, 9, 6:9, 20:4). The word of God is alive and permanent (1 Pt 1:23), so as to be "the message of this salvation" (Acts 13:26), "the word of his grace" (Acts 14:3; 20:32), "the word of life" (Phil 2:16), and especially "the message of reconciliation" (2 Cor 5:19).

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See also Anthropomorphism; Book; Creation; Gospels; History; Holy Scripture; Jesus, Historical; Judgment; Law and Christianity; Preaching; Prophet; Scripture, Fulfillment of; Revelation; Wisdom; Word

B. Systematic Theology

The notion of word of God* is central to Christian faith*. By his word God called into existence that which was not, and by his word he will bring the dead back to life (*see* Rom 4:17). By his word, made flesh in Jesus Christ, he came into the world of human beings. From beginning to end, Holy* Scripture, the Bible*, attests to this vivifying presence of the word of God. This is why what it proclaims is quickly applied to Scripture itself: it becomes the word of God. The written word (*verbum scriptum*) that must be read accord-

ing to the incarnate Word (*verbum incarnatum*) of which it speaks to us and wishes, through it, constantly to re-emerge as preached word (*verbum praedicatum*).

This is the central task of hermeneutics*: to assume the interpretation of Scripture as the word of God in its movement from incarnation* to preaching.*

1. Developments in the Early and Medieval Church

The formation of the biblical canon*, which occurred in the first centuries of the Christian era, placed theol-

ogy* in a hermeneutic context: it is in interpreting Scripture that I reach the word of God. The church Fathers, commenting on the biblical texts, gradually established an interpretive tradition that would be followed by succeeding generations. The tradition, which laid down the rule of the faith*, became the standard for interpretation of Scripture. Transforming a Pauline* passage (“The letter kills, but the Spirit gives life,” 2 Cor 3:6) into a rule of interpretation, ancient hermeneutics established a distinction between the literal and the spiritual sense. On this basis, extending certain ancient lines of thought, medieval commentators progressively developed their theory of the four senses of Scripture* (a literal sense and three different spiritual senses).

Down through the centuries, institutional regulation of relations between Scripture and tradition was reinforced, and the ecclesial ministry*, inscribed in the apostolic* succession, then became the guarantee of the veracity* of the word of God. This institutionalized hermeneutic was clearly established at the Council of Trent* by a Catholicism* that wanted to set itself at a critical distance from the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura*. The hermeneutic function of the Roman magisterium*, specifically as a magisterium of teaching, was progressively reinforced in modern times.

2. Word of God and Holy Scripture in the Protestant Reformation

Opposed to the idea of a tradition that would be a path of access to Scripture, the Reformation distinguished itself by posing its principle of *sola scriptura*: “Scripture alone.” How should this emphasis be understood?

a) *The Gospel, an Oral Word.* If Holy Scripture has a particular status, it is not so much as a sort of formal authority: it is first a question of its being entirely inhabited by the dynamics of the word of God. This word, before its conservation in writing, was an oral word, a word proclaimed aloud (*viva vox*). It is the gospel, the good tidings that give life. Or, to express it in the more classical terms of the Reformation, it is the word that justifies, that declares just, and that makes just solely by the force of this “performative” declaration. This word is therefore eminently creative: because it created all things at the beginning, it is the word that creates faith in those who receive it, helps them understand and receive the Word; and it creates the Church (of which Luther* can say that it is the creature of the word of God, *creatura verbi*). This is why the word of God must constantly be proclaimed in the Church, which is the major task of the minister in his preaching. In this face-to-face encounter of the Church and the word of God, this remains the first and

active principle; and it stands as the reason why neither the Church nor its minister can intervene as guarantee of the veracity of the word of God *sola scriptura*.

b) *Distinguishing Scripture and Gospel.* In its first sense, the gospel is indeed “the Scripture that vivifies.” By becoming Scripture, it becomes letter. But it is never frozen in this letter, and this is why the gospel is never identified with Scripture. Scripture contains it, but it seeks constantly to burst forth from it in a living word, as at the beginning. This is what gives Scripture its clarity and allows it to interpret itself (*scriptura sui ipsius interpret*). The Spirit contains the key to its own interpretation: it is clear in the extent to which, from being the letter that kills, it becomes the Spirit that vivifies. Luther expressed this in speaking of a Scripture criss-crossed by the incessant movement from law to gospel.

c) *A Christological Criterion.* For critical evaluation of the evangelical authority* of Holy Scripture, Luther was able to isolate a christological principle from his hermeneutic reflections: the true word of God is “that which puts Christ* forward” (“was Christum treibet,” WA. DB 7, 384), even if it is a text by Judas, Anne, Pilate, or Herod. (This is the principle that led Luther to express reservations on the true meaning of the Epistle of James and Revelation.) The message of Christ, whose death* and resurrection* justify human beings and make them live, is like the “sunlit center” of Scripture (the tradition speaks of a “canon* within the canon”). If adversaries oppose Scripture to Christ, then Christ must be opposed to Scripture (WA 39/1, 47, thesis 49).

3. Theology of the Word in the 20th Century

a) *Modern Developments.* A toughening of the scriptural principle occurred within 16th- and 17th-century Protestant orthodoxy: the word of God is identified then with Scripture in its literal given, which at the same time takes on a value of sacred authority, demanding a sacred hermeneutic. It is this sacralization that modern historico-critical exegesis* combated when it claimed (in the principle of Semler) a free critical reading of biblical texts. But such a reading carried to an extreme can end up making the Bible just one document among others of human religious culture, as shown by certain results of 19th-century liberal theology.

b) *The Word of God in Dialectical Theology.* Under the effect of the crisis of World War I, which marked the end of the liberal ideal and its illusions, dialectical

theologians reaffirmed the true theological dimension of the word of God: in crisis the judgment* of God rings out and, through it, gives us the gift of his grace*. And the word of God manifests the “infinite qualitative difference” (Kierkegaard*) that separates the Altogether Other from human beings, and it invites the latter to come out of themselves and open themselves to a salvation* that remains *extra nos*.

c) *Hermeneutic Reprise*. Whereas this rediscovery of the theology of the Word led Barth* to an anti-hermeneutic attitude, it is the great merit of the school of Bultmann* to have operated a systematic reprise on the level of hermeneutics. This allows it to make a coherent articulation of a theology of the Word and historico-critical exegesis. This connection operates by way of an existential interpretation inspired by Heidegger*: through a methodical reading of interpellations that the kerygma addresses to readers and that must be released from its mythological hobbles (which puts the program of demythologization in the service of a theology of the Word). In the work of G. Ebeling, this hermeneutic of the word of God opened onto the field of Church history* and dogmatics*.

4. Current Debates

The understanding of the word of God has been and remains the subject of ecumenical debates in which the Protestant tradition must be situated in relation to various modes of questioning. With Catholic and Orthodox partners there is discussion of the relations between Church and tradition (notably renewed by the constitution *Dei Verbum* of Vatican* II). The challenge here is to ask if a traditional instance can pronounce itself on the value of Scripture as word of God or if the question plays out in a hermeneutic circle at the very interior of Scripture (“Scripture, interpreter of itself”).

The fundamentalism* characteristic of certain trends within Protestantism* provokes other debates. Toughening the Protestant *sola scriptura* in a literalist

manner, it identifies the word of God with the letter of Scripture (verbal inspiration, in the manner of Protestant orthodoxy), thereby giving Scripture a status of infallibility*. Protestant hermeneutics counters such a position with the distinction between Scripture and gospel developed above, to avoid a legalist fixation of the word of God and to maintain the free play of the “conflict of interpretations” (P. Ricoeur).

Marked for a long time by the monopoly of the historico-critical method, the interpretation of Scripture is today open to a plurality of methods. Some of them—for example the pragmatics of communication, narratology, or the theory of the act of reading—help in grasping the dialectical connection between the word of God and Scripture, and in maintaining in the face of doctrinaire hardening a space of liberty* indispensable to a vital interpellation of the reader: “You are the man!” (2 Sm 12:7).

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See also Bible; Canon of Scriptures; Exegesis; Gospels; Hermeneutics; Holy Scripture; Preaching; Scripture, Senses of

Work

A. Historical Theology

a) Christian Origins. The earliest Christian theology* did not see work, or at least manual work, as a subject for theology. Those Christians who had come from Judaism* certainly shared Israel*'s respect for the working aspect of existence. Those who had come from among the Gentiles belonged above all to the urban middle class, and thus to a stratum of the population with little tendency toward an aristocratic disdain for *negotium*. In either case, there is no clear suggestion that the fervor of their eschatological expectations led them to attitudes critical of the practical necessities of life, among which work occupies a key place. Paul expected Christ*'s imminent return, yet he worked with his hands and urged the idle people of Thessalonica to work.

Is there not a connection, however, between the two problems specifically treated in 2 Thessalonians—erroneous eschatological speculation (2:1–12) and the idleness of the *ataktoi* (3:6–12)? Such has been the contention. “This issue [of the end of the world] haunted people’s imaginations and excited them greatly. Some took advantage of these imminent prophecies* to give up work. On the basis that the world was about to end, it was considered pointless to go on busying oneself about other things” (C. Toussaint in *DB* 5, 1928, 2186). However, recent research has more than anything emphasized the lack of a convincing connection (for example B. Rigaux, G. C. Holland [*The Tradition that you received from us...*, Tübingen, 1988], W. Trilling [EKK XIV] and F.B. Hughes [JSNTSS 30, Sheffield, 1989]), and there has been a demand for a sociology of the earliest Christian communities to shed some light on the facts mentioned by Paul (R. Russell, *NTS* 34 [1988]): “some Christians of this city aim to justify a form of economic parasitism in religious terms” (Salamito 1996). The eschatological argument has recently been revived by M. J. J. Menken (*NTS* 38 [1992]).

Certain professions (actor, soldier, schoolteacher) were forbidden to Christians by reason of their connections with the religious, cultural, and political life of a pagan Empire, but work itself was an unquestioned backdrop. Disciples of a master whom the Gospel text presents without embarrassment—albeit without the slightest emphasis—as the son of a carpenter, guardians of a Gospel which was initially transmitted via the Em-

pire’s commercial communications network, the first Christians certainly did not set about theorizing their work. What they thus left unconsidered, however, was nothing of which they would have been afraid or ashamed. Within the conscious and unconscious fabric of their experience, work could meet only with approval. The church Fathers* echoed those communities that were opposed to idleness (*Didasc.* 13; Tertullian*, *Idol.* 5, 12; Ambrose*, *Cain.* II, 2, 8) and which honored manual work (1 *Clem.* 49, 5; Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 8; Origen*, *Cont. Cels.* III, 55, VI, 36; survey in Salamito 1996). The Christian work ethic, moreover, was to pervade people’s mentalities to the point where the priest’s *opus animarum*, his pastoral work, was sometimes not readily recognized as work: so Caesarius of Arles had to ask his priests not to spend more than two or three hours a day cultivating the soil, so as to be able to cultivate the souls who were entrusted to them (*Sermo* 1, 7, CChr.SL 103).

The Christian ethos of work also had a political complexion. In practice, only landowners could take part in the political life of the Roman Empire, and it was upon those who did not run the city that the necessity of working fell. The Christian approach to work, however, was associated with a different approach to participation. Whatever their position within relationships of production, all had an equal place in the Church; thus the life of the Church was at odds with the public life of the Empire.

b) Prayer and Work. With this subject as with others, history has the official christianization of the Empire and a related phenomenon, monasticism*, to thank for the appearance of a problem. A substitute for martyrdom* in an age when all persecution had ceased, monasticism took the form of a breaking off and a withdrawal: a monk was somebody who broke with the “world” or the “age” to attend to the task of a radical conversion*; somebody who symbolically poured out his blood in ascetic* practices so as to receive the Holy* Spirit (*Apophteg.*, Longinus 5). However, while the monk did not wish to exist in the desert except face to face with God* (and perhaps also in a brotherly community rich in eschatological meaning), his life as

an anchorite could not be understood as *otium*, and the contemplation which he aimed to attain was no mere Christian repetition of the philosophical *theôria*. The monk actually worked with his hands, as much to earn his keep as to avoid distraction. The work he undertook, moreover, was the simplest and most humble possible (basket-weaving). Most important, the time he spent at this work was not taken at the expense of prayer, but was stipulated for him: the dual command of the Rule of St Benedict, “pray and work,” *ora et labora*, did not sanction the existence of two distinct spheres of experience, but called for the conception of a single unified activity in which the work of the body served the “work” of the soul*, and in which the monotony of manual labor without intrinsic interest made it possible, not to turn work into a prayer, but simply to pray while working. It was thus possible to say that the true *ergon* was the spiritual and ascetic exercise, and that by comparison, manual work merely fulfilled the role of a *parergon* or incidental (*Apophteg.*, Theodore of Phermia 10).

Messalianism* and the “perfect ones” spoken of in the *Book of Degrees* (ed. M. Kmosko, PS 3) nonetheless prove that a monasticism did exist in which work was perceived as inimical to the perfect life, in other words as an obstacle to the constant prayer called for by Paul (1 Thes 5:17). This tendency was refuted by Epiphanius in his *Panarion*, by Augustine’s *De opere monachorum*, and by monastic texts of Egyptian origin which in particular extol the value of work in the struggle against temptations, especially acedia (see Guillaumont 1979).

c) *Action and Contemplation.* The Christian Middle Ages made no more of a theme of work than Antiquity had done. Work continued to have a theological meaning in medieval monasticism: the labor of the sinful man, weighed down beneath the curse pronounced in Gn 3:17ff., work was above all a process of penitence—and it was as a supreme penitent that the monk labored. Nonetheless monastic work tended to disappear after Benedict of Aniane’s reforms (817), and the monk appeared increasingly and exclusively as the man of “God’s work,” the *opus Dei*. Henceforth the life referred to as “contemplative” was to be distinguished not from the life of labor, but quite simply from the sphere of activity as a whole. In a society* that organized and viewed itself in terms of the three functions fulfilled by men of prayer (*oratores*), warriors (*bellatores*), and workers (*laboratores*), the active life was defined negatively, even when placed under the patronage of the Gospels. Whatever order it belonged to, action was less perfect than contemplation*: this was a widespread opinion, formulated by

Thomas* Aquinas (*ST* IIa IIae, q. 179–182). A life truly worthy of being lived could certainly be lived amid the activities of the world—but it would owe nothing to secular work; it would owe its dignity to an exercise of the virtues* in which, moreover, it is still easy to see a process of negation of the world. The development of Third Orders from the thirteenth century onwards furthermore expressed very clearly a sufficiently strict identification between the contemplative life and the religious life that the lay person could only be fully Christian by participating to some extent in institutional religious life.

d) *Trades and the Reformation.* While criticism of the monastic institution is not at the center of Luther’s* theology (nor that of other Reformers), it is nonetheless a good indication of one of its main directions. Although the monastic experience is criticized, in practice this is because it appears to represent the triumph of a logic of works and merits: considered as a human project, asceticism actually betrays a lack of faith. Since “the first and highest of all noble and good works is faith in Christ” (WA 6, 204), it is to the world (and a world thereby relieved of most of its negative connotations) that the believer is referred as offering the only possible context for an authentically Christian life. Henceforth there can be no tension between “action” and “contemplation.” The service of God and the service of one’s neighbor can be fully accomplished in the world. And as the life lived in the world generally involves the practice of a trade, *Beruf*, it requires little stretching of the word to interpret it as a vocation—*Berufung*. Station in life, work or trade, secular realities become fully part of the Christian experience; work ceases to have the minimal sense accorded it in the Middle Ages (necessary *ad otium tollendum...ad corpus domandum...ad quaerendum victum*, Thomas Aquinas, *Quaest. quodlib.* VII, q. 7, a. 1 [17]) and acquires a properly liturgical dimension. Whatever his trade, the believer works before God, and his work partakes of a logic of worship that does away with the distinction between the active and the contemplative life. The main referents of this theory remained unchanged right up until 20th-century Protestantism, whether work or trade was spoken of in the context of a doctrine of the created order (Barth*, E. Brunner) or of a theory of divine mandates (Bonhoeffer*).

Finally, it may be suggested that recent Catholicism has witnessed the development of related themes in the work of J. Escrivá de Balaguer (1902–75), the founder of *Opus Dei* and instigator of a spirituality of work with strong soteriological overtones, whose goal was the “theological assumption of secular activity” (survey in J.-L. Illanes, *La santificación del trabajo*).

e) *Industrial Work and the Ontology of Work.* Between Lutheranism* and Neoprotestantism there had however appeared a new form of organization of work—industrial, mechanized and capitalist; and it was this that had the effect of turning work into a major theoretical subject. According to Marx*, in his *1844 Manuscripts*, work was a two-edged reality. By working on that which is other than himself, by humanizing nature, on the one hand man creates himself (a point that Marx owed to Hegel*)—his work is the physical locus of his coming into being. On the other hand, in terms of the capitalist organization of production, work is treated as goods are treated—work can be bought, the worker is reduced to the status of workforce, quantifiable and marketable. In this way the locus of humanization becomes simultaneously that of alienation. Because work is not external to the history of the self, the self becomes separated from itself once work (of the wage-earner, and most obviously of the laborer) is bought and sold. And because capitalist society exists by reducing work to a workforce, it takes the shape of the most violent of all societies—one that ensures its own well-being by making the worker into his own Other.

Can the ontogenic aspect of work be dissociated from the alienating dialectics analyzed by Marx? All the contemporary theologies that have taken up work as a theme have assumed this dissociation to be possible. The working man, of whom it has been recognized since the dawn of the modern period that he may at times lay claim to the title of “creator,” may also appear as creator of himself without the vocabulary’s being intended to provoke: it is thus possible to speak of “man, a collaborator in creation and demiurge of his own evolution in the discovery, exploitation and spiritualization of nature” (Chenu 1955). The idea of work in an initially postlapsarian sense thus gives way to the (equally Biblical—Gn 2:15) idea that human toil has a prelapsarian significance. Of course work may be unnatural, and cause the worker hardship. Nonetheless, the “theology of work” claims to appeal to the original meaning of the created realities: and if man was created specifically in the image of a creator God, then it may be said that man “participates through his work in the Creator’s undertaking, and in a sense continues, as far as he is capable, to develop and complete it” (John Paul II 1981, no. 25).

The euphoria of this conclusion nonetheless calls for qualification—which circumstances have already provided by making the axioms used problematic. The theology of work was actually set out as a theology of the product, of manual work understood as an activity of production—as something more than mere labor, indeed practically sharing in the privileges of the artist. The worker thus entered the discussion as somebody who

made things; and the church projected onto his handiwork a light that emanated from the origin of everything, from the God whom Biblical anthropomorphism* does not hesitate to describe as the author of the greatest works. However, the “gospel of work” (Doncœur 1940, see John Paul II 1981, no. 26) gives rise to some difficulties when non-work is no longer a matter of idleness but of unemployment; when the multiplicity of jobs seems hard to subsume within a single concept of work; when most jobs have no sense of handiwork or making, and bring no humanizing action to bear on nature; and when it appears that man is less God’s collaborator in a work of creation than a disturbing creature who is forever erasing the traces of his creation from the world. It is still allowable—and necessary, indeed—to maintain a moral discourse on the work that occupies our lives, for there can be no theory of work that does not invoke a theory of justice; and in the “social doctrine” that Catholicism* has developed since 1891 in the face of the “new realities” of the industrial world, what has been constructed is not a theological ontology of making, but a new face of moral theology. It is still allowable and necessary, moreover, to distinguish and prescribe the conditions for a non-alienating relationship between the worker and his work. But in the meaningful totality of human experience, how much of ourselves is brought into play by our work? Here the text of the Bible holds the elements of an answer.

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B. Biblical Theology

a) Old Testament. According to the "Yahwist" narrative of the beginnings of human history (Gn 2:4 b–3, 24), the first man was a farmer (Gn 2:5, 2:15). Work is not presented as a punishment, since Adam* is placed in Eden "to work it and keep it" (Gn 2:15), before he has sinned. The text reconciles several versions of the origins. Nothing clear appears by way of an original "work," which was reduced to gathering because "there was no man to work the ground" (Gn 2:5; compare Dt 11:10). This feature is intentional: man was certainly not created idle.

After his sin, man's punishment was to be unable to survive except by struggling every day with a "cursed" (Gn 3:17) soil, with no relief until death. Here, fundamentally, we have a work without achievement. This theme is developed when Ecclesiastes exposes the fact that human effort turns endlessly around in the same circle, and is "vain." The oppressiveness of the task is not man's only reason to complain: there is also the question of its meaning (Jb 7:1–11). Besides work on the land, Job, written at a late period, gives a vivid description of work beneath the earth: prospecting, mining, the trade in precious stones—all tasks that remain worthless for the man who wishes to obtain wisdom* (Jb 28).

The "priestly" Gn 1:1–2, 4 *a*, compiled later, tells the story of the creation* of the cosmos*. The command addressed to the first couple*, "have dominion over" the earth (Gn 1:28), has been taken in the sense of a power given to man over nature, as though nature could be subjugated without a thought for the danger of a relationship of domination arising between men. The text however rules out the image of a direct dominion over nature. It restricts nature to "the earth" (extended by Wis 10:2, "master of all," [Gr. *apantôn*]). Above all, it inserts the totality of living creatures between the human and the earth: it is these in the first place that man will "dominate" (1:26, 1:28), and only on these terms will he "subjugate" the earth. The sense of the power given to mankind over the animal kingdom is therefore the key to a correct interpretation.

Kbsh (to subjugate) is used for the conquest of a territory (Jos 18:1; 2 Sm 8:11; 1 Chr 22:18) or the enslav-

ing of its inhabitants, actions which normally went hand in hand. In the case of Genesis 1, dominion over the original occupant (the animal*), which alone ensures the "subjugation" of the earth, raises in anticipation the question of the relationship of domination between the human occupants of the same territory, once they have multiplied. It must therefore exclude any violence*, since man born of God does not spill blood (*see* Gn 1:29; 9:5f.).

The implication of "subjugate" is thus essentially political. It does not follow that the dimension of work should be kept at arm's length because the culmination of this narrative of the creation is the Sabbath*. It must be recognized though that the key aspect of God*'s operation does not require him to rest: tradition* has rightly recognized that he created by the word.

However, Genesis 1 also keeps a place for the divine "making" (1:7, 1:16, 1:25f., 2:2), because the tradition that preceded this text had used images of artistic skill or human (even military) strength to describe the creation, especially of man (Jb 10:8ff.; Ps 139:13; Is 64:7; Jer 18:6). God was seen as "resting" (Ex 20:11); he even "rested and was refreshed" (Ex 31:17). Moreover, the construction of the Temple* and the fashioning of cult objects were described at length as a "work" or piece of workmanship (Ex 31, 35–36; 1 Kgs 6) and even attributed to a man "filled with the Spirit of God with skill, with intelligence, with knowledge, and with all craftsmanship" (Ex 35:31). It is in this light that Genesis 1 interprets the "task" of the world's creation.

At the same time, this is above all a piece of work. Any piece of work worthy of the name must have a plan and thus a conclusion: so God "finished his work" (Gn 2:2f.). For the divine workman the Sabbath is a time of reward and satisfaction more than of rest: "And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good" (Gn 1:31; in Is 41:7, the maker of idols uses the same terms!). In the view of the (priestly) author, the Sabbath was no doubt instituted primarily so that man could echo the Creator's "very good" with his praise*—it was first and foremost a liturgical time.

In an indirect but significant way the commandment*

of the Sabbath indicates the place of work in the Biblical world: “Six days you shall labor, and do all your work” (Ex 20:9f.). Addressed to hunter-gatherers, this precept would be meaningless. Indeed, it would have had little meaning in a purely agrarian society, since it presupposes first of all a relationship with a “work” in which it may itself become an occasion for idolatry*, and then a situation in which man is no longer capable of conquering the earth without “subjugating” his fellow men, rather than the animals alone. The idolatrous tendencies of work (the thing made inciting man to “submit” to it) are suggested in the Ten Commandments (Decalogue*) of Ex 20:1–21. God’s creative act is given here as the motivation for the Sabbath, which is a time to worship the God who made the world and mankind (20:4, 20:11)—whereas the idolater worships what he has made himself, and enslaves himself to it by way of an image. The description of idols as man’s “handiwork” is common (e.g. Dt 4:28; 27:15; Jer 1:16; Wis 13:10; for God’s “handiwork”, see for example Ps 8:4, 8:7; 19:2 and so on). The most detailed descriptions of a process of manufacture are to be read in some of deuterо-Isaiah’s diatribes against idolaters: the fervor of their worship of the idol is proportionate to the efforts of strength and intelligence that it has demanded (Is 40:19f.; 41:6f.; 44:9–20; Wis 13:10–19; 15:7–13). These texts skillfully intertwine three themes: divine handiwork, the making of idols, and purely useful work (Bar 6:58) with which the worker is right to be satisfied. The disparagement of work is alien to the Bible*. While the art of making an object derives from a wisdom given by God, making an object into an idol so as to enslave oneself to it is the result of madness. The Ten Commandments of Deuteronomy (5:12–15) specifies the direct recipient of this law of the Sabbath: the master (along with his wife—the latter goes without saying), whose unquestioned power appears in Proverbs 31:15, 31:27. To do their work, such a couple have sons and daughters, servants (or slaves), animals, and also “the sojourner who is within your gates” (Dt 5:14). It is written that all these will rest “as well as you.” Considered from this economic (Gr. *oikos*) and “political” (Gr. *polis*) point of view the Sabbath is, even more than a memory of the Creation, an explicit reenactment of Israel’s exodus out of the “house of slavery” (Dt 5:6).

The Sabbath was developed into the “sabbatical” year, a time of rest for the earth (Ex 23:10f; Lv 25:2–7), of the remission of debts (Dt 15:1–6), and of liberation for Hebrew slaves (Ex 21:2–6).

The recollection of Egypt was fixed for ever in the people’s memory as a perversion of the first task given by the Creator: man took the place of the animals and was treated worse than them by his fellow man. The foundations of a theology of liberation* were no doubt

laid. At the same time, two characteristics of the original vocation (multiplying, and subduing the earth: Gn 1:28) came into conflict. The confrontation between the status of “slave” and that of “son” was the impulse of the drama (Ex 4:22f), and remained so for a long time: Pharaoh resolved to lose his son in order to keep his slaves. So the alliance between work and life was broken, and the son was the victim.

b) New Testament. The Gospels* continue with the themes that the Old Testament had highlighted. Jesus’ speeches reveal a great familiarity with the world of work, and more specifically with the social relationships within which work takes place. The vocabulary of apostolic activity (“laborer,” “reaper,” “fisherman,” “wages” and so on) consistently expresses a fundamental relationship between the mission that Christ gave to those whom he charged with the Gospel, and that which the world at large understands by “work.” Time after time, the parables* represent various types of service: bailiffs, stewards, serving-men, maid-servants and laborers, not to forget the unemployed (Mt 20:1–7). One of the dominant motifs is administration on behalf of another person who is absent. The rich man who talks only to himself about the accumulation of his wealth is something of an exception (Lk 12:16–21). Of course, since these are parables, all these activities are mentioned only so as to signify something else—in particular the fact that God has gone away, leaving man, his steward, free (Lk 12:42, 16:1–8). But the fact that such keen attention is paid to what remains a parable, a moral fable, reveals a dual movement: on the one hand, the reality of what “work” means is in no way played down, since it is or has been fully experienced; and on the other hand the reality is genuinely transcended, since it is considered so freely.

Above all, money is omnipresent, as witness the number of denominations of currency referred to by Jesus, and their range of uses, both legitimate (wages, alms, taxes, deposits, inheritances, investments, loans, debts, fines and so on) and iniquitous (bribes, embezzlement, blood money). “You cannot serve God and money” (Mt 6:24): these words denote the empty space left by the idols of earlier times, which since Jesus’ time has been occupied specifically by “Mammon,” in other words, “Money.” Once deposed from its enslaving royalty, however, money is not anathematized but rather neutralized: it would be a pity not to know how to use it for the benefit of those who need it most (Lk 16:9ff.; see 19:23, 20:24). Jesus’ irony and detachment on this subject speak volumes about true liberation. However, the decisive meeting, for Jesus, takes place in the sacred domain, in the Temple, on the Sabbath day. Commerce is also a form of work.

Whether or not it is carried out inside the temple, it is hard to see how animal sacrifice could go on without money and without middlemen: but Jesus, in a symbolic gesture, drives them out.

The Sabbath, for its part, is the occasion for severe confrontations. It presents the theme of work and life: Jesus says that his Father “does greater works than these” because he “raises the dead and gives them life” and, like a true Father, “shows” his son what he is doing (Jn 5:20). Life for Jesus is beyond the opposition of work and rest: the essential is there. This leads him to an irrepressible questioning of the Sabbath law, intended and perceived beyond any casuistry. The Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5–7), which is based on a reworking of the Ten Commandments, advocates (without offering an opinion on the Sabbath) a mode of life exemplified by the birds, which “neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns” (Mt 6:26), and the lilies of the field, which “neither toil nor spin” (Mt 6:28). This is not a matter of the imposition of a new law, but the inauguration of a new basis for any activity: “Is not life more than food, and the body more than clothing?” (Mt 6:25). Daily activity joins the liturgical service, in

not being defined by its product: “on the Sabbath the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath and are guiltless” (Mt 12:5; see Jn 7:22f.). This new order is neither a state of being, nor strictly speaking a goal to be attained, but a beginning set forth.

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See also Augustine of Hippo; Grace; Justification; Luther, Martin; Pelagianism; Salvation; Scholasticism; Thomism

Works

a) The Old Testament praises the great works of God* (Ps 8:4–7; 104:24–31 and so on). Sometimes it evokes the creative work of the artisan (Is 44:13; Jer 19:11; 2 Kgs 19:18; 2 Chr 34:25) but it rarely uses “works” to refer to human actions that either please or displease God (Jb 34:11; Eccl 12:14). In the New Testament, “works” (*ergon*) designate either the salvific action of Jesus Christ (Acts 13:41; 1 Cor 15:58; Phil 1:6) or the ethical acts of the baptized. The works are evoked positively as corresponding to the requirements of faith* (Mt 5:16; Acts 9:36; Eph 2:10; 1 Pt 2:12), themselves God’s work in the life of the disciple (2 Cor 9:8; Phil 1:6; Col 3:16s). They glorify God (Mt 5:16; 1 Pt 2:12) and will be decisive when the judgment comes (Rom 2:6; 2 Cor 5:10; Mt 25:31–46). By insisting on justification through faith (Rom 3:28) and by rejecting salvation through works (Rom 3:20, 11:6; Gal 2:16) the apostle Paul denied even the

salvific value of the works. Works are the consequences and not the preconditions of salvation. Thus, man could not claim his works to appear as just before God. But the life of the justified necessarily bears fruit; it is rich in works of love* (Rom 7:4; 2 Cor 9:10; Gal 5:6).

b) The question about works would become one of the major controversies at the heart of the Western Churches. It would be absent from Eastern churches, which offered a more inclusive, more cosmic, and less personal vision of grace* (*theôsis*, see Orthodoxy*, modern and contemporary). It has been decisive since the time of Augustine* (354–430), who averred, against Pelagianism*, that the good works of the believer are not of human origin but are the fruits of the sole grace of God. Against the objections that came from the position that would be known as “semi-

Pelagian,” he stated that the loving act of God only elicited faith. Given the original sin* and the corruption of human nature, faith could not be the result of good human works. The first condemnation of Pelagianism by the synod* of Carthage (418) was confirmed by the second synod of Orange (529). Not only is it stated that man could not carry out his own salvation by his works, but also that the original sin forbade human will and reason to create faith. Without going back to Augustinian options with regards to predestination*, the synod of Orange insisted on the works of the Holy* Spirit, who prepares for justification and precedes all human initiative (DH 371–397).

c) During the Reformation, these stakes would hold a particular place. The question of works appeared on several levels:

- 1) A first controversy bears on the salvation through works, which Reformers denounced in the Church practices of the time. This alternative was proposed by diverse theologies* (such as Gabriel Biel) and common in popular piety (as evidenced in the sale of indulgences* to be freed from purgatory*). The official teaching of the Catholic church as confirmed by the Council of Trent*, however, never stated that the human being could save himself without having recourse in the grace of God (DH 1551 Sq). Luther* rejected the idea of *fides capitata formata* (faith completed by works of love) as a reason for salvation. This formulation was ambiguous because it implied that faith would obtain its salvific character only through works. It also called for a distinction between intelligence (reason) and will (source of the works of love) that seemed dictated by the Aristotelian influence. In this light, it was inconceivable that salvation would happen only through faith, which was nothing but reason supporting truth*. It had to be completed by love. Luther, who was of the Augustinian school, had a global understanding of faith. It is trust in God and personal relationship with God. These two different understandings of faith would lead to a serious misunderstanding that would take centuries to be clarified, yet the intention of the one or other was to insist on salvation, the gift from the grace of God. The Council of Trent’s condemnation, which would blame the Reformers for not having stated the necessity of good works as a necessary consequence of faith, stemmed from the same misunderstanding (DH 1570), the Reformers always having insisted on the necessity of works, consequences

of faith, and on their inclusion in faith itself (see CA, art. 4).

- 2) A second debate bears on man’s ability to prepare himself for faith through his works. Various Scholastic trends taught that grace was a quality whose human nature* was covered in accordance with its creation* and that, in spite of sin, reason and human will were able to do good works, preparing the justifying grace. Faced with what it saw as a resurgence of Pelagianism, and cautious to avoid any justification through works, the Reformers insisted on the character always external to grace, which could not be understood as human *habitus*. Only works carried out by the Holy Spirit in the believer could be called good, whether they preceded or followed justification. The Council of Trent would condemn this option (DH 1554 Sq).
- 3) The third dispute relates to the meritorious character of the works of the justified. Scholasticism had distinguished between *de condigno* merits (direct relation between action and reward) and *de congruo* merits (relation of convenience). For Thomas* Aquinas, only Christ* can deserve *de condigno* the grace of man, the *de congruo* merit depending only on the will of God who can access the believer’s prayer. Late Scholasticism, however, stated that the good works of the non-justified represented a *de congruo* merit for justification, the works of the justified being a *de condigno* merit for eternal life* (Franciscan school and nominalism*). The Reformation radically rejected this understanding in the name of salvation through faith alone (see CA, art. 4). The Council of Trent confirmed that the believer earned an “increase of grace” through his good works (DH 1582).

d) These different approaches to the value of works would be central to controversies between the Western churches for centuries. A significant degree of consensus has only appeared in the past fifty years. All agree to say that works are only the consequence, but the necessary consequence, of the justification of the believer whom the Holy Spirit arouses to faith and who could not deserve the grace granted. Good works are born from the new relationship that unites God and man. A dispute remains among Christian families as to the manner and meaning of man’s cooperation in his salvation, but this question is no longer seen as separating churches. For the most part, this progress is the result of bringing together anthropological and philosophical visions: today, a more relational understanding of faith, of grace, and of works replaces the more sapient and ontological (O.H. Pesch) alternatives of Scholasticism.

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See also Augustine; Grace; Justification; Luther, Martin; Pelagianism; Salvation; Scholasticism; Thomism

World

A. Biblical Theology

The terms in biblical Greek which may be translated by "world" are *kosmos* (world), *oikoumenè* (terrestrial universe) and *aiôn* (age), along with the Hebrew *tévé*l and (post-Biblical in this sense) *ôlâm*. In the Christian vocabulary, "world" may either denote simply the totality of created things, or this totality insofar as it is under the influence of evil* or unable to attain God* of its own accord. Nor is this complexity always absent from biblical usage. The first sense is dealt with in the entry "Cosmos*" in this encyclopedia. Here we are concerned with the second, which can already be glimpsed in the later periods of Jewish literature—without forgetting that the same instance can carry a number of meanings.

I. Origins of the Theme in the New Testament

1. The Book of Wisdom

According to Wisdom, the world, in its origins completely good, is subject in its entirety to the attacks of evil. Moreover, the author insists on the link between the world and the theme of salvation* (Wis 6:24), which was to be widely taken up by the first Christian theology*, that of Paul and of John. The main characters in the history of salvation are linked to the world: Adam is "the father of the world" (Wis 10:1); Noah's ark "bears the hope of the world" (Wis 14:6); the long-skirted robe of Aaron, priest and intercessor, is "decorated with the whole world" (Wis 18:24). Ever since "the entry into the world" of Satan (2:24) or of idols

(14:14), the world has been mysteriously linked with sin*. It was along these lines that the Pauline* (Rom) and Johannine* (Jn 8; Rev 12) traditions would present the world as the plaything of hostile forces, inasmuch as human beings fall into the clutches of the "ruler of this world" (Jn 12:31).

2. Apocalyptic Literature

Apocalyptic* literature distinguishes above all between "this world" and "the world to come": "The Most High has made the present world for many, but the future world for few . . . Such is also the rule of the present world: many are created, but few are saved." (4 Ezr 8:1, 8: 3) "As for the righteous . . . this world is for them a struggle and a labor with many troubles, but the world which is coming is a crown with great glory" (2 Ba 15:7f.) The expression "to leave the world" may mean quite simply "to die" (*Test. of Abraham* 8:11). But the world which is being left may take on a negative connotation: the moment arrives for Abraham when "he must leave behind this world of vanity, when he must leave his body" (*Test. of Abraham* 1:7). In the course of his heavenly journey, the patriarch sees "all that was in the world: what was good and what was bad" (10:3).

In the *Test. of Moses* 1:10–14, "The Lord of the World created the world for his people*; but he did not wish to reveal this purpose of creation* from the beginning of the world." For the apocalyptic authors, the time of the end of the world is the time of its judg-

ment* (4 Ezr 9:2), accompanied by disasters (4 Ezr 9:1–13). This is the point of separation between this world and the world to come, the latter being synonymous with heavenly bliss (1QHVIII, 26).

II. New Testament Theological Perspectives

Kosmos assumes a particular importance in the writings of St Paul, though more than a third of the instances of this word in the New Testament (186) are from the Fourth Gospel* alone.

1. Pauline Writings

a) The Foolish Wisdom of the World. 1 Corinthians contrasts the wisdom* of the world, which it calls “folly” (1 Cor 1:20, 3:19), with God’s wisdom, and the “spirit of the world” with the Holy* Spirit that comes from God (1 Cor 2:12). The formula *kata sarka* (according to the flesh*) corresponds to this same viewpoint. Taking his inspiration from Is 19:11ff. and 29:14, Paul denounces a world whose wisdom is ignorant of God, and proclaims salvation for those who believe (1 Cor 1:21; see Jn 1:10–13). In 1 Cor 1–4 he sets out the elements of a train of thought that both he and his disciples were to pursue (Pauline* theology). In 2:6–15 he is already adapting these elements to Christian anthropology, distinguishing the psychological from the spiritual man.

In order to do this he opposes “the wisdom of this world” to that of God (2:7). It should, however, be noted that “world” here translates the Greek *aiôn*, in other words, the age, or the present world. The Christian’s status in the new creation (*kainè ktisis*) implies a fundamental turning aside from “this world” so as to free oneself from its influence, since “the god of this world” is called Satan (2 Cor 4:4; see also Jn 12:31). The closing exhortation of the Epistle to the Romans opens with a strong injunction: “Do not be conformed to this world [*aiôn*], but be transformed by the renewal of your mind” (Rom 12:2).

2 Corinthians uses antithesis, in the style of Stoic rhetoric, to express the brevity of time, since “the present form of this world is passing away” (1 Cor 7:31; see 1 Jn 2:17). As a newly created being, a Christian should not concern himself with the matters of “this world,” but with that of the Lord (7:32ff.). The tone is already set in the First Epistle to the Corinthians: the world is called to judgment and condemnation (11:32). Admittedly the Apostle turns his readers’ attention to eschatology* and to the world to come; but his thinking leads him above all to a theology of the cross, the instrument of “God...reconciling the world to himself” (2 Cor 5:19).

b) The World Crucified, and Salvation Through the Cross. The most emphatic expression of the world’s salvation through the cross comes in the Epistle to the Galatians: subservience to “the elementary principles of the world” (Gal 4:3), liberation through the Spirit, the eschatological mission of the believer-apostle in the face of the world: “the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world” (Gal 6:14). The Epistle to the Romans systematizes this train of thought even further (Rom 5:10). Paul reinterprets the Wisdom texts concerning the entry of sin into the world (Wis 2:24, 14:14—see above) and adapts them to Christian theology: “Just as sin came into the world through one man, and so death spread to all men because all sinned” (Rom 5:12), an uncompleted sentence whose development appears in 5:15–20, the first outline of Christian thinking on original sin*.

The *stokheia tou kosmou* (“elementary principles of the world,” Gal 4:3, 4:9; Col 2:8, 2:20) are the forces by which the worldly sphere is made opaque to God’s revelation* and action. They are invisible, and yet of the world; though they are obstacles to salvation, they are not wholly identified with evil, nor with sin. They belong to an intermediate, angelic sphere that is separate from that of the devil.

2. The Johannine Literature

a) The Fourth Gospel. John presents the world in a negative and in a positive manner: the world has refused God’s word* (1:10), and is henceforth synonymous with sin (1:29). The coming of the “light of the world” is by way of a judgment (9:5, 9:39). This judgment takes effect at the moment of the crucifixion, or, to use the Johannine* term, at the “hour” of the revelation of the Son* of Man, which is the hour of the world’s condemnation, and that of its prince (12:31, 14:30, 16:11). Jesus* appears as the light of the world (Jn 8:12 and so on): the imagery of light is employed only in chapters 1–12, which correspond to his earthly ministry*. Christ offers himself in order to rescue the world from darkness (1:5); he designates himself as the bearer of this missionary intention—he, the Son sent into the world by God who “so loved the world, that he gave his only Son...for God did not send his son into the world to condemn the world, but in order that the world might be saved through him” (Jn 3:16–17). Everything is summarized in the speech on the bread of life: he has come to give his flesh “for the life of the world” (Jn 6:51).

Christ’s victory over the world is won. If, in spite of this, Christ urges his followers not to let themselves be imprisoned by the world (Jn 13–17), it is because the

liberty* of the believer's response has lost none of its value. The salvation of the cross is a gift to be received, freely, in the face of the world. John contains no apocalypse like those of the synoptic Gospels (Mk 13 par.), although, in a way, the Evangelist gathers a number of parallel themes into the farewell speeches (Jn 13–17): the disciples will incur the hatred of the world, and will have to carry on the struggle in this world, since they are sent forth to do so (Jn 17).

b) The First Epistle of St John. 1 John reflects the same viewpoint as chapters 13–17 of the Gospel: it is good to be hated by the world (1 Jn 3:13), which is synonymous with sin (2:16–17). But, as in the Gospel, the call to be suspicious of the world (2:15) goes hand in hand with the declaration of salvation for the sins of the whole world (1 Jn 2:2). Confronted with the false prophets*, referred to as the Antichrist (2:18; 4:3), Christ alone receives the title of “Savior of the world” (4:14, *see* Jn 4:42). The author of the Epistle is aware that his community is threatened. After the warnings in an apocalyptic vein comes the appeal to be in this world (4:17) as conquerors of the world (5:4), in other words as believers (5:5) who remain actively vigilant—since “the whole world lies in the power of the evil one” (1 Jn 5:19). This conclusion to the Epistle is of a piece with its beginning, where Christ appears as the Paraclete, for the forgiveness of the whole world's sins (2:2). The originality of John's eschatology is expressed in the interval between the two, experienced in danger.

c) The Johannine Tradition and Gnosticism. The Johannine tradition provided Gnosticism (gnosis*) with a

good deal of material, as can be seen for example in the *Apocryphon of John* (Tardieu 1984), in the *Hypostasis of the Archons* and in the *Untitled Text* (Ed. B. Barc, Laval [Quebec], 1980), which also draw on the Wisdom and apocalyptic traditions mentioned above. Studies of the successive layers of these writings (coll. “BCNH”) shed light on the history of the reception of the Johannine corpus (Kuntzmann and Dubois 1986). Gnosticism is distinguishable from the canonical Christian tradition by its focus on a higher spiritual world which it reserves for an elite. The influence of this topic of reflection on the world would also be very pronounced in hermetic literature (A.-J. Festugière 1954).

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See also Angels; Apocalyptic Literature; Cosmos; Creation; Eschatology; Flesh; Gnosis; Johannine Theology; Judgment; Pauline Theology; Sin

B. Historical Theology

Theology can endow the “world” with two distinct conceptual connotations. As the totality of beings and things, the world must first of all acknowledge the goodness of its creation*. But if it is to be understood, directly or symbolically, as the place of human life, its conceptualization must incorporate the sinful and uncreated dimension of that life.

a) The World: Between Cosmology and Anthropology. The Pauline* and Johannine* theologies had already given a negative emphasis to the concept of *kosmos* (cosmos*); and the idea of a fundamental break with

the sinful world, and of an individual mode of behavior that would enact Christ*'s disciples' independence of the world (Jn 15:19), were commonplaces among the first Christians. So for Ignatius of Antioch there was an incompatibility between “speaking of Jesus Christ and desiring the world” (Rom. 7:1, SC 10, 134–135); and Polycarp called on his readers to “cut out the desires of the world” (*Phil.* 5, 3, SC 10, 210–211). The theme of *contempt for the world* was made much of by Tertullian* (“*saeculi totius contemptus*,” *De spectaculis* 29, 2, SC 332, 308) and later writers, who urged their readers to “pass through the world

without sharing its corruption” (Cyprian*, *De habitu virginum* 22, CSEL, 3, 203). Drawing partly on Platonism (*Phaedo* 67 c and *Theaetetus*, 176 a-b) and Plotinian (*Enn.* I, 6, 5–8; VI, 9, 11) themes, Origen* wrote: “[Let us strive] to avoid being men, and [let us] zealously [seek] to become gods, since while we are men we are liars” (*Comm. in Jo.* XX, 29, 266, SC 290, 286–287). To accept martyrdom* was thus to free oneself from the world (Tertullian, *De testimonio Animæ* 4, CChr.SL 1, 178–80).

This conception of the relationship between human beings and the world was particularly marked within monasticism*: the anchorite (from the Greek *anakhôrê*, “to separate or withdraw oneself”), indeed, was one who attempted to detach himself from the world in the most visible way possible: his hermitage purported to be outside the world.

The distance between the monk’s ascetic experience and the life of the world was expressed in a number of ways by the church Fathers*: in their view, monks led the life of angels*, and were true *liturges* (Is 6:1–3—see Origen, *Peri Archôn* I, 8, 1, SC 252, 220–221) who achieved the ideal of continual contemplation* (Basil* of Caesarea, *Hom. in Ps.* 1, 1, PG 29, 213; Evagrius, *On Prayer*, 113, PG 79, 1192 d). John Chrysostom* emphasized that their lives, like that of Adam before the Fall, evaded the sinful world: “The occupation of monk was Adam’s occupation in the beginning before he had sinned, when, clothed in glory, he talked familiarly with God” (*In Matth.*, Hom. 68, 3, PG 57, 643–44). For some Fathers, the existence of monks had a precedent, too, in the displacement to which Abraham was summoned (Gn 12:7; Heb 11:8–13), or even in the wandering life of Christ: both were examples of the “way of life of the traveler, easy to lead and easy to leave” (Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* I, 12, 98, SC 70, 287), of the stranger who merely passes through a world of which he is unaware or to which he does not want to belong. Finally, others made monastic life equivalent to martyrdom: “The patience and strict faithfulness with which monks persevere in the profession which they have embraced once and for all, never indulging their will, daily crucifies them in the world and makes them living martyrs” (John Cassian, *Conf.* 18, 7, SC 64, 20–21). So, one way or another, the Fathers indicate that the monk is the exception to the world and its sin*, which are identified with the flesh*, sexuality, wealth, and so on. However, it is noteworthy that this conception of the world is not based on an ontology or cosmology identifying the world with evil*: in its created reality, the world is actually a good thing. Rather, the Fathers employ an anthropology* of man’s corrupt desire to emphasize the negative dimension of worldly, secular existence.

This vision of the relationship with the world is thus notably different from the conceptions peculiar to Gnosticism. Christian orthodoxy and the Gnostics agree in asserting man’s superiority over the world and in emphasizing that man, while he is in the world, is not “of” the world. The distinctive feature of Gnosticism, however, is that it sees man’s presence in the world as one of pure alienation, and the world merely as the kingdom of evil; for Christianity, in contrast, the world is only *this* world as a result of sin—it is specifically by man that the world is engendered as such (Jonas 1960).

Augustine*’s approach is based on this refusal of Gnostic dualism as well as on the desire to point out what, *in human beings*, constitutes the origin of the world. Referring to John 1:10, Augustine recognizes that there are two meanings to the concept of “world”: on the one hand there is the world created by God, and on the other there is the world engendered by human sin (*En. Ps.* 141, 15, CChr.SL 40, 2055–2056). The *City of God* (XIV, 28) thus emphasizes that “two loves have made two cities: self-love to the point of contempt for God has made the earthly city, and the love of God to the point of contempt for the self has made the heavenly city.” But these two cities do not represent two opposed worlds. The search for peace* is in fact common to them both (*City of God* XIX, 12); and moreover, as the basis of the distinction between the two cities already suggests (it is the object of love that differentiates them), the purpose assigned by human beings to their use of the world either closes the world in upon itself or, on the contrary, turns it toward God’s delight: “The use of the resources necessary for this mortal life is common to two kinds of men, and to two kinds of houses. But the end of that use is peculiar to each, and quite different” (*City of God* XIX, 14–17). Thus, this distinction between *uti* and *frui* does not prescribe flight from the world, but rather a particular use of the world; referring to Ambrose*’s *De fuga sæculi* I, 1 (PL 14, 569), Augustine writes that “it is not with the body, but with the heart, that one must flee the world” (*De dono perseverantiæ* 8, 20, BAug. 24, 639; see soul*-heart-body).

Despite the subtlety of Augustine’s analysis, throughout the Middle Ages theological thinking about the relations of Christians with the world continued to be governed by suspicion. Treatises on contempt for the world continued to be produced (Roger of Caen, who died in 1090, wrote a *Carmen de contemptu mundi*, PL 158, 705–708), and the new medieval religious orders still tended to identify life outside the world with monastic life. Several practices bear witness to this identification: laypeople* tried to have themselves buried in a monastery, to be entered in the

necrology, or even to take the monastic habit on their deathbeds (*professio ad succurendum*).

b) Theological Redefinitions of the Concept of World. In this context the Reformation marks a notable break. Luther* takes as a starting point the Augustinian theology of history, which urges against the separation of two cities that cannot be separated: “The two cities, in this life, are entangled and intermingled, until the time when they will be separated by the last judgment” (*City of God*, I, 35; see also *Ep. 138, Ad Marcellinum* II, 9–15, PL 33, 528–32). Referring moreover to certain Old Testament (for example Sir 11:20–21) or New Testament (1 Cor 7:17) texts, Luther promotes the fulfillment of the Christian vocation in the task, job, or profession that providence assigns to each person in the world. So his translation of the Bible* uses the same word (*Beruf*) to render on the one hand the idea of a vocation or divine calling (in Greek *klèsis*, see 1 Cor 1:26, Eph 1:18 and so on) and on the other hand the idea of a task or work* (the Septuagint, e.g. in Sir 11:20–21, uses the Greek *ponos* and *ergon*). As articles 26 and 27 of the Augsburg Confession (1530) point out, the Christian should not pass by the demands of the life of this world, but rather take them on. From the Protestant standpoint, any flight from the world, for example into monastic life, constituted a breach of the duty to love one’s neighbor, and moreover implied that salvation* could be gained through works. Daily activity, in its most secular aspects, was thereby endowed with a religious dimension. A number of initiatives emphasized this new way of envisaging the links between the Christian and the world: the ministries* of the church were desanctified and seen in functional terms, the Bible was translated into the vernacular, and popular music* found its way into the liturgy*.

With Calvin* the break begun by Luther took a more specific turn: because his thought was centered not on the idea of providence* but on that of predestination*, Calvin linked the certainty of salvation to the accomplishment of a temperate and methodically organized life. Later Calvinism*, being especially puritanical, would go beyond the spirit and the letter of his theology, making it every Christian’s duty to ensure his own state of grace by the methodical control of his existence and the rationalization of the link, often based on self-interest, that connected him to the world. From this standpoint, ascetic Protestantism* carried “traditional asceticism into worldly life itself” (Weber 1956).

Post-Tridentine Catholicism*, for its part, tended to maintain the same negative discourse with regard to the world, which continued to be, if not identified with

sin, at least regarded as that which led to sin. So, in the 17th century, Pascal* emphasized the fact that the Church and the world represent two contrary powers, and deplored the gradual erosion of the “essential distinction” between the two (*Comparaison des chrétiens des premiers temps avec ceux d’aujourd’hui*, Ed. Lafuma, 360–62, and *Prière pour demander à Dieu le bon usage des maladies*, 362–65): the Church, by reason of its sheer conspicuousness, must therefore aim to escape the world and its powers. This would remain the church’s position until the advent of Vatican* II. The ecclesiology of Cardinal Journet, however, taking up Augustine’s analysis, emphasized that the boundary between Church and world is internal to every person and that the two do not constitute two distinct realities between which Christianity is torn: “The Church is not without sinners, but it is without sin. . . . Its boundaries cross our hearts, there to separate light from darkness” (1941–69, II, 1103; see also III, 78–93).

c) The 20th Century and the Theology of the World. It was not until the mid-20th century that there developed a genuine theological consideration of the world understood as a reality endowed with an autonomy which was not contrary to faith*. Partly under the influence of Barth*, and later within Catholicism in the wake of the Second Vatican Council, theologians such as D. Bonhoeffer*, F. Gogarten, and J.-B. Metz attempted to construct a theology of the world. In *Zur Theologie der Welt* (1968), Metz suggests that “in the very movement of growing worldliness which began with modern times, there is an authentically Christian impulse at work”: contemporary atheism* and the very process of secularization* are implicit in faith itself, and above all in the event of the Incarnation*. These phenomena bear witness to the “many-sided truth of the event of Christ, by virtue of which, through God’s incarnation, the flesh is at last seen fully as ‘flesh,’ as earth, as the finite world, while God at last appears fully as God in his supreme transcendence of the world” (ibid.)—so God’s divinity appears more clearly as the world becomes more worldly.

The 20th century also saw the beginning of a philosophical definition of the world. In the work of Heidegger* the world is not conceived as an object located outside man and from which man is able to cut himself off; neither is it a vessel containing the totality of existing things, among which man must be counted (see *Sein und Zeit*, §12). Rather, the world is that which makes it possible to define man’s being as being-in-the-world (*In-der-Welt-sein*); it thus appears as the transcendental structure that defines man’s being, the originating condition by means of which man may be what he is: “*That toward which human reality [Dasein] as such tran-*

scends, we call the world, and we define the transcendence as *being-in-the-world*" (*Von Wesen der Grundes*). It seems, however, that the existential analytics offered by *Sein und Zeit* is such that, in the "world" so conceived and described, man need not concern himself with God. Theological thought has therefore tried to take Heidegger's definition of the world seriously, but only in order to consider its limitations in an attempt to grasp what in the Christian experience of the world might subvert its logic (Brague 1984; Lacoste 1994).

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See also Asceticism; Church; Monasticism; Secularization

World Council of Churches

"The World Council of Churches (WCC) is a brotherhood of churches that confess the Lord Jesus Christ* as God and Savior in accordance with the Scriptures*, and that strive to answer together to their common vocation for the glory of the one God, Father*, Son, and Holy* Spirit" (*Constitution* of WCC, article 1).

Delegates of 145 churches founded this federation in Amsterdam in 1948. By 1995, it included 321 church members (more than 400 million Christians), bringing together the great majority of confessional families, including, since 1961, the Orthodox Churches. While maintaining close ties with the WCC, some Christian churches have not joined it, including a few major Baptist churches (e.g., the Southern Baptist Convention of the United States) and, notably, the Roman Catholic church and the Eastern churches, which depend on the primate of Rome.

I.

As early as the end of the 19th century, the Churches planned to have a common body to coordinate their efforts. The missions scattered throughout several countries had triggered this need within the Western Protestant churches, generally organized into national Churches. In 1910, in Edinburgh, one of the first international missionary conferences attracted 1,200 dele-

gates. The call for inter-church cooperation grew and soon went beyond the sole Protestant context. Thus, the synod* of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople (the Ecumenical patriarchate), in 1920, wanted to see the formation of a worldwide alliance of churches. At this time, two movements emerged, and their union led to the 1948 WCC.

a) The first of these precursor movements, Faith and Order, attempted to go beyond the doctrinal conflict and institutional questions that separated the different Christian families. Coming from the commitment of laity* in Anglican (Episcopalian) churches of the United States, this movement proposed, as early as 1910, that there be a worldwide gathering. The war of 1914–18 delayed this plan, which would not materialize until 1927, when the Lausanne congregation convened. Ecclesiological questions (such as those on the Church, the sacraments*, and the ministry*) and ethical questions were pivotal. Delegates from all the Christian churches, except for the Roman Catholic church, called for a unity* of all churches at this time. The themes were touched on again during various regional meetings that aimed to prepare a new international conference in Edinburgh in 1937. The new political situation in Europe made Christian witnessing in society a new major concern.

b) The second early movement, Life and Work, focused from the start on questions of peace, justice, and social ethics. A first meeting in Uppsala in 1917 attracted only delegates from countries not engaged in World War I. It was only in 1925, at the Stockholm conference, under the decisive influence of the Lutheran Archbishop of Uppsala, Nathan Söderblom, that the idea of an international council was raised again, thus sowing the seed of a common service of churches in the world. Its slogan, “doctrine divides but service unites,” remained topical until this organization assembled again in 1937 at Oxford. At that time, the necessary affiliation between more ethical challenges and traditional doctrinal questions (such as ecclesiology* and creeds*) was understood. At the same time, priority was given to urgent problems, such as the relationship between churches on the one hand, and states and nations on the other (*see church** and *state*).

c) The war of 1939–45 was decisive in bringing together the two movements, which federated in 1948, becoming a unique organization, the WCC. At the heart of this common structure, Faith and Order bore the responsibility of doctrinal dialogue between churches, a trickier task than first thought. It was only in 1981 that it produced its first major text of consensus, a report on Baptism, Eucharist*, and Ministry (BEM). In 1991 common commentary was added regarding the confession of faith of Nicaea-Constantinople of 381. Although it had not been affiliated with the WCC, in 1968, after Vatican* II, the Catholic church became a member of the Faith and Order Commission and actively participated in developing united texts on this multilateral dialogue. The goals of the Life and Work Commission were taken up by all the sections of the WCC, structured accordingly; the plan to fight racism (particularly the opposition to apartheid in South Africa) and the commitment to justice, peace, and saving creation (at the Seoul Gathering in 1990) are solid examples.

d) The general assembly in New Delhi in 1961 was important and inaugurated a new phase in the life of the WCC. The Orthodox churches decided to join the organization. The Catholic church, for the first time, was represented by observers. Furthermore, the International Council of Missions, which helped organize the Edinburgh meeting in 1910, merged with the WCC. In 1971 the World Council of Education did the same. It was also at this first general assembly in Asia that the “young churches,” the churches of the developing world now independent after many years of submission to Western missions, emerged. The influence of these Churches grew, and today they form the majority of the WCC. Having become more representa-

tive, the WCC henceforth became an important catalyst in integrating and coordinating all the ecumenical efforts of Churches, of their service for and witness to humanity. National church conferences continued in the same vein in various countries, and continental conferences in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe were established. A mixed work party reunited the WCC and the Vatican authorities on a regular basis and joined the regular meetings of worldwide confessional families.

2.

According to the constitution of the WCC, the organization’s goal is to implement the visible unity of churches, to facilitate their common testimony everywhere, to support them in their mission* and evangelization work, to come to the help of all those in need, to break down the barriers between people, and to promote the advent of a single human family living in justice and in peace.

a) The evolution of the programs set forth by the WCC reflects its history. At first, the stress was on Western Protestantism*—that is, on ideas that especially involved bearing witness to Christ throughout the world. The integration of the Orthodox and the growing participation of the Catholics would lead to a shift toward questions that were more ecclesiological (including questions on the church and ministries) and more pneumatological (relating to the Holy* Spirit, sanctification and so on). The inclusion of Asian, African, and Latin American Churches fundamentally modified traditional objectives. Questions of justice*, of education, of dialogue with other religions, and of development, liberation, and church cooperation became more important. These changes did bring about conflict, because priorities were contested.

After the general assembly in Vancouver (1983), special emphasis was placed on the “council process.” In comparison to the biblical notion of alliance, agreement between Christian groups of diverse origin allows for better common commitment to a specific cause (Seoul Gathering, 1990). The current subdivision of WCC activity into four units illustrates its many concerns. The first is Unity and Revival, dealing with doctrinal questions, the visible unity of churches, cult* and spirituality, and theological training. The second unit is Mission Churches, concerned with mission and evangelization, Gospel and culture, dialogue with other religions, education, family life, and health. The third is Justice, Peace, and Creation, involved in the fight against racism and issues of exclusion, violence*, and socioeconomic, ecological, and political challenges. The remaining unit is Sharing and Service,

which deals with cooperation and sharing, solidarity with outsiders, the roles of women and youth, refugee services, and the development of inter-church structures.

These different focuses are filled with the conviction that the unity of the Church is inextricably linked to the unity and revival of all of humanity. From this perspective, the WCC works closely with several international organizations, such as UNESCO.

b) The life of the WCC is structured by the general assemblies, at which time the delegates of the church members decide upon the fundamental orientations of the movement. Assemblies were held in Amsterdam in 1948, Evanston in 1954, New Delhi in 1961, Uppsala in 1968, Nairobi in 1975, Vancouver in 1983, Canberra in 1991, and Harare in 1998. A central committee made of approximately 150 members is elected by these assemblies and meets annually. Moreover, several meetings are organized by the work parties, and decentralized council boards allow for widespread participation in the life of the WCC. A general secretariat based in Geneva coordinates the body, manages finances, and acts as a press-relations department.

c) It should be noted that the WCC is a federation of churches and not one church. Its authority is limited and its decisions do not apply automatically to member churches. For a community, joining the WCC does not involve adapting its individual ecclesiology, as was made clear in the Toronto declaration of 1950. The WCC thus unites Churches that are separate and do not necessarily live in full church communion*, but rather

have their own traditions regarding the celebration of the Word*, sacraments, and recognition of ministries. An instrument servicing a plurality of churches, the WCC hopes to be able to transform itself progressively into a council community. Although far from reaching this goal, the WCC has come a long way over the years.

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See also Family, Confessional; Ecumenicism; Protestantism; Unity of the Church

Wrath of God

Biblical writings, notably the prophetic* and wisdom books, are strongly marked by manifestations of wrath.

The vocabulary is rich in terms that signify “wrath,” ranging from annoyance to indignation, rage, fury. ‘Ap is the most common; other terms, such as *chéma*, *chârôn*, *qèçèp*, ‘*everâh*, *za’am*, and *ka’as*, with their corresponding verbal roots, are also found (Bovati 1986). The Septuagint limits itself to *thumos* and *orgè*

(with their derivatives), without making a distinction between the sentiment and its manifestation. The New Testament adopts basically the same approach. Paul particularly uses *orgè* for the wrath of God* (with the redundant *thumos* in Rom 2:8).

It is particularly in the wisdom texts that human wrath figures. This wrath is almost always evaluated negatively, as a lack of wisdom* with destructive effects (Jb 5:2; Prv 14:17, 27:4, 29:22; Eccl 7:9; Mt

5:22). Thus, we find exhortations to bridle wrath: “Refrain from anger, and forsake wrath” (Ps 37:8; *see* Prv 14:29, 15:18, 16:32, 29:11; Eph 4:26; Col 3:8; Jas 1:19f.). However, in both the Old and the New Testament it is the wrath of God that is highlighted, to the point of appearing as one of the primary manifestations of the biblical God (Na 1:2; Ps 7:2).

Wrath is expressed in the flared “nostrils” of God (Ez 38:18; Ps 18:8f.); he is seen getting annoyed, becoming heated, inwardly burning (2 Kgs 22:13, 22:17; Is 30:27; Hos 8:5; Ps 89:47; Est 1:2). “Fire” (Na 1:6; Jer 4:4, 21:12; Ez 25:14, 35:11, Lam 2:4) and “furnace” (Ez 22:2ff.; Ps 21:10) are common metaphors of his wrath.

The Jew Philo and the first Christian theologians had already inquired not only into this anthropomorphism*, which they saw as incompatible with divine impassibility, but also into the nature of such an irrational, violent affect.

YHWH is defined as being by nature “slow to anger” (Ex 34:6; Nm 14:18; Jon 4:2 and so on). His wrath then signifies that the offense is overwhelming, that a situation is absolutely unacceptable to him. This presupposes that the relation to God is subject to a law of truth; lying, abusing trust, exploiting patience are the things that provoke legitimate wrath. It appears that God is bound to demonstrate that he does not connive with evil* and that his will is to eliminate it (Ex 32:9f.; Dt 32:19; Mi 7:9 and so on). Jesus* displays wrath on numerous occasions (Mt 17:17; Mk 3:5; Jn 2:15ff.).

The aim of wrath is to put an end to that which is unbearable. Vengeance, because it confines people within themselves, is condemned (Gn 49:6f.; Am 1:11). Wrath leaves the sphere of psychology to enter the sphere of law (Bovati 1986). Metaphorically it then designates the punitive procedure (2 Sm 12:5; Ez 20:33) which, by chastising the guilty, tears the victims out of their grasp (Ex 15:6f.; Ps 7:11f.).

The wrath of the Lord is exercised with moderation and for a short time (Is 54:7f.; Hos 11:8f.; Wis 11:23, 12:2, 12:8). As it is often said, repentance and penitential prayer (penitence*) can appease it (Ex 32:11; 2 Kgs 13:4; Jer 26:19); then God “relents” from his anger and shows mercy* (Ex 32:12; Mi 7:18f.; Ps 78:38).

Prophetic and apocalyptic* literature presents human history, as a whole, as a history of sin* punishable by the wrath of God, that is, his judgment*. In particu-

lar, the group against whom God’s wrath is intended broadens to include the whole of humankind (Is 26:20f., 30:27f., 34:2; Jer 25:15–29; Ez 36:5f.; Am 1:3–2, 16 and so on). The destruction is cosmic (Is 13:10, 30:30; Jer 30:23f.; Jl 2:10; Am 5:8f.; Na 1:2–8) and eschatological (with the motif of the *dies irae*: Is 13:9; Ez 7:19, 22, 24; Zep 1:14–18; Dn 8:19, 11:36; *see* “the cup of his wrath,” Is 51:17, 51:22; Jer 25:15).

It is precisely the latter aspects that the New Testament authors adopted: 1) in the Gospels* (Mt 3:7, 18:34, 22:7; Lk 21:22f.; Jn 3:36); 2) in Paul (Rom 1:18; 2:5, 2:8; 5:9; 1 Cor 5:5; Eph 2:3, 5:6; 1 Thes 1:10, 2:16, 5:9f.); 3) in the Apocalypse (Rev 2:21, 6:15f., 14:10, 15:1, 16:1–21, 19:15 and so on). “The wrath of God is revealed from heaven” (Rom 1:18); it is “the wrath to come” (1 Thes 1:10); here it is a matter of a reality of law, a verdict bearing on the totality of history and whose effect is, by contrast, to exalt the announcement of the pardon and gratuitous salvation* that Christ* realizes and grants to all who believe in him (Rom 2:16f., 3:21–26). “God has not destined us for wrath” (1 Thes 5:9).

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See also Anthropomorphism; Apocalyptic Literature; Jealousy, Divine; Ethics; Expiation; Hell; Judgment; Justice; Punishment; Vengeance of God; War

Wyclif, John. *See* Hus, Jan

Y

YHWH. *See* **Name**

Z

Zoroaster

Zoroaster was the great religious prophet whose teaching was promulgated in the late-seventh and early-sixth centuries before the Christian era among the loose federation of Iranian tribes centered in Choras-mia, principally in the extensive territory of Iranian Khorasan, western Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. He is of immense importance in the history of Western theology, both because the three great Middle Eastern religions to have dominated the history of the West—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—derived much from his religious system, and also because the study of that system does not, as we might have hoped, furnish evidence of some primitive religion linking the Semite theism of Western cultures with the speculative mystical systems of the Indo-Iranian-Aryan social, national, and religious families of India.

“Zoroaster” is a Greek rendition of the Old Iranian “Zarathustra,” which contains the root for “camel.” We first hear about the prophet in a fragment of Xanthus and in Plato’s *Alcibiades*. He is also mentioned by Plutarch, Diogenes Laërtius, and a number of their contemporaries, but has historically been seriously misrepresented, his monotheism presented by the Magi of the Levant as a rigid dualism of rival and coeternal principles. He has been “travestied as a magician, astrologer, and quack...by Nietzsche himself...as a witch-doctor...or a political intriguer” (R. C. Zaehner). The ruling house under which Zoroaster

found protection was eventually conquered by Cyrus the Persian in 550 B.C.

Zoroastrianism survived under the subsequent Persian Achaemenian dynasty, but its priesthood was taken over by the Median priestly caste called the Magi. These held a religious monopoly in Media, the northwestern portion of the Iranian plateau overlooking the Tigris and Euphrates basins (the Assyria and Babylonia of the ancients, today’s Iraq). When the Medes swooped on to the Mesopotamian plain to destroy the Assyrians, they released Israel from servitude to return to the Holy Land, but not before the fruitful encounter took place between Israel and the monotheistic Zoroastrianism of the Medes. Isaiah was to salute Cyrus, Israel’s liberator, as the Lord’s anointed, and R. Zaehner, the authority on Zoroastrianism, regards it as certain that the Zoroastrian doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments exercised a direct influence on post-exilic Judaism. It appears in Daniel, and replaces the insubstantial doctrine of *sheol*, that “shadowy and depersonalized existence” common to all. Zaehner points to the belief in the resurrection of the body common to Israel and Zoroastrianism, itself a corollary of the view held by both that body and soul are ultimately inseparable aspects of a single personality.

Zoroastrianism eventually became the religion of the Achaemenian kings, whose dynasty lasted until its overthrow by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. The prophet’s teaching was diffused in various corrupt ver-

sions until its purity was reestablished in A.D. 226, when Ardashir overthrew the last of the Achaemenids and made Zoroastrianism the national religion of the Sassanian empire. It was to diminish in importance after the Muslim conquest of the Persian empire in 652, although it is not yet totally extinct in Gujarati-speaking India, where its followers are known as Parsis.

Only a portion of the sacred Zoroastrian text, the Avesta, survives, but more about Zoroastrian belief and practice can be deduced from inscriptions and from the ninth-century Pahlavi liturgical books, which appear to reproduce an authentic original no longer understood by the copyists. As far as can be ascertained with reasonable probability, Zoroaster preached a new religion of "truth" opposed to the established followers of "the lie" in the nation of King Vishtaspa, the head of the Chorasmian confederation. This opposition appears to have been founded on confrontations between the agricultural and cattle-breeding followers of truth and the predatory nomadic tribes, followers of the lie. Each person must ultimately choose between the traditional but false nomadic religion and the new pastoral religion of truth. Zoroaster begins to elevate opposed ethical principles into a cosmic clash between good and evil, and advances the status of the good spirit into

the monotheistic creator and preserver of everything that exists, both spiritual and material, including the spirit which chose to be evil.

The supreme God thinks his creation into existence through his Holy Spirit who, with the Good Mind and Truth, is an aspect of his own essence. Wholeness and immortality are also inseparable from his essence, but they are the reward of those who do his will in Right-Mindedness, an entity common to God and humans. God alone stands beyond the reach of evil. The same word is used for prosperity on earth and for posthumous felicity. At the center of the Zoroastrian cult is fire, the symbol of truth and at the same time destroyer of darkness.

Into the primitive monotheism of Zoroaster grew a slow repaganization, readmitting some of the old traditional gods and veering toward a pantheism in which nature is penetrated by the divine. Finally, in its Sassanian resurgence, Zoroastrianism becomes a dualist orthodoxy in which the Wise Lord is matched by a co-eternal Destructive spirit.

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ANTHONY LEVI

Zwingli, Huldrych

1484–1531

Huldrych Zwingli was born at Wildhaus in the Toggenburg, in the Swiss canton of Saint Gall, into a prominent family whose concerns shaped his understanding of the political and social problems of the Swiss confederation of his time. These problems principally included the tensions between the Holy Roman Empire, to which the cantons belonged, and their own sovereignty; the disparities between the cities and rural areas; the conflict between allegiance to foreign lords and local interests (as in the tradition of mercenaries); and the social troubles that resulted from these problems. As for religion, Zwingli very quickly became caught up in the turmoil of humanist dissent on the one hand, and on the other, the latent conflicts over authority between local magistrates and episcopal governments.

Zwingli received his primary education from an uncle, a priest, who prepared him for entry into the Latin school in Basel. He studied at the universities of Vienna and Basel from 1498 to 1506; while he was in Basel he joined a circle of humanists and came into contact with Erasmus*, who was to have a decisive influence on him. In 1506 Zwingli was awarded the degree of master of arts, ordained as a priest by the bishop of Constance, and appointed to a parish in the canton of Glarus, where he remained for the following ten years. From 1516–18 he was a preacher at the celebrated abbey of Einsiedeln, but in the meantime he had also been appointed as a chaplain to the Swiss mercenaries serving the Papal States. In that capacity he took part in the Italian Wars and witnessed the mer-

cenaries' famous defeat in the Battle of Marignano in 1515. The dreadful experiences of these mercenaries had a profound impact on Zwingli. From this time onward he changed his views, called for the Swiss confederation to become neutral, and opposed both the Francophile policy of his city and the hiring of Swiss mercenaries by the French King Francis I. War for Swiss freedoms was acceptable to Zwingli, but war for money was not, and he was convinced that the moral degradation of his country was largely due to this type of policy.

Continuing his training, Zwingli committed himself to the theological tradition of the *via antiqua*, with its Aristotelian and Thomist presuppositions. His encounter with Erasmus's ideas, notably through his reading of that great humanist master's edition of the Greek New Testament in 1516, led him to make his own theology absolutely biblical*, even "biblicist." The influence of both the *via antiqua* and Erasmus remained as an underpinning to all Zwingli's later opinions, causing him to avoid adopting the theology of Luther*, and indeed to oppose it. As a result he acquired a distinctive status among the Protestant reformers.

In 1518 Zwingli was appointed *Leutpriester* ("people's priest") in the *Grossmünster* (Great Minster, or Cathedral) in Zurich, where he was required to take on the important position of preacher. This position helped to give his reform, which started in Zurich, then spread to other German-speaking regions and other parts of Switzerland, its typically "Zwinglian" style, with its emphasis on sermons, and on the training of Christians through meditation and systematic listening to scriptural texts. This orientation toward preaching* at the expense of sacramental practice became characteristic of the reform of worship in Zurich, and distinguished it from Luther's reform in Wittenberg. At a later stage Zwingli himself was fond of emphasizing his independence from his fellow reformer. If he found confirmation in Luther's writings for his own reforming breakthroughs, notably on the question of justification* by faith*, his pastoral experiences in Zurich pushed his activities in a different direction. Zwingli's reformation unfolded in its own way, marked by a form of humanism that was less optimistic than that of Erasmus, as well as by a theology centered on pneumatology rather than Christology*. It was this centrality of the Holy* Spirit in Zwingli's theology that led him, from 1522 onward, to declare explicitly that Scripture*, under the inspiration of the Spirit, is the only basis for Christian doctrine and life.

In this way Zwingli put down markers for his break, not only with traditional theology and ecclesiology*, but also with the other tendencies, such as Anabaptism,

that were developing within the Reformation. The conflict with the established church* broke out in the spring of 1522 when traditionalist and reformist preachers hurled abuse at each other over the fact that some of Zwingli's friends had eaten sausages during Lent. This provocative act was stigmatized by the bishop, but Zwingli referred it to the civil authorities. In the controversy that followed Zwingli skillfully played off the civil authorities against the episcopal government, and thus opened the way for collaboration between the secular power and church leaders that was to be inevitable in those cities and regions that embarked upon the Reformation. Indeed, Zwingli's reform thus became more closely linked to a secular power than any other, and more dependent upon it. The magistrates of Zurich took Zwingli's side, organized debates, acted as judges, and established scriptural norms as authoritative guides in implementing reforms.

Zwingli then extended the influence of the Zurich reform to other German-speaking territories. Bern, Basel, Saint Gall, Mulhouse, Strasbourg, and several other cities adopted his theology, while Zwingli himself expressed his ideas in several texts written in 1524 and 1525, including his magnum opus, the *Commentary on True and False Religion* (written in Latin). He reorganized the churches that had accepted his reform, and endowed them with "reformed" synods*, constitutions that had no precedent, matrimonial courts, and new liturgies*. Worship in these churches was centered on the sermon, and the Lord's Supper was celebrated only four times each year.

Conflicts erupted not only with those cantons that remained loyal to the traditional faith, but also with the Lutheran and "radical" tendencies within the Reformation. The first Anabaptist* martyrs were drowned in Zurich in January 1527, and at Marburg in 1529 Zwingli broke irrevocably with Luther over the question of the real presence in the Eucharist*, completing the rupture within the Protestant Reformers' camp. Zwingli's reform continued to spread, notably in the French-speaking parts of Switzerland, where it merged with the Calvinist Reformation led by Guillaume Farel during the 1530s.

Zwingli's work was left unfinished. Having been drawn into the political and military conflicts that arose from the first religious struggles within the Swiss confederation, he was killed on the battlefield at Kappel in 1531. Thanks largely to his successor Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's work of reform was consolidated and widened in Zurich and elsewhere, right up to 1549, which was the year the *Consensus Tigurinus* sealed the fusion with the Calvinist reform, creating a single Zwinglian-Calvinist or "Reformed" Protestantism* in

opposition to the Lutheran movement. Certain features of the Zwinglian reform were to have a decisive effect on the whole of Protestantism in later years, including its emphasis on sermons, its marginalization of the communion service, its concept of pastoral ministry*, its distrust of sacred art, and its attitude to the role of civil authorities in religious affairs.

- The complete works of Zwingli are being published in the *Corpus Reformatorum* series, vol. 88ff.: *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* (1905–), Berlin.

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